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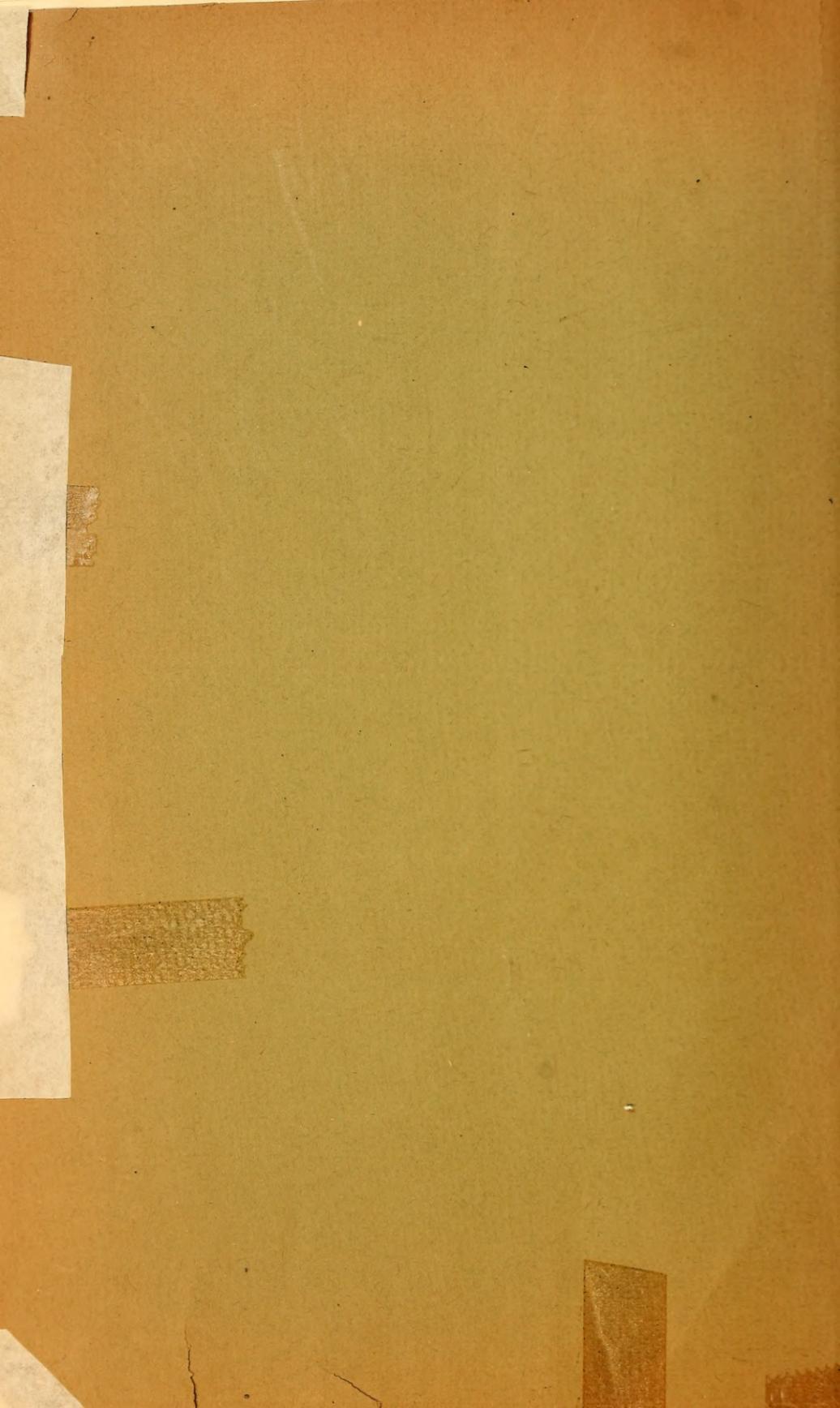
No. 8.

The cruciform brooches of Norway.

By

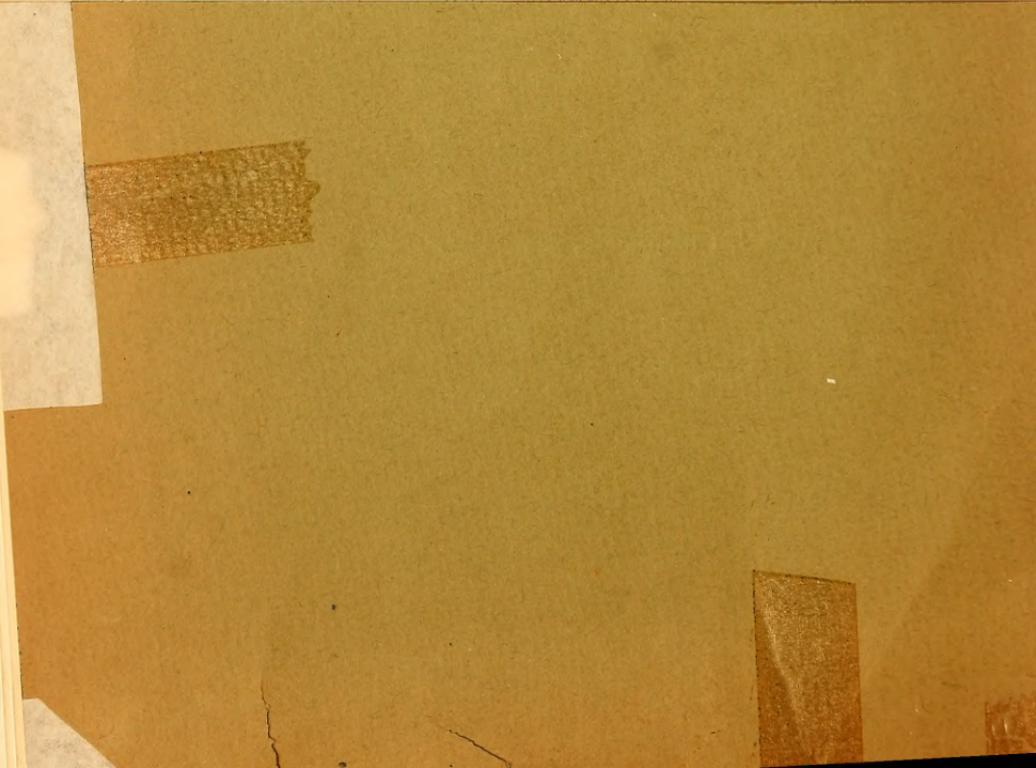
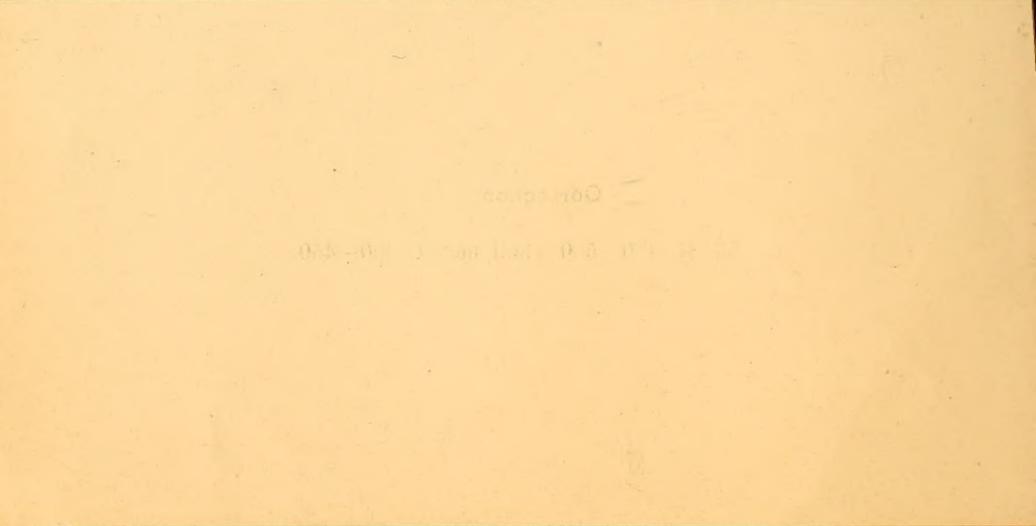
Haakon Schetelig.

(With 194 illustrations in the text).



Correction :

p. 153, II. 400—500, shall be: II. 400—450.



Bergens Museums Aarbog 1906.

No. 8.

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Preface.

The most necessary basis for all researches in prehistoric archaeology is an exact knowledge of the antiquities themselves, as it is impossible to draw conclusions from the combinations of antiquities in the graves or from the local distribution of certain types without being familiar with the forms of antiquities concerned.

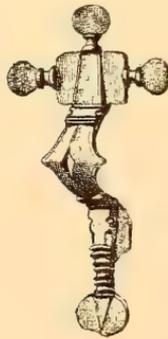
The study of forms for their own sake is thus quite as indispensable to the archaeologist as grammatical studies are to the linguist, and when published, the value of this study should not be estimated from its immediate results only, but it should also be considered as a contribution to the material accessible to the scientific public. Upon this principle I have given in the following pages a description of the cruciform brooches of Norway, recording all the varieties even when my explanation of the facts may seem doubtful, or when I have not been able to give any satisfactory explanation at all.

As the history of cruciform brooches, in its main features, has already been given in several publications, my chief purpose has not been to start any new theories, but to give a complete survey of the whole material in order to establish a basis for current opinions of the subject. For this purpose I have found it desirable to give as many illustrations as possible — taken partly from other publications and partly from original drawings and photographs — although the number of figures may thus seem rather out of proportion to the text. My conclusions will be found new only in very few points, and I do not pretend to have made any discoveries of importance. But with regard to some questions where opinions are divided, I hope to have afforded the means to a better understanding, for instance as to the origin of the type, and the relations

between the cruciform brooches found in different parts of Scandinavia and England.

In the text and the foot-notes are given complete references to publications concerning these brooches. For much valuable information and for many of the drawings and photographs I am greatly indebted to the directors and keepers of Scandinavian, English, and German museums, and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for all the kindness shown to me when engaged in these researches. I wish especially to thank the following gentlemen who have kindly allowed me to trouble them with various questions: Mr. G. GUSTAFSON, Professor at Kristiania, Mr. GUSTAV MØRK, of the Kristiania Museum, Dr. SOPHUS MÜLLER, Director of the Copenhagen Museum, Mr. CARL NEERGAARD, of Copenhagen, Dr. OSCAR ALMGREN, of Stockholm, and Mr. REGINALD A. SMITH, of the British Museum.

Bergen, July 1906.



I. Typological description of the cruciform brooches.

1. Origin of the type.

The term „The cruciform brooch“ as it is generally used by the Scandinavian archaeologists especially means that Teutonic form the upper part of which consists of a square flat plate, attached to the bow on one side and bearing on each of the other three sides a moulded knob. This cross-like part of the brooch which has given its name to the type, is constantly preserved through the many varying stages of development, and also gives an undisputable proof that the different forms enclosed by this signification, though often much diverging from each other, must all be derived from a common origin. They are a branch of that large class of brooches commonly called the cross-bow brooches, a class which has best preserved many of the features of the early brooches with returned foot, and consequently they belong to that family of brooches which, during the last two centuries of the Roman empire, were used all over Western Europe, both in the Roman provinces and in the Teutonic districts.

Before entering upon our special research into the origin of the Teutonic cruciform brooches, we must make out the limits of our subject by excluding those forms which, although apparently similar to our series and in all cases closely allied to it, have not directly contributed to the main development of the type here in question.

In the different parts of Western and Northern Europe we find in the 4th cent. A. D. a number of local variations of the cross-bow brooch. Of these variations we may at once put aside the Prussian forms, where the spring-coil always is very long and whose foot in its later development gets that particular shape called the

starpattern foot.¹⁾ The Prussian forms may perhaps have influenced some of the late varieties of the cruciform brooches — as we shall see below — but they touch in no respect the early development of this type.

