Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, Fourth to Fifth Century

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With a Catalogue of Animal-Ornamented Buckles and Related Belt-Fittings

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A T Dorchester-on-Thames in the year 1874 were discovered in the Dyke Hills a number of burials belonging, it seems, to an as yet only partially explored late Roman cemetery outside the walls of the Roman town. Only two of the burials were furnished with grave-goods, but these were of such interest and importance as to be already well known before they received their first full and detailed publication by the late E. T. Leeds and Joan Kirk in 1954.[1] The attention paid to these two graves by Anglo-Saxon archaeologists has perhaps tended to obscure their real character as late Roman burials, and they have been somewhat neglected by students of the Romano-British period in consequence. This is a pity, for these graves are in reality a rare and valuable document for the history of events during the end of Roman rule in Britain. Among their grave-goods is a group of bronzes which represents one of the last recognizable phases of the art of the Roman Empire in the west, before its submergence under the Germanic invasions of the fifth century.

On the continent metalwork of this type and period has been the subject of many studies, as we shall see below, but in this country it has scarcely been noticed. The neglect has arisen mainly out of the fragmentary nature of the archaeological evidence for the late fourth and early fifth centuries in this country. This, which may be largely the result of the destruction of the upper levels of Romano-British occupation in town and country by the industrial and agricultural activities of the succeeding centuries, and of failure in more recent times to locate and excavate late Roman cemeteries, has reduced the period to the status of a kind of no-man's-land between the secure entrenchments of known Roman and unambiguous Saxon. On the whole these problem-riddled decades of transition probably commend themselves more readily to

[1] Kirk and Leeds (1954). Cf. also E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913), pp. 55-6, fig. 8.
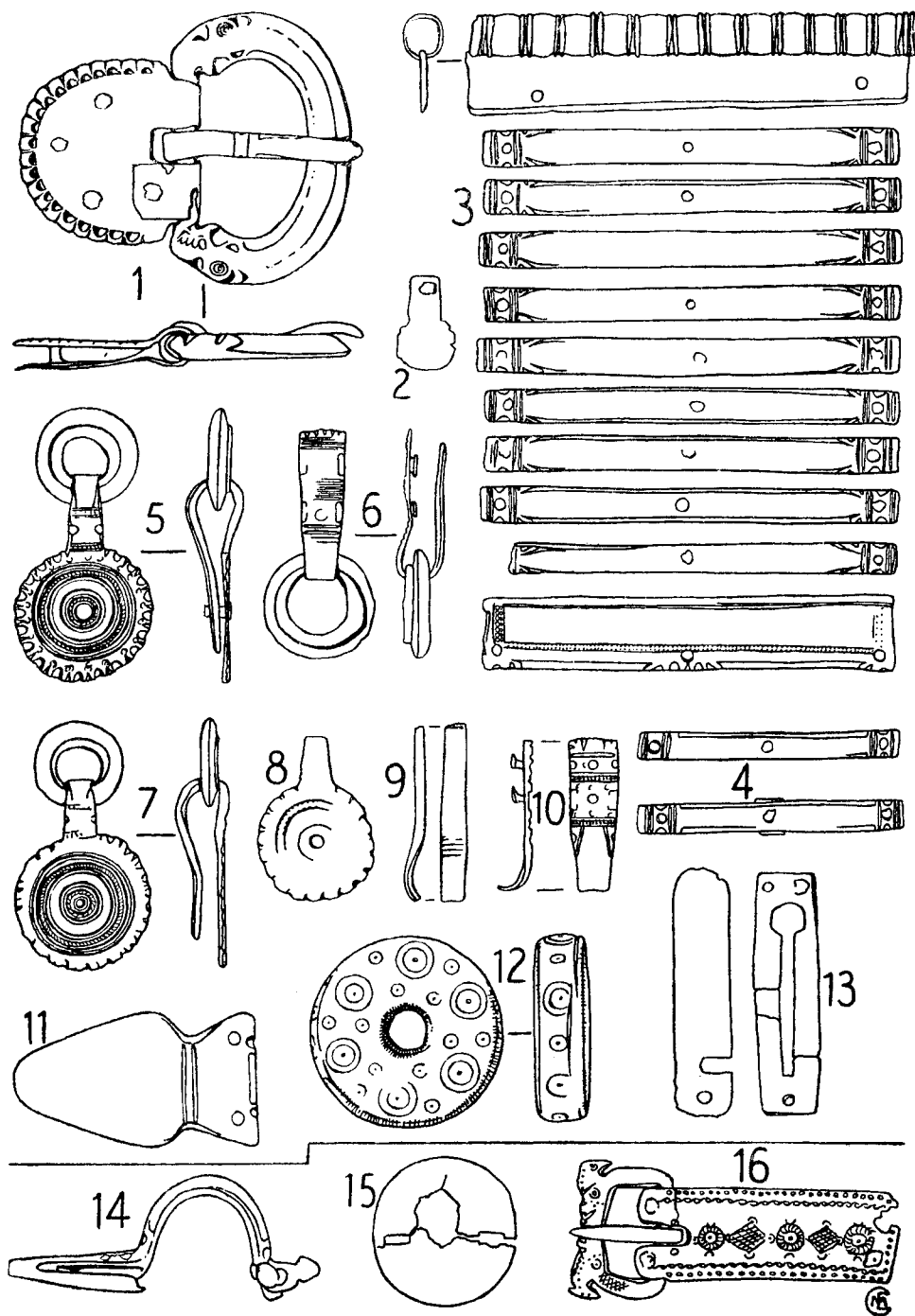
FIG. 1

DYKE HILLS, DORCHESTER, OXON.

Nos. 1-13, objects from the military burial (grave 1); nos. 14-16, objects from the woman's burial (grave 2). Pp. 1 ff. Sc. $\frac{2}{3}$

After *Oxoniensia*, XVII-XVIII, fig. 27, by courtesy

Anglo-Saxon archaeologists, who are already accustomed to interpreting history, without the aid of inscriptions or coherent coinage, from what students of the three previous centuries call small finds. This may be why most of the references to metalwork of the type here discussed have appeared in works by Anglo-Saxon specialists. But the volume of comment is in any case pathetically small,[2] and has merely served to demonstrate how scattered and ill-documented most of the material is, and how very little is known about it in this country. No previous writer has given any idea of the quantity of these objects found in Britain, nor of their wider significance within the setting of the late Roman Empire. We felt, therefore, that the time had come to bring together a corpus of some of this, the most distinctive metalwork of the late- and sub-Roman and earliest Anglo-Saxon periods in Britain. If such objects have anything of importance to add to our knowledge of this obscure epoch, it seemed that in this way they might be made to disclose it.

We have not tried to assemble all the varied types of metal objects dating from this time, but have made a selection on the basis of the Dorchester finds. These give us our starting point in an associated group of objects—two sorts of buckle, a strap-end, and various belt-attachments (FIG. I)—whose interest is confirmed by numerous continental discoveries of similar sort. To the types represented at Dorchester we have added other kinds of buckles which belong to the same style-phase. The seven main types selected form, with their sub-types, a natural group, at once numerous and distinctive. The volume of material brought to light by the systematic scouring of publications and museum collections has proved unexpectedly large. The search has been a thorough one, and we are confident that not much can have escaped our notice. If anything has done so, it is not likely to change either the pattern of distribution or the basis of the classification. However much the individual pieces vary in detail, they all fall into a few clearly recognizable types. This has enabled the catalogue to be presented as a series of classified lists. For economy these have been set out in tabular form, each piece with its provenience, present location, description, and such details of date and association as have been recorded. Most important, too, every object (bar one—the single case where permission to draw was refused) is illustrated.

The different types (see Catalogue, pp. 41 ff, for detailed descriptions of the variants) are, for ease of reference, numbered as follows:

I
II
III Buckles with confronted animal-heads.
IV
V   Strap-ends.
VI   Disc-attachments with suspension loops.
VII   Tubular-sided attachment-plates.

[2] Baldwin Brown (1915), IV, 551-561, pls. cl-clv; Tonnochy and Hawkes (1931); Bruce-Mitford (1954); Evison (1955), pp. 29-31; Hildyard (1957), pp. 243 ff.; Cook (1958), p. 73; Morris (1959), pp. 102-3; Boon (1959), pp. 80-83.

THE MILITARY GRAVE FROM DORCHESTER AND ITS CONTINENTAL BACKGROUND

The starting point for the corpus of bronze buckles and belt-fittings was provided by the two late Roman burials in the Dyke Hills at Dorchester. One of these must now lead us into the discussion.
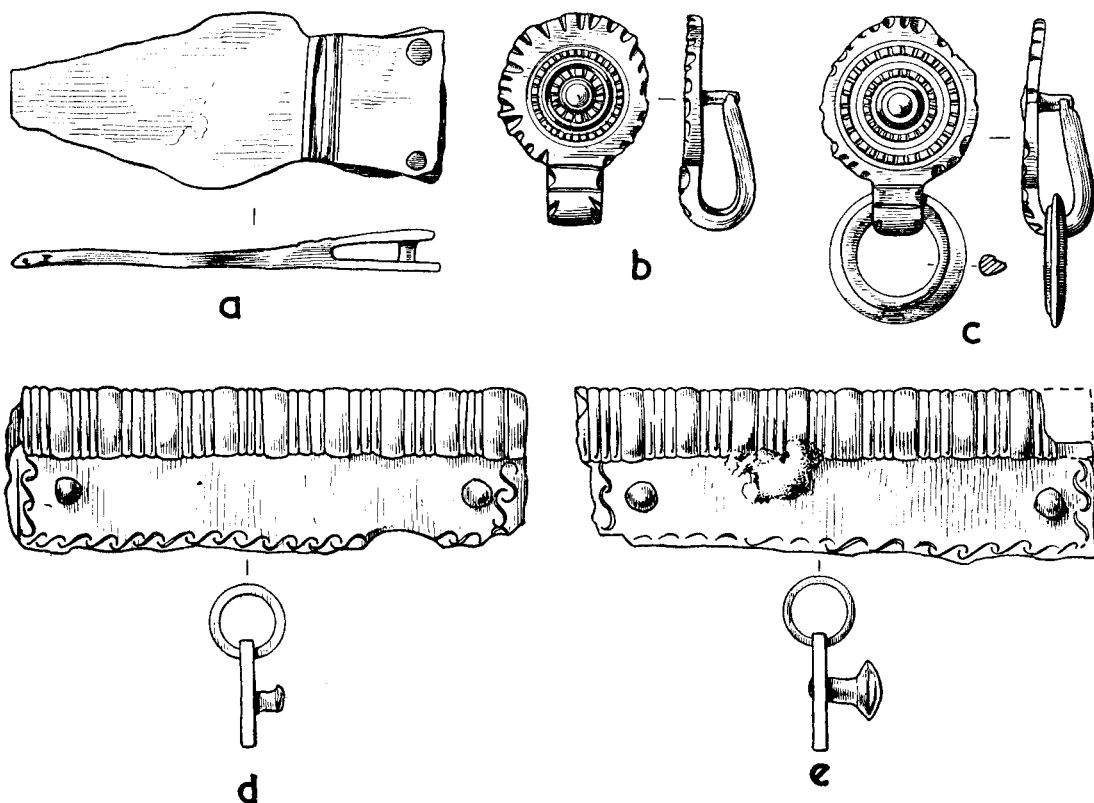
FIG. 2
MILTON-next-SITTINGBOURNE, KENT
Group of belt-fittings of types v A, vi, vii (pp. 4 ff). Sc. ⅓

Grave I (FIG. 1, nos. 1-13) contained the skeleton of a man, furnished with a buckle (type III A, 2), by the shoulder; a strap-end (type V A, 1); two disc-attachments (type VI, 2-4), by the thighs; a tubular-sided attachment-plate (type VII, 1), found among the ribs together with a number of rectangular bronze plates; a bone toggle; and an iron knife (not preserved). A very similar group of objects from Milton-next-Sittingbourne in Kent is preserved in Maidstone Museum (FIG. 2). Here we have a strap-end (type V A, 3); two disc-attachments (type VI, 5-6);

and two tubular-sided attachment-plates (type VII, 2-3), of which the identically flaky patina and fragile condition is an indication that they, too, were found in a single grave.[3] A third burial of this type is suggested by the buckle (type III A, 8), disc-attachments (type VI, 12-13) and attachment-plate (type VII, 5), from an unknown site in Kent (PL. 1).[4] No other burials of this period with this kind of equipment are known from this country.

On the continent, on the other hand, graves with this type of furniture are relatively common in the late Roman cemeteries of the north of Gaul and the Rhineland. Invariably these graves are the burials of men—and men, moreover, who were additionally equipped for death with one or more of the weapons they bore in life. The similarity between the objects in these continental grave-groups and our own is most striking, and it is worth describing a few of them by way of comparison:

Tournai, Belgium. Cimetière du Parc, grave F.[5]
>   Burial of man: with throwing axe; spear; strap-end (type V); disc-attachment (type VI); attachment-plate (type VII); and buckle.

Furfooz, near Namur, Belgium. Grave 3.[6]
>   Burial of man: with pottery, bronze, and glass vessels; spear; throwing-axe; knife; 3 arrows; cross-bow brooch of developed type; buckle (type III A); chip-carved strap-end with marginal animals (type V); belt-slide decorated with animal heads; 10 disc-headed rivets similar to type VI attachments; 2 attachment-plates (type VII); bucket; and comb.

Vieuxville, near Liège, Belgium .[7]
>   Burial of man: with pottery and glass vessels; sword, spear; axe; 6 arrows; 3 buckles (type III A), one with chip-carved plate, and one with very stylized animal heads; small buckle; strap-end (related to type V but with rounded end); belt-slide; 5 disc-attachments (type VI); 3 chip-carved attachment-plates (type VII); pair of scales; and 2 silver coins, of Constantine III (407-11) and Jovinus (411-13).

Vermand, Aisne, France. Chemin des Mortes cemetery, grave 284.[8]
>   Burial of man: with bronze bowl; spear; throwing axe; knife; bone comb; buckle type III A) with stylized animal heads; strap-end of unusual form; 3 disc-attachments (type VI); 2 attachment-plates (type VII), with several rectangular bronze plates; and a number of studs and rivets.

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[3] No details have been recorded about the discovery of these objects, but the extensive brick-earth digging around Sittingbourne in the nineteenth century revealed Romano-British burials of all periods. George Payne, *Collectanea Cantiana* (1893), pp. 23 ff.; *V.C.H. Kent*, III, 96 ff.

[4] Nothing is known about the origin of these objects, but their preservation as a group very much suggests that they originally came from a grave.

[5] Faider Feytmans (1951), p. 45. See also grave D and grave 2 of the same cemetery, which are very similar.

[6] Nenquin (1953), pp. 88-9, 54-7, etc., pls. vi, D1A-D, viii, D20. See also grave 1.

[7] Breuer and Roosens (1957), pp. 243 ff., figs. 31-4.

[8] Eck (1891), pp. 84-5, 252-8, pls. xii, 9-10, xvii, 1-20. See also graves 190 (pp. 49-50), and 397 (pp. 104-5) with silver *siliquae* of Honorius (A.D. 395-423).

Monceau-Le-Neuf, Aisne, France.[9]

    Burial of man: with glass cup; silver spoon; sword; knife; razor; 2 buckles (type III A), one with chip-carved plate and loop; strap-end (type v), with chip-carved ornament and marginal animals; disc-attachment (type VI); attachment-plate (type VII); tubular object; cross-bow brooch of developed type; bone comb; whetstone.

Mainz-Kostheim, Germany.[10]

    Burial of man: with sword; axe; buckle (type IV) with open-work decoration; matching strap-end, similar in form to that from Vieuxville; 2 disc-attachments (type VI); bronze neck-ring; tweezers; bead toggle.

    It would be possible to list other graves of this general character, but these six samples should serve our purpose if we bear in mind that they are merely representatives of a larger group.

    It will be noticed at once that the sets of metalwork from Dorchester, Milton, and Kent repeat very closely the assemblages in the French, Belgian and German graves. The lack of weapons and accessory vessels at Dorchester is the only factor that distinguishes this grave from its continental counterparts. But it is probable that weapons actually were found with the burial. The grave was found during the levelling of part of the Dyke Hills and there is a record of pieces of iron being thrown away by the labourers. The apparent lack of weapons, therefore, need not disturb us unduly.

    On the continent these 'warrior' graves with their characteristic equipment have been the subject of much controversy, and to understand the significance of the Dorchester burial it will be necessary to turn now to north Gaul and the Rhineland. Two facts about these graves are generally accepted: (1) the burials in question begin in the last half of the fourth century and extend into the early fifth; and (2) they are the graves of soldiers in the late Roman army. The date is established approximately by the occurrence of coins in a number of the grave-groups (see above, and below p. 18 f). The military character of the burials is attested primarily by their weapons and secondly by their distribution along the military frontier-zone of northern Gaul and the Rhineland. Further, the attach-ment-plate of type VII with its accompanying metal strips, may, as Leeds[11] suggested, have been the fittings of the protective leather apron which was an essential feature of Roman military armour. In the continental graves the metal strips sometimes occur, as at Vermand gr. 284, but very often the tubular-sided plates are found alone, or in pairs. Werner[12] has recently suggested that these type VII plates were not apron-fittings but ends for the broad military belt. According to his theory, the metal strips were used as stiffeners for these belts. Whatever their function, the type VII plates are all very much alike, and were certainly part of the uniform. The disc-attachments (type VI) are also very standard in form and decoration and the Dorchester, Milton and Kent examples exactly parallel innumerable continental finds. They are best interpreted as

    [9] Pilloy, III (1912), 99 ff., pl. iv, 1-12.

    [10] Behrens (1919), pp. 3 ff., pl. 1, 2.

    [11] Kirk and Leeds (1954), p. 71, fig. 28.

    [12] Werner (1958), pp. 379 ff.

ornamental rivets designed, with their loop and ring, to act as points of suspension for leather straps, presumably to link the various belts and harness straps worn by a soldier when carrying weapons and other gear of war. We can thus be reasonably safe in assuming, with Leeds, that the occupant of grave I in the Dyke Hills belonged to some late Roman military detachment stationed at Dorchester.

There is less agreement about the origin of such burials, and the controversy aroused by them began far back in the history of late Roman studies. The most recent phase opened, in 1950, with an important paper by Werner on the warrior graves of northern Gaul. In it[13] he suggested that the deposition of arms and armour with the dead, and various other features of these graves, such as the wearing of brooches, and the placing of rich burials among groups of poorly furnished ones, were Germanic customs. The warrior graves, therefore, were to be attributed to the German *laeti* who, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, were settled in these parts of Gaul. After the disastrous incursions of the Franks and Alamanni, which had laid waste and depopulated the frontier districts of Gaul in the third quarter of the third century, the counter-measures of the emperor Diocletian and his successors provided not only for the construction of a chain of forts along the *Limes* and the installation of half-barbarian *limitanei*, with their families, as permanent garrisons, but also for the repopulation of the ravaged land behind the frontier by colonies of land-hungry Franks, and Germans of other tribal groups. These received grants of land in return for the hereditary obligation of military service. The presence in north Gaul of these *laeti*—a German word describing their semi-free social position—is recorded in a number of panegyrics addressed to Roman emperors in the late third and early fourth centuries, which mention their dual rôle as farmers and soldiers and speak also of specific areas of settlement.[14] Werner's contention is that by the middle of the fourth century some of these *laeti* had been enabled by virtue of their military importance to attain the high rank and social status evidenced by some of the warrior graves. Already in 1891 Pilloy was attributing the most famous of the warrior graves at Vermand[15] to a Frankish chieftain holding high rank in the Roman army. That there were many such by the fourth century is evident from the historical sources which record their important rôle in the maintenance of Roman military power in the West.[16] These German noblemen usually had the

[13] Werner (1950), pp. 23 ff.

[14] *Panegyrici Latini*, ed. A. Baehrens (1911), no. VIII, 21, to Constantius Chlorus: 'Just as by thy decision, O Maximian Augustus, the Frankish *laetus*, immediately on being granted legal and peaceful status (A.D. 286), has brought into cultivation the waste-lying corn-lands of the Nervii and the Treveri (of Trier), so now through thy victories, invincible Caesar Constantius, the deserted areas of the lands of the Ambiani (of Amiens), Bellovaci (of Beauvais), Tricasses (of Troyes) and Lingones (of Langres) are growing green again under barbarian tillage.' (c. A.D. 293.)

Id., VI, 6, to Constantine the Great: 'What am I to say, then, of the tribes from the interior of the territory of the Franks, uprooted, not merely from those districts previously invaded by the Romans, but from their own original homelands and from the remotest shores of barbary, so that, settled in deserted tracts of Gaul, they might maintain the peace of the Roman Empire by their agriculture, and her victories by their military service (*dilectu*)?'

[15] Pilloy, I (1891), 38-51 and figs., pl. opp. p. 53. Cf. Eck (1891), pp. 22-3, 121-134, pl. ii.

[16] Ammianus, iv, 10, 8; xv, 5, 33, etc. Cf. Jullian (1926), pp. 84-8; Lot, Pfister and Ganshof (1940), pp. 18-23.

status of chieftains of tribal groups of *foederati*. The *foederati* held a position superior to that of the *laeti* in that they held land within the Roman frontiers by a *foedus*, or treaty, which often confirmed the tenure of land that had originally been taken by conquest. The federates kept their national identity and their freedom, but their military obligations seem to have become similar to those of the *laeti*. Breuer and Roosens have suggested that by the middle of the fourth century the distinction between *foederati* and *laeti* had become blurred, so that the warrior graves, which make their appearance at this time, may logically be attributed to either.[17]

We can now turn to the conclusion of Werner's argument. He stated that it was the burial customs of these German soldiers in the Roman army which were the foundation of similar Frankish customs which can be seen in cemeteries of the sixth and seventh centuries. The bases of Werner's thesis were reviewed and criticized by de Laet, Dhondt and Nenquin,[17a] who advanced the opinion, supported by much detailed and shrewd analysis, that the so-called Germanic characteristics of the warrior graves were no more than a military fashion common alike to German and Gallo-Roman soldiers. They stressed the fact that by the middle of the fourth century the exchange of ideas between Gallo-Romans and Germans in the racially-mixed northern regions of Gaul, in combination with the late Roman material culture enjoyed by both peoples, make it impossible to identify German racial characteristics with any certainty. In other words, the majority of the *laeti* and *foederati* are archaeologically indistinguishable from the Gallo-Romans.

However, there is an exception. This is the cemetery at Furfooz, in the valley of the Lesse, some miles south of Namur.[18] Here, in and around the bath-house of the Roman fortress on the heights of Hauterecenne, were discovered 26 burials, and of these the eight male interments were all accompanied by weapons: axes, spears and arrows. One of these graves has been described above, and many of the others contain similar equipment. Coins were originally found in some of the graves, and, although the associations were not preserved, the list, down to Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383-8), suggests that the burials, which seem to have begun in the middle of the fourth century, continued until the end of that century, if not later. The grave-groups, although not so rich as those from Vermand and Monceau-le-Neuf, are very similar, and it is clear that the Furfooz people had an almost identical material culture. The proportion of warrior graves, however, is higher than in the other cemeteries and this as well as its situation on a Roman fortified site, emphasizes the military character of this cemetery.

There are, in addition, various features of the cemetery which indicate that the Furfooz people were not Gallo-Romans, but Germans. Nenquin has rightly stressed that the burial of the dead among the hypocaust pillars of a perfectly usable bath-house reflects a barbarian attitude to the amenities of civilization. There is also the old woman in grave V who had been decapitated before burial

[17] Breuer and Roosens (1957), p. 294.

[17a] De Laet, Dhondt and Nenquin (1952).

[18] Nenquin (1953); Bequet (1877).

and laid with her head between her knees—a custom that occurs later in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries—presumably to prevent the spirit of the aged creature, who may have been regarded as a witch, from walking after death. Finally, one locally-made pot from the cemetery has German prototypes. These indications must mean that the Furfooz people were a group of Germanic *laeti* settled with their wives and children in or near the fortress of Hauterecenne. They can probably be identified with a section of the command of the *praefectus laetorum Actorum Epuso* (Yvois-Carignan, near Sedan) *Belgicae primae*,[19] part of whose duties seems to have been to guard the roads to Trier. Furfooz is close to the Bavai-Dinant-Arlon-Trier road.

Here, then, at Furfooz, we have a group of military settlers whose material culture is almost indistinguishable from that displayed in graves at Vermand and other late Roman cemeteries in north Gaul, and who can be identified as Germans because they left behind them unmistakable traces of their racial customs and beliefs. That such customs survived at all is probably because the Furfooz people remained a distinct racial group. At Vermand, Monceau-le-Neuf, Abbeville-Homblières,[20] and Vert-la-Gravelle,[21] on the other hand, the warrior graves were in a proportion which suggests that the military section was in the minority in these communities. Consequently, if these soldiers were originally German, it is only to be expected that contact with the nominally Christian civil population would have had the effect of eliminating many of their barbarian characteristics.

That in fact they were German is overwhelmingly probable, despite all arguments to the contrary, for reasons which we can now summarize briefly. We know that the Roman army at the end of the fourth century recruited its forces almost entirely from the barbarian peoples along the frontiers of the Empire. We know that Germanic *laeti* and *foederati* were settled in just the areas where the warrior graves occur, and we know from Furfooz that the burials of such German soldiers take the form of these warrior graves. Therefore we are surely justified in concluding that Werner was correct when he said that the warrior graves were the graves of Germans.

Confirmation of this is provided by the burials at Dorchester-on-Thames. Close to the military grave was that of a woman, buried with a buckle (type IB, 5), and two brooches of north German origin:[22] a cruciform brooch and the backplate of an applied (*komponierte*) brooch (FIG. I, nos. 14-16). From a woman's grave on the opposite side of Dorchester came a Roman key and bracelets, two complete applied brooches and the backplate of a third.[23] All five brooches are, as Leeds has shown, unmistakable north German types, ancestors of the brooches that came to England with the Anglo-Saxon settlers in the middle of the fifth century. These Dorchester examples are the earliest examples of their

[19] *Notitia Dignitatum,* pars occidentis, chap. xlii.
[20] Pilloy, I (1886), 177 ff.
[21] Lantier (1948).
[22] Kirk and Leeds (1954), pp. 67-9. 72-3, fig. 27, 14-16.
[23] *Ibid.,* pp. 69-70, 73-4, figs. 29-30.

kind so far found in this country. The situation at Dorchester, therefore, is an extremely interesting one. Here are two women, evidently immigrants from some region of north Germany, very probably Frisia, one of whom was buried near a man equipped in the characteristic fashion of the *laeti* of north Gaul and the Rhineland. In the original account of the discovery the man's skeleton was described as of 'enormous size', the height being later calculated at about 6 feet. This certainly suggests that he too was a German,[24] one of a detachment of German soldiers settled with their womenfolk in or near the Roman town of Dorchester.[25] Moreover, they were evidently Germans from those 'remotest shores of barbary' mentioned years earlier by the panegyrist of Constantine.[14] That troops were recruited from so far north is not as surprising as might be supposed. The empire was desperately short of manpower, and north Germany desperately overcrowded, so that the landless younger sons of the warlike northern races would find service in the Roman army acceptable employment for their fighting talents. In north Germany, in Frisia and Saxony, moreover, finds of buckles, strap-ends, and disc-attachments[26] show that some of these soldiers eventually returned to their homelands; however, many left their bones in the soil of the empire, as did the people at Dorchester.