The brooch which was in the 4th cent. most commonly used in the Roman provinces (fig. 1)²⁾ and which is so well known to all students of the archaeology of Northern Europe has, on the other hand, been regarded as the prototype of the cruciform brooches by

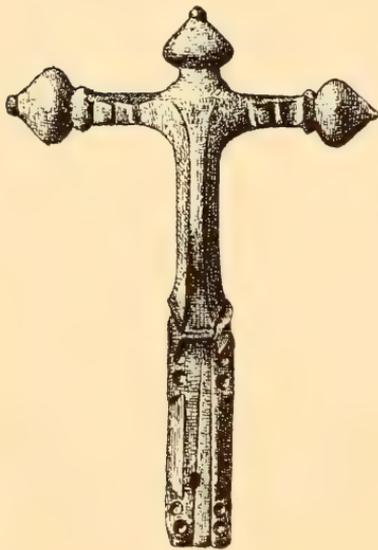


Fig. 1. 1/1.

two of the first authorities of Scandinavia, dr. I. UNDSET and dr. SOPHUS MÜLLER.³⁾ A different opinion has always been pronounced by the Swedish archaeologists, from the first great typological researches by dr. H. HILDEBRAND to the recent books by dr. O. ALMGREN and dr. B. SALIN. The Swedish school finds, in contradiction to dr. UNDSET and dr. MÜLLER, in the cruciform brooch a form of pure Teutonic origin developed from the brooch with returned foot. I shall here try to give detailed proofs that the last mentioned opinion is the right one, though it must always be understood that the Roman forms of that age generally influenced

the taste of Teutonic tribes, even in cases where the different elements constituting the form as a type owed their origin to entirely native

¹⁾ Illustrations of such Prussian brooches are found: DR. ALMGREN: Studien über nordeurop. Fibelform. Stockholm 1897, fig. 167 and 168. — Photographisches Album der Ausstellung zu Berlin, Section I, Taf. 9—11 (brooches with starpattern foot Taf. 10, fig. 445—450). — DR. SALIN: Die altgermanische Thierornamentik, Stockholm 1904, p. 69 ss.

²⁾ The specimen is found in the Rhine-provinces, now in the Bergen Museum. To the development of this type see ALMGREN, l. c. p. 88.

³⁾ INGVALD UNDSET: Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa p. 295. — DR. SOPHUS MÜLLER: Ordnung af Danmarks Oldsager, Jernalderen fig. 256 and text p. 59 (to fig. 548). — The same opinion was pronounced by Mr. B. E. BENDIXEN as early as 1877 (see Ab. 1877, p. 191: „This form seems to be a provincial or local development of the late Roman brooch with three knobs“). — H. HILDEBRAND: Bidrag til spännets historia, Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige IV, p. 201. — ALMGREN l. c. p. 87.

type as the following four figures (figs. 3—6).¹⁾ They have all the upper knob placed directly upon the top of the bow, and the heavy and solid character of the form with its thick and sharply faceted bow gives them rather a Roman appearance compared with the pure Teutonic brooches of the 4th cent. They are, however, most decidedly pointed out as a form imported in our district by the circumstance that they are always very rare²⁾, while the genuine Teutonic type, our cruciform brooch, is found in great numbers. As is seen from the figures, the Roman type has, in the Northern countries, gone through no remarkable development, but only some more general changes, which followed its transfer into Teutonic hands; the foot has become longer and narrower, and the tension of the pin is nearly always brought about by a short spring-coil, the Romans generally preferring for this purpose a simple hinge with back-stop. The ornamentation too, as seen in figs. 5 and 6, is purely Teutonic, and the transverse section of the bow in figs. 4 and 6 has certainly a non-Roman appearance.

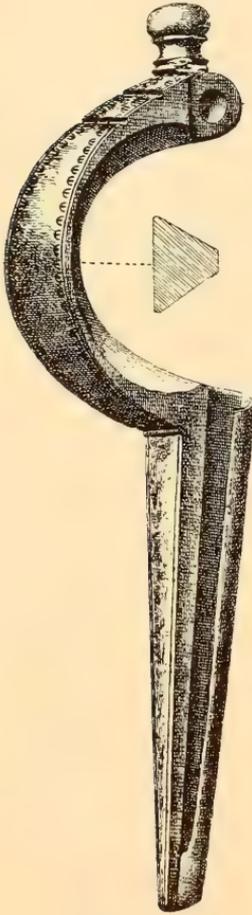


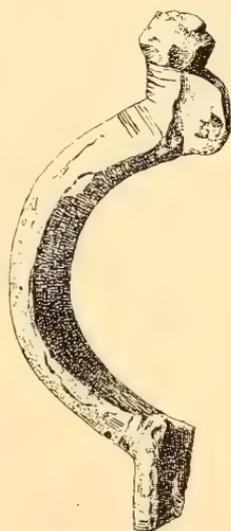
Fig. 6. $\frac{1}{4}$.

The next one, fig. 6, might be referred to the same century, and probably the latter half of it, as it was found associated with a bronze-vessel

¹⁾ Fig. 3: Stockholm Museum, no. 5191, published with the kind permission of the Museum and Academy of Stockholm; — fig. 4: Slettebø, Egersund pgd. Jæderen, B. 2293, LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 54; — fig. 5: RYGH, fig. 242; — fig. 6: Tveiten, Mo pgd. Telemarken, C. 8434, Ab. 1877, fig. 16.

²⁾ Compare ALMGREN, l. c. p. 88, and 198. He makes in his lists no difference between the Roman brooches of this sort and the Teutonic imitations.

of the same form as RYGH fig. 353. The youngest specimen of this sort which I have seen, is given as fig. 7;¹⁾ it is said to have been found in a grave, containing besides the brooch some weapons which are not likely to be older than the 6th cent. The brooch itself indicates by its form, especially by the bow which is broad and concave from the underside, a later stage of development. The other parts show very little variation from the original type, an evident proof that it has not been this form, which produced the rich development of the cruciform brooches of the 5th and 6th cent. in Scandinavia. We must, however, before leaving it, note another form, produced by a slight variation of the Roman type and represented here by the specimens figs. 8 and 9.²⁾ The only difference from the form described above is found in the piece separating the upper knob from the end of the bow. Though this detail is found in no Roman brooch, the connexion with those mentioned above is not to be mistaken; it has perhaps come up as a form of compromise, the Teutonic brooches of the same family always having the knob placed a little above the end of the bow, though arranged in another way than the variety treated here.³⁾ That this one is closely connected with the Roman type is, moreover, brought to evidence by some of them having, instead of a spring-coil after the common Teutonic fashion, a hinge just of the same arrangement as the contemporary brooches from the Roman provinces. We find this peculiarity in the specimen fig. 10⁴⁾, — probably from the time about 400 — showing not only the Roman arrangement of the hinge but also an imitation of the solid beam which, in the Roman forms, took the place of the spring-coil of the Teutonic brooches. The other parts of this

Fig. 7. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Tuneim, Lye pgd. Jæderen. Stavanger Museum, no. 111—117.

²⁾ Fig. 8: Gjerløv, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. Tønsberg Museum, no. 40. — Fig. 9: Øvstebo, Vikedal pgd. Ryfylke. Stavanger Museum, no. 2261, Stav. mus. aarsb. 1900, p. 71.

³⁾ For the history of this detail compare also MESTORF: *Altertümer*, fig. 581.

⁴⁾ Littleland, Haaland pgd. Jæderen, Stavanger Museum, no. 2595. Stav. mus. aarsb. 1903. p. 98.

brooch bear evident marks of its Teutonic origin; it must be ranged among the similar Teutonic brooches figured above.

It is clear that such imitations of the Roman brooches have little to do with the origin of the type especially signified — in England and Scandinavia — as the cruciform brooches. The brooches figs. 7—10 and others of the same family, though not completely without descendants among the later Scandinavian forms, are well distinguished from the cruciform brooches in the meaning I have

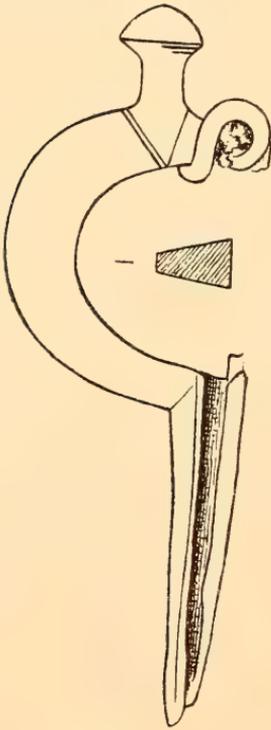
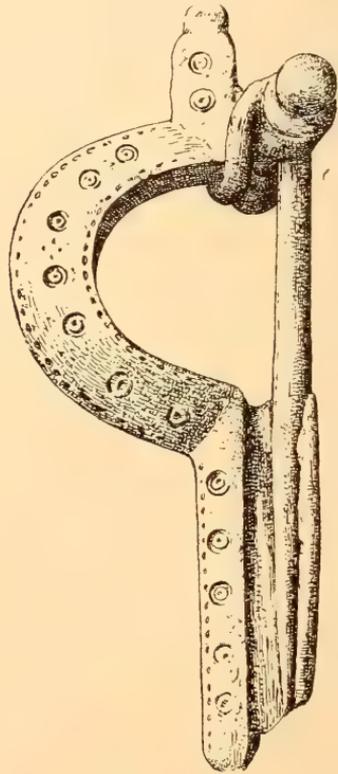


Fig. 8.

Fig. 9. $\frac{1}{1}$.

given to this signification. The question being of some interest, I will in a few words mention some brooches which are, I think, representing the later development of the half Roman forms, in spite of my studies upon this point not being quite complete. I think it is necessary to explain in that way the specimens figs. 11 and 12;¹⁾

¹⁾ Fig. 11: Vestre Vestrum, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. C. 12377. Ab. 1885, p. 114. — Fig. 12: Bjerke, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. C. 2496. RYGH fig. 245.

respecting the upper part of the brooch this form has certainly sprung from another origin than the common cruciform brooches, and it resembles much upon some of the brooches illustrated above. A later stage of the development of the same form is shown as fig. 13.¹⁾

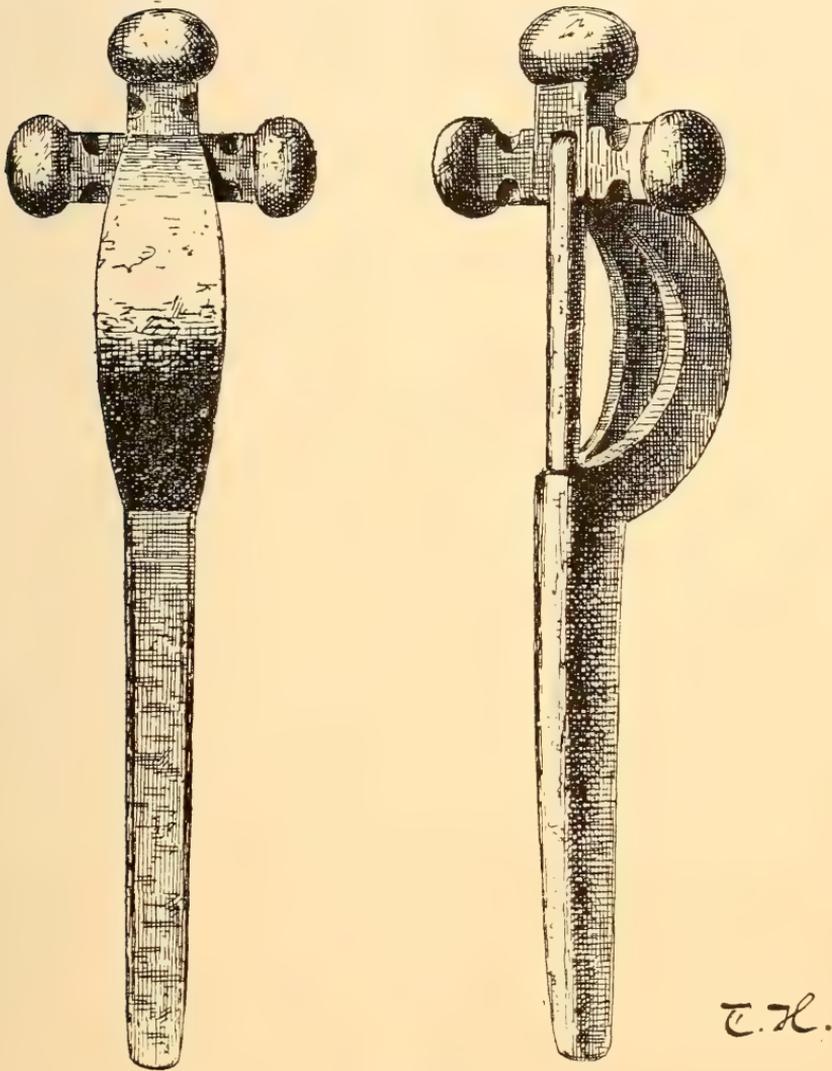


Fig. 10. $\frac{1}{1}$.

In all the forms hitherto seen, we miss the square plate at the top of the bow which is one of the most characteristic elements

¹⁾ Obrestad, Haa pgd. Jæderen. B. 4254. Ab. 1884, p. 86.

of our series. We are forced, therefore, to exclude from our special research both the Roman brooches of the 4th cent. and the Teutonic imitations of them, as they have not directly contributed to the development of the cruciform type, and by searching elsewhere for the origin of the detail in question — the plate at the top of the bow, which is commonly called the „head-plate“ of the brooch — we must acknowledge the non-Roman origin of the cruciform brooches.

The brooches with returned foot appear in the Western and Northern parts of the Teutonic district in the form given here as fig. 14.¹⁾ They are rather large brooches, always with a semi-circular bow, a very short spring-coil, and a long and narrow foot.

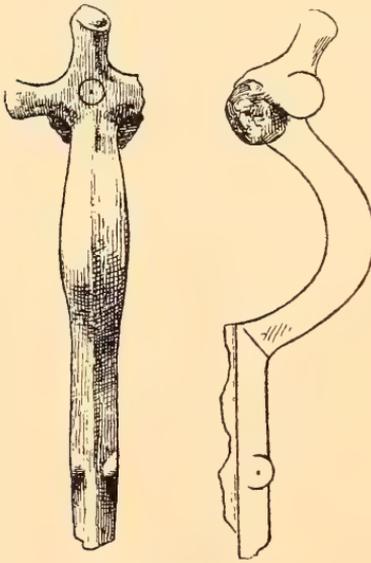


Fig. 11. $\frac{1}{1}$.

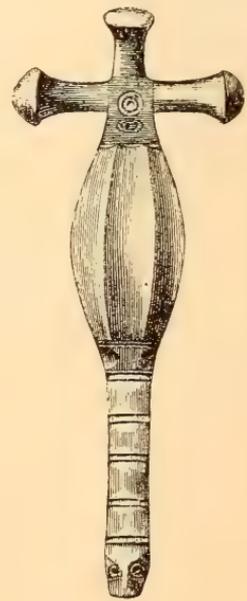


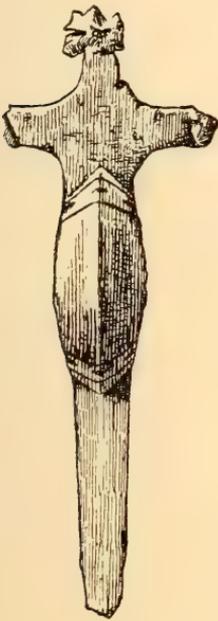
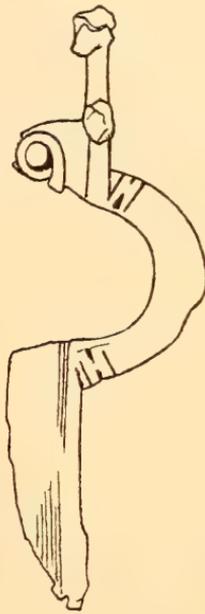
Fig. 12. $\frac{1}{1}$.

They have often a knob placed at the top of the bow, or two knobs fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil; in most cases there are three knobs, one at the top of the bow, and two fixed upon the axis. The knobs have probably been introduced here by imitation of Roman forms, though many other Teutonic brooches of the same age are provided with knobs partly showing forms very different from the Roman ones. But at least the knobs here in question recall the Roman taste. This is, however, a circumstance of no

¹⁾ Myklebostad, Lødingen pgd. Nordland. C. 10617. Ab. 1881, p. 143.

great importance, the type as a whole being purely Teutonic with no more remarkable traces of the Roman influence than most of the other barbarian productions of the same time. The bow is comparatively broad, like a ribbon — not thick and high as the Roman form, — the facets are not very marked, and the arrangement of the upper part — „the head“ — of the brooch at once presents itself as quite different from the Roman and half Roman forms.

From the varying number of knobs on these brooches of the 4th. cent. we may deduce several of the different types of the following time. The simple and most primitive variety, provided with

Fig. 13. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 14. $\frac{1}{1}$.

no knobs at all, proved to be least fit for any changes. Of course it soon loses the curious detail called the returned foot, but in other respects we find its descendants nearly unchanged in the 6th cent., while other forms of the same family had gone through a considerable development. It is naturally explained by the circumstance that the simplest brooches, generally being the smallest ones too, had a practical purpose only and were not regarded as ornaments, in which case the claim of changing tastes ought to be followed. — They are found in great numbers in Norwegian graves from the 5th and 6th cent.

Another variety with knobs fixed only upon the axis of the spring-coil has played no important part in the Western and Northern countries. In Scandinavia it is represented by some small and simple specimens contemporary with the early cruciform brooches (fig. 15).¹⁾ They seem to disappear before the end of the 5th cent.; at all events they were not preserved as long as the first mentioned variety. I have seen one brooch only which may be counted as a later development of this type (fig. 16),²⁾ though the form of the foot of this brooch certainly has been transferred from a Prussian form. It is an interesting fact that influences from that

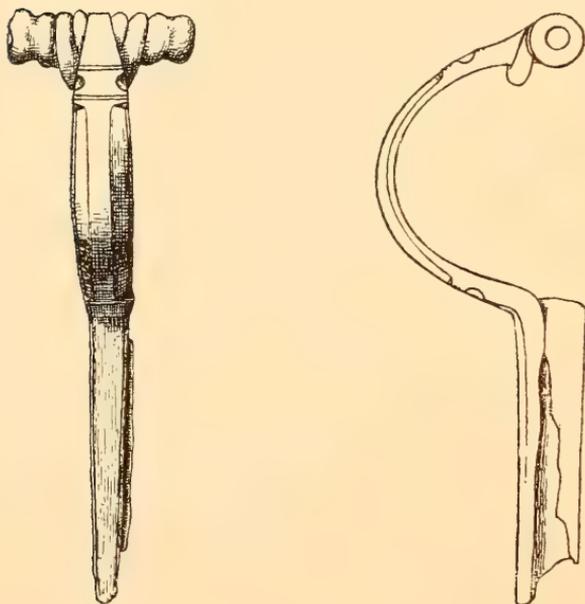


Fig. 15. $\frac{1}{4}$.

country can be traced as far as Western Norway, a fact which is of importance respecting some points of the following investigation.

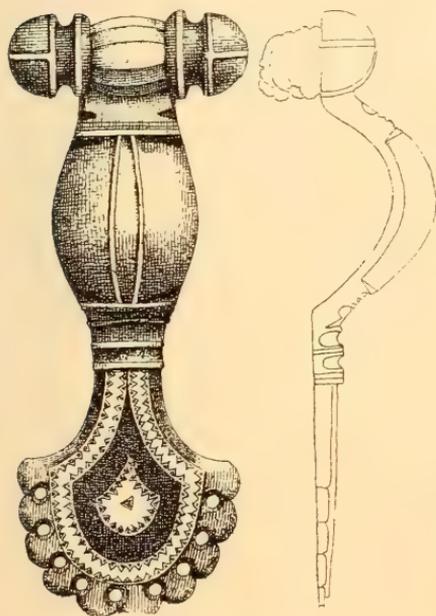
At last we have to study a third variety with three knobs, placed in about the same manner as in the Roman brooches, or with one knob only, placed at the top of the bow. As a whole, this form too has been derived from the same Teutonic origin as the others

just mentioned; but the top-knob produces some difference regarding the arrangement of the hinge and the spring-coil. The knob is not placed directly upon the bow but separated from it by the small perpendicular plate, in the centre of which is fastened the

¹⁾ Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5275.

²⁾ Indre Bø, Stryns pgd. Nordfjord. B. 4842. Ab. 1891, p. 149, pl. II fig. 7.

axis of the spring-coil, as seen in figs. 17—18.¹⁾ The spring-coil is still seen uncovered between the bow and the knob, but soon this little space is covered with a horizontal plate which thus connects the broad end of the bow with the inner side of the knob. The plate is sometimes triangular or so narrow that still a part of the spring-coil is uncovered (figs. 19 and 20),²⁾ — these cases probably representing the early stages of development; generally the plate is square and large enough to fill the whole space between the bow and all three knobs (fig. 21).³⁾

Fig. 16. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 17. $\frac{1}{1}$.

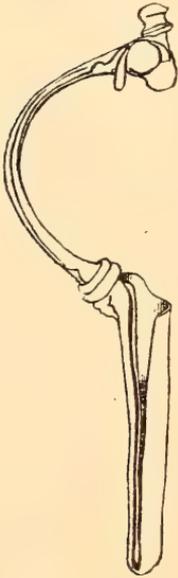
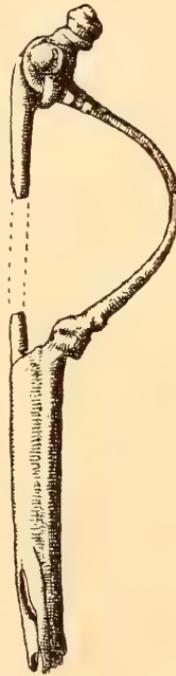
We have thus seen the origin of the most characteristic part of the cruciform brooches, *viz.* a square plate and three moulded

¹⁾ Fig. 17: from ENGELHART: Nydam Mosefund, pl. V, fig. 13. — Fig. 18: from MESTORF: Alterthümer, pl. XLIX, fig. 584.

²⁾ Fig. 19: Slinde, Sogndal pgd. Sogn. B. 4963. Ab. 1893, p. 144. — Fig. 20: Jæderen, locality unknown. Stavanger Museum.

³⁾ From MESTORF: Alterthümer, pl. XLIX, fig. 583.

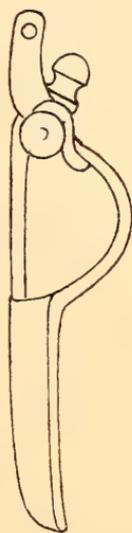
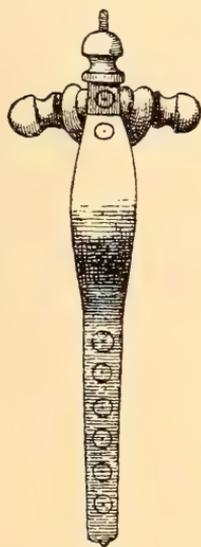
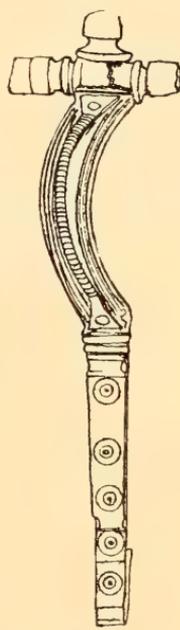
knobs building together the head of the brooches; we have seen that this form is derived from Teutonic brooches and that it shows little influence from Roman forms. It is certain that we must search for the most primitive cruciform brooches in the country around the mouth of the Elbe, as it has already been pronounced by dr. UNDSET. The first cruciform brooches are numerous just in graves in Hannover, Holstein, and Sleswick, and in the find from the moss of Nydam, but all their different stages of development are also represented by specimens from Norwegian graves of the same age, and one brooch of this sort has been found in England. It ought

Fig. 18. $\frac{3}{4}$.Fig. 19. $\frac{1}{1}$.

to be remarked, however, that the Norwegian specimens generally have lost some of the more original characters — for instance the returned foot which is preserved only in a few cases, as in the brooch fig. 19 — a circumstance indicating that the type was at first introduced into Norway from Hannover and Holstein.