IMPORTED CONTINENTAL METALWORK OF LATE ROMAN DATE: BRONZE BUCKLES AND BELT-FITTINGS OF TYPES III A, IV, V A, VI AND VII

Buckles of types III A and IV A and strap-ends of type V are of common occurrence on the continent, and are often found buried together in sets of belt-ornaments. The finest examples have geometric decoration executed in 'chip-carved' work, as well as the characteristic animal heads. It is these handsome and showy pieces which have received the most attention from archaeologists and art-historians. In this country very few have been found, and this is not the place to go into the details of their history, or to examine the full repertory of their designs. It would in any case be impossible at present, in view of the large numbers in western and central Europe and the lack of anything like a complete published corpus of them. However, there have been several selective studies, and from these we can obtain enough information to put our own finds in their proper context. A long list of chip-carved metalwork was published with a bibliography some thirty years ago,[27] and this is still invaluable. Since that time there have been few major contributions to the subject, except for the important work by

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[24] Such skeletal statistics as we have from late Roman Britain show that the population was slightly built, unlike the Germans, who were remarkable at this period for their height and physique.

[25] There is every reason to suppose that only a small part of the Dorchester cemetery has been excavated, and that further work there would uncover more burials.

[26] Plettke (1921), pls. xiii, 18-21a, xv, 13-14, 20, 21 and 21a showing examples from Borgstedt, Westerwanna, Hemmoor, Quelkhorn, Perlberg and Langen; Roeder (1933), pl. vi, 4, from Galgenberg nr. Nesse; Tischler (1954), fig. 19, from Pritzien nr. Hagenow. See also the map and list of type V strap-ends in Werner (1958), pp 410 ff., fig. 15, and his notes of warrior graves in north-west Germany, pp. 379 ff.

[27] Behrens (1930).

Forssander[28] and the publication of the Furfooz cemetery.[18] Most of the British pieces are not highly decorated; on the continent, too, those with chip-carving seem to be outnumbered by less ornamental examples. Yet these humbler brothers of the fine chip-carved buckles and strap-ends have been so much neglected there that their numbers are difficult to estimate. What is clear, none the less, is that they are contemporary with the chip-carved pieces, have the same distribution, and are an integral part of the same style-phase.

The chip-carving style is classical in origin, as are its principal motives and designs—the pelta, the palmette, the rosette, and the vine-scroll. The use of animal-head terminals is also a late antique fashion. Some of the type IV A buckles are still very classical in style. The broken buckle-plate from Snodland in Kent (PL. II, B; type IV A, 2), with its medallions and busts, is a good example, and there are very similar pieces from Rome itself and Hungary.[29] But the great mass of the material, with its florid chip-carving and bizarre, stylized, animal figures, is already barbaric in feeling. The move away from classical naturalism towards a more abstract interpretation of ornament is quite pronounced. The vine-scroll frequently loses its foliate character and becomes simple spiral decoration, and the marginal animals and terminal heads become progressively less naturalistic. The use of surface decoration as a whole becomes less restrained—at once cruder and more striking. The resultant style has generally been attributed to the influence of Germanic tastes in late Roman provincial art, and to explain this we must place the buckles and belt-fittings in their historical and cultural setting.

Nearly all the chip-carved metalwork is concentrated in a striking distribution along the frontiers of the late Roman Empire in the west (FIG. 3),[30] from Britain across Belgium and north France, up the Rhine from Cologne, then down the Danube through Austria and Hungary, with outliers in Italy and Jugoslavia, and ending in a thin scatter on the lower Danube in southern Roumania. Most of this metalwork has been found on late Roman fortified sites, particularly at such centres as Cologne, Mainz, and Tournai, and in their adjacent military cemeteries. A great deal has also come from the graves of the *laeti* and federates discussed above. The general context is thus a military one, and it is logical to conclude that this type of metalwork was produced primarily for the use of the late Roman army, more particularly for the *limitanei* of the frontier forts, and the military settlers, *laeti* and *foederati*, established in the frontier zone. In time, of course, the style must have become fashionable among the civilians in these regions, and so we find chip-carved belt-sets in women's graves at Furfooz and at Enns (*Lauriacum*) in Austria,[31] and in men's graves without weapons at Mainz[32] and Chevincourt (Oise).[33] There is little or nothing to show for it, however, in the essentially non-military interior regions of Gaul. This metalwork, in fact,

[28] Forssander (1937).

[29] Riegl (1927), fig. 86; Behrens (1930), fig. 8; Forssander (1937), fig. 19.

[30] Behrens (1930), fig. 1; brought up to date for north Gaul by Faider-Feytmans (1951), pl. viii.

[31] Werner (1930), p. 59.

[32] *Bonner Jahrb.*, CXLVII (1942), 249 ff.

[33] *Bull. Soc. Hist. de Compiègne*, VII (1888), 273 ff.

represents late Roman ornamental style in a distinctive version, limited to the
military districts. And the military forces there, as we have seen above—the
limitanei, *laeti* and *foederati*, and the rest—were virtually all Germans. The military
style owes its character, in fact, to the Germanic taste of these forces, and their
womenfolk, who preferred Roman art in a Germanized interpretation. The chip-
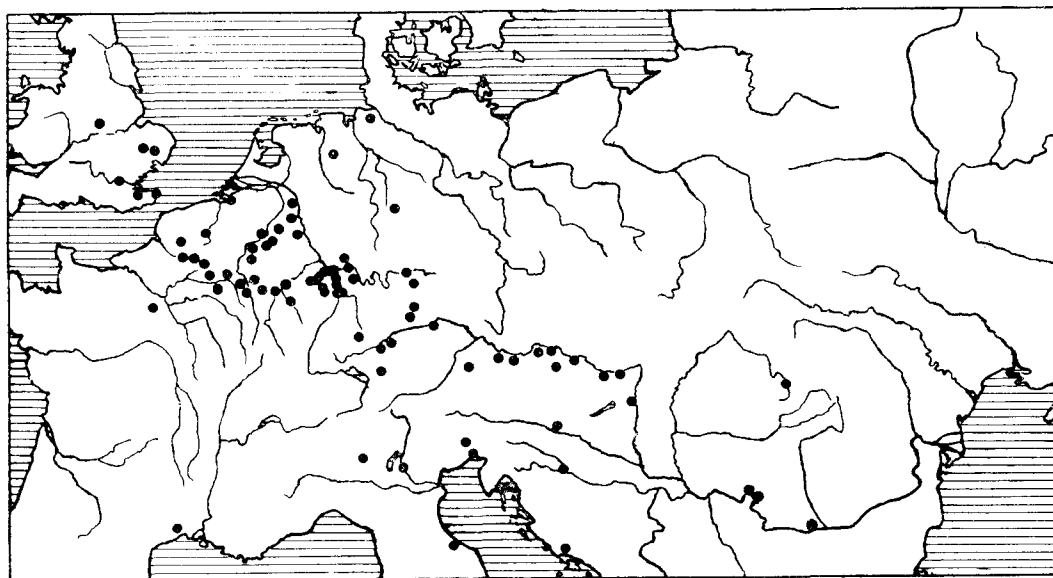

FIG. 3
DISTRIBUTION OF 'CHIP-CARVED' BELT-FITTINGS IN EUROPE (p. 11)

carved buckles and belt-fittings, classical in origin but barbarian in feeling, are
the outward expression of that interpretation and that preference. Moreover,
Germanic taste seems to have imposed itself even in high military circles, for
these florid chip-carved buckles, together with their cheaper and simpler counter-
parts, have all the appearances of being part of the official military uniform of
the period. Such an idea is perfectly justifiable—indeed almost inescapable—in
view of the amazing standardization of form and style in this metalwork, which
suggests that it must have been mass-produced by a highly organized and official
industry. Objects which were obviously made in the same workshop can be
found hundreds of miles apart along the great length of the frontier. For example,
the buckle of type IV A from Sucidava in south Roumania, the most easterly of
the finds,[34] is one of a series with one-piece rectangular plates that is found every-
where along the frontier, and as far west as Smithfield in London (PL. II, A; type
IV A, 3). Decorative details on the Sucidava buckle are repeated on other examples

[34] Tudor (1945), fig. 1a.

from Salona on the Dalmatian coast,[35] and from Kreuznach, near the Rhine below Mainz.[36] The ornament of the Smithfield buckle appears to have no exact counterpart, but its coarse S-shaped scrolls are seen on a triangular plate, again from Enns,[37] and the dense arrangement of its ornament is reminiscent of that on a set of belt-fittings from Houdan, on the Seine, one of the most southerly of the Gaulish pieces.[38] The unusual design of the Richborough buckle (FIG. 21; type IV A, 1), with its pair of crouching animals at the top of the plate, is paralled on a buckle from St. Pölten in Austria,[39] and the fine buckle from Kent (PL. 1, type III A, 8) also has interesting continental counterparts. There is a very similar piece at Mainz[40] which has the same double tongue and animal-ornamented cross-bar, and the same swastika-arm decoration on the loop. A third buckle of exactly the same form was found at Herbergen, near Oldenburg in north-west Germany.[41] The fashion of placing animal heads or figures at either side of the base of the tongue appears on yet another group of buckles of type III A, all obviously made in a single workshop. These are the famous buckle from Sedan in north France[42] and its near-twin from Hungary,[43] together with a group of buckles and plates from the cemeteries of Vermand[44] and Miséry.[45] They are made distinctive, indeed, by the stylized engravings of animals that appear on their plates. Yet the animals that flank their tongues are almost identical with those on the Mainz and Herbergen buckles, and it is tempting to think that the same workshop produced both groups.

Until the whole corpus of this chip-carved metalwork from the continent has been assembled and studied, it will not be possible to guess at the number of workshops engaged in manufacturing it for the Roman army. To locate them will be even more difficult. Even if the industry was so organized that workshops in the various headquarter towns and forts catered only for the forces in their immediate area, the transfers of men and units to different parts of the frontier will have scattered their products, obliterating any regional grouping that they may originally have had. The retirement of ex-soldiers either to their own home-lands, or to lands granted them within the frontiers, may have further contributed to this dispersion. If we look again at the two groups of buckles, which we have discussed immediately above, and if we decide from the little nucleus of them in north-west France that they were made in that region, then we must envisage soldiers from north Gaul being transferred as far away as Hungary on the one side, and Britain on the other.

[35] Riegl (1927), pl. xvii, 6.

[36] Behrens (1930), fig. 3.

[37] Riegl (1927), pl. xx, 1. This heavily stylized version of scroll ornament was adopted also outside the empire, at the beginning of the fifth century, on the equal-armed brooches of the Saxons in north-west Germany.

[38] C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, IV, pl. xliii.

[39] Werner (1930), fig. 35, 2.

[40] Baldwin Brown, IV (1915), pl. cl, 3; Behrens (1930), fig. 4.

[41] Behrens (1930), pl. xxix, A; Forssander (1937), fig 23, 2.

[42] Salin (1904), fig. 338; Forssander (1937), fig. 24, 1.

[43] Riegl (1927). pl. xxii, 5; Forssander (1937), fig. 24, 2.

[44] Eck (1891), pls. xv, 1a, 2a and 3a, xvi, 8, and 9.

[45] Rigollot (1850), pp. 216 ff., pls. x and xi; Werner (1958), pls. 82-3.

There can be little doubt that it was such troop movements which introduced
into Britain not only the chip-carved buckles from Kent (PL. I; type III A, 8), Rich-
borough, Snodland and Smithfield (PL. II, A; type IV A, 3), but also most of
the remaining buckles and belt-fittings of the types discussed in this section. Few
are of the high quality of the four buckles just mentioned, except for the buckle
and belt-suite (PL. III; type IV A, 4), unprovenienced but almost certainly from
this country, in the Mayer collection at Liverpool Museum,[46] and the buckle
from Oxford (FIG. 20, *f*; type III A, 7), which is now very worn. In addition to
these there are a few pieces with inferior and less interesting chip-carved ornament
such as the broken strap-ends from Richborough (FIG. 23, *d* and *e*; type V A, 4-5),
and that from Leicester (FIG. 23, *a*; type V A, 2), which, with its central scrolls
and marginal animals, is reminiscent of the much finer example from Furfooz.[47]
The strap-end from Ixworth (FIG. 23, *g*; type V A, 10) with its exceptionally
shallow chip-carved ornament is somewhat unusual in other respects too.
Although its pelta-rosette is one of the variants that occurs with fair frequency
on the continental metalwork, its panel of cross-hatching is less easy to parallel.
Such cross-hatching seems to have played only a subordinate role in the con-
tinental repertory and examples of it are scattered. But it undoubtedly was a
favourite form of decoration on our buckle-plates of type I (see below, p. 24), and
these were an insular development. The Ixworth strap-end may therefore be
either an imported piece, or a British copy. Two other strap-ends also hold an
ambiguous place in the corpus. These, the stamp-decorated fragment from Rich-
borough (FIG. 23, *b*; type V A, 6) and the densely-stamped example from Ickling-
ham (FIG. 23, *h*; type V A, 9) with its worn marginal animals, have no exact
parallels abroad. Were they also local copies of imported pieces? It is difficult to
be certain. Stamped decoration of this type is common on both sides of the Channel
at this period, and on the whole it is perhaps best to assume that these pieces
were made abroad, since we have no real evidence to the contrary. The strap-
ends which have no ornament or else are very simply bordered with lines of stamps
are certainly continental. We have only four of these: those from Dorchester (FIG.
1, no. 11; type V A, 1) and Milton (FIG. 2, *a*; type V A, 3), and two others from
Anglo-Saxon graves at Cassington (FIG. 23, *f*; type V A, 7) and Croydon (FIG.
23, *c*; type V A, 8). Werner has recently made a list and distribution-map of
those found on the continent, and shown that they are numerous in north France,
Belgium, the Rhineland, and north Germany.[48]

   With the buckle from Catterick (FIG. 22; type IV B, 1) and the buckles of
type III A, we have no problems. The Catterick one has been discussed at some
length by Hildyard,[49] who cites sufficient parallels to show that it belongs to a
distinctive, if not numerous, continental class. Most like it are buckles from Bingen
on the Rhine near Mainz[50] and Krefeld Gellep near Cologne.[51] It was clearly

[46] Baldwin Brown, IV (1915), pl. cl, 3.
[47] Nenquin (1953), pl. vi and fig. 13, no. D1A.
[48] Werner (1958), pp. 410-11, fig. 15.
[49] Hildyard (1957), pp. 243 ff., pl. ix, fig. 6, 12.
[50] *Ibid.*, fig. 6, 12, b; *Kataloge Sudwest-deutscher arch. Sammlung*, IV, pl. iii.
[51] Hildyard (1957), fig. 6, 12c; Behrens (1930), pl. xxxi, 4.

made in the same workshop as these, probably somewhere in the Rhineland. For the closest counterparts of our buckles of type III A we must look to the cemeteries of Belgium and northern France. At Vermand, Aisne, we find a buckle with an arcaded and tooled loop very similar to the one from Icklingham (FIG. 20, d; type III A, 6).[52] The irregularly notched loop of the Holbury buckle (FIG. 20, c; III A, 3), with its stylized animal-heads, is again very closely matched at Vermand,[53] and there is a somewhat similar example at Furfooz.[54] Semi-circular plates like that on the Dorchester piece are less common on this class of buckle than those of rectangular form, but there are a few parallels, notably the fine silver-gilt buckles, ornamented with niello and chip-carving, in the warrior's grave at Vermand,[55] and another decorative piece in a grave at Abbeville-Homblières, Aisne.[56] Presumably the Dorchester buckle is a cheaper version of such exotic products. The other type III A buckles from this country (FIG. 20, a, b and e, type III A, 1, 4-5) have no plates. They have been found at Richborough and Bradwell, both 'Saxon-Shore' forts. They are undecorated and their animal heads are stylized and flatly rendered. There are several like them in the Belgian and north French cemeteries, and among these the ones from Spontin[57] and Molenbeek-St.-Jean,[58] both in Belgium, provide the closest comparisons.

Sufficient has already been said about the disc-attachments and attachment-plates to demonstrate their continental origin. Apart from those in the two graves at Dorchester and Milton and those associated with the buckle from Kent (PL. 1; types VI, 12-13 and VII, 5), the only finds from Britain are those from Richborough (FIG 24, c, d, g and h; types VI, 7-9, VII, 4), Croydon (FIG. 24, e; type VI, 10), Croxton (FIG. 24, f; type VI, 11), and Caistor-by-Norwich (FIG. 24, b; type VI, 1). The only feature worth further comment is the simple running spiral decoration on the Milton attachment-plates. Borders of this design are, of course, a simplified linear version of the chip-carved tendril-scroll pattern, of which one could cite many examples.[59] Incised running-spiral decoration comparable to that on the Milton plates can be seen at this period at Vermand,[60] Monceau-le-Neuf,[61] Trier,[62] and Frankfurt,[63] and at many other sites. It was a favourite form of decoration in the late Roman Empire.

Here, then, we have several types of objects, of varying quality, but almost all of continental manufacture, which have been found on sites in Britain (FIG. 4) in one certain and two possible late Roman military burials (Dorchester, Milton and Kent); on late Roman military sites (the 'Saxon-Shore' forts at Richborough

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[52] Eck (1891), pl. xvi, 8.
[53] Ibid., grave 284, pp. 252 ff., pl. xvii, 4a.
[54] Nenquin (1953), pl. vii, D6.
[55] Eck (1891), pl. ii, 2 and 4.
[56] Pilloy, I (1886), pl. v.
[57] Dasnoy (1955), pl. i.
[58] de Loë (1937), pp. 251-3.
[59] Eck (1891), pl. ii, 5-6; Riegl (1927), pls. xvii, 4-6.
[60] Eck (1891), pl. xv, 3a.
[61] Pilloy, III (1912), pl. iv, 4.
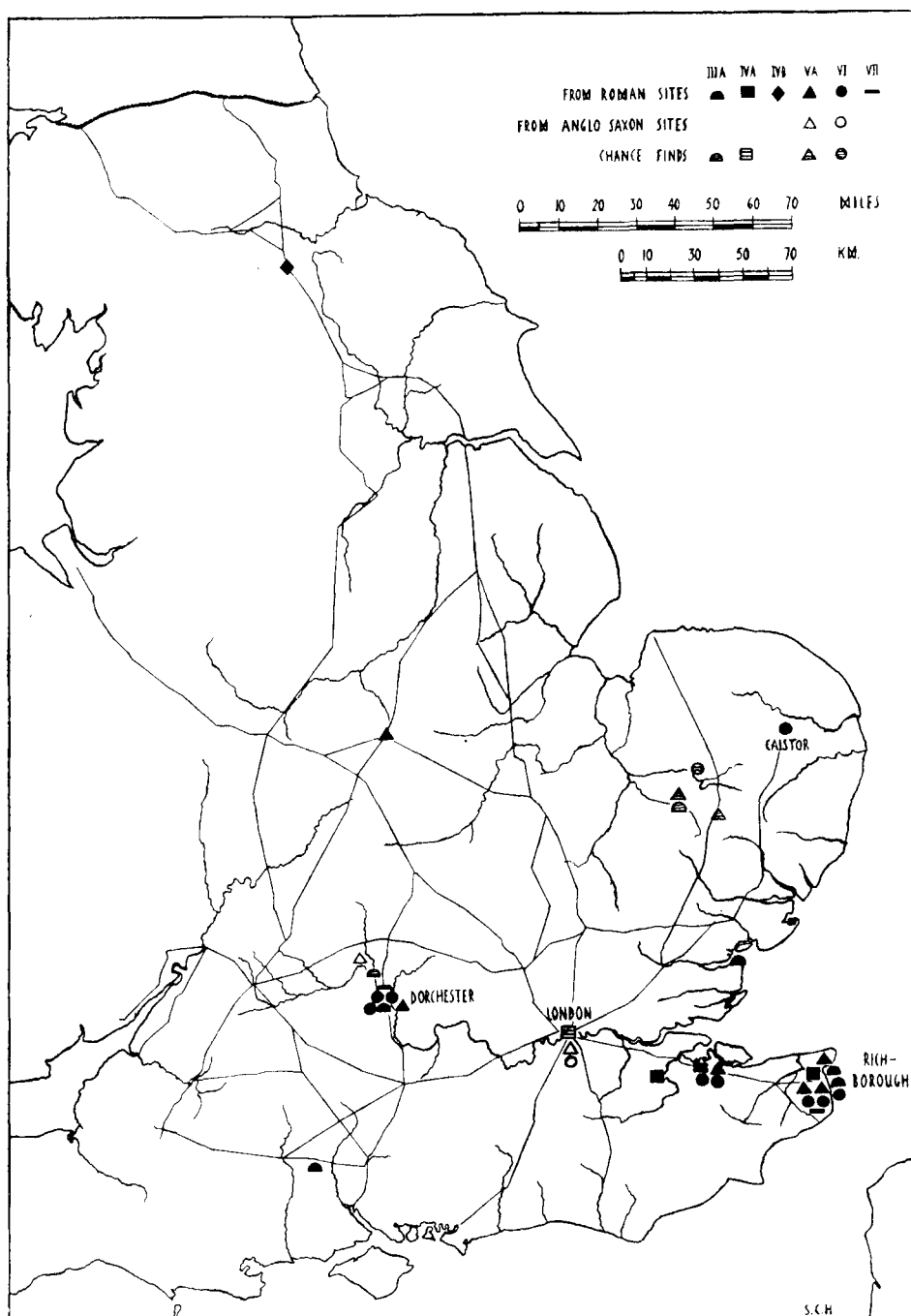[62] Werner (1958), pl. lxxx, 2.
[63] Behrens (1930), fig. 6.

FIG. 4

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTINENTAL METALWORK OF TYPES III A, IV, V A, VI and VII
IN BRITAIN (pp. 15-17)

and Bradwell); in late levels of Roman towns (London, Leicester, Caistor-by-Norwich and Catterick); in a Roman villa with late occupation (Holbury, Hants.); and as chance finds mostly in the east of England (Snodland, Kent; Ixworth and Icklingham, Suffolk; Croxton in SW. Norfolk; and Oxford). The two finds from Anglo-Saxon burials are almost certainly survivals from the late fourth or early fifth century. Most, if not all, of these objects were made in workshops in Belgium, north France, and the Rhineland for the late Roman frontier forces and their Germanic allies.

The predominantly eastern distribution of our own material (FIG. 4) suggests that we are mainly concerned with the forces of the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*: the army charged with the defence of the eastern coast against Saxon raiders, and based on the chain of 'Saxon-Shore' forts stretching from Brancaster in Norfolk to Porchester in Hampshire. Apart from the names of the garrisons recorded in the British sections of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, very little is known about the composition of this army in late Roman times, nor is much known about the forts themselves. Many of the forts have been damaged by coast erosion, or by later Anglo-Saxon and medieval building. It is the headquarters fort of Richborough, the only one that has been extensively excavated in modern times, which has given us the largest assemblage of late Roman military metalwork. Very little has come to light from the other forts, and we must assume that their archaeology was like that of Richborough. The pathetically small group of finds from Bradwell hints as much. The military culture of Richborough therefore should be regarded not as a unique phenomenon, but as representative of that of the 'Saxon Shore' as a whole.

The buckles and belt-fittings suggest that in the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore in the late fourth century there were soldiers who had been brought over from the continent, and who were probably of German stock. The bronze objects are not the only testimony to this. A grave, found by chance outside the defences at Richborough, contained the skeleton of a man, with long-sword, spear, shield and pewter bowl (FIG. 5, *a-c*).[64] Bushe-Fox called it the burial of a Saxon raider, but no band of Saxon raiders would have buried one of their number is such careful fashion within sight of a Roman fort. In any case, as we have seen above, this kind of equipment is typical of late Roman military burials on the continent. German he may well have been, but this warrior was certainly one of the Richborough garrison: one of the defenders and not one of the attackers. This apparently solitary burial is likely to be part of an as yet unexcavated cemetery of the 'Saxon-Shore' fort. The presence of other soldiers with similar equipment is attested by the finds, in ditch fillings and top soil, of a shield boss (FIG. 5, *d*), throwing axes, and spears, identical with those of the continental warrior graves.[65] That the last defenders of the 'Saxon Shore' included many half-barbarian troops like the *limitanei*, by now familiar, whose graves and whose equipment cluster so thickly around the frontier towns and

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[64] Bushe Fox (1949), pl. lxiii, nos. 349-351. The sword, which apparently had a horn-mounted hilt, was not preserved or illustrated.

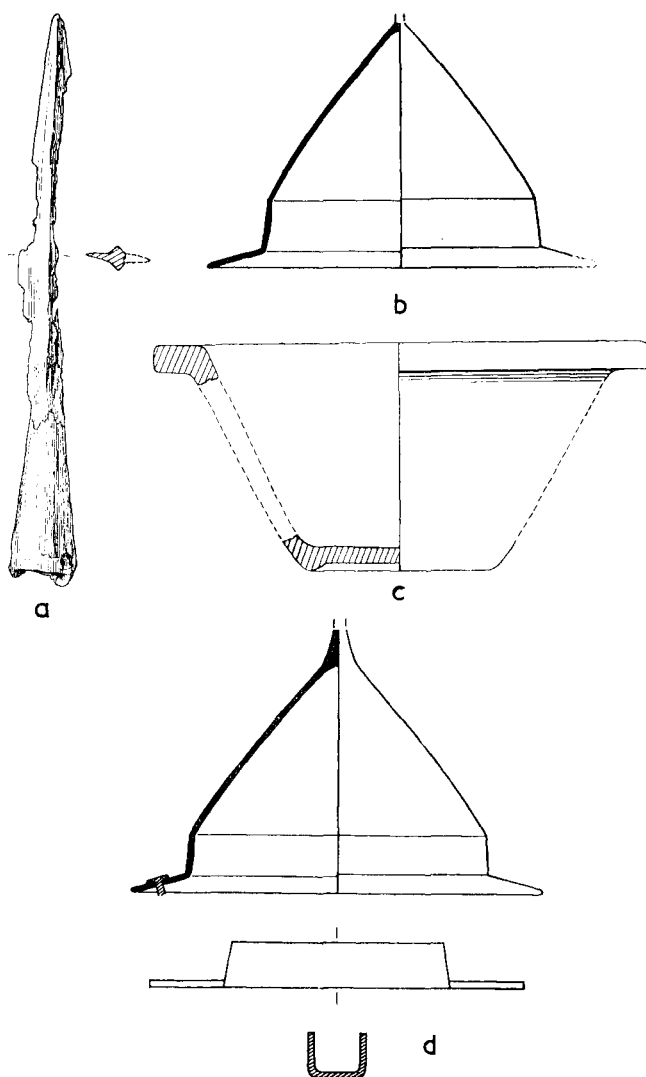[65] *Ibid.*, pls. lxiii, no. 352, lxi, nos. 341-2, and pl. lviii.

forts of north Gaul and the Rhineland, is, as we shall see, not in the least surprising. More puzzling perhaps is their presence in inland towns of the civil zone, at London, Leicester and Dorchester. This question we will leave for consideration in the next section.