I think it likely that this introduction has passed Jutland, though none of the oldest specimens have been found in that country, as they have in the districts both South and North of it.

Here is not the place to discuss the intercourse between Scandinavia and other countries during the migration-period; I only intend to point out that the whole of the Eastern coast of the German Ocean has taken part in the development of the cruciform type of brooches.¹⁾ I also think it convenient here to pronounce a few words about the absolute date of the first cruciform brooches, in spite of the special chronological questions having been reserved for a later part of this research, as it will be useful to know at once the earliest date for our typological series and also to assure that we are beginning the research at the right end. Therefore I recall only that the find of Nydam by Scandinavian archaeologists is referred to

Fig. 20. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 21. $\frac{3}{4}$.

about the year 400 A. D. Thus the brooches belonging to this find must date from the time before 400, the middle or the latter half of the 4th cent., and we shall see later on that the cruciform

¹⁾ This opinion differs in some degree from the pronouncement by dr. UNDSET in *Aarb. f. nord. Oldk.* 1880 p. 132. He dates the first appearance of the cruciform brooches in Norway from a small specimen (l. c. p. 95, fig. 6) found in the cemetery of Braaten and Veien in Ringerike. Typologically this is certainly wrong and founded only upon the presumption that all the graves in this place belong to a very early part of the Iron-Age.

brooches about the same time have come into use over the whole district mentioned. They were in use from the latter half of the 4th cent. through the 5th and part of the 6th cent.; in England probably even towards the end of the 6th cent.

In this space of time, Scandinavia and England have produced innumerable variations of the cruciform brooches, and all the time many different forms must have been used contemporarily. As is well known to all students of prehistoric typology, it is impossible from the state of typological development of a brooch directly to conclude at what time it came into the grave together with its possessor, nor can we from its form only in all cases make out the date of its manufacture. It ought to be remembered as a main principle of all typological development that only the best executed,

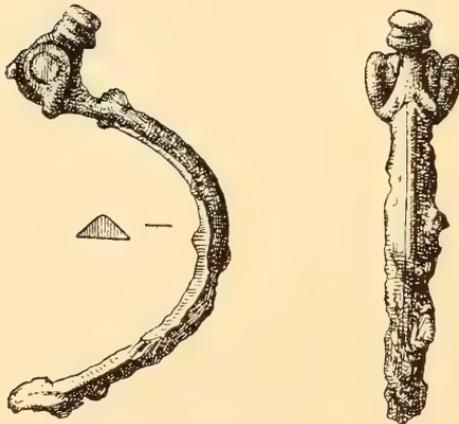


Fig. 22. $\frac{1}{1}$.

commonly also the largest and most ornamented, specimens are an exact expression of the style of the day, the cheaper and less carefully executed specimens at the same time very often showing degenerated variations of an earlier fashion. The following typological series is then to be regarded in some degree as a generalisation of facts in order to explain the main features of development. Later on I shall try to give an account of all the irregular com-

binations shown by the material from the graves; it will best be done in connexion with some remarks about the chronology of the different forms.

2. The early cruciform brooches

are, as we have seen, in all respects closely connected with their prototype (fig. 17—19), but already from their first stage we have to note certain changes, brought about partly through influences from other types, partly owing to the tastes of the Northern people at that time. As has been mentioned, some Roman brooches,

marked by especially thick and heavy forms and by a preference for sharp facets of the bow, were imported to Scandinavia during the late 4th cent. and here they produced some barbarian imitations, but they also influenced in a high degree the early cruciform brooches, chiefly concerning the shape of the bow. This part of the Teutonic brooches being, originally flat as a ribbon now, commonly

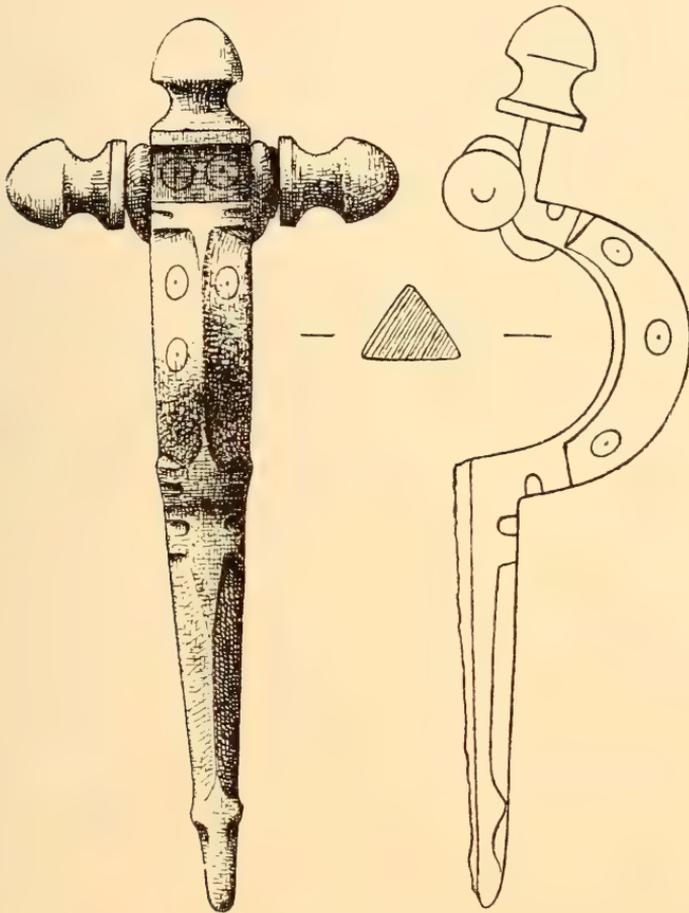


Fig. 23. $\frac{1}{1}$.

gets a form more or less strongly recalling the Roman facetting, though we find very few cruciform brooches the facets of which are made exactly in the Roman fashion. The Roman brooches in question being contemporary with the very first development of the cruciform type, we shall expect to find this influence working already upon the prototype of the cruciform brooches. That so

is really the case, we see from a specimen like fig. 22¹⁾ with an edged bow, the section of which is triangular and whose facets are marked by ornamental lines along the edge. A typical example of this form of the bow in the early cruciform brooches is given as fig. 23;²⁾ it must only be remarked that the part along the middle of the bow often is flat, sometimes even a little concave, probably to give a sharper appearance to the facets, as seen in fig. 24.³⁾

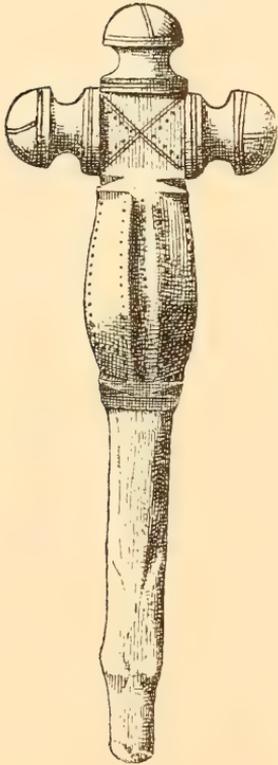


Fig. 24. 1/1.

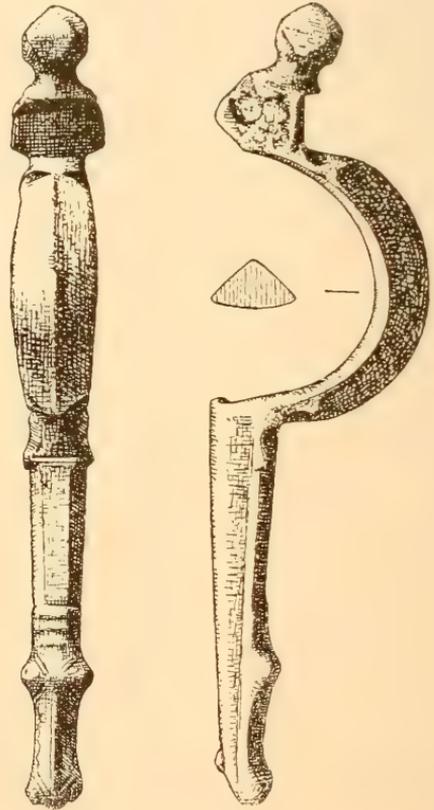


Fig. 25. 1/1.

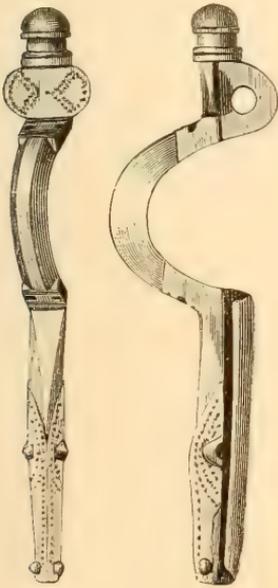
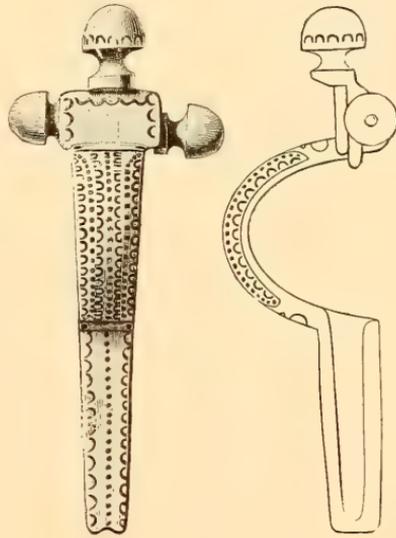
From the earliest stage the foot of the cruciform brooches is subject to many variations, though without any influence from Roman forms. Commonly it is long and narrow as in the prototype, but

¹⁾ Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5282.

²⁾ Stangeland, Klep pgd. Jæderen. Stavanger Museum, no. 1057. Ab. 1880, p. 277.

³⁾ Dalven, Brunlanes pgd. Jarlsberg, Skien Mus. 1053. Drawn from a photograph kindly sent me by Mr. CHRISTIE, director of the Skien Museum.

the surface is faceted somewhat in the same manner as the bow, and the end of it is often formed like an animal-head. The brooches shown as in figs. 23 and 24 are early specimens of this sort. I shall not try here to make out the origin of this ornament which has, moreover, been treated recently by dr. SALIN.¹⁾ It may only be mentioned at once, that we shall soon meet with a number of variations of this ornament, as seen from the following figures, and that the different forms of it in some points will help us in the typological research. Though the animal-head is the most common ornament of the foot, it is at no time the only one used, some rare varieties appearing already at an early stage of the development

Fig. 26. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 27. $\frac{1}{1}$.

(compare figs. 28 and 29); but it is not till a later time that other forms get a more general importance.

Proceeding to the description of the upper part — „the head“ — of the brooch, I first note that the knobs which, generally, preserve the more original round form, sometimes are seen distinctly polyedrous (fig. 25).²⁾ This form is probably a somewhat younger variety but preserved through the whole development of the cruci-

¹⁾ Thierornamentik, p. 183 ss.

²⁾ Gjervik, Hammer pgd. Nordhordland. B. 2267. LORANGE: N. Olds. B. M. p. 85.

form type, though it is always rarer than the round one. More interesting is the development of the square plate. From the following four figures¹⁾ we see how the plate is gradually made larger, probably to give a better room for the ornaments placed here. Sometimes the extended plate is plain as before, sometimes it has preserved a higher middle part as a rudiment of the original connexion between the bow and the knob (cfr. fig. 30). The extension of the plate seems to be no practical improvement and, as the spring-coil always is very short as before, there even arise some difficulties respecting the fixing of the knobs upon the axis. In the brooches figs. 27—29, the knobs are placed at the back of the plate and partly covered by it, but this arrangement must have been felt

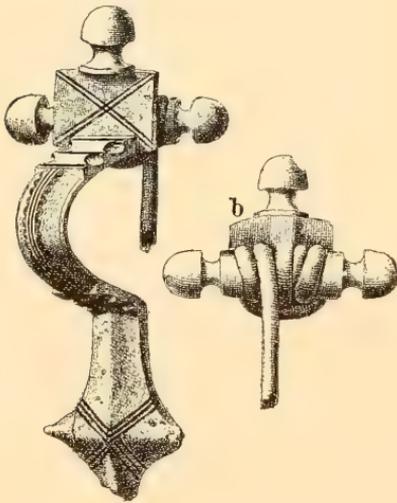


Fig. 28. 1/1.

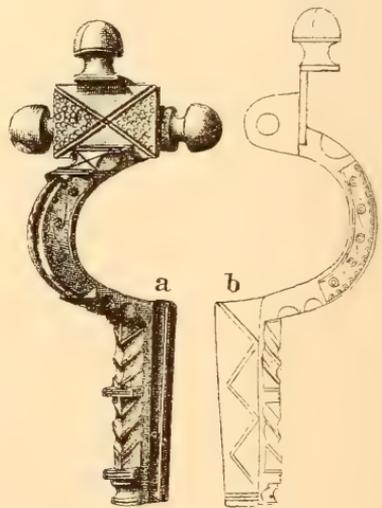


Fig. 29. 1/1.

unsatisfactory, as we see that there were at the same time made several experiments to bring about a closer connexion between the plate and the knobs. For this purpose the axis is made so long that

¹⁾ Fig. 26: Gjedsfjorden, Herø pgd. Nordland. LORANGE: *N. Olds.* i B. M. p. 113; RYGH: fig. 248. Fig. 27: Øland. Stockholm Mus. The cliché for this figure is kindly afforded by dr. O. ALMGREN, Stockholm. Fig. 28 and 29: Nordre Fevang, Sandherred pgd. Larvik. C. 7027 and 7028. *Ab.* 1874, p. 143, pl. V, fig. 24 and 25. — Concluding from such brooches as figs. 27—29 I can not agree with dr. HILDEBRAND's opinion as to the reason regarding the extension of the plate. The plate is evidently not extended to suite the fastening of the knobs. Compare dr. HILDEBRAND l. c. p. 202.

the knobs with their inner side get clear of the edge of the plate and reach a little above its level, and there are also commonly seen some special arrangements to keep them there and to give a higher degree of solidity to the whole construction. In some brooches (figs. 30—32)¹⁾ the knobs are on their inner side provided with projections with a split into which the plate is inserted, an arrangement found all over Scandinavia and in England, though it has never been very commonly used and has given no important contribution to the main development of the type. Much oftener the knobs have got a little groove into which is inserted the edge of the plate, sharpened for this purpose. The sharpening of the edges divides the surface of the plate into three facets which, at first, are not even visible when the knobs are in place (fig. 33),²⁾ but they will later on in some degree influence the development of the type.

We see thus that the forming of the plate is a little more complicated than it seemed to dr. HILDEBRAND. We find three contemporary varieties: the simple flat plate, the plate with a higher middle part and the plate with sharpened edges, none of them considerably earlier than the others, though the last mentioned, typologically, has been derived from the first one. During most of the following time they continued to be used contemporarily with each other, though not equally much in the different parts of the whole district.

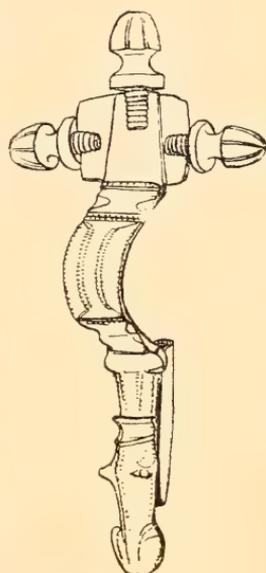


Fig. 30. $\frac{3}{4}$.

¹⁾ Fig. 30: from MESTORF: *Alterthümer* pl. XLIX. fig. 593. — Fig. 31: Skogen, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. C. 19771. Ab. 1900, p. 284 fig. 1. — Fig. 32: Jutland, from MÜLLER: *Ordn. af Danm. Olds. Jernalderen*, fig. 548. — The explanation of the form seen in figs. 30 and 31 is perhaps found in the circumstance that some Roman brooches have their knobs fixed by a real screw (for instance HILDEBRAND l. c. fig. 126) which, when discovered by a barbarian workman, may have induced him to imitate the form though, in Roman brooches, the screw is not visible when the knobs are in place. — The corresponding projections of some English brooches are most like the specimen from Jutland, fig. 32 (compare fig. 125 below).

²⁾ Holmegaard, Holme pgd. Mandal. C. 2665. N. NICOLAYSEN: *Norske Fornlevninger* p. 271.

Up to this point I have been describing the cruciform brooches as they appear in all the countries where they are found, without observing any important difference between specimens found even in great distance from each other. A brooch from Hannover for instance (fig. 34)¹⁾ is very like the one shown as fig. 25 above, which is found in Nordhordland in Western Norway; other specimens exactly of the same form have been found in Fünen and Jutland in Denmark. It is evident that the case still is the same as mentioned

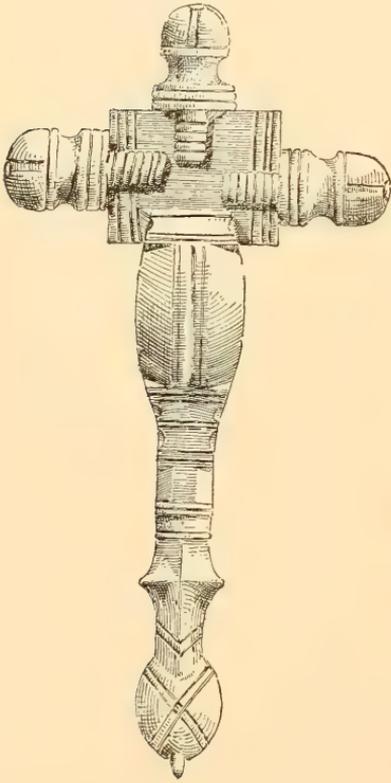


Fig. 31. $\frac{1}{1}$.

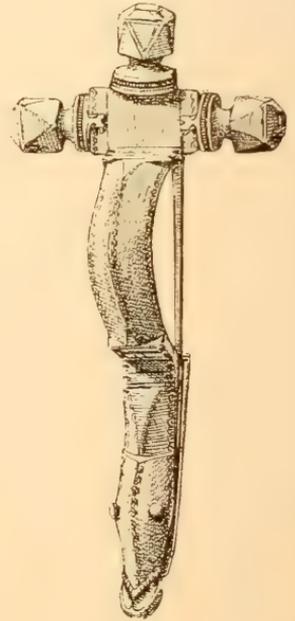
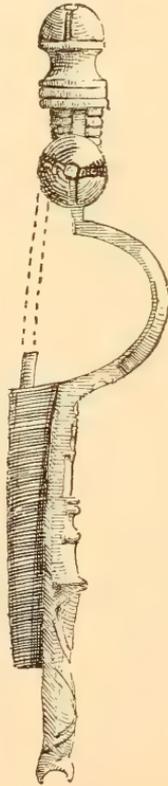


Fig. 32. $\frac{2}{3}$.

in connexion with the question about the original home of the cruciform brooches. Also the early cruciform brooches have been developed commonly over the whole Eastern coast of the German Ocean. But during the following stages of development we shall soon

¹⁾ Midlum, Kr. Lehe; Hannover Mus. 5530. From: Phot. Album der prähist. Ausstellung zu Berlin. Sect. V, taf. 9, no. 206.

find certain varieties confined to different localities; Denmark, England, and different parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula producing each their own forms which, for the most part, are not found outside their special district.

As this development chiefly takes place during the 5th cent., we meet with very few traces of it in Northern Germany which then gradually ceased to be a Teutonic country. Denmark, especially Jutland, has on the other hand produced so many original and interesting forms of the cruciform brooches, that I do not doubt that Jutland has been one of the richest districts in this respect and of special importance by its influence upon the English forms. But on account of the funeral rites in Denmark at that time the Danish graves have contained very few cruciform brooches, and those accidentally found elsewhere are sufficient only to present some unique and remarkable varieties without giving an opportunity of studying the development of forms in details.

In Scandinavia it is only the abundant material from Norway which enables us to put together complete series of successive forms showing the unbroken development. But here too will be found a difference between the Eastern parts of the Peninsula and the Western parts, a difference most marked

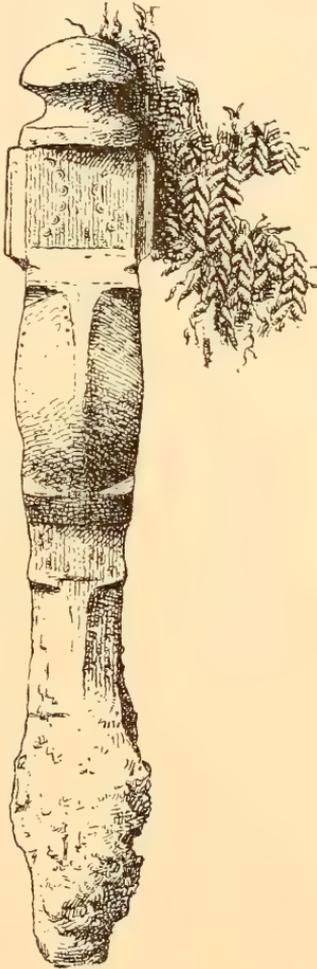


Fig. 33. $\frac{1}{1}$.

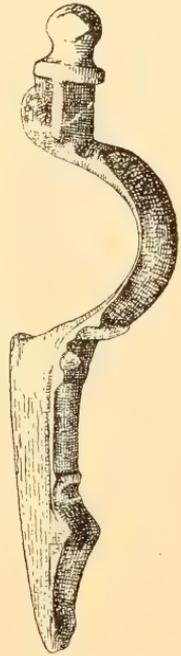


Fig. 34 11 cm. long.

towards the end of the development, but observed already at an earlier stage. I proceed first to treat the Eastern forms which preserve best the original character of the type.

3. Development of the cruciform brooches in the Eastern parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula.

The Swedish archaeologists, in their description of the typology of the cruciform brooches, assert as a general rule that the two knobs which were at first placed upon the ends of the axis of the spring-coil, gradually lost their suggested practical destination —

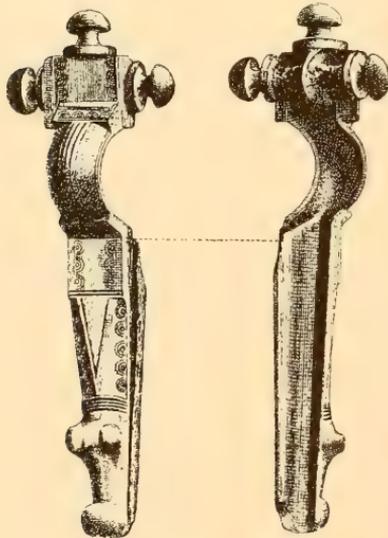


Fig. 35. $\frac{2}{3}$.

to keep the axis and the coil in their proper place — and became mere ornamental parts of the brooches. It seemed then natural to avoid the original and more complicated arrangement of these knobs by casting them in the same piece as the main part of the brooch,¹⁾ and this change, which removed all practical difficulties respecting the construction of the pin, was just the beginning of the pure ornamental development of the form. Generally speaking, this pronouncement very well corresponds with the facts known; it must be understood, however, that the rule is at no time without exceptions, that the trans-

formation took place much later in England than in the Scandinavian Peninsula, and that in Denmark traces of it are not found at all. It must be counted, however, among the most important points in

¹⁾ A similar change had taken place already at an earlier stage of development respecting the knob placed at the top of the brooch. In the case of specimens belonging to the prototype of the cruciform brooches also the third knob is made separately and fixed upon a projection continuing the loop of the axis, figs. 17, 19, and 22. The same detail is observed in a brooch of the half Roman form (Tromsø Museums Aarshefte 1904, p. 247, fig. 1) and is even preserved in some cruciform brooches with fully developed head-plate (for instance C. 7752, Ab. 1876, p. 72, from Østerhus, Landvik pgd. Nedenes.)

the whole development of this type, and to us it is of special importance, because it will help us in some degree to distinguish between the forms characteristic of the different districts. The transformation first took place in Norway and Sweden, and probably earlier and more generally in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula than in the Western ones; in England it was partly due to influences from Western Norway.