When, more exactly, was all this taking place? None of our material is closely datable. The best that the Richborough finds, or the Catterick buckle, can do is to indicate the late fourth or early fifth century in general. For more precise dating we must return to the continent, where some of the warrior graves, and contemporary graves with similar metalwork, contained coins.

A glance over the whole picture tells us at once that the military style of chip-carved and animal-ornamented buckles and belt-fittings, and the weapon-equipped graves of which they are so characteristic a feature, begin only in the second half of the fourth century. The woman's grave at Enns in Austria, which

FIG. 5

RICHBOROUGH, KENT

a-c, Spear-head, shield-boss and pewter bowl, from a burial N. of 'Saxon-shore' fort; d, shield-boss from inner ditch of stone fort (p. 17). Sc. ⅓

contained seven fine chip-carved belt-fittings,[31] is dated after A.D. 360-3 by a coin of Julian the Apostate. Two graves at Abbeville-Homblières,[66] which contained almost identical buckles of type III A, had coins, one a corroded bronze of either Constans (337-350) or Magnentius (350-3), the other a silver siliqua

[66] Graves 4 and 67: cf. Pilloy, I (1886), 179-80, and 191-2.

of Valentinian I (364-75). The famous warrior grave at Vermand, with its chip-carved silver buckles of type III A, was strongly suspected by Eck[15] to have contained a gold solidus of Arcadius (395-408). It was in any case one of what must have been a family group—all rich burials with gold or silver coins, none earlier than the three women's graves with coins of Valentinian I.[67] Yet another grave at Vermand with a fine buckle of type III A and plate of type VII contained two silver siliquae of Honorius (395-423).[68] At Spontin, the stylized loop of type III A, which we have already noticed as a close parallel to the Richborough examples (p. 15), was buried with a gold solidus of Constantine III (407-11), and we must not forget the grave at Vieuxville (see above, p. 5), where an assemblage of buckles and fittings of the types in question was buried together with coins of Constantine III and Jovinus (411-13). At Furfooz, where no detailed coin associations were preserved, the coin-list for the cemetery went down to Magnus Maximus (383-8).[69]

Coins are admittedly deceptive. They may be preserved for many years before burial, or they may be buried almost at once. They cannot therefore be relied on to give an exact dating. In this case what they and the other grave goods tell us is that the chip-carved and related metalwork cannot be dated much, if at all, before the reign of Valentinian I. We have seen that this metalwork seems to have been produced in official workshops as part of the standard military uniform of the frontier forces of the western empire, and it is only logical to assume that at some point in time an official order was given to bring such a state of affairs into being. Now Valentinian was first and foremost a soldier, efficient and energetic when it came to military matters. He was chiefly concerned with the frontier defences, and was the first emperor since Diocletian and Maximian to undertake new fort building, both on the Rhine and in north Gaul. He also strengthened his forces by recruiting Franks into his armies. Did he also order the adoption of this distinctive new military uniform—this metalwork which would not only have appealed to the tastes of his German soldiery but by its standardization would also have given them a sense of *esprit de corps*? It is an attractive theory and one that is not improbable.

During the first years of the reign of Valentinian, from 364 onwards, Britain became increasingly subject to attacks from all quarters against her frontiers: attacks from Saxons, Picts and Scots. In 367 the Roman armies in Britain were defeated; the Commander of the Coastal Defences, the so-called 'Saxon Shore', was killed and the General of the Field Army was routed. The province was overrun and pillaged. The news reached Valentinian when he was in northern Gaul attending, as ever, to the defences of the frontier. In 368 he sent Count Theodosius across the Channel with a large force to restore order in Britain. Theodosius found the country full of raiding bands of barbarians, and it was not until 369 that he could begin to drive them out and restore peace. Except that the Wall in the north was once more put in order and signal-stations were

[67] Eck (1886), pp. 23-6.
[68] Eck (1886), pp. 104-5, pl. xvi, 8-9.
[69] Nenquin (1953), pp. 20-21.

built as a northward extension of the 'Saxon-Shore' defences, we known very little about his measures. But C. E. Stevens has made two very interesting suggestions about the manning of the frontiers after 368,[70] and these are of importance to us. The first was that the Wall was from this time garrisoned by local British militia and federates; the second was that the *Milites Tungrecani* (of Tongres) and the *Numerus Turnacensium* (of Tournai), recorded by the *Notitia* as the garrisons of the 'Saxon-Shore' forts of Dover and Lymne, were among the troops brought over by Theodosius. From their names we can guess that they were detachments which had been withdrawn from the northern frontier of Gaul, that is troops from the very area which has produced so many of the warrior graves and so much of the metalwork we have been discussing. There is every reason to accept Stevens's view, and not only on documentary grounds. The crisis of 367 had found Valentinian in this very area of Gaul, and in hurriedly assembling an army to send to Britain he would naturally have found it quickest to use the nearest available forces. The situation in Britain in 369 is thus an interesting one. On the 'Saxon Shore' we have forces drafted in from northern Gaul,[71] whereas on the Wall we have only local British levies. This accords perfectly well with the distribution of our imported buckles and belt-fittings, which, as we have seen, are concentrated on or near the 'Saxon Shore', and which do not occur at all on the Wall. We may, therefore, be justified in thinking that the chip-carved and animal-ornamented military metalwork was first introduced into Britain from north Gaul by the army of Theodosius in 368-9.

This was only a beginning, of course. As we can see from the continental graves, buckles of types III A and IV and belt-fittings of types V A, VI and VII continued in use throughout the latter half of the fourth century and into the fifth. More of them must have come into Britain during that time. We must remember, for example, that, still during the reign of Valentinian and presumably after 368, at least one tribe of Germanic federates—Alamanni under their king Fraomar—were settled somewhere in Britain.[72] They may possibly have had this kind of equipment. Then, in 383 Magnus Maximus took an army from Britain to help him in his bid for the rule of the west. The next fifteen years are obscure, but in 398-9 the general Stilicho had again to restore some sort of order in Britain, and presumably he brought a continental army to do it. The Wall was never refortified, but York, and perhaps Catterick too, must have been held. It is strange that none of our metalwork has been found at York, but the two buckles at Catterick do suggest the presence there of a military unit. One of them is a barbarous locally-made piece of type I A, and it should belong to a date later than 368-83. It was stratified in the same level as the fine continentally-made buckle of type IV B and an illegible late fourth or early fifth century coin. Taken together these objects suggest that the military unit was of Stilicho's rather than of Count Theodosius' army, but of course it is impossible to be certain. Like

[70] Stevens (1940).

[71] We must assume that the garrisons of the other 'Saxon-Shore' forts were also brought up to strength by new troops at this time.

[72] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Historiae*, XXIX, 4.

Theodosius, Stilicho must have taken steps to consolidate the defences of the 'Saxon Shore'. We can see this from tiles at Pevensey which were stamped with the name of Honorius, and from the late coins at Richborough. Undoubtedly some of the metalwork from this fort belongs to the Stilicho period but it is nearly impossible to say which. One could, however, point to the stylized buckles of type III A from here and from Bradwell, for these seem, on the evidence of the Spontin grave, to be relatively late in date.

In 407, a certain Constantine, another usurper set up by the British, removed the army from Britain in order to take control of Gaul, which had been invaded by barbarians. Defeated not long after, Constantine was later executed by Honorius. His action had virtually stripped Britain of her armed forces and brought to an end all effective Roman rule. We have no evidence that any official Roman army ever returned after this date.[73] We can be reasonably certain, therefore, that the bulk of the imported military metalwork had arrived in Britain before this time.

BRONZE BUCKLES MADE IN BRITAIN IN THE LATE AND SUB-ROMAN PERIODS: TYPES I AND II
(excluding II C)

Types I and II are by far the most numerous among British finds of zoomorphic buckles. Type II A, with over twenty examples, is the largest of the sub-groups. The complete form is illustrated by only one find, the composite piece from Colchester (FIG. 17, e). The rest of the group is made up by finds of detached loops and plates. From the scarcity of continental parallels it is clear that this type is most unusual outside Britain. I have found few examples abroad; there is a solitary arcaded plate in the museum at Worms, and another with similar decoration but different hinge-mechanism from the cemetery of Krefeld-Gellep. The best-known parallels are two complete buckles from the Vermand cemetery:[74] one (FIG. 6, b) has a plate with two pierced round-headed arches, which is nearly identical with an example from Caerwent (FIG. 17, a); the other (FIG. 6, a) has similar arches in four opposed pairs—a design found only once over here, on the example from Caistor-by-Norwich (FIG. 17, g). The loops, on the other hand, are rather different. Admittedly they all have pairs of confronted dolphins which, especially on the Colchester and Leicester (FIG. 17, i) loops, are very like the Vermand examples, but they have additional features which do not occur on the Vermand buckles. These are the characteristic involution of the loop terminals, and the curled side wings of the tongues. The Vermand buckles have the straight hinge-bar, which is more normal at this period, and straight, double or single, tongue. There are, of course, many different types of buckles with confronted dolphins on the loops, but the involuted loop is rare on the

[73] Arguments, based on the ambiguous information in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, have been put foward to prove that Britain was re-occupied after 407. These were discredited in Stevens (1940), and are no longer tenable.

[74] Eck (1891), pl. xv, 7 and xvi, 1a.

continent at this period. I know of only one example, from a grave at Angelliers (Aude);[75] a problem piece, with a perfect example of a II A loop, but whose openwork plate, decorated with a horse, looks more Merovingian than late Roman.

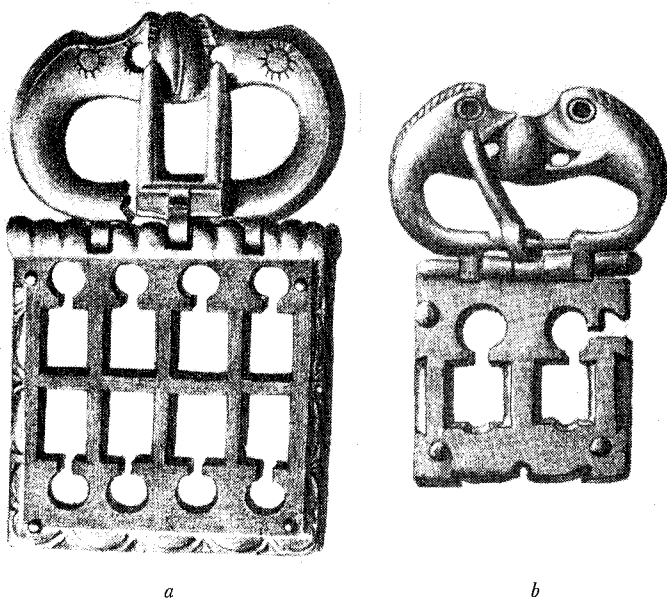The sparsity of comparative material on the continent puts the type II A buckles in a different category from the imported types discussed in the previous section. Are we to believe that the Colchester buckle is the sole survivor of a continental class, related closely to the Vermand buckles, which was brought to Britain by the army of Theodosius, and that it was the only one out of all the other imported types to be extensively copied in the British workshops? For there can be no reasonable doubt that all the rest, with the possible exception of the Leicester (FIG. 17, i) and Caistor (FIG. 17, g) fragments, were produced in this country. Their large numbers suggest this, and so also does the fact that many of them are so degenerate in design and craftsmanship. On some pieces the dolphins have lost their crests (FIGS. 17, c and 18, f), on others they have been converted into strange eared creatures (FIG. 17, b and f), and on the unique buckle from Saltersford (FIG. 18, k) the original form has been changed almost beyond recognition. The confronted dolphins remain to attest its origin, but they have ears and perching birds where their crests should be, and instead of the involuted terminals there are straight bars terminating in flatly treated, full-face human masks, which with their bleak stare are extraordinarily evocative of the third-century stone heads from Corbridge, Northumberland.[76] From this we can see that the type II A buckles were popular in Britain, and that some

a   b

FIG. 6

BUCKLES FROM THE CEMETERY OF VERMAND (AISNE), FRANCE (p. 21). Sc. ⅓

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[75] H. Zeiss, *Die Grabfunde aus dem spanischen Westgoten Reich* (1934), p. 115, pl. 32, 9; E. Salin, *La Civilisation mérovingienne*, IV (1959), 160, table A, 2.

[76] I. A. Richmond, 'Two Celtic stone heads from Corbridge, Northumberland,' *Dark-age Britain: studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), pp. 11-15, pl. iii.

were made by local craftsmen who were not closely familiar with the better products of the continental workshops. Was not the whole series in fact a British development? Was not the Colchester buckle, which stands at the head of this development, produced with others like it in some official workshop in Britain, later to be copied and imitated at second or third hand as the demand for such metalwork grew? It is difficult to be sure, but it is quite possible. It may even be that the continental examples of the type were British-made pieces, or copies of such, that had travelled back to Gaul, perhaps with the troops of Magnus Maximus in 383. Certainly it is a mistake to assume that the traffic in ideas was entirely one-way.

Of the two buckles which have been placed together in type II B the example from Richborough (FIG. 19, a) is clearly a degenerate one-piece copy of the composite II A form. The Sleaford buckle (FIG. 19, b) is artistically more impressive and far better made, but it probably had a similar origin.

Buckles of types I A and I B are also very numerous in Britain. Taken together they make an impressive group numbering over thirty pieces. They are by far the smallest of all the buckles in the corpus, and with their long narrow plates they are very distinctive. They have no exact continental parallels and are indisputably of British manufacture.[77] Naturally certain of their features are taken from the continental repertory. As we have seen, loops with straight hinge-bars and confronted dolphins do occur on the continent, although they are not the commonest form. Then again, the outward-facing horse-heads of the I B loops are paralleled to some extent on contemporary continental metalwork. Certain objects spring to mind at once, namely the famous strap-ends from Babenhausen on the Rhine near Mainz (FIG. 7),[78] whose horse-heads keep company with panels of fine mosaic-style chip-carving and engraving, and a whole series of similar but cruder strap-ends.[79] Most of these come from the frontier districts of Germany. From here the style was transmitted to the north, where very similar horse-heads occur on nearly contemporary Scandinavian metalwork.[80] The appearance of the style in Britain is probably again to be explained by the activities of the Roman armies.
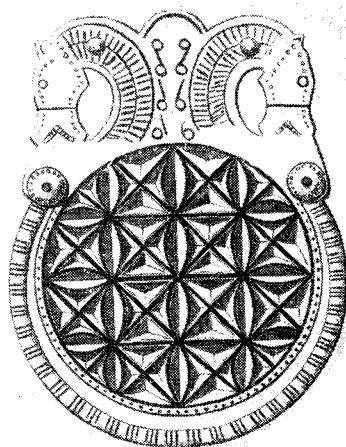

FIG. 7

STRAP-END FROM BABENHAUSEN
(HESSEN), GERMANY. Sc. ⅓

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[77] Werner (1958), p. 383, is certainly wrong when he says that buckles of this type are of north German origin. He appears in any case to think that the type IB buckle from Dorchester is the only one of its kind. The Frisian objects he compares it with bear only the slightest resemblance to it.

[78] Salin (1904), fig. 335; Behrens (1930), fig. 10, no. 38; Forssander (1937), fig. 25, 1.

[79] Behrens (1930), fig. 12; Werner (1958), pp. 411-12, fig. 15.

[80] Forssander (1937), fig. 1.

3

Although no two of the type I B buckle-loops are exactly alike and some are more stylized than others, they are all very similar. The few type I plates that have survived are more varied, and one or two are very fine. The two most interesting certainly came from the same workshop. These, from Duston in Northamptonshire (FIG. 15, *o*) and Cirencester in Gloucestershire (FIG. 15, *n*), have engraved decoratio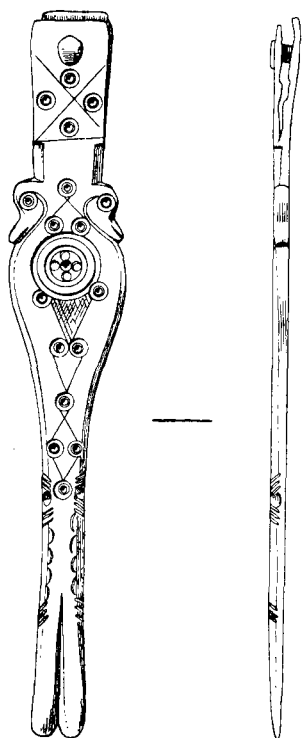n composed of roundels alternating with cross-hatched geometric panels, and enclosed between borders of running scroll design. I know of one other object which was made in the same workshop. This is the strap-end from Tortworth, Gloucestershire (FIG. 8), now in the Bristol Museum. Its flanking horse-heads alone would have established its relationship with our buckles, but it also has a decorated roundel and cross-hatched triangle which are identical with those on the Cirencester plate. There is a fragment of a third buckle-plate from Silchester (FIG. 15, *q*), which may have come from this workshop. Simpler cross-hatched geometric panels and roundels occur on the Dorchester example (FIG. 1, no. 16), and cross-hatched panels alone on the Popham plate (FIG. 15, *p*) and on a second piece from Cirencester (FIG. 13, *l*). The long plate on the buckle of type I A from Upper Upham (FIG. 13, *g*) has only a single line of running scrolls. Despite the varying quality of the workmanship on these plates it can be seen that they form a distinctive stylistic group, and it is a style for which it is difficult to find an origin abroad. The running spirals, as we have seen (p. 15), occur on both sides of the Channel. The cross-hatching also has a limited existence on the continental metalwork, but it cannot be called a prominent feature there.[81] Among finds of continental type the strap-end from Ixworth (see p. 14) provides the best analogy for this, but, as we have seen above, this object may conceivably have been made in Britain. These are minor points, however. The combination of forms and decoration which we see on the buckles and plates of type I is a new development, confined to Britain.

FIG. 8
STRAP-END FROM
TORTWORTH, GLOS.
Sc. ¼

The least characteristic but perhaps the most interesting of all these British buckles is the buckle of type I B from Stanwick in Yorkshire (FIG. 15, *m*). This has long been famous. On its plate are a pair of engraved and stylized peacocks confronted on either side of a tree. This design has been compared to that on a bronze nail-cleaner from Rivenhall in Essex[82] which is like it in subject if not in

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[81] It makes occasional appearances on the chip-carved metalwork: cf. Riegel (1927), pl. xxii, 5; Forssander (1937), figs. 19, 2d and 24, 2; Behrens (1930), fig. 8, 3; Eck (1891), pl. xv, 13b.

[82] Tonnochy and Hawkes (1931).

treatment. This motive and others like it, such as birds or animals confronted against vases, were introduced into the Roman Empire from the eastern Mediterranean and were characteristic of early Christian art. In the late Roman period we find this style in western Europe on the 'Spangen' helmets and on Christian sarcophagi.[83] It was taken over by the Frankish settlers and employed on some of their metalwork, notably a class of wire-inlaid iron buckles which have applied repoussé plates.[84] A few of these have been found in England,[85] and here we again see the confronted peacocks, although now in an advanced state of stylization. These buckles belong to the end of the fifth century. The decoration of the Stanwick buckle, therefore, belonged to a style which was almost universal in the late Roman Empire, and current in Gaul at least as late as the second half of the fifth century, when the Frankish settlements were being established. There is every reason to suppose that it was well known to the population of late and sub-Roman Britain, especially to the Christian community. The survival of so few examples here is probably only due to chance.

We must now consider the date of the buckles of type I and II. Buckles of type II A have been found in several helpful contexts. There was a good example in the late fourth-century filling of the theatre at St. Albans (FIG. 18, d). Another rather more stylized example (FIG. 17, j) was found in the débris that sealed the bath-block furnace of the villa at Lullingstone, in Kent. Stratified with it were two coins of Valens, and this would seem to put the loss of the buckle somewhere within the last quarter of the fourth century. At Lydney in Gloucestershire another such buckle was found (FIG. 17, k) in the original make-up of the floor of the temple *cella*. Wheeler dated the construction of this some time after 367.[86] The most interesting finds are certainly those from North Wraxall (FIG. 18, b) and Caistor-by-Norwich (FIG. 17, c and g). That the villa at North Wraxall met with a violent end is evident from the broken masonry and corpses tumbled in the well. It is one of many villas in the west which suffered a similar fate. The coin series at North Wraxall ends with several of Gratian (367-383), and this, seeing that the site is within striking distance of the Bristol Channel, most strongly suggests that it was sacked by Irish pirates, probably in the years after 388 when Britain, on the death of Maximus, was left without adequate defence.[87] The buckle of type II A may thus belong to this time or a little before. The situation at Caistor-by-Norwich was similar and equally dramatic. Building 4, in which parts of two buckles of type II A were found, was burnt down and its occupants apparently put to the sword. The victims of the massacre were left unburied—in one room no less than thirty-six skulls were found together with other human

[83] Alföldi (1934); Leeds (1936), pl. viia, fig. 4.

[84] See especially the piece from Envermeu (Seine Inférieure) which has the tree flanked by peacocks: Cochet (1854), pl. xii, 4; Leeds (1936), fig. 4; Werner (1953), pl. vi, 9. There is a more stylized rendering of the same design on a buckle in the museum at Epernay.

[85] There is an interesting example on a plate from Howletts, Kent: Smith (1923), fig. 37; also a degenerate version on a buckle from Broadstairs, Kent: Evison (1958), p. 241, fig. 1.

[86] Wheeler (1932), p. 86.

[87] This summary of the situation at North Wraxall has been taken from my husband, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes's chapter on Roman Wiltshire, in the forthcoming archaeological volume of the *Victoria County History, Wiltshire*.

bones. These events, which must surely have marked the end of Roman Caistor, seem, from coin evidence, to have taken place not long after 400. Historically, the most likely time for the disaster is the period immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman army from Britain by the usurper Constantine, in 407. With the 'Saxon Shore' now undefended by regular troops Caistor was exposed to attack from the sea, and probably met its fate at the hands of Saxon raiders. The two buckles were found on the latest occupation-level, their loss being apparently contemporary with the destruction of building 4.

From this series of dates we can see that buckles of type II A may have come into use soon after the military reoccupation of Count Theodosius, and we have clear and direct evidence of their use down to the early years of the fifth century. But from the numbers of devolved examples of the type, from their appearance in three Anglo-Saxon graves, and from the fact that the Anglo-Saxon buckles of type II C appear to be partly modelled on them, it is reasonable to suggest that their manufacture and use extended into sub-Roman times, down to the middle years of the fifth century.

The buckles of type I are less easy to date, since there are so few reliable associations. The most that can be said is that the examples from Richborough (FIG. 15, f and g), Dorchester (FIG. 1, no. 16), Chichester (FIG. 13, h) and Catterick (FIG. 13, d) must have been lost or buried at the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century. Several others have been found at Silchester (FIG. 13, f, i, j) and Cirencester (FIGS. 13, b and l; 15, b, c and n) and these two towns are among the few that have so far produced evidence of occupation extending well into the fifth century.[88] Then again, the buckles of type I have occurred in an unusually large number of Anglo-Saxon graves (FIGS. 14 and 16), and there is also strong evidence to suggest that they influenced the style of one or two pieces of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork.[89] This must imply that buckles of type I were still being worn in the middle of the fifth century when the Anglo-Saxon settlements of the south of England were being established. How early they were made is uncertain, but probably they began only towards the end of the fourth century, that is, somewhat after the other types we have been discussing. One thing is definite: the type I and type II buckles represent the last recognizable phase of provincial Roman metalwork in Britain.[90] During the fifth century, little that was new seems to have come in from Europe before the advent of Anglo-Saxons bringing their own styles of pottery and metalwork. We must therefore imagine that these last examples of Romano-British craftwork were precious and had a long life.

It will be remembered that the distribution of the imported buckles and

[88] For the late occupation of Silchester, see O'Neil (1944); and Boon (1957) and (1959). For information about Cirencester I am grateful to Professor Donald Atkinson, who has recently been working on the coins from the town.

[89] Notably the strap-end from Chessell Down, I.o.W.: cf. Hillier (1856), fig. 65; Evison (1955), pl. viii, a, no. 40. This has horse-head and cross-hatched decoration. Horse-heads and chip-carving occur on the belt-slide from High Down, grave 12: cf. *Archaeologia*, LIV (1895), pl. xxvii, 8; Evison (1955), pl. viii, c and d. These are discussed in more detail in Chadwick Hawkes (1961), pp. 36-7 and 54-5, fig. 2, pl. xvii, b.

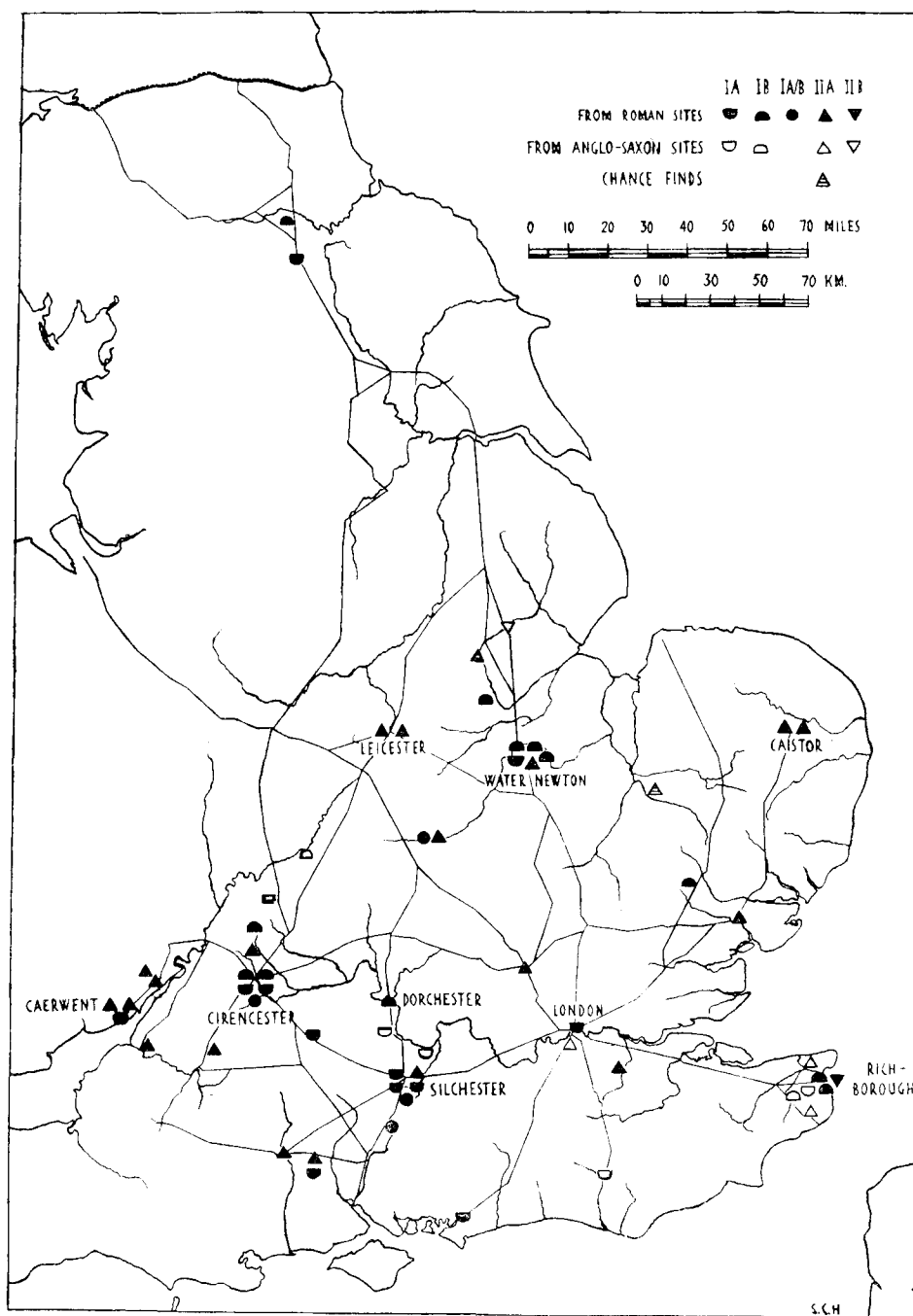[90] Penannular brooches were made throughout this period, but they are a native Celtic type.