From a great number of transition forms it is seen that this change began as a practical improvement of the brooch.

At the stage where we left the common development of the type, the two knobs were placed upon the ends of the axis of the spring-coil with a little groove in their inner side to keep the edge of the plate. The edges of the plate are sharpened for this purpose, and consequently the middle part of it is a little elevated from the edges, a detail which is also often marked by the ornamentation of the plate (fig. 35).¹⁾ But this arrangement is not without difficulties, the axis coming now too close to the underside of the plate to give sufficient room between them for passing the string which forms the spring-coil. The difficulty is removed in different ways; in Denmark by bending the plate a little

and thus making the underside of the plate sufficient concave to give place for the spring-coil, even when the edges are touching the knobs; this arrangement is also the most common one in England. In Norway and Sweden the plate was kept straight, but the

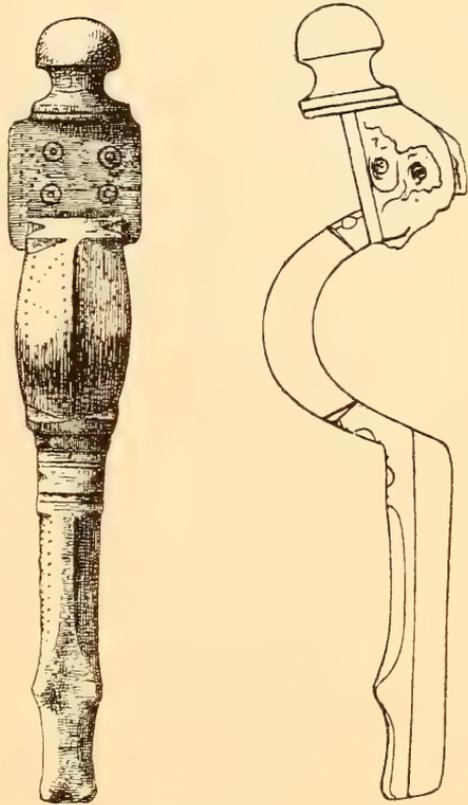


Fig. 36. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Aak, Gryten pgd. Romsdalen. C. 6200. Ab. 1872, p. 94, pl. II, fig. 12.

spring-coil and the knobs being then not conveniently combined, the knobs got a separate axis of their own, independent of the arrangement of the pin.

I have observed this construction in a great number of Norwegian brooches which have the axis of the knobs placed either just behind the spring-coil or a little above it (figs. 36 and 37).¹⁾ It is found, too, among the best and largest specimens, and it is sometimes preserved at a very late stage of development. But as

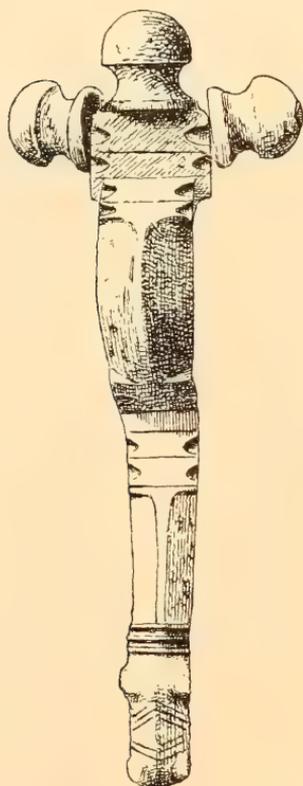
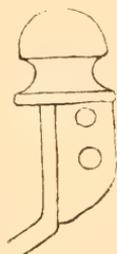


Fig. 37. $\frac{1}{4}$.



the separate axis of the knobs has no practical purpose, it is replaced by projections from the edges of the plate, as seen in fig. 38.²⁾ Concluding from my own observations I should think that this arrangement has been rarely used; it must be confessed, however, that the corrosion of the bronze often makes it difficult to discern a detail of this sort. Dr. HILDEBRAND has mentioned it as a fact of importance to the study of the development. And certainly, from the proceeding of placing the two knobs upon projections from the sides of the plate it is

a small step to the next stage of development, *viz.* to cast the whole upper part of the brooch in one piece.

With this change is finished the development of the practical

¹⁾ Fig. 36: Norway (locality unknown). B. 428. — Fig. 37: Heiland, Nordre Undal pgd. Mandal. C. 17990. Ab. 1895, p. 66.

²⁾ Kvalen, nordre Fron pgd. Gudbrandsdalen. C. 5700. Ab. 1871, p. 95.

construction of the cruciform brooches in Norway and Sweden; the short spring-coil, nearly always made of iron, is constantly preserved,¹⁾ but being no more visible and taking no part in the development of the form, it will not be especially mentioned in the following description. The development being now purely ornamental, it presents at the first glance a lot of irregular variations of all the parts of the brooches, from which it should seem impossible to make out a general direction of the changes. As it would be inconvenient too, for this purpose to count here all the varieties found in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, I have tried to find a classification giving a general view of the varieties most commonly used in the district. As the basis for this classification I have chosen the foot of the brooches, this part of them showing differences better marked out than either the bow or the upper part of them. It is very natural that it should be so; the cross-like upper part having already from the prototype a characteristic form to which very little could be added, and the bow by its practical destination being nearly excluded from further ornamental changes, the imagination of the workman had to work chiefly upon the foot, originally plain and narrow, as a space especially reserved for decoration. I have tried, therefore, from a survey of the variations of the foot to establish a number of different series, for the most part contemporary with each other. As mentioned, I do not treat the form of the animal-head from an ornamental point of view; it will be studied only, as an element taking part in the form, as far as regards the differences which it produced in the building of the foot. One more

¹⁾ Upon this point, as commonly respecting the cruciform brooches, dr. HILDEBRAND has the best observations. A pronouncement of dr. EKHOFF that the late cruciform brooches have no spring-coil and no axis (in „Bohuslens och Göteborgs fornminnen och historia,“ vol. V, p. 359) must be referred to some rare specimens and ought not to be regarded as a rule. Professor GUSTAFSON has accidentally expressed a similar opinion (Ab. 1894, p. 172, no. 67 b) probably induced by the authority of dr. EKHOFF. I have observed very few cruciform brooches having no spring-coil, though it is sometimes difficult to make it out, this part being commonly of iron and consequently worse corroded and damaged than the rest of the brooch. The brooches which have really no spring-coil, generally belong to the earlier forms, where this peculiarity must be regarded as an imitation of Roman forms. Of younger specimens may be noted a brooch from Sweden, illustrated in *Månadsblad*, 1898—99, p. 146, and another from Jutland (Copenhagen Museum, 25502), where the double hinge indicates that there has been no spring-coil.

reservation is perhaps needed; as most of the variations of the foot mentioned in the following description, appear also in Denmark and England as well as in Western Norway, these variations are not in themselves sufficient to point out a form as belonging especially to the Eastern parts of the Peninsula. Only when these variations are found in brooches the other parts of which are made in the fashion characteristic of Eastern Norway and Sweden, we may refer the brooch in question to that district. I also note at once that, as the variations of the foot are in some degree common to

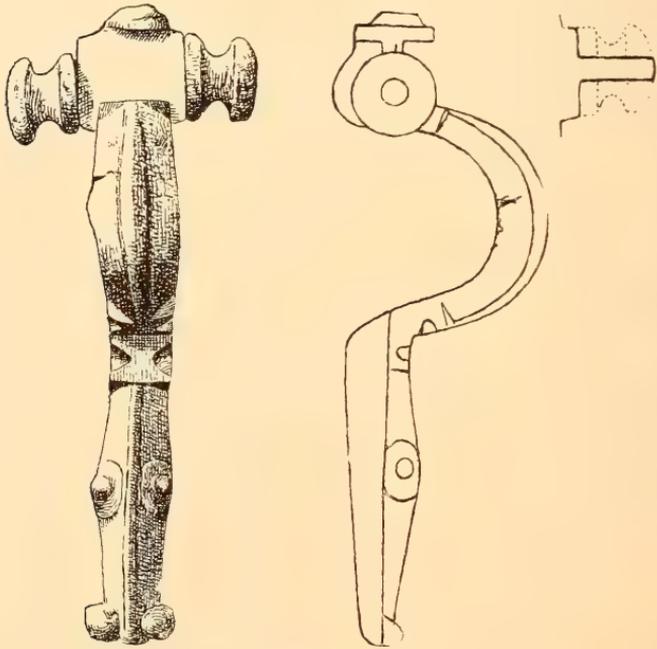


Fig. 38. $\frac{1}{1}$.

all the countries, where these brooches were made, they must belong to a time before the form developed separately in the different countries.

As characteristics for all the later Norwegian and Swedish forms may here be mentioned, that the plate never has a concave underside, and that the knobs are nearly always cast in the same piece as the plate, which as mentioned above is not the case in Denmark and England. The brooch, except the pin with its spring

coil¹⁾ and the axis, consequently consists of one piece; very rarely and only in the case of unusually large specimens the foot has been made separately and fixed to the bow with small rivets. In Norway and Sweden is observed an inclination to make the bow relatively shorter than it is in Denmark, which is not however a constant and characteristic difference between the two districts. The separate characters of the forms developed in Western Norway will be better treated in connexion with the detailed description of the Western forms which is given in the following.

a. As the first form from the Eastern parts of the Peninsula I present *the brooches whose foot in its total length is formed as an animal-head*, which consequently gets a comparatively long and narrow shape, according to the original shape of the foot. The combination of the moulded head, which always has an edge along its middle line, and the flat end of the bow, is brought about in different ways, either by leaving a triangular flat space projecting downwards from the end of the bow (fig. 26 above, figs. 39 and 40)²⁾ or by two small incisions forming a straight line across the neck of the head and thus giving a more unorganical termination towards the bow (fig. 38 and figs. 41 and 42).³⁾ The brooch fig. 42 may be regarded as an intermediate form of these two varieties, showing that they are closely allied to each other; I have preferred, therefore, to place them together as forming one series in the classification. The former of them was much used in the early Scandinavian brooches, often in especially large and well executed specimens with the knobs fixed upon the ends of a separate axis and provided with

¹⁾ In some few instances it has been suggested that the spring-coil and the pin have not been made of one piece of string, but separately, the pin of bronze, the coil of iron. I have not observed such an arrangement in any case respecting the cruciform brooches, and it is of course impossible as long as the spring-coil has not lost its practical destination of producing the tension of the pin and has been reduced to a mere typological rudiment, preserved from an earlier stage of development. It is not likely that it should be so, where the spring-coil is not visible when the brooch is used.

²⁾ Fig. 39: Giskegjerde, Borgund pgd. Søndmør. B. 719. RYGH: fig. 249. — Fig. 40: Gryten, Romsdalen. B. 444. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 110.

³⁾ Fig. 41: Stenstad, Telemarken. Copenhagen Museum. FROM STEPHENS: The Old-Northern Runic Monuments vol. II, page 840. — Fig. 42: Eine, Vang-pgd. Hedemarken. C. 15688. LORANGE's collection.

Fig. 39. $\frac{1}{1}$.

a groove to keep the edge of the plate; none of the other varieties are represented by such fine specimens at the same stage of development. These brooches (figs. 39—40), being found in Norway only, must be regarded as a Norwegian speciality, developed here from a very primitive form of the foot, a form which is seen in fig. 143 below. The fine specimens are richly ornamented with silver inlaid in the surface or with geometrical patterns executed with a punch. Their origin must probably be referred to the Eastern parts of the country, in spite of the circumstance that the best specimens have been actually found in Romsdalen and that some of them are known from Western Norway; for ornaments executed with a punch are commonly met with in all Eastern varieties of the cruciform brooches but are seen rarely in brooches belonging especially to the Western part of Norway.

The variety represented here as figs. 41—42 is found most commonly in Norway, but as one specimen whose foot is arranged in a similar manner, is known from Jutland¹⁾, I think it likely that both the Norwegian and the Danish specimens of this sort are derived from a common origin in the district about the mouth of the Elbe, though I know of no specimen found there.

¹⁾ Copenhagen Museum, no. 25562.

b. Principally different from the first series, though in some points apparently similar to it, are the *brooches which have between the bow and the animal-head a small plate, separated from the*

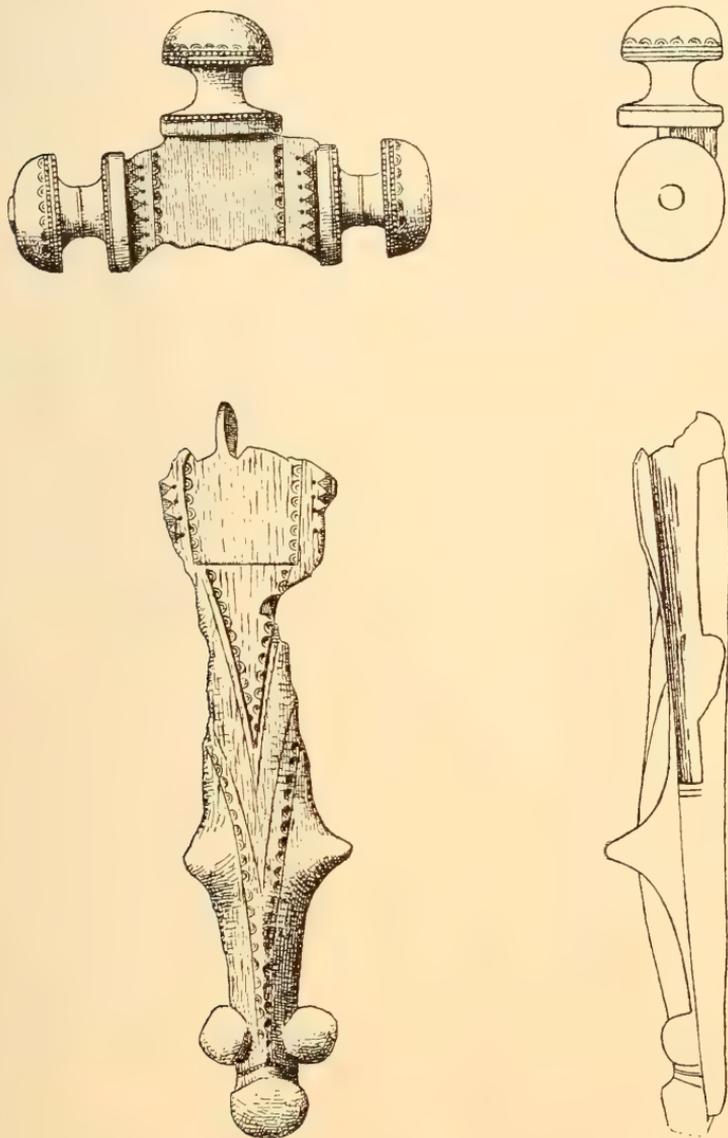


Fig. 40. $\frac{1}{1}$.

animal-head by a moulded ribbon indicating the neck. In the Eastern parts of the Peninsula this variety is represented by few and rather

late specimens only, while it is very common in the Western coast-districts of Norway, and I intend in the following to make out, how its origin there may be traced back to a quite early stage of development (compare fig. 86). In the Eastern parts of the Peninsula we have on the contrary very few indications of its early development, and it is at least a very rare feature in that district. I am inclined, therefore, to explain its Eastern appearance as due to in-

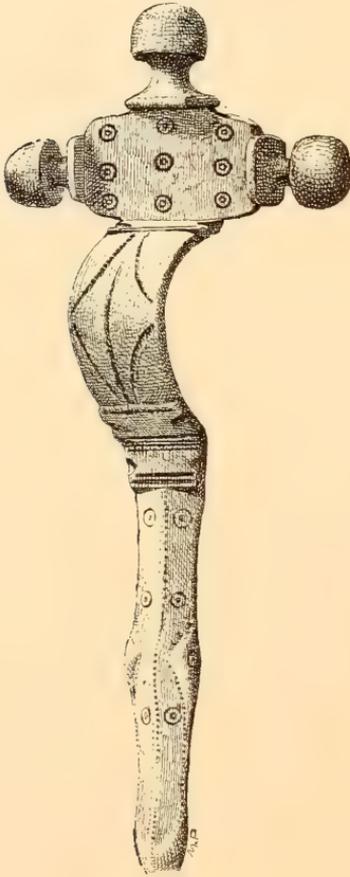


Fig. 41. $\frac{1}{1}$.

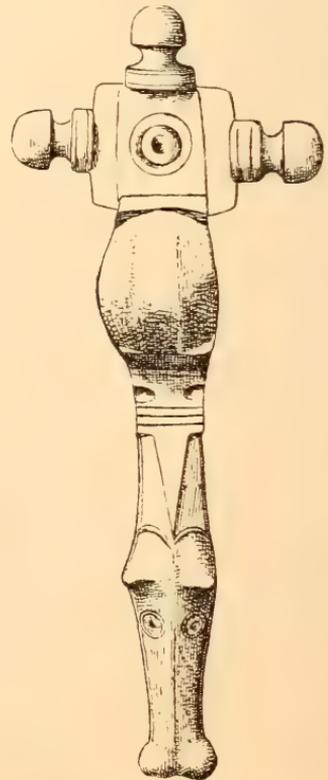
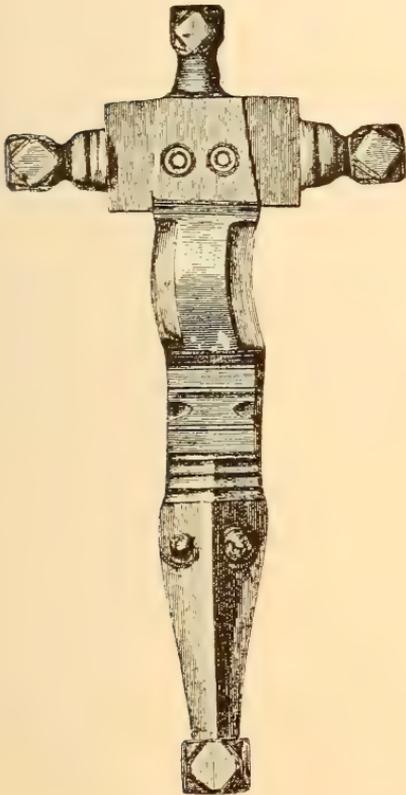
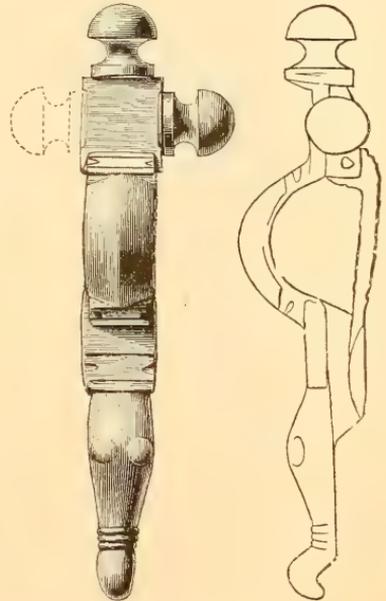


Fig. 42. $\frac{1}{1}$.

fluences from Western forms. A few specimens belonging to the same series and of pure Western origin have also been found within the Eastern territory, where they without doubt were imported from Western Norway.

Most of the specimens found within the Eastern districts are,

however, certainly made here, as is clearly seen by comparing the details of figs. 43—46 with Western brooches of the same description (figs. 88—102). I call special attention to the frequent appearance, in brooches from the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, of an ornamentation of the foot-plate, consisting of parallel lines and incisions in the edges, which is never observed in such brooches from Western Norway. In the four brooches (figs. 43—46) is seen a marked progress respecting the dimensions of the foot-plate, indicating the origin and development of this detail, as the plate is at first as

Fig. 43. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 44. $\frac{1}{1}$.

broad as the bow only, and later on extends on both sides of it. But it is evident that already the first of the brooches illustrated (fig. 43)¹⁾ must belong to a late stage of development, the knobs having a flat underside, the catch-plate of the pin being very short, reaching only from the end of the bow to the neck, and the head-

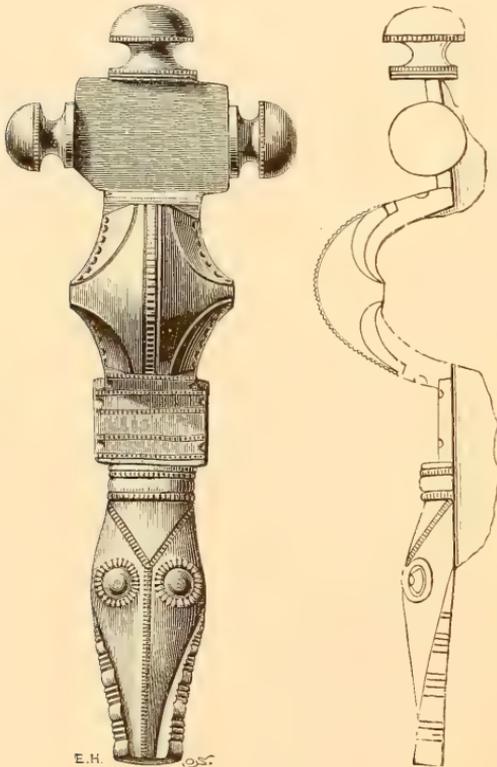
¹⁾ From MONTELIUS, Svenska Fornsaker, fig. 327.

plate being broadest in the direction transverse to that of the bow, as all these features are characteristic of the advanced transformation of the type.

In the brooch illustrated in fig. 44¹⁾ the foot-plate is just a little broader than the bow and consequently not much diverging from the preceding one; it is fully developed in the large and fine specimens figs. 45²⁾ and 46. In fig. 46 the nose of the animal-head is ornamented with three small knobs of silver. The note-

worthy variations in the shape of the bow will be treated separately below.

As already mentioned, I explain the appearance of such brooches in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula by supposing an influence from the Western forms, but before leaving the question, I ought to remark that such an influence from the Western forms, though I regard it as the most satisfactory explanation, is by no means an established fact; it is not excluded that the form in question has developed independently in both districts. Such a parallelism is very natural in the development of forms originating from the same prototype.



E.H.

Fig. 45. $\frac{2}{3}$.

A third explanation perhaps deserves to be taken into consideration. As is well known, the rich funeral rites through which are distinguished the Norwegian graves from the 5th and 6th cent. came out

¹⁾ Medelpad, Sweden. Stockholm Museum, no. 10940. — From *Månadsblad* 1898—99 p. 146.

²⁾ Fig 45: Bohuslen, Sweden. Stockholm Museum, no. 10128. From *Månadsblad* 1896, p. 59. — Fig. 46: Arendal Museum, no. 124. From a photograph kindly forwarded by the council of the Museum.

of use about the end of that time and, consequently, very few antiquities are known in Norway from the following two centuries. It is possible that this change in the rites has taken place at a somewhat earlier time in the Eastern parts of the country than along the West coast, and the scarce appearance of the latest cruciform brooches in the Eastern district compared with Western Norway could then with some reason be explained by the circumstance that the Eastern graves, at the time when the latest varieties of the cruciform brooches had come into use, were no more so rich in grave-goods as before. I think, however, that a closer inspection of the material will show that the presumed difference of time respecting the change in the funeral rites, if any, is not great enough to allow of a conclusion of this sort.

The Western parts of Norway have in any case produced a richer development of the latest forms of the cruciform brooches, and the production of them has perhaps here lasted longer than in the East, which would well correspond with the fact that England, the

most western district of the Teutonic world, has produced fine and remarkable varieties of the type later than any found in the Scandinavian Peninsula.