FIG. 9

DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH-MADE BUCKLES, TYPES I AND II (pp. 28 ff.)

belt-fittings discussed in the previous section was predominantly south-eastern, except for the Dorchester grave-group, two other finds in the upper Thames valley, and outliers at Leicester, Catterick, and Holbury. The distribution of the British-made buckles of types I and II is markedly different (FIG. 9), and since they both occur in the same areas we will consider them together. There is a small group at Richborough, two of I B and one of II B, and a few strays in the neighbouring Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. From north-west Kent there is the II A buckle from Lullingstone; from Essex two examples, the II A prototype from Colchester and the I B piece from Gestingthorpe; from Suffolk a single devolved II A buckle. There is a I A buckle from London and from near by a II A example from an Anglo-Saxon grave at Mitcham. There are two finds from the south, both of type I A, from Chichester and from an Anglo-Saxon burial on Beddingham Hill. Verulamium has produced one of the II A type. In the far north we have the I B buckle from Stanwick and the I A piece from Catterick. These are outliers. The majority of both types comes from towns and other sites in the west, the south-west, and in the midlands. There are groups from Caerwent, Cirencester and Silchester, more scattered finds from villas and villages in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, from the Roman temple at Lydney, from a river port near Bristol, and from Dorchester. A few more have come from Anglo-Saxon graves in the valleys of the upper Thames and the Warwickshire Avon. There is an important group from in and around Water Newton, Hunts., and others at Duston, Northants., Leicester, and Caistor-by-Norwich. Single finds occur at sites in Rutland and south Lincolnshire. North of this there is nothing until we reach Catterick.

This distribution is at once interesting and puzzling. If we assume that the finds in the graves of Anglo-Saxons were in most cases plundered from Roman sites near their settlements, we can see from the map (FIG. 9) that, apart from the finds in Yorkshire, the buckles of types I and II lie behind or along a line extending from the Bristol Channel in the west to the basin of the Wash in the east. It will be remembered too that, once again with the exception of a find at Catterick, the imported types of buckles and belt-fittings have not been found north of this line either. What then is the significance of this pattern of distribution? Any answer, however tentative, must depend on the answer to a second question. Who wore these buckles? Were the British-made buckles also a military fashion, manufactured for the army in Britain to bring them into line with the troops on the continent—manufactured in Britain because the imported metalwork was not sufficient to meet the demand? Or were they simply a civil fashion that had been copied from the military?

Let us begin with a reminder about the function of buckles. It is all too easy to think of them solely as ornamental metalwork and forget their real purpose, which is to fasten belts or straps. Belts are so common a feature of modern dress, especially that of women, that there is a tendency to forget that in antiquity they were worn only where the type of dress really required them. In the Roman world belts seem to have been the almost exclusive prerogative of the soldier. We see them and their buckles as a prominent feature of the uniforms of the

soldiers of all ranks who are commemorated on the tombstones and monuments. In Britain they are not well represented in the archaeology, but they are found on sites dating from the earliest phases of the Roman occupation. At Camulodunum, for example, there are mid first-century buckles of two main types: buckles which in smaller, plainer, form exactly foreshadow our involuted buckles of type II A; and buckles which, with their narrow D-shaped loops and rectangular plates, are the simpler forerunners of our buckles of type I.[91] They occur on other military sites too, but rarely in civilian contexts. The later history of these two types is difficult to trace, but there is no reason to suppose that versions of them did not continue in use throughout the succeeding centuries. Certainly our buckles of types I and II appear to hold them in memory. They seem, in fact, to be hybrid types modelled both on these early military buckles, already known in Britain, and the new 'chip-carved' and zoomorphic continental metalwork that began to appear in Britain after 368. Thus there is a military background to their production. They are found in associations that are military, too. We have them at Richborough, the site which has produced the largest group of continental military metalwork, and in the German woman's grave at Dorchester, next to the soldier's grave. The example at Catterick was found in the same occupation-level of the same building as the fine buckle of type IV B, which came originally from the Rhineland, and was perhaps worn by a member of the late Roman army in the north. The Stanwick piece, too, is most credibly explained by a military context. Finally, at Holbury, Caistor and Leicester buckles of type II A were found in areas that also produced an example of the continental military metalwork. Surely this is significant.

But now, what about the west, where there is no imported metalwork? If these buckles of types I and II are military, what are we doing with an army here? We are almost in the dark, but there is one find that may shed a little light. One buckle of type II A was found at the villa of North Wraxall, which, as we have suggested above, seems to have been sacked and destroyed by Irish pirates. North Wraxall produced another find which is of interest, namely the crescent-shaped ornament, composed of a pair of boar tusks united by a decorated bronze mount,[92] which is paralleled by similar, more fragmentary, finds from Richborough (FIG. 10).[93] A complete example was found in the cemetery of Monceau-le-Neuf, Aisne,[94] where it was part of the furniture of one of those rich warrior graves discussed above (FIG. 11), and yet another was found in a grave at Brumath (Brocomagus) near Strasbourg, on the upper Rhine frontier.[95] At an earlier period bronze ornaments of similar form are known to have been used as horse-trappings, since they are depicted on equestrian sculptures as pendants to the

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[91] Hawkes and Hull (1947), pp. 335 ff., pl. cii.

[92] *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, VII (1862), 70-73, pl. vi, 11.

[93] Roach Smith (1850), fig. on p. 110; Bushe-Fox (1949), p. 141, pl. xlvi, 173-4. There is another fragmentary example among a group of miscellaneous bronzes and late Roman coins from a site at Southery, in west Norfolk, now preserved in the British Museum, Reg. no. 1880, 11-24, 60.

[94] Pilloy, III (1912), pp. 115 ff., pl. v; Boulanger (1905), pls. x and xx; Werner (1949), pp. 248-257, figs. 1-4.

[95] Werner (1949), p. 252, fig. 5.

horses' breast-bands.[96] It seems likely therefore that the boar-tusk ornaments had a similar use among the half-barbarian cavalry of the late Roman army. Thus the examples from Richborough are probably to be explained by those same
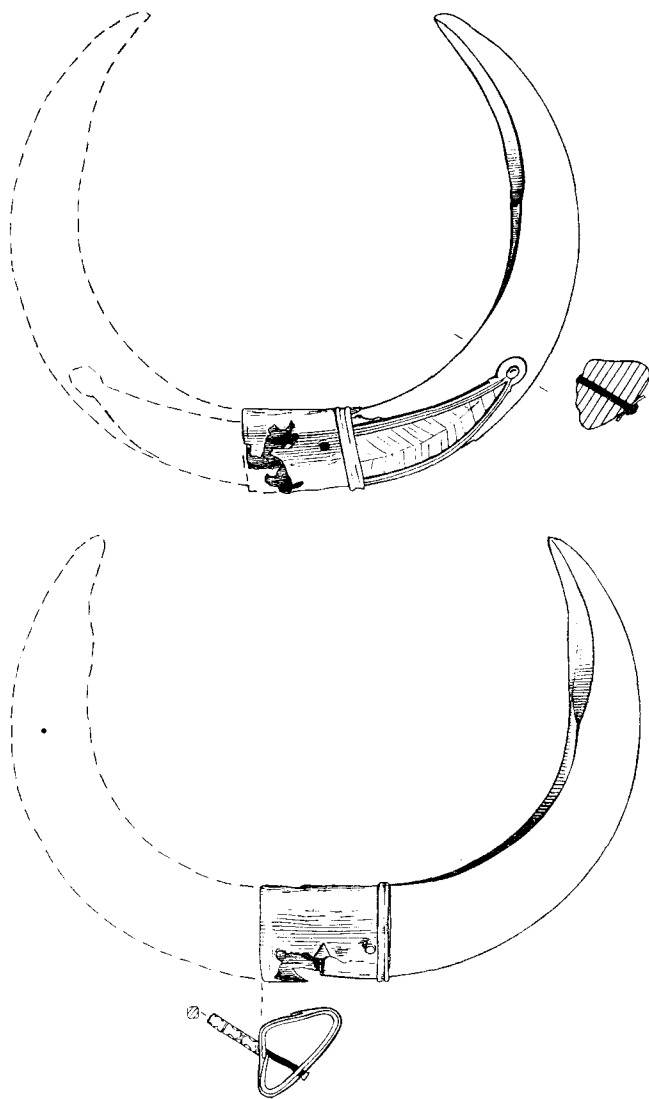

FIG. 10

BOAR-TUSK ORNAMENTS FROM RICHBOROUGH, KENT (p. 29). Sc. ½

[96] For first-century bronze examples see Hawkes and Hull (1947), pl. ciii, 17; E. Ritterling, 'Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus,' *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichts-forschung*, XL (1913), pl. xiv. See also *Germania*, XII (1928), p. 24, fig. 3. There are sculptural representations on Trajan's column at Rome, and occasionally on tombstones, e.g. *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, XI (1916), pl. x, 6.

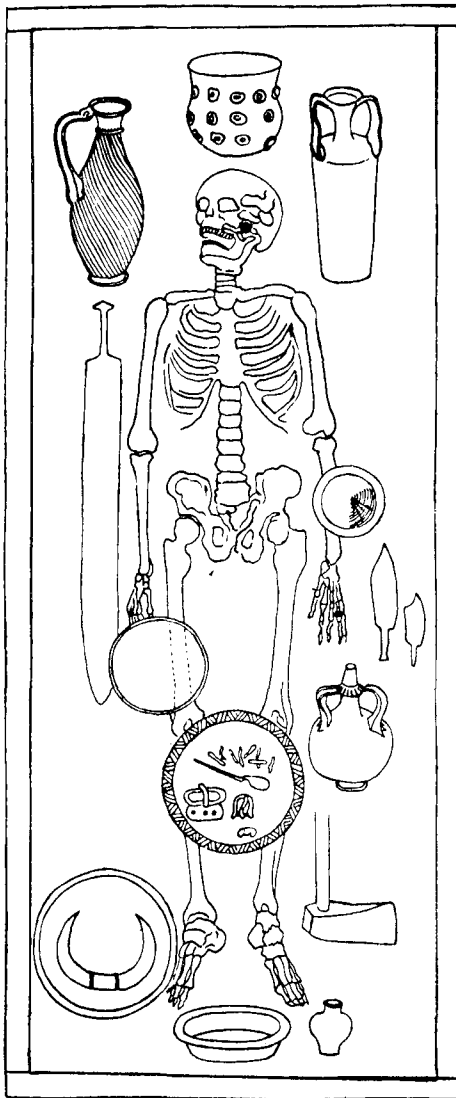Germanic soldiers who left behind their weapons and buckles (see p. 17). And to return to North Wraxall, it seems justifiable to suggest that we have evidence here for the presence of at least one member of the late Roman army. The villa may have been granted him on retirement, or he may have been one of a unit of troops billeted there. But on the whole it is more probable that he belonged to a detachment called in to defend the place during the raids that caused its destruction. The bodies in the well are mute testimony that some fighting took place. Such a situation could well account for the loss not only of the boar tusks, but of the buckle too. Finally, the situation at Caistor calls for a similar explanation. Here the defeated defenders seem to have been decapitated. Their bodies were no doubt first stripped of weapons and ornaments and the best of the loot carried off. The buckle-fragments of type II A could be explained as part of the equipment of the defending forces, broken perhaps in the fighting, and thrown aside by the retreating raiders before they set fire to the building.

This is speculation of course, but it is based on evidence that is difficult to interpret in any other way, and it leads us to further speculations about the dispositions of the army in the late fourth and fifth centuries. We know something about the frontier troops, especially of the 'Saxon Shore', at the time of Count Theodosius's reorganization. We know from the *Notitia* that there was a field army, but we know little else, and we know next to nothing about the provisions for defence made by Stilicho at the very end of the century. Is it possible that our types I and II buckles can be of assistance here? As we have seen, some of them have military associations. Does

FIG. 11

MONCEAU-LE-NEUF (AISNE), FRANCE

Military grave showing boar-tusk ornament in dish near feet (p. 29)

After Boulanger (1905)

the whole series reflect some otherwise unknown disposition of troops? It could
very well do so.

The destruction of North Wraxall together with many other villas in the
west during the late fourth century shows how dangerous was the situation for
the undefended rural estates which provided the food for the Diocese. The events
of 368 must have shown how long was the reach of raiding bands once they
penetrated the outer ring of defences. No doubt the towns were safe enough
behind their walls, but the agricultural estates must have been easy prey to the
marauders, and, if the food supplies failed, the whole economy of Roman Britain
would risk collapse. What could be more logical or more likely than that the towns
in the danger zones would be given military garrisons,[96a] part of whose duty was
the defence of the villa estates within their districts? If we can believe in such a
system, and it is not without its precedents in Gaul and elsewhere, we have a
credible explanation of the buckles at Caerwent, Cirencester and Silchester, some
of the chief towns of the west. In the same way, the curiously rigid distribution
of such metalwork across the midlands could represent some form of inner
'frontier'—a reserve line of defence should the field army, presumably still based
on York, fail to hold the north. The Wall, it must be remembered, could no
longer be counted on as a secure defence even in 367. If we see this phantom
army as a semi-mobile force—a sort of yeomanry—then the occurrence of buckles
at villas and other sites outside the towns need not unduly disturb us. And if
we rely at all on the evidence provided at North Wraxall we can see that the
system was operating, in part at least, in the time of Maximus. It could conceivably
have been instituted by him as a precaution before he took the regular troops
of the field army and the 'Saxon Shore' away to Gaul in 383, and would explain
the finds of late fourth-century continental military metalwork at towns like
London, Leicester, Caistor and Catterick. The system will have continued in
operation after his time, and down to and probably after the departure of Constan-
tine with a second army in 407. In 410 the Britons were authorized by Honorius
to take measures for their own defence. What could be more likely than that they
maintained this force, thus accounting for the long life of the buckles of types
I and II after the imported metalwork had ceased to be used? The implications
are fascinating. Such troops, maintained throughout the first half of the fifth
century, and based on the towns of the west and midland regions of Britain, could
very easily have been the model for the forces which Ambrosius Aurelianus and
the *dux bellorum* Arthur used against the invading Saxons during the second half
of that century.

If we consider the other alternative, that is, that buckles of types I and II
were worn by civilians in imitation of military custom, we find little supporting
evidence. Belts and buckles are never shown on sculpture as part of civilian
dress, and buckles are never found in civil graves. The civilian costume of the later

96a This idea is not entirely unsupported by other evidence. It is now known that, during the fourth
century, the defences of Romano-British walled towns were being adapted, with the provision of bastions
and wider ditches, to accommodate the use of *ballistae* (Philip Corder, 'The reorganization of the defences
of Romano-British towns in the fourth century,' *Archaeol. J.*, CXII (1956), 20-42). The introduction of
artillery defence implies some sort of military garrison.

Roman period seems to have consisted of a dress or tunic caught in at the waist
by a narrow girdle, apparently tied, and cloak or mantle fastened at the shoulder
by a pin or brooch. Brooches and pins are common finds on civil sites, but buckles,
even in the fourth century, are extremely rare except in military contexts. In
Gaul, for example, it is noticeable that buckles occur only in the military zone
and in the graves of the German *laeti*.[97] Therefore, we are forced to conclude that
if our buckles of types I and II were worn by Romano-British civilians, it was a
phenomenon peculiar to the western and midland parts of Britain at the end of
the fourth and during the first part of the fifth century. But the western region,
where our buckles cluster so thickly on the distribution-map, was the very area
in which was felt the main force of the Celtic revival that was taking place during
this same fifth century A.D. This movement seems primarily to have been a
political one, leading to the reappearance of Celtic chiefs and kinglets, with
their capitals in the old tribal centres, yet it must have had cultural repercussions
too. The penannular brooch was the traditional Celtic dress-fastener and it was
still in use at this period. It is thus difficult to see what the late Roman buckles
were doing in this region unless they had some military association. In the present
state of knowledge, therefore, the military explanation is the best one.

At this point a last word must be said about the military grave at Dorchester.
So far I have not attempted to date the burial; deliberately, since the problem of
dating is a difficult one. As we have seen, graves of this general type begin in
the second half of the fourth century and run on into the fifth, though we do not
know how far. Such coin evidence as we have suggests very strongly that most
of the cemeteries of north Gaul, such as Furfooz, Vermand, and Abbeville-
Hombliéres, which contained these graves, went out of use during the early part
of the fifth century. This is usually accounted for by the disastrous events of 407,
when the combined tribes of the Alans, Vandals and Suevi, having crossed the
frozen Rhine near Mainz on the last day of December 406, invaded and ravaged
Gaul from end to end. Stilicho had had to withdraw the field army to Italy in
401, and Gaul seems to have been without defenders except for her frontier
forces. Many walled cities fell before the onslaught and were sacked and burnt.
Among the casualties were most of the towns of north Gaul, Tournai, Amiens,
Arras, Reims and Trier. A contemporary poet tells us that 'the whole of Gaul
lay recking on a single pyre'.[98] Such a catastrophe must have destroyed the
settled way of life of many of the inhabitants of north Gaul, and many of the
laeti and *foederati* may have thrown in their lot with the invaders. Others may
have been too impoverished to continue with the custom of furnished burial.
At any rate, we find few of their burials that can be securely dated after 407.

But one we have. The burial at Vieuxville (p. 5) cannot, from its coins,
have taken place before 411, and perhaps not for some little time after. Thus

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[97] All the women's graves that have been found to contain buckles or belt-sets seem to have been the
graves of the womenfolk of these frontier troops. At Dorchester, too, we know from the brooches that
the woman was a German. That Germans of both sexes adopted the fashion for buckles at this period,
and continued to use them, evolving new types, is well authenticated by the grave-finds of the fourth
to seventh centuries. This fashion was certainly due to their costume, which differed from that of the
Roman provincials.

[98] Orientius, *Commonitorium*, II, 181: 'Uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo'.

we have evidence here that the characteristic furniture of the continental military graves, including some of the chip-carved material, did in places continue in use at least throughout the first quarter of the fifth century. In some remote parts of the frontier it may have gone on a little later, especially if there was no other style to supersede it. We have an illustration of this at Sucidava in Roumania,[99] where a group of chip-carved belt-fittings seems to have continued in use well into the second quarter of the fifth century. In the western parts of the frontier there is strong presumptive evidence that in the first half of the fifth century the official workshops were producing a new style of buckle, type III B, to be discussed in more detail in the next section. What is of particular interest to us here is that these fifth-century buckles are often found in association with plain strap-ends of type V, similar to those from Dorchester and Milton.[100] While this does not preclude such plain strap-ends from commencing at the end of the fourth century, it certainly implies that some of them, at least, continued to be made and used well into the fifth. Although neither the Dorchester nor the Milton groups contained buckles of type III B, which would put them into the fifth century without a doubt, their plain strap-ends make it dangerous to be too categorical about their date. In a recent paper Werner has given his opinion that the man buried at Dorchester was an early free Saxon settler.[101] But he must be wrong. It is far too soon for such settlers, and in any case one would not expect to find them so far inland in the early fifth century, nor buried so close to the walls of a town like Dorchester. As we have said before, the Dorchester Saxon was there in some military capacity, either as a member of a garrison billeted in the town itself or as a federate settled near by. Two explanations are possible. He may have come over with the forces of Stilicho, at the very end of the fourth century, perhaps to remain behind when Constantine removed the main army in 407; or, in view of the suggested maintenance of a military force after 407, he may have arrived only after 410, presumably as one of a group of mercenaries accompanied by their own womenfolk. The employment of such half-barbarian fighting men to act as 'watchdogs' must by this time have been a familiar idea. Later still, we see this same tradition reflected in the employment of Hengest and his followers by the British king Vortigern. The system had its uses and its dangers. It was perhaps inevitable that the course of events in Britain should follow that in Gaul, and that here also watchdog should become master.

BRONZES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD: TYPES II C, III B AND V B

We come now to a handful of objects, a few buckles and a strap-end, which differ from the characteristic late Roman types, and which have been found in this country only in Anglo-Saxon graves.

[99] Tudor (1954), p. 519. They were found close to two coin-hoards in which the latest coins were of Theodosius II (408-50). Tudor has suggested that the deposition of the hoards and the loss of the belt-fittings is to be connected with Attila's destruction of this part of the frontier in 443.

[100] Attention is paid to them in Werner (1958), pp. 391 ff., list on pp. 410-11, map, fig. 15; see also pl. lxvii, 1.

[101] Ibid., p. 383.

The two buckles of type II C, one from an unrecorded grave at Bifrons, Kent, (FIG. 19, c; type II C, 1), and the other from grave 26 at High Down, Sussex (FIG. 19, d; type II C, 2), were almost certainly made in the same workshop, probably by an Anglo-Saxon. Certainly there is no exact parallel for this particular form. But the craftsman who made them had surely seen examples of the British II A type, for he has copied the involuted terminals of the loops and preserved the distinctive side wings to the tongue in vestigial form on the High Down piece—the tongue of the Bifrons buckle is missing. He has abandoned the confronted dolphins, however, in favour of pairs of confronted animal heads at the ends of the unusual double hinge-bar. The heads are very like those on the buckles of type III and it is evident that the craftsman was familiar with the late Roman continental style. Presumably, therefore, these II C buckles were made very shortly after the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon settlements in southern Britain, that is, early in the second half of the fifth century. Certainly the High Down burial cannot have taken place much, if at all, after 500. With the buckle was an annular brooch with V-shaped pin-slit, ball-stop knobs, and stamped decoration, and this is a late fifth-century type.[102] The little semi-circular-headed bow-brooch is also an early form. The Bifrons buckle came from a collection of ungrouped material from what must have been some of the earliest graves in the cemetery, or indeed in all Kent. This collection also produced the type I B loop (FIG. 15, k; type I B, 13). Wherever they were made, the fact that one II C buckle was found in Kent and the other in Sussex is interesting. The existence of a cultural link between the two kingdoms is evident from the distribution of another type of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, also of fifth-century date.[103]
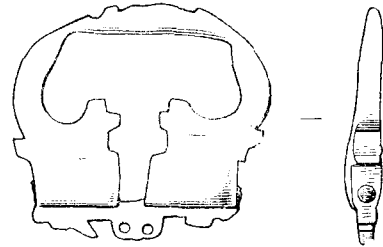

FIG. 12

BUCKLE FROM FRILFORD, BERKS.
Sc. ⅓

There is another curious buckle from either an Anglo-Saxon or a Roman grave at Frilford, Berks (FIG. 12),[104] which has not been classified, but which deserves mention here because it, too, seems to have been in some way derived from the buckles of type II A. It appears to be unique, but whether it is of Anglo-Saxon make it is impossible to say.

We have two examples of the buckles of type III B; one comes from a woman's grave at Long Wittenham, Berks. (FIG. 20, g; type III B, 1), the other from an unknown grave at Sarre, Thanet (FIG. 20, h; type III B, 2). They are examples of a continental type which has recently been discussed by Werner.[105]

[102] Chadwick Hawkes (1961), p. 46 f.

[103] Loc. cit. in note 102.

[104] Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2 ser., III (1864-7), 136. Roman and Anglo-Saxon graves were found close together at this site. No grave-groups were recorded.

[105] Breuer and Roosens (1957), appendix by Werner, pp. 320-3, pls. vi-viii; Werner (1958), pp. 389 ff. and 409 ff., pls. lxxvi, lxxvii and lxxxi, 2.

He lists thirty-nine examples, a total to which our hitherto unpublished Sarre piece adds one more. The continental distribution is interesting. The valley of the Meuse has produced no less than twelve examples, the Rhine below Mainz eight, north Germany and north Holland eight, west Belgium two, north-west France two, and the Trier region two. There are also two outliers in east and south Germany, well away from the main groups. The dense concentration of these buckles on the lower Rhine, in Belgium and north Germany, is of particular interest to us here, for clearly it is from one of these regions that our two finds must originally have come.

The III B buckles are a one-piece development from the hinged late Roman III A form, but unlike them, they never occur in recognizably fourth-century graves. They are a fifth-century version of the late fourth-century style, and, according to Werner, they were being made in the workshops of the Meuse valley throughout the first half of the fifth century, and perhaps even later. The buckles found in the cemeteries of Krefeld-Gellep and the Namur region show a variety of form that can only be the result of a comparatively long period of manufacture. It is unfortunate that these cemeteries have never been properly published, for they are crucial to the understanding of events in this region in the fifth century. Such famous and important cemeteries as Samson and Éprave[106] were excavated none too well during the last century, and many of their grave associations were unrecorded. Consequently the chronological sequence of the burials has long been a subject of controversy. Fortunately one cemetery of this kind in the Namur region has been excavated in this century and the recent publication is an excellent study in which, for the first time, a coherent picture has emerged.[107] The earliest grave at Haillot, which belongs to the second quarter of the fifth century, was that of a man wearing a buckle of type III B very similar to the one from Long Wittenham. It was a rich grave, and the other furniture consisted of pottery vessels, a glass cone-beaker, a francisca (throwing axe), six arrows, a comb, a strap-end, an open-work disc-headed rivet, and three fourth-century Roman coins, too early to be of use for dating.[108] This is a warrior grave, but it is one which shows marked differences from those fourth-century graves discussed in the earlier sections of this paper. There is none of the characteristic late fourth-century metalwork. Instead we have objects like the francisca and the strap-end, which are unmistakably the kind of thing generally associated with early Frankish graves. The remaining sixteen graves in the cemetery give us a sequence of burials extending to about the year 500. Thus, as a whole, the cemetery extends from some time in the reign of the emperor Valentinian III (425-50) down to a time within the reign of the Frankish king Clovis (482-511). It bridges the eventful years when Belgium and the north of France were undergoing the transition from Roman province into Frankish kingdom. There is every reason to suppose that when they are properly examined the cemeteries of Samson and Éprave, which produced similar material, will

[106] Del Marmol (1860); Bequet (1891).
[107] Breuer and Roosens (1957).
[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 214 ff., figs. 12-13, grave 11.

tell the same story. That story is one of gradual change. Some of the objects in the cemetery, principally the pottery, the glass and the buckles of type III B, are still fundamentally late Roman. But others, the weapons at first and later the metalwork too, are slowly changing, until in the latest graves we find some early examples of cloisonné jewellery which we can definitely call truly Frankish.

Who were these people who were buried at Haillot? The fact that nine out of the small total of seventeen graves contained weapons has led Breuer and Roosens to conclude that Haillot was the cemetery of a group of Frankish *laeti*. That they really were *laeti* is questionable. The settlement cannot have been established long before the date of the earliest grave, that is before the period 425-50, and whereas we have no reason to suppose that new groups of *laeti* were being settled at this time, there is some documentary evidence that Salian Franks, who had migrated from the district of Toxandria they had occupied since 358, were pushing south into modern Belgium in the years before 446. In this year a large body of Franks under the leadership of their chieftain Chlodio had reached the region of Tournai, Arras and Cambrai, where their farther advance was checked for a while by the Roman general Aëtius, who defeated them in battle at *Vicus Helena* (probably Hélesmes between Tournai and Cambrai).[109] Aëtius apparently found it expedient to leave the Franks in possession of the Tournai region and confirm their territorial rights and limits by a *foedus*. Tournai thus became the Frankish capital, and the Salian federates served Aëtius well in 451 in the battle against Attila. According to Verlinden, the Frankish migration that culminated in their settlement of Belgium did not begin until shortly before 446, and then their advance under Chlodio was rapid and without pause for colonization along the route. We have no historical information to help us on this point, but, on the whole, such a course of events seems unlikely. During the ten or fifteen years before 446 Aëtius was occupied in preventing or controlling the inroads of the Visigoths, Burgundians and Ripuarian Franks. The Salians may have seized their opportunity of moving from the inhospitable lands of Toxandria during this time, while Aëtius's attention was directed elsewhere. The northern frontiers of Gaul always seem to have been remote and somewhat inaccessible and the gradual movement and land-taking of the Salians in this region may not have concerned Aëtius unduly—indeed, if the land had been badly devastated in 407 he may have seen it as desirable, as a means of repopulating the area. The settlement of tribes of barbarians within the empire was one of his policies. Possibly the Franks only became a danger to him, and forced him to take counter-measures, when they showed signs of wishing to cross the Somme. In view of this, Frankish settlements in Belgium before 446 are perfectly possible, and cemeteries such as Haillot, Samson and Éprave in the Namur region are most credibly interpreted as belonging to early Salian Frankish settlers, who arrived perhaps as early as 430-40, and who were later given the status of federates. These people became the inheritors of the surviving Gallo-Roman culture of the

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[109] The account of this battle appears in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, v, 210 ff. The date 446 is that given by Verlinden (1946). Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, II, 9, does not mention the battle, but records the Frankish capture of Cambrai about this time.

Meuse valley, acquiring metalwork and glassware from the Gallo-Roman factories, but evolving, as time went on, fashions which are recognizably the earliest manifestations of a distinctive and new Frankish culture.

The buckles of type III B which interest us here are clearly a product of the transition period. These were the types of objects worn by the first Frankish settlers before they began to produce their own metalwork. The distribution suggests that these buckles were popular. We find them, as we have seen, not only in the areas of Salian occupation, but at Krefeld and Rhenen in Ripuarian Frankish graves and also further to the north in the original German homelands. During the time that the Salians had been moving down into Gaul, the Ripuarian Franks had occupied the valley of the lower Rhine about Cologne. Their material culture in the fifth century was almost identical with that of the Salians, and we find not only the III B buckles but many other objects which can be exactly paralleled in the cemeteries of the Namur region. The best known of the burial-groups from Krefeld is that in the warrior grave, no 43.[110] The dead man was buried with a small buckle of type III B, a strap-end very like that from the Haillot grave described above, a spear, arrows and a sword. This sword had a scabbard with mouthpiece with ovolo design and a chape terminating with the upper part of a human figure with upraised arms. The little buckle finds its closest parallels at Samson,[111] and the scabbard chape is almost identical with others from Samson and Éprave.[112]

All this is of great importance to us if we are properly to understand the meaning of our finds from England. As we have seen, the large and simple buckle of type III B from Long Wittenham is very similar to the one in grave 11 at Haillot. It also resembles others from Tournai in Belgium, Bonn on the Rhine,[113] and Rahmstorf near Hamburg in north Germany.[114] The little buckle from Sarre is of much the same size as those from Krefeld, grave 43, and its parallels from Samson quoted above, but in its decoration it is more like one from Hamme in west Belgium, and another from Ben Ahin, near Namur.[115] They could therefore have come to England from any one of these regions, although the lower Rhine or north Belgium seem the more likely sources.

We can now turn to the strap-end found in an Anglo-Saxon grave at North Luffenham in Rutland (FIG. 24, a; type V B, 1), which is exactly paralleled by another from Rhenen, grave 846.[116] The Rhenen strap-end formed part of a complex belt-set preserved in position on a portion of the leather belt. The whole set is in chip-carved work and is reminiscent of the late fourth-century belt-suits. But the design of the strap-end, with the triangular panel in the centre of the butt and the outward-facing hare-like creatures in the corners, recalls even more

[110] Steeger (1937), pp. 182-8.

[111] Werner (1953), pp. 41-2, pl. vii, 4 and 5; Breuer and Roosens (1957), pl. vi, 5.

[112] Werner (1953), pl. vii, 3b and 6-8.

[113] Breuer and Roosens (1957), pl. viii, 1 and 5.

[114] Werner (1958), pl. lxxxi, 3.

[115] Breuer and Roosens (1957), pls. viii, 2, and vii, 1.

[116] Roes (1953), pp. 32 ff., pl. ii; P. Glazema, *Kunst en schoonheid uit de vroege Middeleeuwen* (1955), pls. xiv-xv.

strongly the nearly identical design on the plates of two highly decorated buckles of type III B found at Samson,[117] and these belong to the first half of the fifth century. The likelihood that the Rhenen belt-set was made in the same workshop is almost certain because its four decorative ring-attachments also find their closest parallel at Samson.[118] It is overwhelmingly probable that this workshop was situated in the Namur region. The North Luffenham strap-end, the twin of the Rhenen piece, was obviously made here too.

We can now see that the buckles of type III B from Sarre and Long Witten-ham and the strap-end from North Luffenham are examples of the metalwork that was being produced in the workshops of the Meuse valley during the first half of the fifth century. These workshops supplied both the Salian Frankish settlers of Belgium and the Ripuarian Franks of the lower Rhine valley. Certain of their less exotic products, that is some of the simpler III B buckles, were also traded to the Germans of the north. We must now consider from which of these regions, and by what means, these three objects came to England. The fact that they were all found in Anglo-Saxon graves, and that nothing comparable to them has turned up on late Roman sites, makes it certain that they were con-nected with the Germanic settlement. The early date of the parallel material on the continent renders it unlikely that they were traded goods. We are thus entitled to suggest that they were brought over by settlers as personal possessions. It is just possible that the two buckles came to Kent and Berkshire with their wearers from Saxon homelands in north Germany. But buckles of this kind are more numerous in Belgium and the lower Rhine district, and it seems more likely that our two came from somewhere here, as did the North Luffenham strap-end. They were not the only objects to reach England from this region. In grave 42 in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Abingdon, also in Berkshire, was found a sword whose scabbard was furnished with a mouth-piece and chape[119] exactly like those from graves at Samson and Éprave and grave 43 at Krefeld Gellep (see above, p. 38). From Petersfinger in Wiltshire, grave 21, has come a second sword with such a scabbard mouthpiece.[120] Both were certainly made in the workshop which produced the continental examples. According to Werner,[121] this workshop was one of those in the Namur region which also manufactured the buckles of type III B. The swords are therefore part of the same story: and the story appears to be a Frankish one.

With the sword in the Petersfinger grave was an iron buckle, with its plate decorated with the early Frankish large-cell glass cloisonné work,[122] and a battle-axe with symmetrically expanded cutting edge.[123] The latter is of a type which is occasionally found in early Frankish graves, and there is an exact parallel in grave 13 at Haillot.[124] The Petersfinger grave was certainly that of a Frankish

[117] Breuer and Roosens (1957), pl. vi, 2-3.
[118] Roes (1953), pls. v, 2 and vii, 4.
[119] Leeds and Harden (1936), pp. 38, 59-60, pl. ix, b. c, d.
[120] Leeds and Shortt (1953), pp. 16-17, 53-4, pl. i.
[121] Werner (1953) and (1956).
[122] Leeds and Shortt (1953), pp. 17-8, 49, pl. vi.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 54, pl. ii, fig. 6.
[124] Breuer and Roosens (1957), fig. 15, 8.

warrior or his descendant, and this is also true of the Abingdon grave. There are one or two other objects in the Abingdon cemetery which seem to be of Frankish origin, including another of the cloisonné buckle-plates.[125] Frankish settlers provide the most credible explanation of the arrival of our buckles and strap-end.

This is not the place to examine all the available evidence for early Frankish settlement in England. The few graves and objects mentioned here have been selected simply because they are most relevant to the subject in hand. But perhaps a few more words should be said before we leave the subject entirely. The largest group of early Frankish metalwork from a single cemetery has recently been found at Lyminge in Kent.[126] Here there was clear indication that a group of Franks settled one site at some time around the year 500. Lyminge is exceptional. Most of our early Frankish finds are more scattered, in a way that suggests that the Frankish element was only a small part of the whole. At Abingdon, for example, there is early material of Saxon origin. The term Anglo-Saxon is perhaps misleading when applied to the settlements of southern England. There is much to suggest that the population was very mixed and drawn from many different regions of the western and northern continent. It has been suggested before that many of the Germanic settlers may have started out from the mouth of the Rhine. Here, during the unsettled years of the migrations, peoples of many different racial groups must have come together, and perhaps banded together for the crossing to England, with much mixing of cultures. Whether they were Salians or Ripuarians, the Franks who crossed, bringing their swords and buckles with them, most certainly came by this route, in the initial stages at any rate. Those who brought buckles of type III B and the strap-end of type V B must have been amongst the earliest arrivals.

CONCLUSIONS

In Britain, information about the events of the late fourth and early fifth century has in the past been derived almost solely from literary sources, from the coin evidence which is limited in scope, and from the scanty results of excavations on the sites of buildings. So fragmentary is such information that many regard the period in question as one of irremediable obscurity. But not all sources have yet been tapped. A most remarkable omission on our part is failure to locate and excavate late Roman cemeteries, and in particular the military ones that must exist. In this there has been a complete disregard of work done on the continent. In France, Belgium and Germany, much of what is known of this period has come from cemeteries, and from the study of objects that most frequently occur as grave-goods. Weapons and small bronzes, for example, have been used to good effect, and have been seen to fit into a historical pattern—a pattern of a Romano-Germanic army, of Germanic *laeti* or *foederati* settled behind the frontiers, and of their gradual replacement during the fifth century by invading

[125] Leeds and Harden (1936), p. 55, fig. 8.
[126] Warhurst (1955), pls. ix and x.

bodies of free Germans. In this paper, I have applied similar methods to a series of corresponding bronze types found in Britain, and have tried to show, despite the scattered and ill-documented state of the material, that here, too, a historical pattern can be discerned, mitigating something of the previous obscurity.

Thus, in the first place, we have in the eastern parts of Britain some authentic continental military metalwork, though in small amount. This seems to have been brought over for the first time in the reign of Valentinian I by troops from northern Gaul under the command of Count Theodosius. The soldiers were probably Germans, and they appear to have been based on the 'Saxon Shore'. Secondly, we have in southern Britain, and more especially in the west and the midlands, two main classes of British-made versions of this foreign metalwork, which point by their distribution to a hitherto unsuspected military force, possibly a sort of yeomanry, based on the towns. The long life of these buckles in the fifth century suggests that the force was maintained, perhaps with further recruitment of German mercenaries, long after the year 410, when the British were empowered to take measures for their own defence. Lastly, a handful of further metalwork, of the kind found on the continent in very early Frankish graves, testifies to the presence of some Franks in the initial phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement which began in 443.

The buckles and belt-fittings, which have been the subject of this paper, are only a small proportion of the mass of late Roman metalwork which lies unstudied in our museums. My purpose has been to show that such 'unconsidered trifles', when brought together and considered systematically, can be made to yield information that is new to us, bringing to the passage between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England light that we had not looked for.

CATALOGUE

TYPE I A

Bronze buckles with sub-oval or D-shaped loop, and straight hinge-bar cast in one piece with the loop. The curved side is formed by the flattened bodies of a pair of confronted dolphins, with a pellet between their open jaws. The treatment of these creatures varies greatly from buckle to buckle: on some they are executed in clear relief with prominent, upstanding crests; on others they are degenerate and stylized, sometimes portrayed merely by scored lines on an otherwise plain loop. The majority fall somewhere between the two extremes. Surface decoration on the loops takes the form of punched dots, stamped ornament of some kind, or transverse grooving that often makes a collar around the animals' necks. Where the buckle-plate survives it is generally a long, narrow strip of sheet bronze, doubled over the hinge-bar of the loop and riveted. Decoration, where it occurs, usually takes the form of stamped ornament and engraved geometric designs.

From Roman Sites

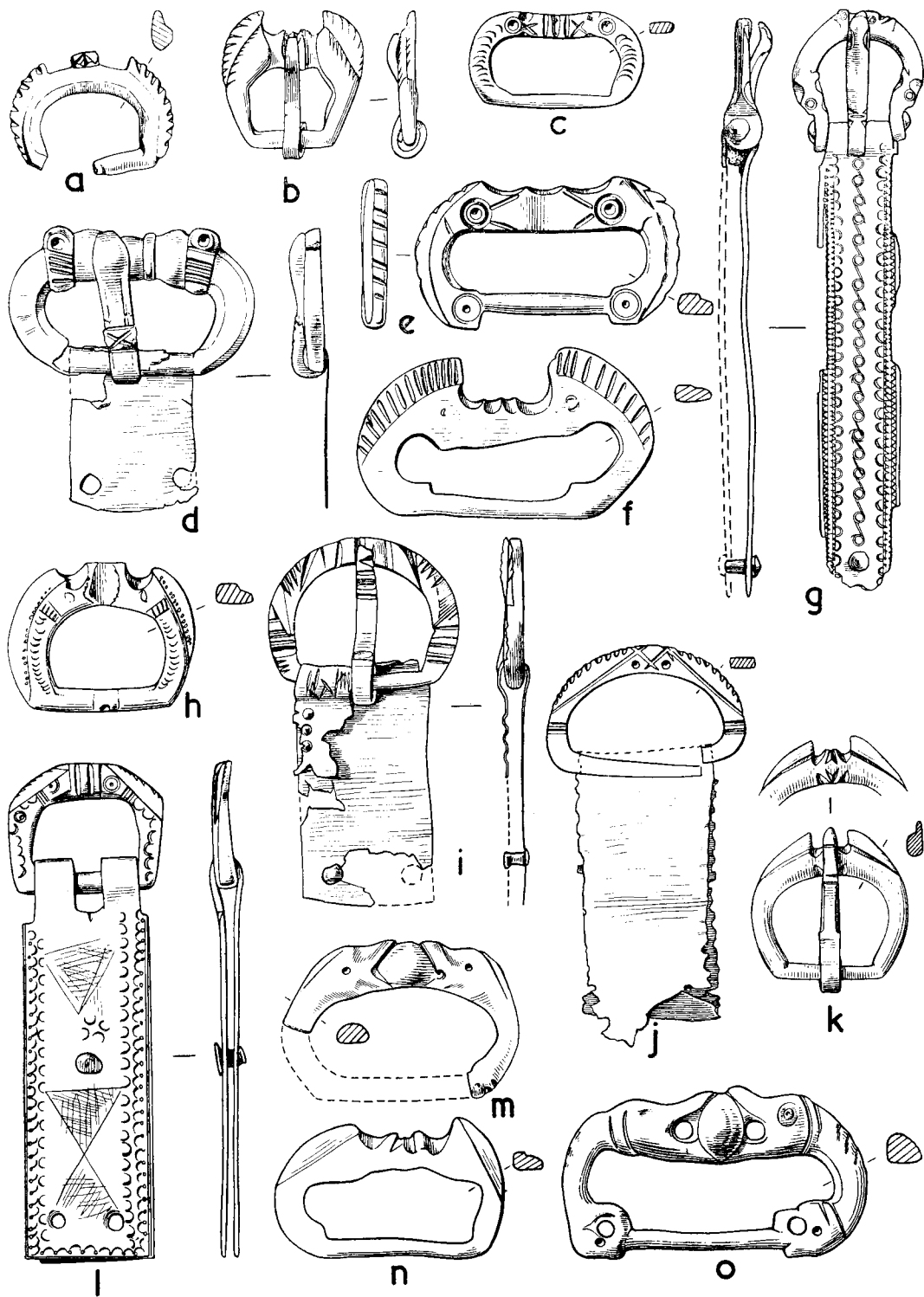|			
1.	*Caerwent*, Mon. Newport Museum 7.3, 1906	Loop only (FIG. 13,*a*): width 2·5 cm. A very degenerate example. Dolphins survive only as notched crests at sides, pellet as faceted knob at top. Tongue missing, hinge-bar damaged.	Romano-British town of *Venta Silurum*. Circumstances of find not known.

FIG. 13

Buckles of type I A, nos. 1-14, 16 (pp. 21 ff., 41 ff.). Sc. $\frac{1}{1}$

($a=1$; b-$c=5$-6; $d=2$; e-$f=7$-8; $g=11$; $h=3$; $i=10$; $j=9$; $k=16$; $l=4$; $m=12$; $n=14$; $o=13$)

2. *Catterick*, Yorks.
In the possession of Mr. E. J. W. Hild-yard, by whose per-mission we publish it.

Hildyard (1957), p. 246, fig. 6,13.

Complete example (FIG. 13, *d*): width 3·9 cm. Dolphins stylized, 3 bands of moulding for jaws, eyes set high in knob-like protuberance at top of hatched band. Tongue has rectangular plate decorated with incised diagonal cross. Plate damaged; rectangular sheet of bronze with 2 rivet holes.

Romano-British town of *Cataractonium*. 1952 exca-vations. Building I, room 1. Found on floor below occupation-level and da-ted by stratified coin to late 4th or early 5th century.

3. *Chichester*, Sussex.

We are indebted to Mr. John Holmes and Mr. Alec Down for permission to publish it.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *h*): width 2·8 cm. Dolphins with prominent, notched, crests, broad groove between jaws, circlet eyes, and hatched collar around necks. Sides of loop decorated with crescent stamps. Tongue missing.

Romano-British town of *Noviomagus Regnensium*. Found during 1960 exca-vations at County Hall in top of drainage ditch beside Roman street, in latest Roman level dated late 4th or early 5th century.

4. *Cirencester*, Glos.

Corinium Museum, Cirencester.

Cripps Coll. no. 291.

Loop and plate (FIG. 13, *l*): length 7·5 cm. Dolphins with low, notched crests, triple moulding for jaws, circlet eyes, collared necks. Sides of loop decorated with crescent stamps. Tongue missing. Plate folded in half and riveted twice. Borders of crescents, the outer forming a continuous arcade with dots at points of junction. Cluster of four crescents in centre; at either end irregular, lightly cross-hatched triangles.

Romano-British town of *Corinium Dobunnorum*. Circumstances of find not known.

5. *Cirencester*, Glos.

British Museum, London. Reg. no. FL. 522.

Loop and tongue (FIG. 13, *b*): width 2·2 cm. Dolphins with prominent, notched crests. Heads simplified; eyes missing. Tongue of simple type with back folded over hinge-bar.

As no. 4.

6. *Holbury*, West Dean, Hants. Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum

Loop only (FIG. 13, *c*): width 3 cm. Dolphins without crests, suggested by circlet eyes, crossed grooves for pellet, and stamped crescents at sides of loop. Tongue missing.

Romano-British villa Among surface finds near late Roman building, to-gether with other buckles, nos. II A, 8 and III A, 3, and late 4th-century coins. *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, XIII (1872), 33, 276.

7. *London (City of)*, Lothbury. London Museum.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *e*): width 4 cm. Dolphins with low, notched crests, circlet eyes, and deep grooves marking outline of jaws. Loop thickened at ends of hinge-bar and decorated at either side by circlet. Tongue missing.

Romano-British town of *Londinium*. Chance find.

8. *Silchester*, Hants. Reading Museum. Boon (1959), p. 80, pl. iii, A, 10.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *f*): width 4·4 cm. Stylized dolphins with high, upstanding crests, hatched vertically, and slight traces of eyes. Slight thickening of loop at ends of hinge bar. Tongue missing.

Romano-British town of *Calleva Atrebatum*. Circum-stances of find not known.

9. *Silchester*, Hants. Reading Museum. Boon (1959), p. 80, pl. iii, A, 6.

Loop and plate (FIG. 13, *j*): length 3·8 cm. Dolphins suggested by engraved lines and notching for crests, punched dots for eyes. Tongue missing. Plate undecorated and damaged.

As no. 8.

10. *Silchester*, Hants. Reading Museum. Boon (1959), p. 80, pl. iii, A, 5.

Complete example (FIG. 13, *i*): length 5·7 cm. Dolphins suggested by engraved lines and hatching for crests, collared necks. Plate damaged; decorative grooving on fold, and remains of border of repoussé dots. Originally 2 rivets at end.
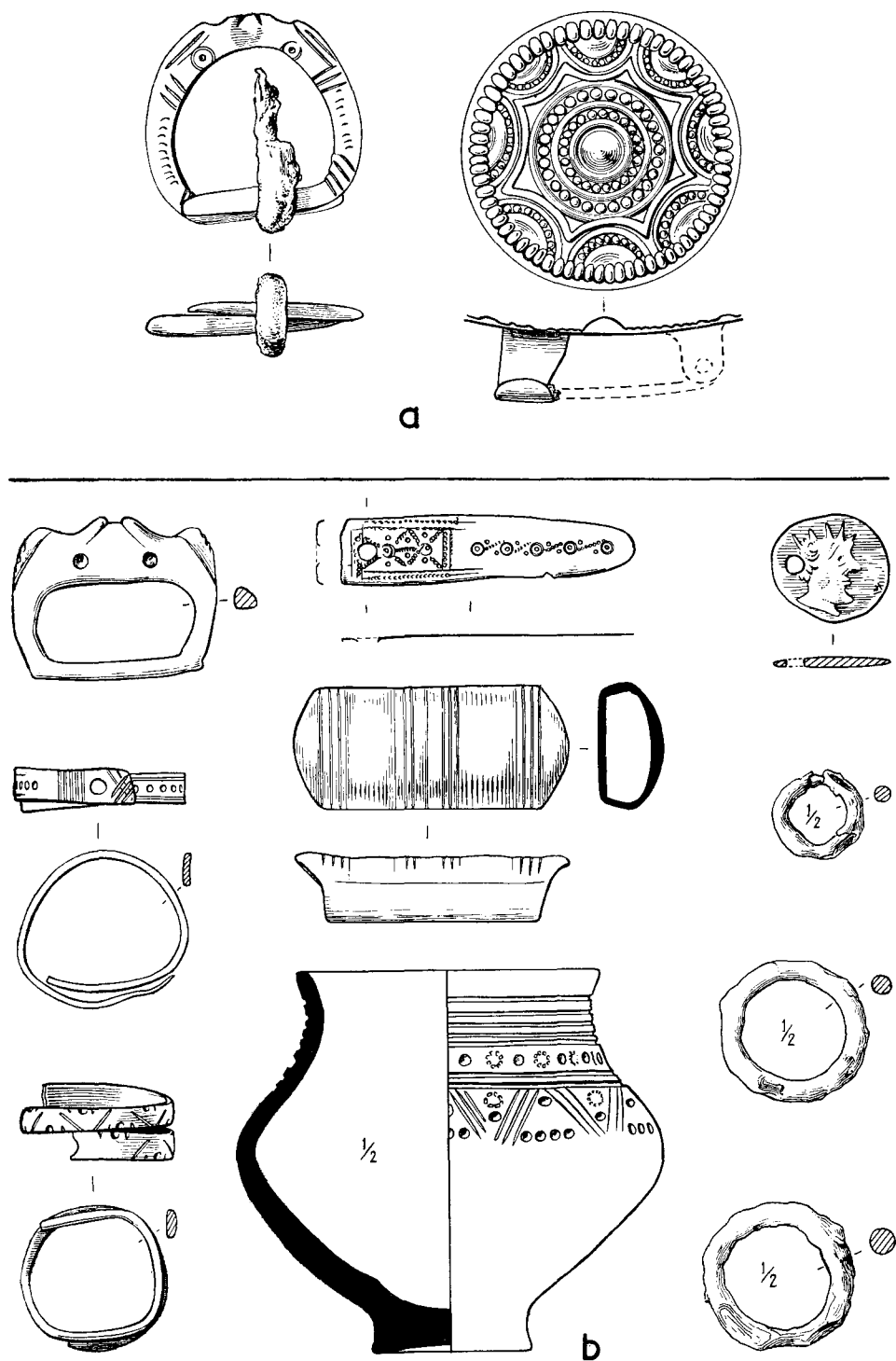
As no. 8.

FIG. 14

Anglo-Saxon grave-groups from (a) Blewburton Hill, Berks. (grave 2) and (b) Reading (grave 13)
containing buckles of type I A, nos. 15 and 17 respectively (pp. 26, 45). Sc. $\frac{1}{1}$, except as marked.

11. *Upper Upham,* Aldbourne, Wilts. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Complete example (FIG. 13, *g*): length 9 cm. This differs from others in the series in that the hinge-bar is a separate piece inserted through the pierced terminals of loop. Dolphins stylized, with no crests, circlet eyes, and broad groove for jaws. Second pair of stylized heads near loop terminals. Tongue has stylized head at tip. Plate unusually long and narrow, border of cross-tooled grooves and lines of stamped crescents, down centre single line of running scroll ornament, formed by linked, punched rings. Plate damaged at edges, folded double and riveted at end.

Romano-British village. Chance find.

12. *Water Newton,* Hunts. Peterborough Museum.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *m*): damaged, width 3·6 cm. Dolphins with vestigial crests, punched dot eyes, and large oval pellet between jaws. Hinge-bar and tongue missing.

Romano-British town of *Durobrivae.* Circumstances of find not known.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

13. *Ash,* Kent. Royal Museum, Canterbury. C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua,* II, pl. xxxvii, 8.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *o*): width 3·8 cm. Dolphins without crests, punched dot eyes, oval pellet between jaws. Stylized zoomorphic heads at ends of hinge-bar. Scales suggested by furrowing of sides of loop. Tongue missing.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Circumstances of find not known.

14. *Beddingham Hill,* Sussex. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 1853, 4-12, 58. *V.C.H. Sussex,* I, 337.

Loop only (FIG. 13, *n*): width 3·4 cm. Stylized dolphins with high, upstanding crests. Slight thickening of loop at ends of hinge-bar. Tongue missing.

Barrow with Anglo-Saxon burial(s). Associations: 3 disc brooches, and 2 buckles of simple, early type.

15. *Blewburton Hill,* Berks. Reading Museum. *Berks. Archaeol. J.,* LIII (1952-3), 51, fig. 19, 5.

Loop with iron tongue (FIG. 14, *a*): width 3 cm. Dolphins stylized with vestigial crests and circlet eyes. Sides of loop decorated with transverse grooves and stamped crescents.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 2, of woman. Associations: amber beads, applied brooch.

16. *Broadway,* Worcs. Cook (1958), pp. 62 and 73, pl. xi, a, fig. 4, 2.

Loop and tongue (FIG. 13, *k*): width 2·4 cm. Dolphins with high, upstanding crests, heads stylized, open jaws and lozenge-shaped pellet.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 1, of woman. Associations: glass beads, bronze and silver wire rings, pair of cast bronze saucer-brooches with whirligig of legs design.

17. *Reading,* Berks. Reading Museum. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.,* L (1894), 150 ff.

Loop only (FIG. 14, *b*): width 2·9 cm. Dolphins with low, notched crest, open jaws, oval pellet, punched dot eyes. Tongue missing.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 13. Associations: bronze tubular object, strap-end of early type, bronze and iron rings, Roman coin, and pot with pedestal foot.

TYPE I B

Bronze buckles, basically similar to those of type I A, on which the crests of the dolphins have been developed into outward-facing horse-heads. These generally have clearly marked eyes, ears, and hatched manes. On some examples the dolphin heads are still distinguishable, with eye, jaw and pellet, but on others the horse-heads have become the main decorative feature and the dolphins have disappeared. Transitional
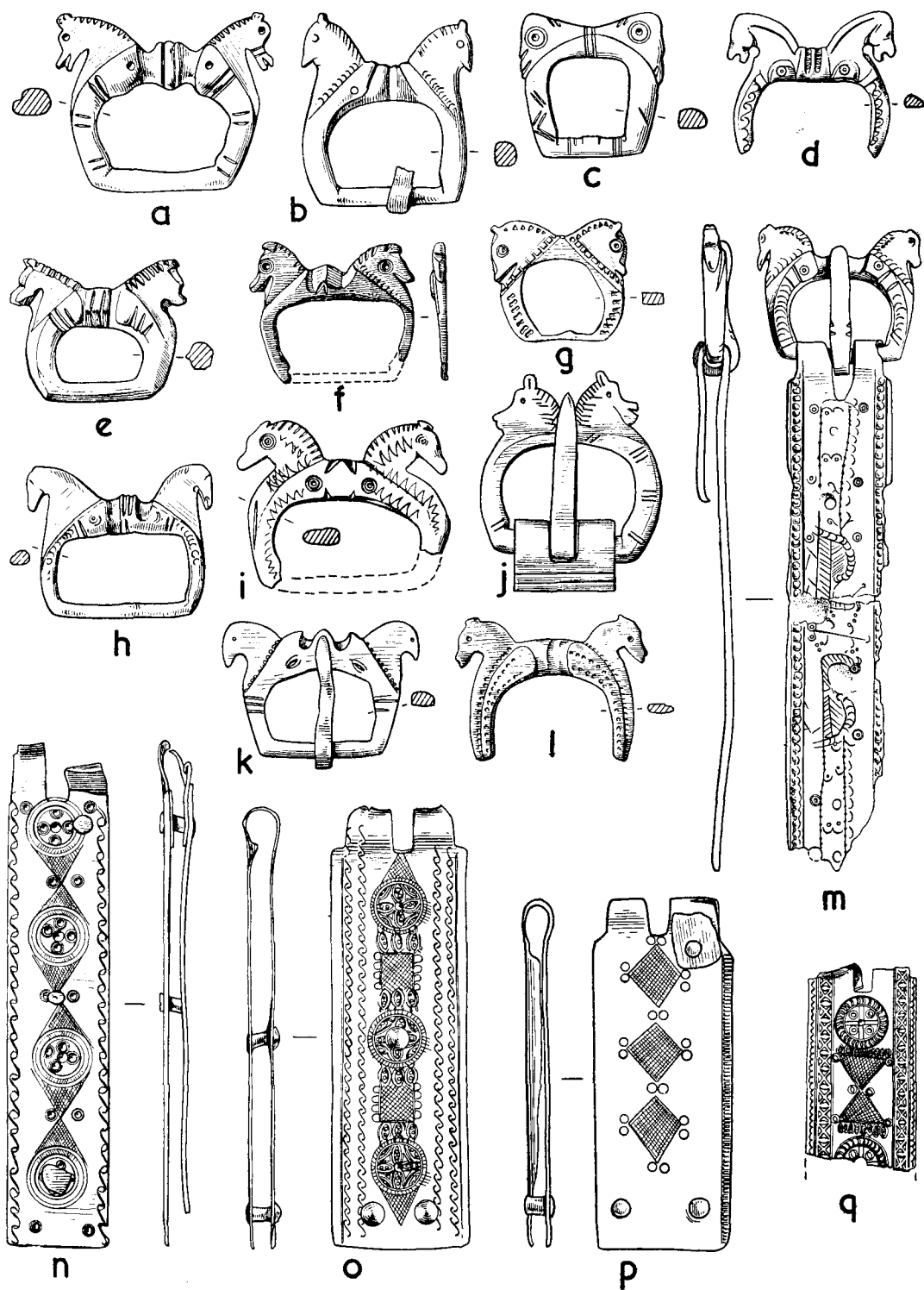
FIG. 15

a-m. Buckles of type I B, nos. 1-4, 6-13, 15 (pp. 21 ff., 45 ff.)

(*a-g=1-8*; *h-i=11-12*; *j=9*; *k=13*; *l=15*; *m=10*)

n-q. Buckle-plates of type I A/B, nos. 1-4 respectively (pp. 21 ff., 50). Sc. ⅓

stages in the development occur also. The plates associated with this type are similar to those of 1 A.

From Roman Sites

1. *Alwalton*, Hunts.
Peterborough
Museum.
V.C.H. Hunts., I,
248-9, fig. 7.
Proc. Soc. Antiq., XXIII,
413-4
(wrongly
provenienced).

Loop only (FIG. 15, *a*): width 3·3 cm. Fine example, little worn. Dolphins well defined with triple moulding for jaws, dot eyes, transversely grooved collars, slight thickenings that may represent tails. Horse-heads clear, open jaws, punched eyes, and notched manes. One has pair of grooves on nose that may represent part of harness. Tongue missing.

Romano-British occupation site. Circumstances of find not known.

2. *Cirencester*, Glos.
Corinium Museum,
Cirencester.

Cripps Coll. no. 281.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *b*): width 2·6 cm. Worn example. Stylized dolphins with punched dot eyes. Horse-heads clear, dot eyes, notched manes. Line of crescents along junction of necks with loop. Broken fragment of bronze tongue.

Romano-British town of *Corinium Dobunnorum*. Circumstances of find not known.

3. *Cirencester*, Glos.
Corinium Museum,
Cirencester.
Cripps Coll. no. 284.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *c*): width 2·1 cm. Devolved example on which dolphins have disappeared and the horse-heads become two featureless lumps with circlet survivals of eyes. Sides of loop decorated with incised double zig-zag. Tongue missing.

As no. 2.

4. *Clipsham*, Rutland.
Oakham School
Museum.
Reg. no. D.J. 69,
A.L.T.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *d*): width 2·3 cm. Dolphins stylized, triple moulding for jaws, prominent blobs for heads with circlet eyes, collared necks. Horse-heads well moulded, open jaws and deep groove for manes. Running S-shaped scroll decoration at sides of loop. Hinge-bar and tongue missing.

Romano-British villa. Circumstances of find not known.

5. *Dorchester*, Oxon.
Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford.
Kirk and Leeds
(1954), pp. 63 ff.,
fig. 27, no. 16, pl. iv,
B.

Complete example (FIG. 1, no. 16): length 8 cm. Well-defined dolphin-heads on loop with circlet eyes and mane, represented by line of punched dots. Sides of loop cross-hatched. Long rectangular plate secured to loop by projecting tabs, doubled over hinge-bar and riveted. Secured to belt by two rivets at other end. Border of punched dots and running S-shaped scrolls. Central decoration of three engraved roundels made of hatched outer ring with central dot, alternating with two cross-hatched lozenges. Stamped crescents occur at corners of lozenges and sides of roundels.

From the late Roman cemetery outside walls of Roman town of Dorchester, grave 2, burial of woman, apparently of N. German culture. Associations: very early type of cruciform brooch, backplate of applied brooch. For man's grave and other burials see Kirk and Leeds (1954), pp. 63 ff., and above, pp. 1 ff.

6. *Gestingthorpe*
(Hill Farm),
Halstead, Essex.
In possession of Mr.
H. Cooper, by whose
courtesy we publish
it.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *e*): width 2·6 cm. Dolphins stylized, 3 bands of moulding for jaws, triple collars at necks. Horse-heads flat and featureless except for notched name. Unfinished, with casting ridges on inside. Little sign of wear.

Romano-British settlement with late 4th to early 5th century occupation. Buckle found in destruction level of small masonry building of late 4th century date. Close by a ditch with late 4th to 5th century coins, and late pottery. The site produced abundant evidence of bronze-working, and, being unfinished, the object was perhaps made on site.

7. *Richborough*, Kent.
Richborough Castle
Museum.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *f*): width 2·25 cm. Dolphins very stylized. Horse-heads clear, circlet eyes, notched manes. Hinge-bar and tongue missing.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From latest levels but exact find-spot not recorded.
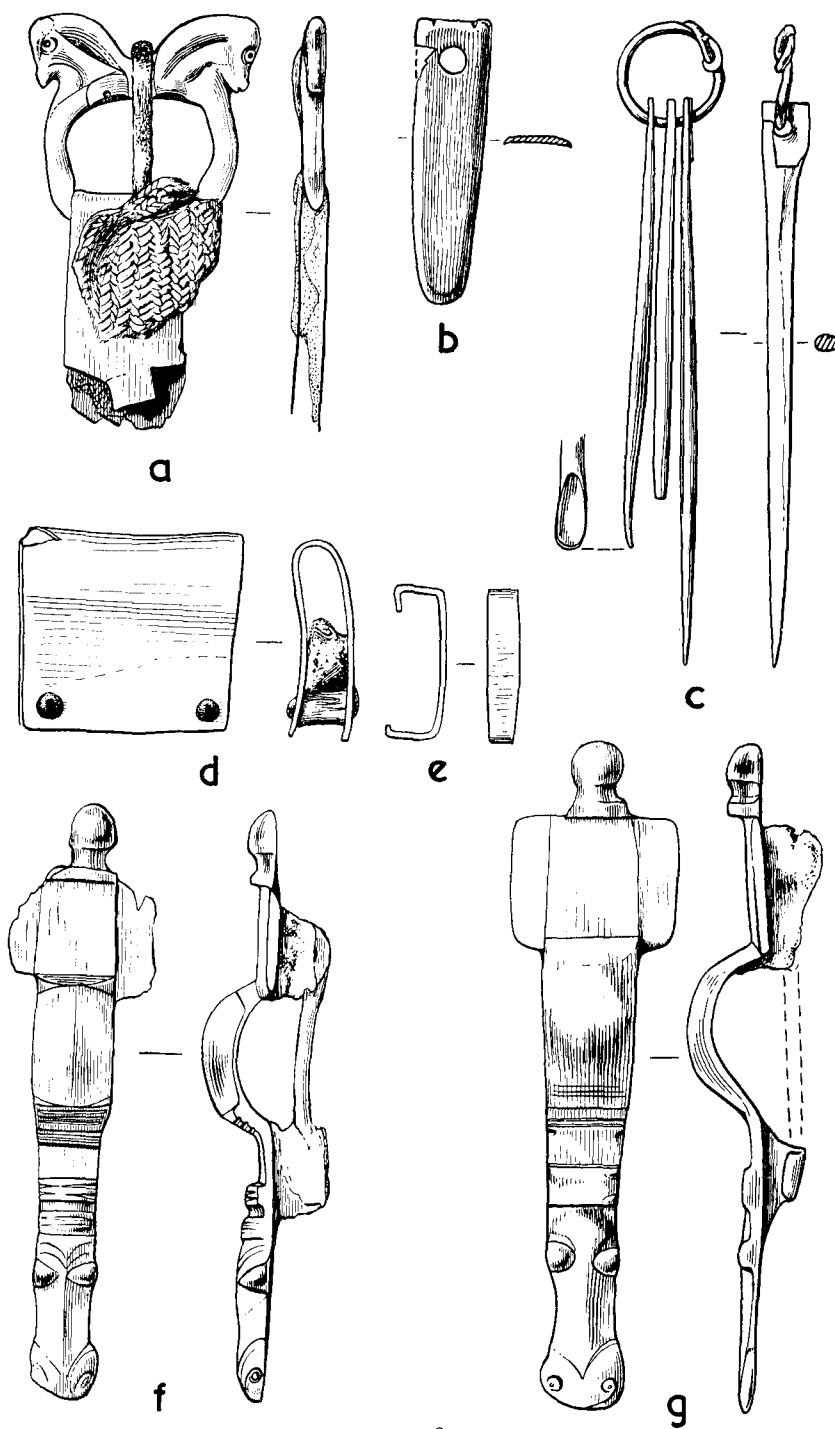
FIG. 16

a. Buckle of type I B, no. 14 (p. 49). *b-g.* Other early Anglo-Saxon finds from the same grave (no. 70) in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Stratford-on-Avon, Warwicks. Sc. ⅓

8. *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Reg. no. 4477.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *g*): width 2·25 cm. Dolphins have disappeared. Horse-heads marked off from loop by lines of billeting; circlet eyes and lines of triangular stamps for manes. Sides of loop decorated by tooling. Tongue missing.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. Surface find in SW. sector of interior of fort.

9. *Spoonley Wood*, Glos. Sudeley Castle. *Antiq. J.*, XVII (1937), 447, fig. b.[127]

Complete example (FIG. 15, *j*): width 2·9 cm. Dolphins have disappeared. Horse-heads with prominent ears, notched manes, dot eyes. Sides of loop decorated by groups of transverse grooves. Simple tongue. Small rectangular plate with parallel grooves at base. Tongue and plate appear to have been replaced in antiquity.

Romano-British villa. Circumstances of find not known.

10. *Stanwick*, Yorks. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 47, 2-8, 82. Smith (1923), p. 40, fig. 108. Tonnochy & Hawkes (1931), pp. 123-8, fig. 2.

Complete example (FIG. 15, *m*): length 10 cm. Dolphins stylized, circlet eyes and collared necks. Horse-heads separated from loop by line of stamped crescents; circlet eyes and tooled manes. Sides of loop decorated by crescents. Tongue bronze. Long rectangular plate folded over hinge-bar to a third its length and riveted. Border of parallel, tooled grooves; central decoration of lightly-engraved pair of peacocks, back-turned, and with small tree between them. Extremely stylized. Birds' heads crowned by curious antennae, bodies divided into hatched panels, long tails represented by engraved lines and supplementary dots, rings, and crescents. Edges and end of plate damaged.

Circumstances of find not known, but probably connected with Roman re-occupation of iron-age fortified site.

11. *Water Newton*, Hunts. Peterborough Museum.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *h*): width 2·8 cm. Worn example; dolphins with well-moulded heads, circlet eyes. Horse-heads much worn. Tongue missing.

Romano-British town of *Durobrivae*. Circumstances of find not known.

12. *Water Newton*, Hunts. Peterborough Museum Reg. no. L. 340, 55/4.

Loop only (FIG. 15, *i*): width 3·1 cm. Dolphins flatly treated, circlet eyes. Horse-heads with notched manes and circlet eyes. Incised zig-zag decoration on loop. Hinge-bar and tongue missing.

As no. 11.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

13. *Bifrons*, Patrixbourne, Kent. Maidstone Museum. Baldwin Brown (1915), III, pl. lxx, 6; Leeds (1936), pl. xii.

Loop and tongue (FIG. 15, *k*): width 3 cm. A worn example. Dolphins with incised, slanting eyes, collared necks. Horse-heads divided from loop by lines of punched dots, very worn.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave associations unknown. In Conyngham Coll., amongst material from some of earliest graves in cemetery. See also p. 59, II C, 1.

14. *Stratford-on-Avon*, Warwicks. Stratford New Place Museum.

Complete example (FIG. 16, *a*): width 3 cm. Dolphin heads stylized, dot eyes. Horse-heads moulded in relief, circlet eyes, grooved manes. Bronze tongue. Rectangular plate obscured by textile remains.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 70, of woman. Associations: bronze strap-end with silver plating, beads, 3 bronze needles on ring, and pair of cruciform brooches (Åberg, class II).

[127] There is some doubt whether this is the same buckle which was found at Spoonley Wood and was published by J. H. Middleton in the *Winchcombe and Sudeley Record*, IV (1893), 39-48. If it is, as seems most probable since it is in the Sudeley Castle collection, we must assume that Middleton's drawing was inaccurate. The illustration (FIG. 15, *j*) is after Waterhouse in *Antiq. J., loc. cit.*

Unknown Provenience

15.   Cambridge   Loop only (FIG. 15, *l*): width 3 cm. Worn
       University Museum   example. Dolphins stylized. Horse-heads divi-
       of Archaeology and   ded from loop by lines of punched dots, much
       Ethnology.   worn with punched eye dots. Lines of dots at
       Reg. no. 83.53.2.   sides of loop. Tongue and hinge-bar missing.

TYPE I A/B

Bronze plates which belong to this type, now detached from their buckles.

From Roman Sites

1.	*Cirencester*, Glos. Corinium Museum, Cirencester. Bathurst Coll. no. 376.	Plate only (FIG. 15, *n*): length 7·7 cm. Long rectangular plate, folded double, and riveted: broken at fold. A fine example with border of running S-shaped scrolls. Central design of row of 4 roundels, each composed of 2 concentric circles around a central rosette which consists of four circlets and central ring. Roundels linked by diagonal, incised crosses that form pairs of sub-triangular panels filled with cross-hatching. Circlets at either side of junction of triangles, and in each corner of plate. Last roundel masked by large rivet.	Romano-British town of *Corinium Dobunnorum*. Circumstances of find not known.
2.	*Duston*, Northants. Northampton Central Museum.	Plate only (FIG. 15, *o*): length 7·8 cm. Long rectangualr plate, folded double and riveted. Fine example with double border of running S-shaped scrolls. Central design of three roundels composed of 2 concentric, hatched circles around a four-petal marguerite, with central ring and dotted petals. Similar detached petals as fill-up in field. At two ends, adjacent to outer roundels, are cross-hatched triangles, and in spaces between the roundels cross-hatched rectangles. Between rectangles and roundels, on each side, groups of 3 spotted petals, and on remaining sides of rectangles crescent stamps. Dome-headed rivet pierces central roundel, and two others at end of plate.	Romano-British village. Circumstances of find not known.
3.	*Popham*, (College Wood), Hants. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 1953, 7-9, 1. Bruce-Mitford (1954), pp. 75-6, pl. xvii, b.	Plate only (FIG. 15, *p*): length 5·4 cm. Rectangular plate folded double and riveted at end. Border of cross-tooled grooves. Central decoration of three engraved cross-hatched lozenges with pair of punched rings at each angle.	Romano-British building. Surface find.
4.	*Silchester*, Hants. Reading Museum. Boon (1957), p. 80, fig. 9. Boon (1959), p. 80, pl. iv, A, 11.	Fragment of plate (FIG. 15, *q*): length 3·1 cm. Surviving portion probably half the original, and end shaped to fit buckle. Outer border, row of crescent stamps; inner, crosses in incised frame. Central decoration of 2 (originally 3 or 4) roundels composed of 2 concentric circles with crescent stamps between, around a cross with circlet stamps in the angles. Broken roundel, pierced by rivet-hole. Between surviving roundels a pair of cross-hatched triangles with circlets at angles, and, between them and the the roundels, transverse rows of hatched ovals.	Romano-British town of *Calleva Atrebatum*. Circumstances of find not known.

TYPE II A

Bronze buckles made up of separate loop, tongue, and plate, held together by a bolt. The loop is formed by a pair of confronted dolphins, similar in type, decoration, and in varying degree of stylization, to those on buckles of type I A, but with tails making

involuted terminals. The tongue, which rarely survives, has an expanded back and down-curling projections at the sides that interlock with the loop terminals. At the bottom of the tongue and the two loop terminals are pierced cylindrical attachments that fit into others (normally 4 in number) at the top of the plate. They are usually decoratively grooved, and are locked together by a long pin or bolt, which secures loop, tongue and plate together. The plate itself is normally decorated by an openwork arcade design usually consisting of three or four rectangular openings with pierced circles at top and bottom, or of some variant of this. Sometimes there is some form of edge decoration. Almost invariably there are rivets or rivet-holes at each corner of the plate. Surface decoration on the plate, and sometimes on the tongue and loop too, takes the form of punched dots or circlets.

From Roman Sites

1.	*Caerwent*, Mon. Newport Museum.	Plate and loop fragment (FIG. 17, *a*): max. length 4·6 cm. Loop terminals still held in position by hinge-bar. Tongue missing. Plate pierced by 2 round-headed arches. Ornamental excrescences at bottom and sides. Surface decoration of circlets.	Romano-British town of *Venta Silurum*. Circumstances of find not known.
2.	*Caerwent*, Mon. Newport Museum.	Fragment of loop (FIG. 17, *b*): max. width 4·3 cm. Stylized dolphins with ears instead of crests, oval depression for pellet, punched dot eyes. One terminal broken, tongue missing.	As no. 1.
3.	*Caistor-by-Norwich*, Norfolk. This, and no. 4, are in the possession of Professor Donald Atkinson, by whose permission we publish them.	Fragment of loop (FIG. 17, *c*). Stylized dolphin with no crest, incised line marking jaw, circlet eye, and triple-collared neck.	Romano-British town of *Venta Icenorum*. 1930 excavations, Building 4, destroyed by fire. Dismembered and unburied human remains associated with Theodosian coins suggest destruction after 400 by Saxon raiders. This and no. 4 were on the latest occupation level in the room next to that containing the corpses. *J. Rom. Stud.*, XXI (1931), 232-3; *Archaeol. J.*, CVI (1949), 65.
4.	*Caistor-by-Norwich*, Norfolk.	Plate only (FIG. 17, *g*): length 4·5 cm. Pierced by eight openwork arches whose rounded heads are partly divided off by ornamental projections from the intervening pillars—in four opposed pairs with the rounded heads at top and bottom. Decorative notching at bottom and sides. Rivet-holes in corners. Hinge components grooved. One, broken in antiquity, was replaced by a patch, grooved to match.	As no. 3.
5.	*Chedworth*, Yanworth, Glos. Chedworth Villa Museum. Reg. no. 83. B.	Loop only (FIG. 17, *d*): width 3·3 cm. Clear dolphins with open jaws, lozenge-shaped pellet, circlet eyes, and notched manes. Tongue missing.	Romano-British villa. Surface find to east of buildings in outer court of villa.
6.	*Colchester*, Essex. Colchester and Essex Museum.	Complete example (FIG. 17, *e*): length 6 cm. Dolphins well-executed, with prominent notched jaws, round pellet, circlet eyes. Tongue has stylized animal head at tip and at ends of curled side-pieces. Large circlet at base. Hinge components grooved. Plate pierced by 4 rectangles	Romano-British town of *Camulodunum*. Circumstances of find not known.

with circles at top and bottom. Bands of diagonal hatching at top and bottom of plate, and ornamental excrescences at base. Rivet-holes in each corner. Surface decoration of punched dots and circlets on all parts of buckle and plate.

|			
7.	*Duston*, Northants. Northampton Central Museum.	Fragment of loop (FIG. 17, *f*): max. width 3·8 cm. Dolphins stylized with ears in place of crests, semi-circular openings under jaws, leaving square pellet, punched dot eyes. One terminal broken, stylized head with circlet eye at tip of other. Tongue missing.	Romano-British village. Circumstance of find not known.
8.	*Hotbury*, West Dean, Hants. Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum.	Plate only (FIG. 17, *h*): width 3 cm. Crude example with triple arcade in which the pierced rectangles and roundels have been run together. Irregular notching at base. Rivet-holes at corners, iron incrustation. Hinge attachments broken.	Romano-British villa. A-mong surface finds near late Roman building together with nos. I A, 6 and III A, 3 and late 4th century coins. *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, XIII (1872), 33, 276.
9.	*Leicester*. Leicester Museum. Reg. no. 31. 1951.	Fragment of loop (FIG. 17, *i*): max. width 5 cm. Well executed dolphin with hatched crest, open jaws, round pellet, circlet eye. One half of loop broken off, tongue missing.	Romano-British town of *Ratae Coritanorum*. Circumstances of find not known.
10.	*Leicester*. (Jewry Wall), Leicester Museum. Reg. no. J.W. 84.5. Kenyon (1948), p. 256, fig. 84, no. 5.	Plate only (FIG. 17, *l*): length 4·7 cm. Triple arcade similar to no. 6. Transverse grooves at base and ornamental excrescences at base and sides. Rivet-holes at corners. Surface decoration of circlets. Hinge components grooved.	Romano-British town of *Ratae Coritanorum*. From disturbed levels which produced other late Roman finds, and the strap-end, type V A, 2.
11.	*Lullingstone*, Kent. In the possession of Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates, by whose permission we publish it.	Loop only (FIG. 17, *j*): width 2·8 cm. Dolphins stylized with prominent crests, lozenge-shaped pellet, oval eyes, and collared necks. One terminal broken, tongue missing.	Romano-British villa. From the latest occupational débris sealing Bath block furnace which went out of use *c*. 380. This level contained two coins of Valens (364-378).
12.	*Lydney Park*, Glos. Wheeler (1932), p. 86, fig. 101.	Loop and tongue (FIG. 17, *k*): width 3 cm. Dolphins with ear-like crests. Back of tongue pierced. Hinge-bar and two hinge-components from plate surviving.	Late Romano-British temple. From original make-up of cella floor, dated (by coins) after 364-7.
13.	*Lydney Park*, Glos. Wheeler (1932), pl. xxviii, 130.	Plate with fragments of loop and tongue (FIG. 18, *a*): length of plate 4·9 cm. Plate with unusual openwork decoration, consisting of a rough central roundel flanked by irregular rectangles. At the bottom three rectangles, at the top curvilinear patterns. Ornamental projections at bottom and sides, notching on the hinge-components. Rivet-holes in the corners.	Late Romano-British temple. 1805 excavations. Exact find-spot not known.
14.	*North Wraxall*, Wilts. Devizes Museum. Reg. no. 399.	Loop only (FIG. 18, *b*): width 4·4 cm. Dolphins with hatched crests, open jaws, rectangular pellet, dot eyes. Stylized head at end of terminal. One terminal and tongue missing.	Romano-British villa. Exact find-spot not known, but certainly from a late level. Villa came to violent end in late 4th century (corpses and broken masonry in well). *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, VII (1862), 59-75.
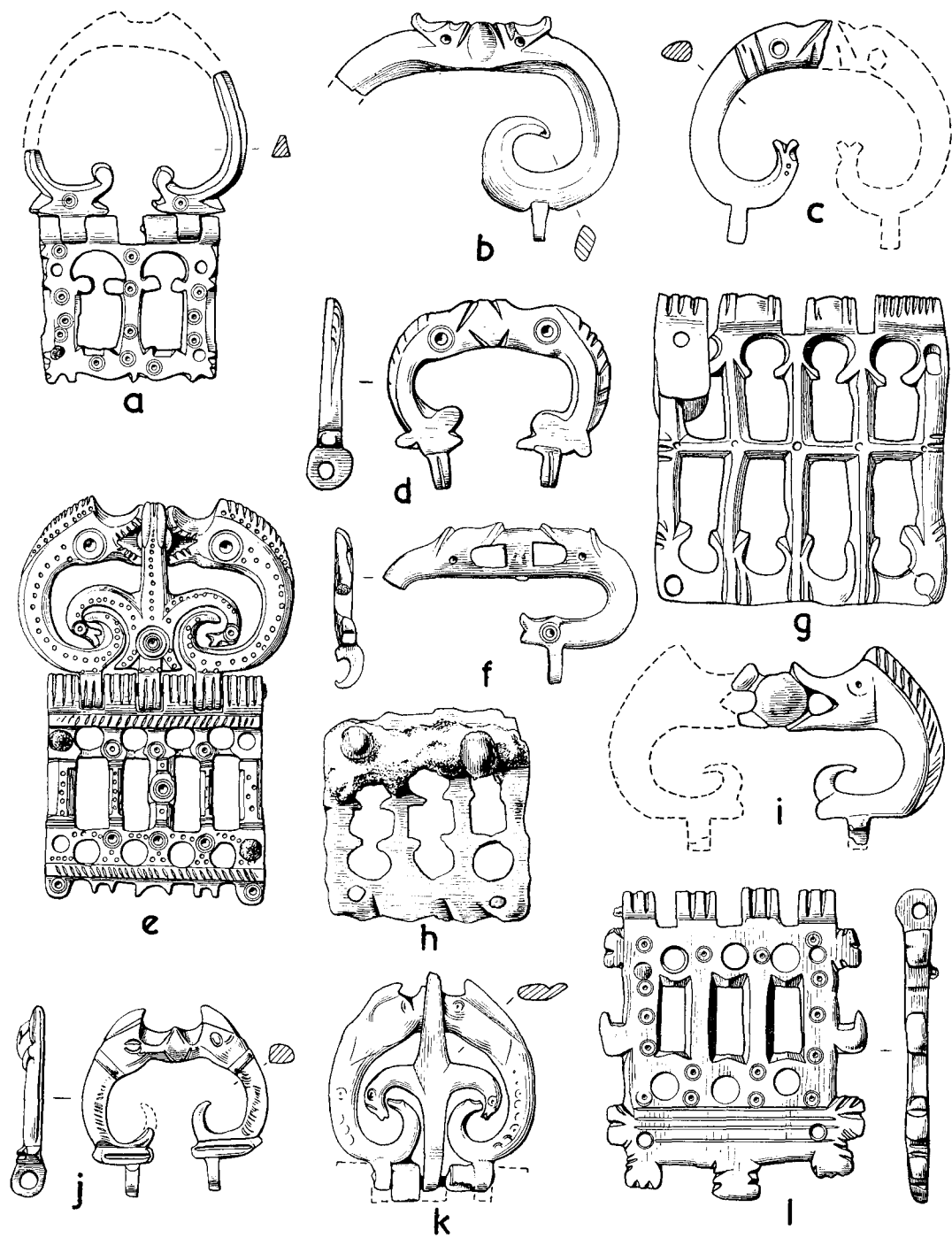
FIG. 17

Buckles of type II A, nos. 1-12 (pp. 21 ff., 51 ff.). Sc. ¼

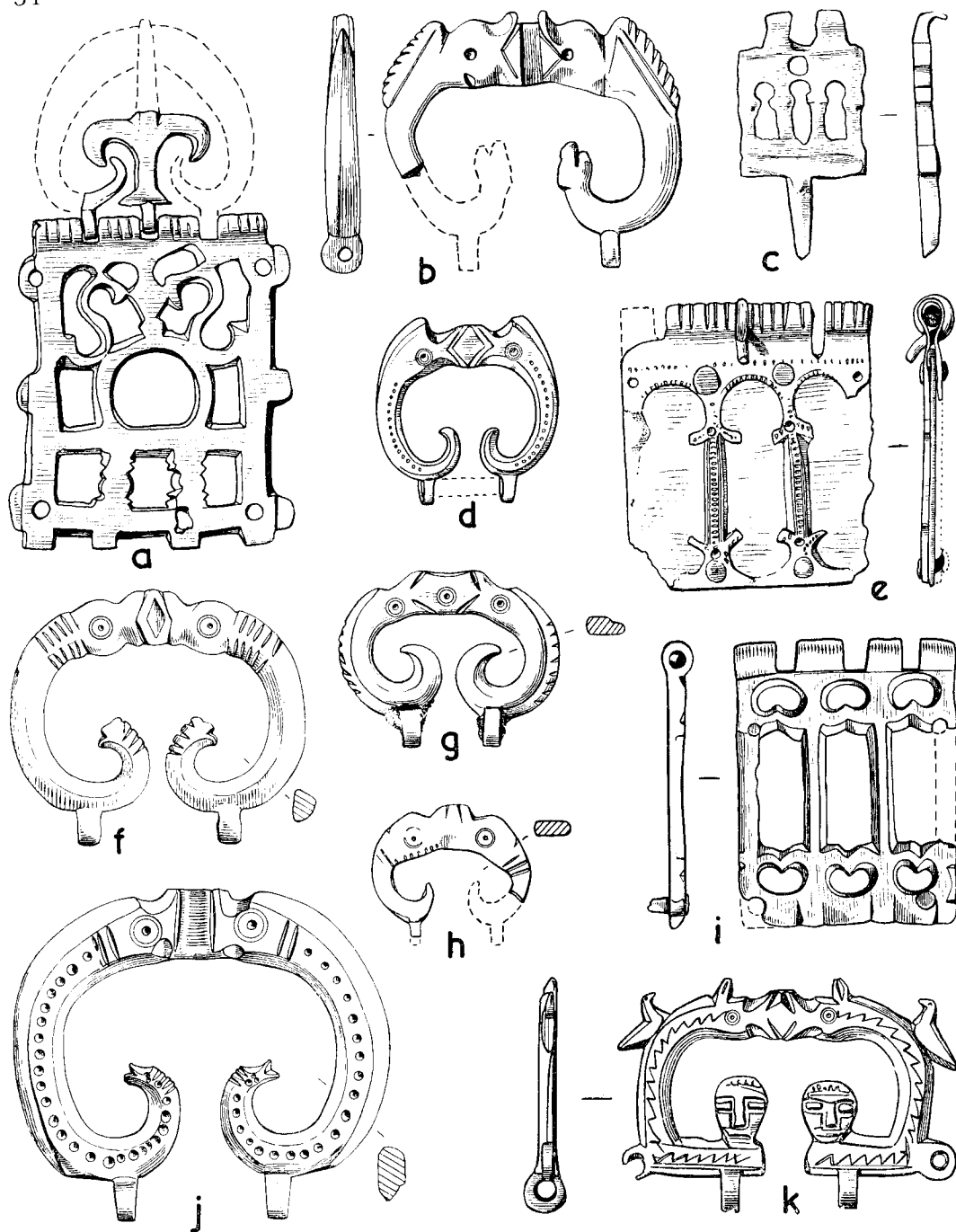(a-c=1-3; d-f=5-7; g=4; h-i=8-9; j-k=11-12; l=10)

FIG. 18

Buckles of type II A, nos. 13-19, 21-24 (pp. 21 ff., 51 ff.). Sc. ¼
(a-e = 13-17; f = 21; g-h = 18-19; i-k = 22-24)

15. *Old Sarum*, Wilts. Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum. Reg. no. 05/A8. *Archaeol. J.*, CIV (1947), 136 (published as medieval). — Plate only (FIG. 18, *c*): length 3·7 cm. Eccentric example with only two attachments for loop, and long tongue-like projection at bottom. Three key-hole-shaped openings with circle above. — Romano-British settlement of *Sorviodunum*. Circumstances of find not known.

16. *St. Albans*, Herts. Verulamium Museum. *Archaeologia*, LXXXIV (1934), 259, fig. 12, 16. — Loop only (FIG. 18, *d*): width 2·8 cm. Dolphins with small crests, open jaws, lozenge-shaped pellet, circlet eyes. Sides of loop have punched dot decoration. Tongue missing. — Romano-British town of *Verulamium*. From late 4th century filling of the Theatre.

17. *Sea Mills*, Bristol. Bristol City Museum. We are indebted to Mr. G. C. Boon for drawing our attention to this piece. — Plate only (FIG. 18, *e*): length 4·7 cm. Originally of doubled sheet-bronze, the folded end cut to form the four grooved hinge-components: iron bolt in position still retaining portion of bronze tongue. Openwork decoration consists of variant of triple arcade: rectangles with arches at either end partially divided off. Incised lines and cross-tooling around each opening. Back part subsequently broken, and repaired by insertion of sheet of bronze between the two halves of plate and secured by four rivets. Very worn. — Romano-British port. Chance find.

18. *Silchester*, Hants. Reading Museum. Boon (1959), p. 80, pl. iii, A, 9. — Loop only (FIG. 18, *g*): width 3·2 cm. Dolphins with low notched crests, open jaws, circlet on pellet, circlet eyes. Tongue missing. — Romano-British town of *Calleva Atrebatum*. Circumstances of find not known.

19. *Water Newton*, Hunts. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 1882, 6-21, 69. — Loop only (FIG. 18, *h*): width 2·4 cm. Dolphins without crests, circlet eyes, collared necks. One terminal broken, tongue missing. — Romano-British town of *Durobrivae*. Circumstances of find not known.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

20. *Dover*, Kent. (Buckland estate). British Museum, London. We are indebted to Miss V. I. Evison for permission to include this in advance of her forthcoming excavation report. — Loop with iron tongue. Dolphins very stylized, surviving only as hatched crests at sides, and rectangular protuberances for heads. Tongue may perhaps be a later replacement. — Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 48, of woman. Associations: saucer-brooch with five-spiral decoration, button-brooch, beads, and knife.

21. *Mitcham*, Surrey. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Morris (1959), pp. 102-3, pl. xiii, 38. — Loop only (FIG. 18, *f*): width 4·4 cm. Dolphins without crests, open jaws, lozenge-shaped pellet with hollow centre, circlet eyes, collar of five rows of slashes round necks. Similar slashes on terminals and stylized, open-jawed heads. Tongue missing. — Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 38. Associations: bronze finger-ring.

22. *Sarre*, Thanet, Kent. Maidstone Museum. *Archaeol. Cantiana*, VI (1864), 174. — Plate only (FIG. 18, *i*): length 4·3 cm. Three sub-rectangular openings with heart-shaped piercings at either end. Decorative notching at bottom. One side broken. — Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 94. Associations: silver-gilt circular brooch with central garnet and nielloed border, fragments of gold braid, miscellaneous objects, iron knife and key, beads of amber and glass.
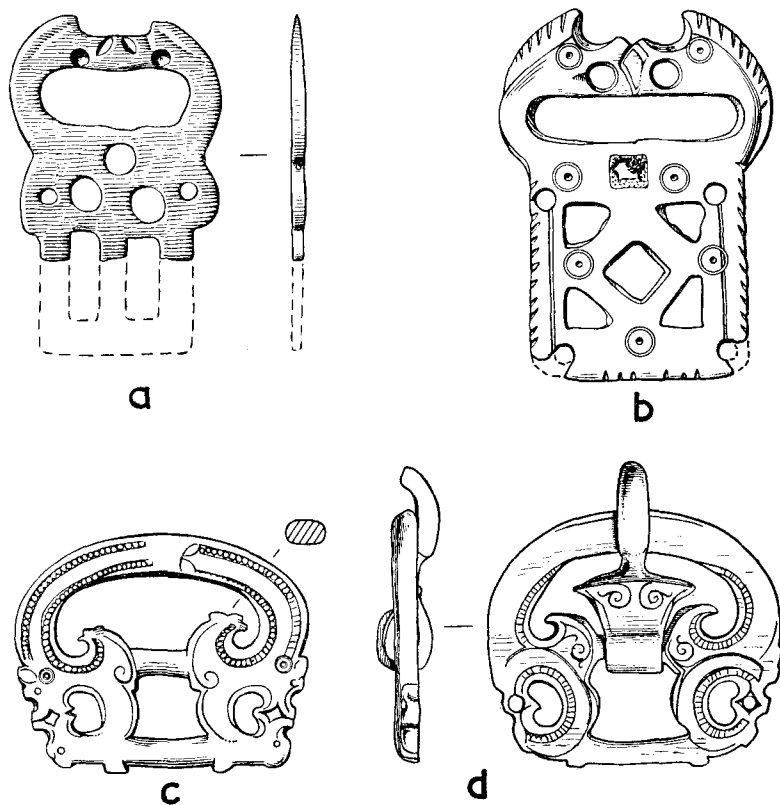
FIG. 19

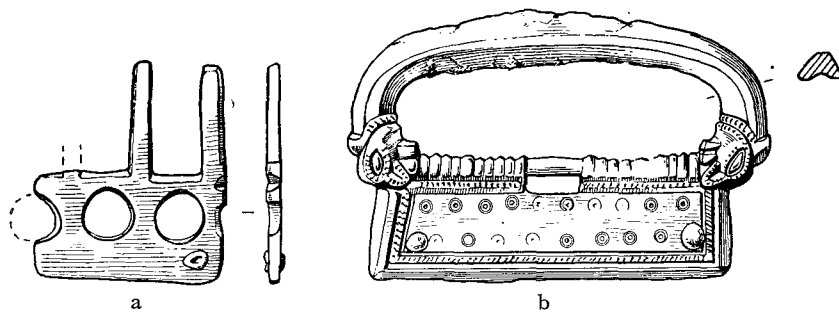*a-b.* Buckles of type II B, nos. 1-2; *c-d.* Buckles of type II C, nos. 1-2 (pp. 34, 57 f.). Sc. ¼

FIG. 19 *bis*

a. Fragment of buckle-plate, type II A, no. 25; *b.* Buckle, type III B, no. 3 (postscript, p. 68). Sc. ¼

Chance Finds

23. *Lakenheath*, Suffolk. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Baldwin Brown (1915), IV, pl. cliv, 2.

Loop only (FIG. 18, *j*): width 5·6 cm. Dolphins without crests, flat jaws with groove between, circlet eyes, collared necks. Line of punched dots along sides of loop. Terminals in form of small, open-jawed heads, with notched crests and dot eyes. Tongue missing.

Circumstance of find unknown.

24. *Saltersford*, Grantham, Lincs. Hull Museum Publications, no. 108, *Quarterly Record of Additions*, LIV (1916), 1-4, fig. 1. *Antiquary*, June 1914, pp. 207-8. *Archaeol. J.*, XCI (1934), 149, pl. xxviii, B

Loop only (FIG. 18, *k*): max. width 5 cm. An eccentric example. Confronted heads without crests, with open jaws, lozenge-shaped pellet, circlet eyes and pricked ears. Sides and base of loop decorated with incised zig-zag decoration. On curving outside edge of loop, at each side, a perching bird, apparently of pigeon family, cast in one with loop. Base of loop straight, pierced lobes at outside angle. (Apparently to attach buckle to belt.) Pierced attachments of usual type on under side. Terminals in form of full-face human masks. These have vertical hatching for hair, wide-set oval eyes, wedge-shaped noses, and straight mouths. Tongue missing. Unique, but apparently a variant of this general type.

Found on bank above filter beds of Grantham waterworks.

TYPE II B

Bronze buckles, basically similar to those of type II A, but on which the openwork plate is cast in one with the loop, resulting in the loss of the incurved terminals.

From Roman Site

1. *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum.

Loop and plate (FIG. 19, *a*): width 2·8 cm. Stylized dolphins with upstanding crests, jaws indicated by single slashes, punched dot eyes. Top of plate pierced by 3 openwork roundels, 2 rivet-holes, and the tops of two originally rectangular openings. Bottom of plate and tongue missing.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. Surface find.

From Anglo-Saxon Site

2. *Sleaford*, Lincs. Museum of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society.

Loop and plate (FIG. 19, *b*): length 5 cm. Dolphins well-executed with upstanding, notched crests, circlet eyes, openwork roundel below jaws, and lozenge-shaped pellet. Plate with openwork design of four triangles around a central lozenge, notched edges, grooves at sides, and surface decoration of circlet stamps. Rivet-holes at corners and square hole for tongue, now missing.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Associations not known.

TYPE II C

Bronze buckles which appear to have been derived ultimately from the involuted II A type, but which show considerable differences in construction and ornament. The interlocking hinge-components are missing, and instead there are two hinge-bars, around one of which was folded the back of the tongue, around the other the end of the belt. There is no evidence to suggest that these buckles ever had plates. The confronted dolphins in the middle of the II A loops are here missing, and instead we find a pair of confronted animal-heads at either side. These spring from the bottom of the loop and the ends of the outer hinge-bar. The tongue survives on one example only, and is attached to the inner hinge-bar. It has projecting wings at the sides—a simplified
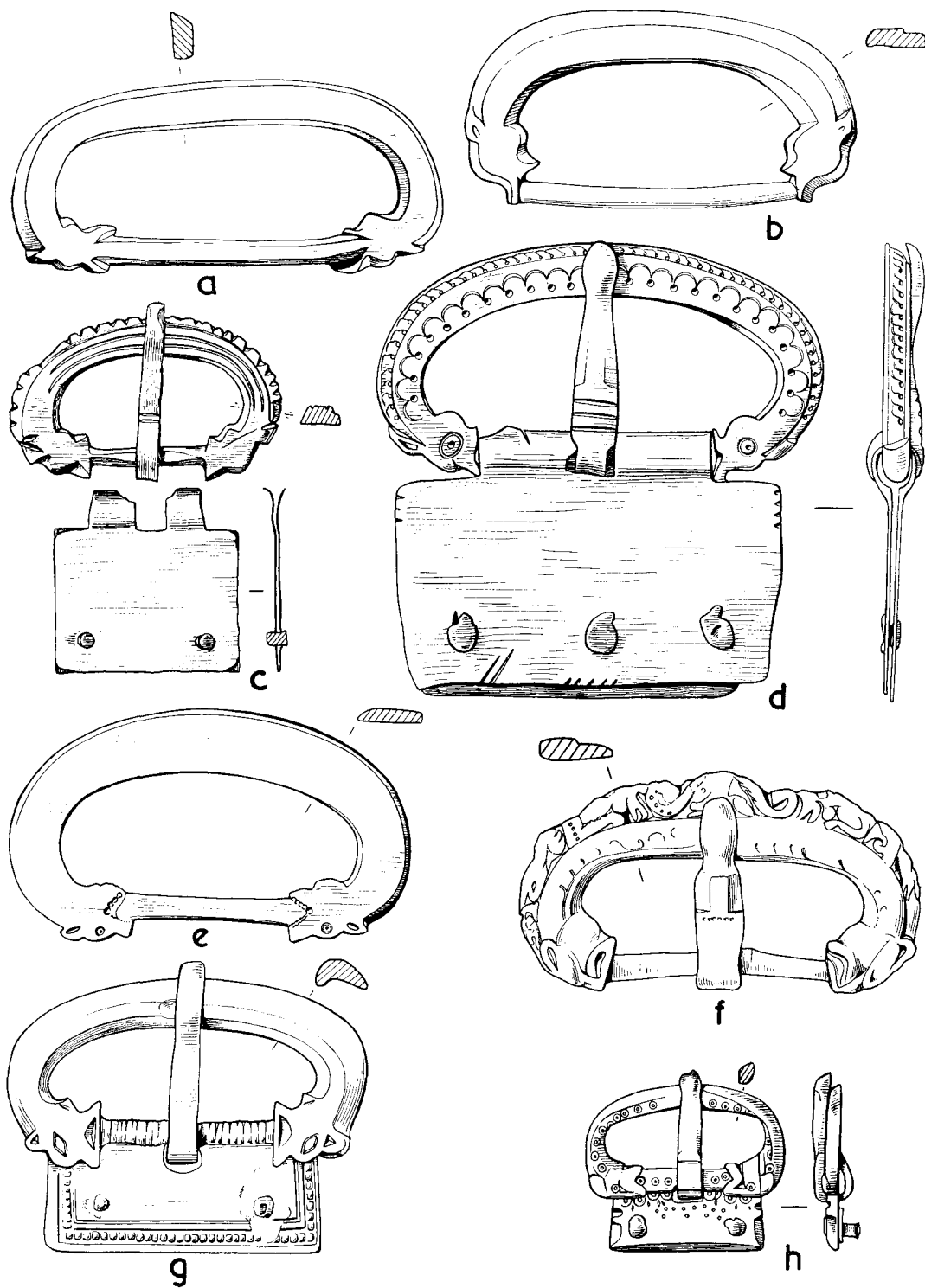
FIG. 20

a-f. Buckles of type III A, nos. 1, 3-7 (pp. 10 ff., 59 f.). (*a=1; b=4; c=3; d=6; e=5; f=7*).
g-h. Buckles of type III B, nos. 1-2 (pp. 34 ff., 60). Sc. $\frac{1}{1}$

version of the II A form. The edges of the loop are decorated with panels of billeting, and there are simplified scrolls on the involuted terminals and on the tongue.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

1.	*Bifrons*, Patrixbourne, Kent. Maidstone Museum. Baldwin Brown (1915), III, pl. lxx, 9; Leeds (1936), pl. xii.	Loop only (FIG. 19, *c*): width 3·9 cm. Example with well-executed animal-heads, with ears and open jaws. Rather worn.	Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave associations unknown. In Conyngham coll., material from some of earliest graves in cemetery. See also p. 49, I B, 13.
2.	*High Down*, Sussex. Worthing Museum. Reg. no. 3436. *Archaeologia*, LIV (1895), 377, pl. xxvii, 5.	Loop and tongue (FIG. 19, *d*): width 3·8 cm. Example with stylized animal heads. Rather worn.	Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 26, of woman. Associations: pair of bronze bow-brooches, annular brooch, and iron ring.

TYPE III A

Bronze buckles with semi-circular loops terminating in open-jawed animal heads confronted across the hinge-bars. The loop may be plain or decorated with chip-carved work, and incised or stamped designs. The heads vary in degree of naturalism as on the other buckle types. but they are intended to represent some sort of quadruped's head, perhaps lion or leopard. The plates may be cast or cut from sheet metal, folded double over the hinge-bar of the loops, and are semi-circular or a broad rectangle in form. Most are plain except for some kind of edge decoration.

From Roman Sites

1.	*Bradwell*, Essex. Colchester and Essex Museum.	Loop only (FIG. 20, *a*): width 6·5 cm. Loop plain, heads stylized but clear. Tongue missing.	'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Othona*. Unstratified find. Site has yielded high proportion of late 4th century coins and a few 5th-6th century Anglo-Saxon objects. Cf. *Report of the Colchester and Essex Museum* April 1947-March 1948, pp. 25-28, pl. ix, 1-2.
2.	*Dorchester*, Oxon. (Dyke Hills). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Kirk and Leeds (1954), pp. 63 ff., fig. 27, 1, pl. iv, A.	Complete example (FIG. 1, no. 1): length 7·2 cm. Loop plain and worn, heads stylized and indistinct, circlet eyes. Tongue curved at tip, bevelled edges and transverse grooves at back. Plate semi-circular with border of ovolo decoration, 3 rivets; repaired in antiquity with patch.	Late Roman cemetery outside walls of Roman town of Dorchester, grave 1, burial of man. Associations: strap-end (see p. 63, no. V A, 1), 3 disc attachments (see p. 66, nos. VI, 2-4), metal plates from sporran (see p. 66, no. VII, 1), bone toggle and metal plates.
3.	*Holbury*, West Dean, Wilts. Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum.	Complete example (FIG. 20, *c*): width 4·2 cm. Loop has grooved surface and notched edge, heads stylized. Plate rectangular, plain but for serrated edge, 2 rivets.	Romano-British villa. Among surface finds near late Roman building, together with other buckles, I A, 6 and II A, 8, pp. 43, 52, and late 4th century coins. *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, XIII (1872), 33, 276.
4.	*Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Bushe-Fox (1949), pl. xxxii, no. 67.	Loop only (FIG. 20, *b*): width 6·2 cm. Loop plain, heads stylized. Tongue missing.	'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From middle layer of inner stone-fort ditch, in association with coins up to house of Theodosius.

5. *Richborough*, Kent.   Loop only (FIG. 20, *e*): width 5·9 cm. Loop   As no. 4.
    Richborough   plain. Heads with clearly defined ears and
    Castle Museum.   eyes and punched dots along jaws. Tongue
    Bushe-Fox (1949), pl.   missing.
    xxxii, no. 68.

Chance Finds

6. *Icklingham*, Suffolk.   Complete example (FIG. 20, *d*): length 7 cm.   Exact   find-spot   not
    Moyses Hall   Well-executed heads with circlet eyes. Edge   known. Perhaps from the
    Museum, Bury St.   of loop decorated by band of diagonal tooling, Roman villa or the Anglo-
    Edmunds.   upper surface by arcade design of contiguous   Saxon   cemetery   on
                            crescentic stamps with dots at points of   Mitchell's Hill.
                            junction. Tongue waisted, with curved tip and
                            rectangular panel on back decorated with 3
                            transverse grooves. Plate folded double and
                            roughly cut, plain, with 3 rivets.

7. *Oxford*.   Loop and tongue (FIG. 20, *f*): width 6 cm. Loop   Circumstances   of   find
    Ashmolean Museum,   worn, crouching animals in chip-carved work   unknown.
    Oxford.   still visible around edges, circlet stamps on
                            upper surface, well-executed heads. Tongue
                            waisted with curved tip and rectangular panel
                            on back.

8. Unknown   Complete example (PL. I, A): width 11·7 cm.   Apparently   found   with
    provenience, Kent.   A fine example in 'chip-carved' work. The loop the attachment-plate (p.
    British Museum,   has clear animal-head terminals, a border of   68,   VII,   5)   and disc
    London.   triangles, and on the upper surface a panel of attachments (p. 66, VI,
    Reg. no. 1942, 10-7,   geometric motives like single arms of swastikas. 12-13).
    5.   There are two tongues with stylized animal-
                            heads at the tip, which are linked across the
                            back by a transverse bar decorated with pro-
                            jecting animal-heads; a cross-within-triangle
                            motive at the base of each tongue, and a
                            stamped circlet between. The plate has a milled
                            edge, and a central panel of swastikas and
                            triangles, bordered by a line of annulets. 2
                            rivets.

TYPE III B

Bronze buckles of similar form to type III A, but with plates cast in one piece with the loops.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

1. *Long Wittenham*,   Complete example (FIG. 20, *g*): width 7·2 cm.   Anglo-Saxon   cemetery,
    Berks.   Loop plain with well-executed animal heads,   grave   57,   of   woman.
    British Museum,   eyes oval. Rectangular plate with billeted   Associations: pottery jar
    London.   border and vertical grooving at top. Two rivets. with bossed and stamped
    Reg. no. 47, 2-8, 82.   decoration.
    Archaeologia, XXXVIII
    (1860) 333, pl. xix, 10.

2. *Sarre*, Thanet, Kent. Complete miniature example (FIG. 20, *h*):   Anglo-Saxon   cemetery.
    Maidstone Museum.   width 3 cm. Well-executed animal heads with   Grave not known.
                            circlet eyes. Plate rectangular, with notched
                            edges and two rivets. Circlet stamps on loop
                            and upper part of plate.

TYPE IV A

Bronze buckles with loops basically of type III A, but attached inside one- or two-piece rectangular plates, which are decorated with 'chip-carved' ornament and have one tubular side decorated with ribbing.
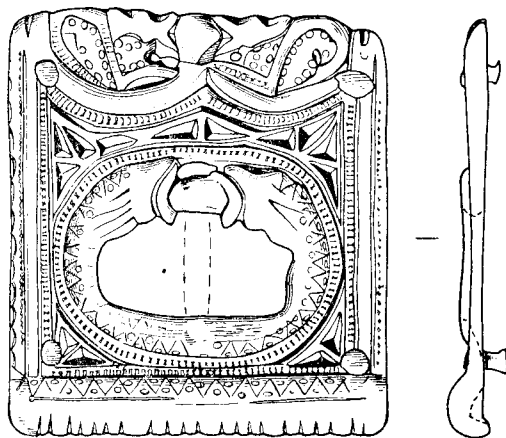
FIG. 21

Buckle, type IV A, no. 1, from Richborough, Kent (p. 62). Sc. $\frac{1}{1}$
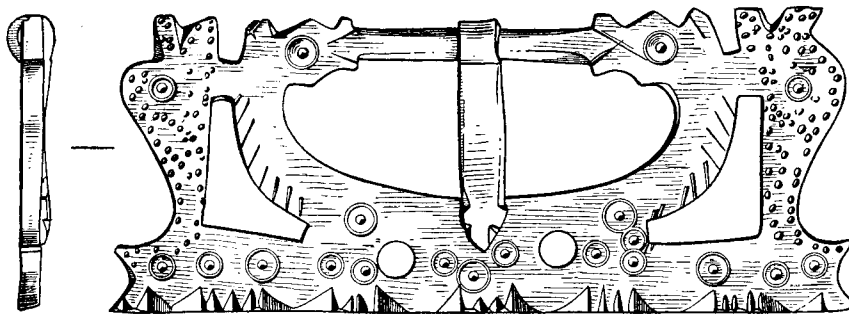
FIG. 22

Buckle, type IV B, no. 1, from Catterick, Yorks. (p. 62). Sc. $\frac{1}{1}$

From Roman Sites

1. *Richborough*, Kent.
Liverpool Museum.
Reg. no. M.6962.
Roach Smith (1850),
pl. v, fig. 2.

Complete except for tongue (FIG. 21): max. length 5·4 cm. Loop with well-executed animal heads, cast in fixed position inside the one-piece plate. This is decorated at one end with a pair of stylized confronted animals with back-turned heads. The remaining surfaces are occupied by crude geometric 'chip-carving'. The loop and tubular end are both ornamented with an incised zig-zag pattern with punched rings in the angles. Rivet-holes in corners of plate.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. Unstratified.

2. *Snodland*, Kent.
British Museum,
London.
Reg.   no.   1928,
5-11, 1.
Antiq. J., VII (1927),
522 ff.

Broken half of one-piece(?) plate (PL. II B): max. width 7 cm. It contains the oval aperture for the missing buckle, and is decorated in semi-classical style with tooled roundels containing engraved human busts on a background of niello. Between the roundels are 'chip-carved' scrolls. The plate is bordered by a line of bronze squares, in reserve against a nielloed field, each decorated by a circle of punched dots. Rivet-holes in corners.

Found near a Roman structure on site of Snodland gas-works.

Chance Finds

3. *Smithfield*, London.
British Museum,
London.
Reg. no. 1856, 7-1,
1470.
Smith (1923), fig. 4.

Complete example (PL. II A): max. length 9·5 cm. Loop, with stylized animal heads, and plain tongue, both swivel on hinge-attachments. One-piece plate enclosed in beaded frame and decorated by arrangements of coarse 'chip-carved' scrolls, paired or enclosed in beaded triangles and lozenges. Rivet-holes in corners.

Circumstances of find unknown.

4a. Unknown
provenience, but
perhaps from Kent.
Liverpool Museum.
Reg. no. M.6922.

Complete example, with two-piece plate (PL. III A): max. length 8·7 cm. Loop, with well-executed animal-heads, and tongue, both swivel on hinge-attachments. 'Chip-carved' decoration of running S-shaped scrolls on one half of plate, and scroll-rosettes within roundels on the other. Rivet-holes in corners.

4b-d. As no. 4a.
Liverpool Museum.
Reg. nos. M.6916-
6921.

Set of three belt-plates (PL. III, B-D), two triangular and one rectangular, which accompanied the buckle. Decoration of scroll and geometric patterns. Rivet-holes in corners.

TYPE IV B

Bronze loop basically of type III A, set in openwork frame.

From Roman Site

1. *Catterick*, Yorks.
Recently acquired by
the British Museum,
London.
Hildyard (1957), pp.
243 f., fig. 6, 12,
pl. ix.

Complete example (FIG. 22): width 9·6 cm. Semi-circular loop with open-jawed heads, confronted at ends of hinge-bar, which have large circlet eyes, ears, and hatched manes. Tongue with stylized animal head at tip. Loop enclosed on three sides in an ornamental frame or plate partially separated from it by openwork panels. This plate consists of a roughly straight bar, attached to centre of curved side of loop, which is decorated by ornamental notching in chip-carved style on its outer edge and by stamped circlets, large and small, on upper surface. Two openwork roundels on either side of where tip of tongue rests served as means of attachment to belt. At either side of loop, and joined to the bar of the plate, are realistic dolphins with open-jawed heads and circlet eyes, flat bellies, tapering backs, out-curved tails, and surface decoration of punched dots.

Romano-British town o *Cataractonium*. 1952 excavations. Building I, Room 1. On floor below occupation level, dated (by stratified coin) late 4th or 5th century. Same level as buckle no. I A, 2, p. 43.

TYPE V A

Strap-ends with pear-shaped front and splayed, square-ended, split butt, into which the belt end was inserted and then secured by one or more rivets. The ornament varies. Some are decorated in 'chip-carved' work with scrolls and marginal animals, others by stamped decoration. Many are plain.

From Roman Sites

1. *Dorchester*, Oxon. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Kirk & Leeds (1954), p. 66, pl. iv, A, fig. 27, 11.

(FIG. 1, no. 11): length 5·1 cm. Butt slightly bevelled, with 2 rivets. Pair of incised grooves divide off pear-shaped front.

Late Roman burials, grave 1, of man. Associations: zoomorphic buckle (p. 59, no. III A, 2), disc-attachments (p. 66, no. VI, 2-4), metal plates (p. 66, no. VII, 1), bone toggle, misc. bronze plates.

2. *Leicester* (Jewry Wall site). Leicester Museum. Reg. no. J.W. 84.15. Kenyon (1948), p. 255, fig. 84, 15.

(FIG. 23, *a*): length 7 cm. Two rivets. Incised groove marks off pear-shaped front which is decorated in chip-carved work. Inside a double grooved frame is a design of seven spiral scrolls, 3 in triangular cluster at top, and 4, downward curling, in pairs at bottom. On lower edges a pair of stylized, crouching, marginal animals.

Romano-British town of *Ratae Coritanorum*. From disturbed levels, which produced other late Roman finds and the buckles (p. 52, nos. II A, 9 and 10).

3. *Milton-next-Sittingbourne*, Kent. Maidstone Museum.

(FIG. 2, *a*): length 11·5 cm., but front damaged. Two rivets on butt. Plain except for transverse moulding between butt and front.

Circumstances of find not known. Probably from late Roman burial. Associated with 2 disc-attachments (p. 66, no. VI, 5-6) and 2 attachment-plates (p. 68, nos. VII, 2-3).

4. *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Reg. no. 335. Bushe Fox (1928), pl. xxi, 48.

(FIG. 23, *e*): length 3·9 cm., tip broken. Single rivet in butt, which has notched edges and surface decoration of roughly scored lines. On front, a 'chip-carved' design of a single S-shaped scroll enclosed in a tooled frame.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From disturbed levels.

5. *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Reg. no. 1631. Bushe Fox (1949), pl. liii, 207.

(FIG. 23, *d*): butt only, width 2·5 cm. 2 rivets. Decorated in centre with crudely 'chip-carved' seven-pointed star inside a grooved and tooled frame. Edges notched.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From inner ditch of stone fort at depth of 5 ft. in filling; layer containing Theodosian coins.

6. *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Reg. no. 4647.

(FIG. 23, *b*): butt missing, length 4·5 cm. Decorated down centre with 3 large circlet stamps, border and one transverse band of pellet within triangle stamps, and three more of these stamps in line up from tip.

'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. Details of find not known.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

7. *Cassington*, Oxon. Purwell Farm site. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Oxoniensia*, VII (1942), 65-6, fig. 15, pl. v, c.

(FIG. 23, *f*): length 6 cm. Two rivet-holes in butt. Plain except for incised grooves at junction of butt and front.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 2, of woman. Re-used as charm or keepsake. Threaded on wire ring with 2 bone discs and bronze tag, and placed in purse that also contained 2 boar tusks and a fragment of glass. Other associations: pair of saucer brooches with 5-spiral decoration, amber and crystal beads, and a knife.
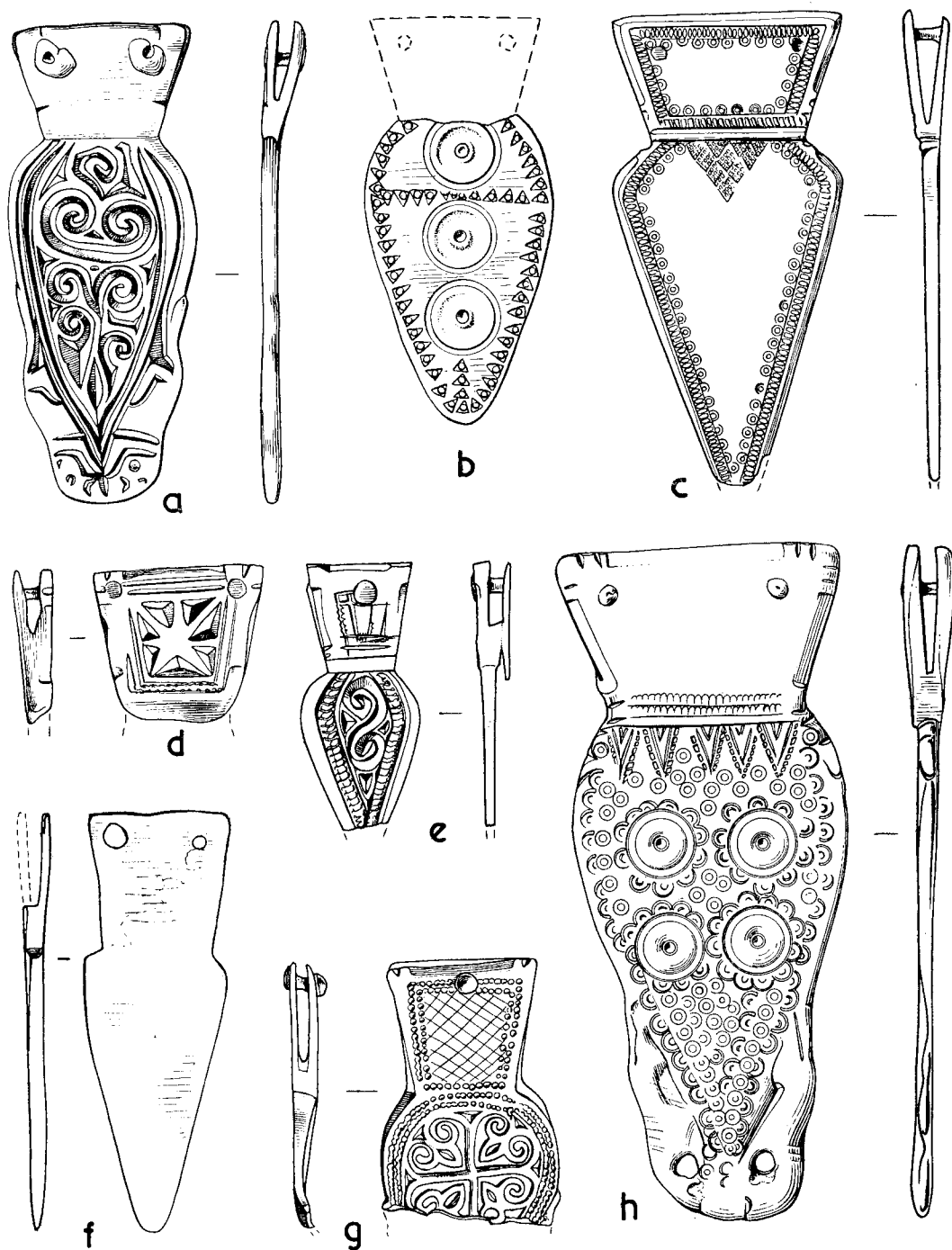
FIG. 23

Strap-ends of type v A, nos. 2, 4-10 (pp. 10 ff., 63 ff.). Sc. ¼

(a=2; b=6; c=8; d=5; e=4; f=7; g=10; h=9)

8. *Croydon*, Surrey.
    Croydon Public
    Library.
    Proc. Soc. Antiq., xv
    (1895), 328 ff.
    V.C.H. Surrey, 1, pl.
    opp. p. 257, no. 7.

(FIG. 23, *c*): length 7 cm. Tip broken. 2 rivets. Butt divided from front by transverse ridge. All edges decorated by row of circlets inside panel of billeting. Immediately below butt an engraved pendant triangle, divided diagonally into a series of lozenges filled with punched dots.

Circumstances of find not known. Published with unassociated finds from Anglo-Saxon graves.

Chance Finds

9. *Icklingham*, Suffolk.
    Cambridge
    University Museum
    of Archaeology and
    Ethnology.
    no. 32. 346.

(FIG. 23, *h*): length 9·6 cm. 2 rivets. Tooled grooves divide butt from shoe-shaped end which is decorated at lower edges by worn crouching animals with openwork roundels below neck. Four large stamped circlets in middle surrounded by dense surface decoration of small circlets. Around the edges, and around each large circlet, are rows of crescent-shaped stamps. Below grooves at top are five tooled, pendent triangles.

Circumstances of find unknown.

10. *Ixworth*, Suffolk.
    Ashmolean Museum,
    Oxford.
    no. 1909.442.

(FIG. 23, *g*): tip broken, length 4 cm. Single rivet at top of butt, which has notched upper edge and a fill-up of cross-hatched decoration bordered by double line of punched dots. Similar border to the remaining part of pear-shaped front and central rosette made up of four peltas in low relief. At the broken edge of the tails of a pair of crouching marginal animals just visible.

As no. 9.

TYPE V B

Bronze strap-end, in form a broader version of type v A. Decoration florid.

From Anglo-Saxon Site

1. *North Luffenham*,
    Rutland.
    Oakham School
    Museum.
    *Assoc. Arch. Socs.
    Reports and Papers*,
    xxvii (1903), pl. iv,
    7; *V.C.H. Rutland*, 1,
    frontispiece, fig. 5.

(FIG. 24, *a*): length 4·2 cm. Decorated in chip-carved work. Butt has triangular panel containing a foliate design, animals crouching back-to-back in corners. 2 rivets. Front in open-work. Central lozenge contains stylized human mask and pair of legs. At sides, crouching marginal animals, facing towards tip. Very worn.

Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Grave associations not known.

TYPE VI

Bronze disc-attachments. These are composed of a decorated disc with a suspension-loop which projects down the back as a long tapering tang. In most cases a stout cast bronze ring has been attached to the loop. Disc and tang are gripped together by a strong rivet, the head of which appears in the centre of the disc. The whole device was clearly used to link together two or more leather belts or straps. The discs are more or less standardized in their decoration, which is in 'chip-carved' work, and usually consists of concentric circles around the central rivet, regular notching around the edge, and transverse grooves at the base of the suspension-loop.

From Roman Sites

    Caistor-by-Norwich,
    Norfolk.
    In the possession of
    Professor Donald At-
    kinson, by whose
    permission we pub-
    lish it.

(FIG. 24, *b*): example with ring. Frilled border decorated with deeply carved triangles.

Romano-British town of *Venta Icenorum*. 1931-3 ex-cavations on site of the two *fora*. Unstratified, but in area which produced ample evidence of late occupation.

2-4.	*Dorchester*, Oxon. (Dyke Hills). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Kirk and Leeds (1954), pp. 63 ff., fig. 27, 5, 7, 8, pl. iv, A.	(FIG. 1, nos. 5, 7 and 8): 3 examples, one very worn. All with cross-tooling on the concentric circles. 2 had bronze tags attached to the rings. They are decorated with transverse lines.	Late Roman cemetery outside walls of Roman town of Dorchester, grave 1, of man. Associations: strap-end (p. 63, no. v A, 1), buckle (p. 59, no. iii A, 2), metal plates (p. 66, no. vii, 1), bone toggle, etc.
5-6.	*Milton-next-Sittingbourne*, Kent. Maidstone Museum.	(FIG. 2, *b* and *c*): pair, one without ring. Cross-tooling on the concentric circles.	Circumstances of find not known. Probably from late Roman burial. Associations: strap-end (p. 63, no. v A, 3), 2 attachment-plates (p. 68, no. vii, 2-3).
7-9.	*Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Bushe-Fox (1949), pp. 123, 145, pls. xxxii, 70, lii, 187-8.	(FIG. 24, *c*, *d* and *g*): 3 examples, very similar, 2 with rings, 1 without.	'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From inner stone fort ditch, in association with Theodosian coins.

From Anglo-Saxon Sites

| 10. | *Croydon*, Surrey. Croydon Public Library. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xv (1895), 328 ff. *V.C.H. Surrey*, i, 260, pl. opp. p. 257, no. 9. | (FIG. 24, *e*): example with unusually long tang. Cross-tooling on some of the concentric circles. | Circumstances of find not known. Published with unassociated material from Anglo-Saxon graves. |

Chance Finds

| 11. | *Croxton*, SW. Norfolk. Norwich Castle Museum. Reg. no. 13.07. *Norf. Antiq. Misc.*, 2 ser. ii (1907), 1-4, and plate; *Norf. Archaeol.*, xxvii (1940), 175, 183, 237; R. R. Clarke, *East Anglia* (1960), p. 129. | (FIG. 24, *f*): example with ring. Border of ovolo decoration and stamped circlets. | Surface find near Mickle Hill round barrow. |
| 12-13. | Unknown provenience, Kent. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 1942, 10-7, 5. | (PL. 1, B, C): pair with stamped triangles and punched dots around central rivet on disc. Both with rings. | Apparently found with the fine chip-carved buckle and attachment-plate (pp. 60, 68, nos. iii A, 8 and vii, 5). |

TYPE VII

Bronze tubular-sided attachment-plates. These are usually composed of a rolled cylinder of sheet metal, decorated by ribbing, whose edges grip the long side of a rectangular plate. Presumably some sort of solder was used to strengthen the joint. The plate was secured to the belt by 2 rivets. These plates seem to have been either the attachments for a military sporran, or else the ends of the broad military belt.

From Roman Sites

| 1. | *Dorchester*, Oxon. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Kirk and Leeds (1954), pp. 66-7, 71-2, figs. 27, 3, and 28. | (FIG. 1, no. 3): single plain example, found with a series of rectangular bronze plates which seem to have also been part of the belt furniture. | Late Roman cemetery outside the walls of Roman town of Dorchester, grave 1, of man. Associations: buckle (p. 59, iii A, 2), strap-end (p. 63, v A, 1), disc-attachments (p. 66, vi, 2-4), bone toggle. |
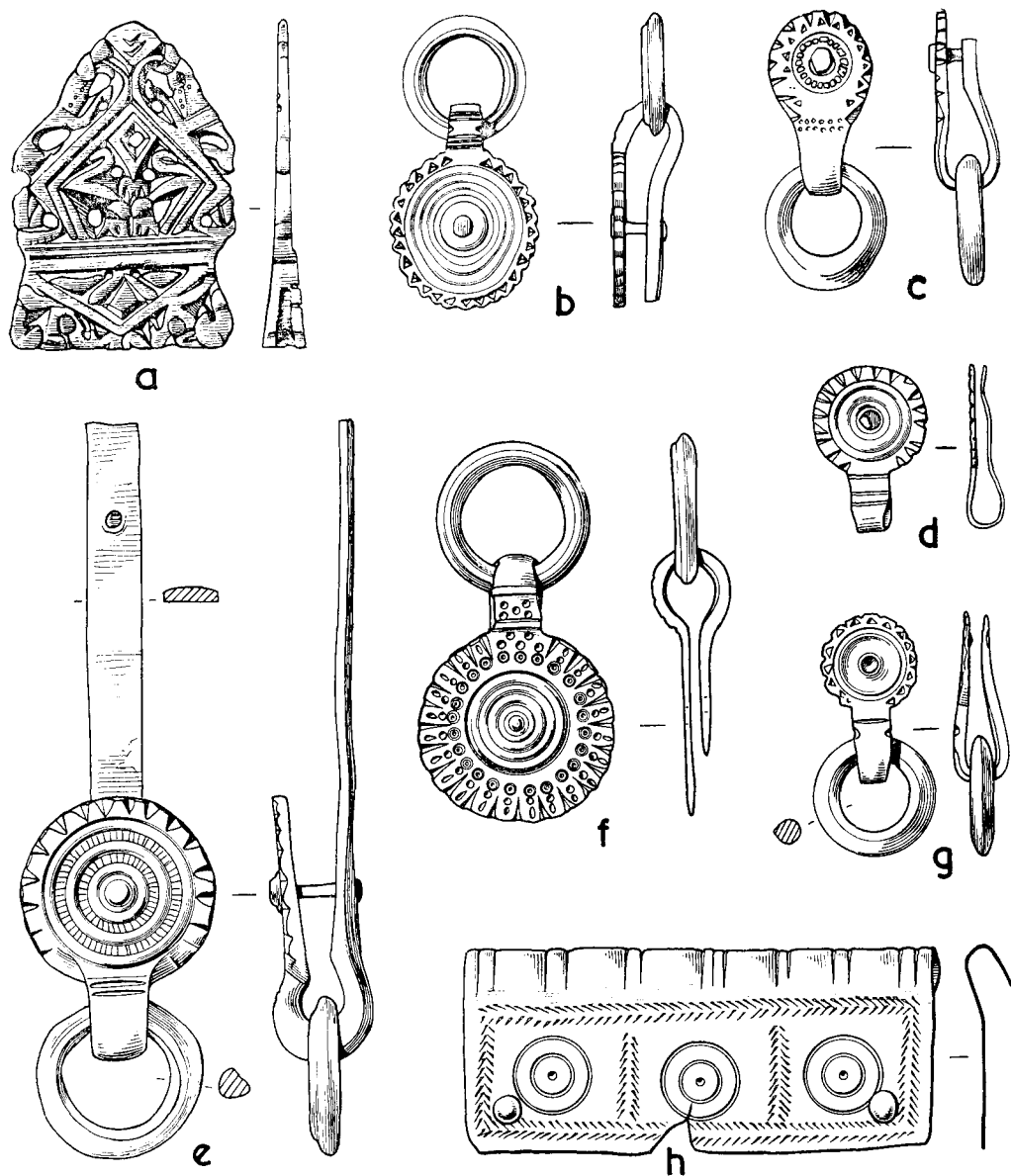
FIG. 24

a. Strap-end, type V B, no. 1 (pp. 38 f., 63).

b-g. Disc-attachments of type VI, nos. 1, 7-11 (p. 66). (*b=1; c-d=7-8; e-f=10-11; g=9*).

h. Attachment-plate, type VII, no. 4 (p. 68). Sc. ¼

| 2-3. | *Milton-next-Sittingbourne*, Kent. Maidstone Museum. | (FIG. 2, *d* and *e*): matching pair with border of incised running-spiral decoration along edges of plates. | Circumstances of find not known. Probably from late Roman burial. Associations: strap-end (p. 63, no. V A, 3:), disc-attachments (p. 66, no. VI, 5-6). |
| 4. | *Richborough*, Kent. Richborough Castle Museum. Reg. no. 2793. | (FIG. 24, *h*): a one-piece imitation in sheet bronze of the more usual composite form. Decorated by 3 inscribed circlets enclosed in panels with border of tooling in herring-bone pattern. | 'Saxon-Shore' fort of *Rutupiae*. From middle layer of outer ditch of stone fort, a level which produced many Theodosian coins. |

Chance Finds

| 5. | Unknown provenience, Kent. British Museum, London. Reg. no. 1942, 10-7, 5. | (PL. I, D): fine example in 'chip-carved' work with milled edges. In the centre are three square panels filled with a composite pelta design, and around them is a border of running tendrilled scrolls. | Apparently found with the fine chip-carved buckle (p. 60, no. III A, 8) and the disc-attachments (p. 66, nos. VI, 12-13). |

POSTSCRIPT

After this paper had gone to press two more buckles were discovered:

Type II A

| 25. | *Luton*, Beds. Luton Museum. Reg. no. L/50/33. *Antiq. J.*, VIII (1928), 187, pl. xxxii, 8. | Fragment of plate only (FIG. 19 bis). It may originally have been decorated with three openwork rectangles with roundels at top and bottom. | Anglo-Saxon cemetery, grave 8, of a woman. Associations: pair of bronze disc brooches with engraved circles and stamped decoration. *Antiq. J.*, VIII (1928), pl. xxvii, 1-2. |

Type III B

| 3. | Unknown provenience but probably Kent. Royal Museum, Canterbury. Reg. no. 2187. | Tongue missing (FIG. 19 bis): width 5·7 cm. Loop plain with well-executed animal heads with oval eyes and collared necks; decorated with tooling. Rectangular plate with grooved and tooled border, two rows of stamped circlets, and vertical grooving at top. Two iron rivets. | |

The Luton buckle-plate adds one more to the already numerous group of type II A buckles. It was buried in worn and broken condition in a cemetery which has produced other very early material.

The Canterbury Museum buckle is the third known example of the type III B buckle found in this country. Presumably it came from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Like the other two, it is in origin a continental piece, and most resembles examples from Tongres (Belgium) and Mainz (Germany).[128]

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