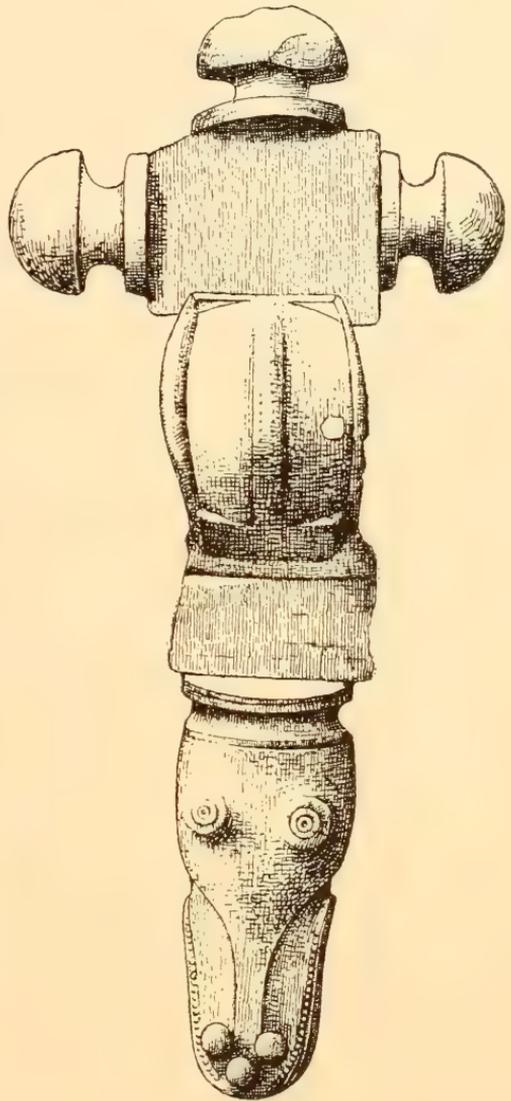


Fig 46. 1, 1.

As an irregular variation of this series I record here the brooch fig. 47,¹⁾ though its foot has been much changed to obtain a more realistic appearance of the animal-head. The head itself is very remarkable as the intention of the workman evidently was, not to produce an ordinary ornamental head in the style of the time, but to form a horse's head as natural as he was able to do. Part of the foot has also been curved to imitate the line of a horse's neck. I take the opportunity to note, that it may be allowed to conclude from this brooch that the ornamental heads of these brooches

really were regarded as the heads of horses;²⁾ but it is not at all certain that the heads have always been explained in that way, and at least it is evident that in most cases the workman had no intention to make the head resemble any living animal.

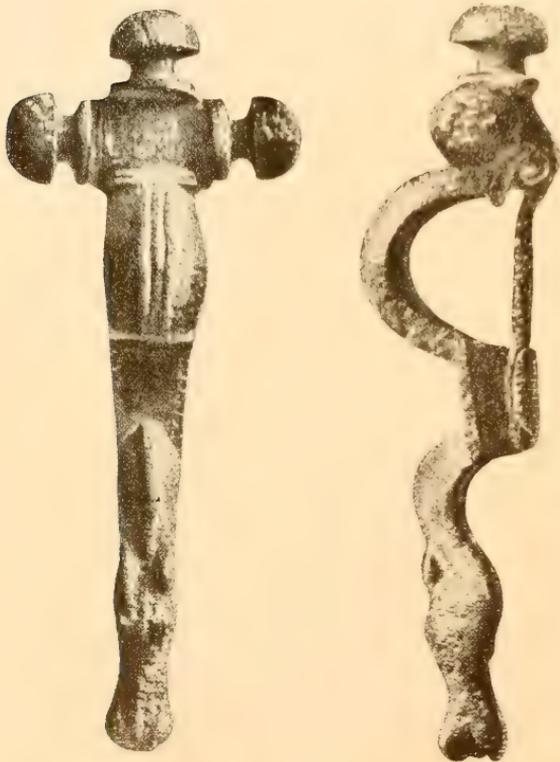


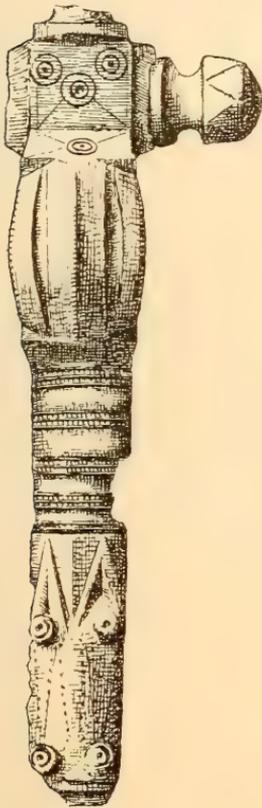
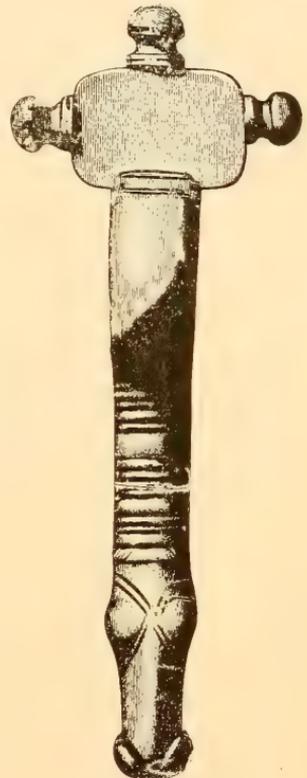
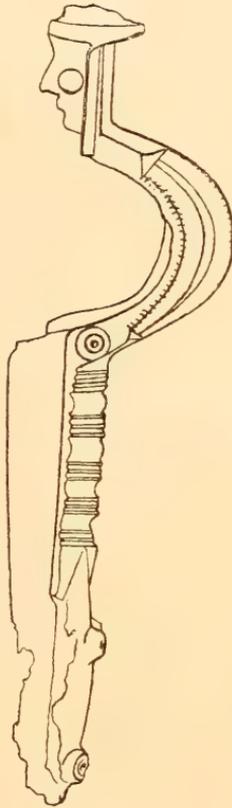
Fig. 47. $\frac{1}{4}$.

In the next two series the animal-head, instead of taking the whole length of the foot, is confined to being a terminal ornament, nearly always separated from the rest of the foot by a moulded ribbon. Naturally, the dimensions and the form of the head are here different from those treated above, but as the variations of the ornamental form of the head have little influence upon the typological development of the brooches, they will here, as before, not be the special subject of

¹⁾ Røso, Steigen pgd. Nordland, Tromsø Mus. 1197. Ab. 1897, p. 2, fig. 1.

²⁾ They have been explained in the same manner by some modern archaeologists, so lately by Mr. SCHIRMER. Ab. 1905.

our observations. The rest of the foot is seen in two principally different varieties, contemporary with each other, but not of the same importance: the one, which is of all the most common form in the Eastern district, is faceted in the same way as the bow, while the other is provided with transverse mouldings. In the description here, I think it most convenient to treat first the last mentioned series, which is the less numerous and also, in some degree, confined to a more restricted district than the former one.

Fig. 48. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 49. $\frac{3}{4}$.

e. Brooches with the peculiar transverse mouldings of the foot are no speciality of the Scandinavian Peninsula, as brooches of this sort are met with also among the early specimens from Sleswick-Holstein and among the later ones from Jutland, though they are always in the minority compared with other varieties. The typologically oldest specimen known from Norway is the fine brooch,

shown as fig. 48,¹⁾ whose side knobs are fixed upon the ends of the axis. Respecting the later appearance of this form, very few specimens have been found in Norway, but they are relatively common in Sweden from where I have illustrated two specimens.

figs. 49 and 50.²⁾ It is seen from the figures that, respecting the form of the foot, this series has gone through no noteworthy changes in the district here in question, and it seems to have gone out of use at a somewhat earlier time than most of the other varieties. To conclude from our present knowledge, this variety is certainly the form which, of all the cruciform brooches of the Scandinavian Peninsula, has the most decided inclination towards the East.

I think it likely that this form of the foot did not originally belong to the cruciform brooches, as it is rarely seen in this connexion and has produced here no noteworthy development. It is also met with in another type from about

the year 400 (fig. 51)³⁾ — appearing just in time to influence the early cruciform brooches — and I have seen the most original form

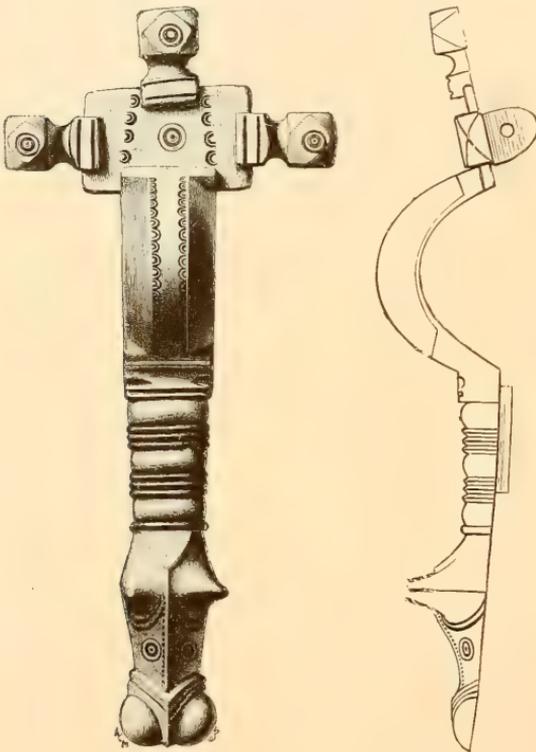


Fig. 50. $\frac{3}{4}$.

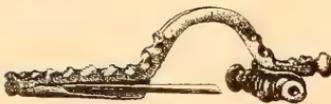


Fig. 51. $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹⁾ Øie, Kvinesdal pgd. Mandal. B. 95. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 52.

²⁾ Fig. 49: Østergötland; from Svenska Fornminnesför. tidskr. XII, p. 253, fig. 37. Fig. 50: Vestergötland; from Månadsblad 1901 och 1905, p. 103, fig. 43.

³⁾ Aak, Gryten pgd. Romsdalen; from Ab. 1872, fig. 17.

of it in a very curious brooch from Western Norway, shown as fig. 52, which must certainly date from the 4th cent. The upper part of this brooch is explained as an imitation of certain forms from the Roman territory; the form of the foot is not Roman, but I am not able to make out its first origin. Examples of its later development will be found in MÜLLER: Ordn. af Danm. Olds., Jernalderen fig. 516 and in fig. 12 above. Transferred to the cruciform brooches the mouldings got a more rounded character which, however,

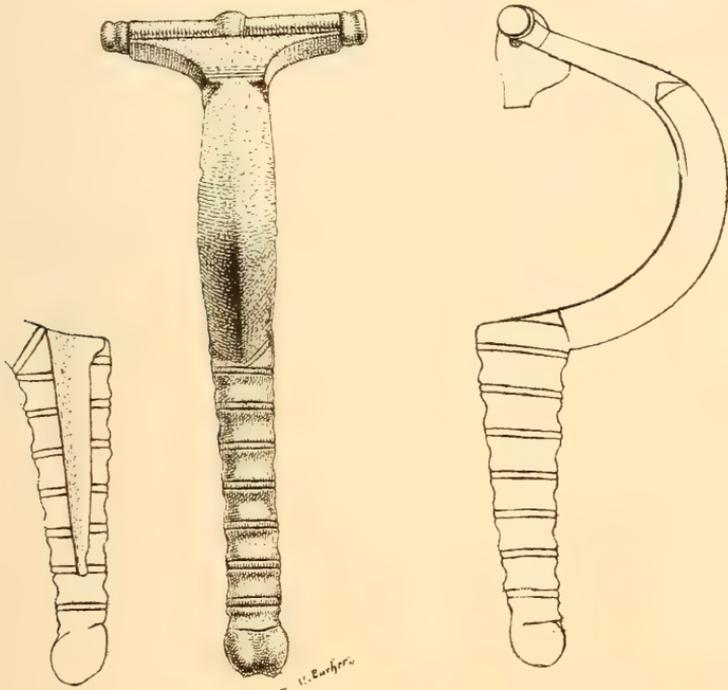


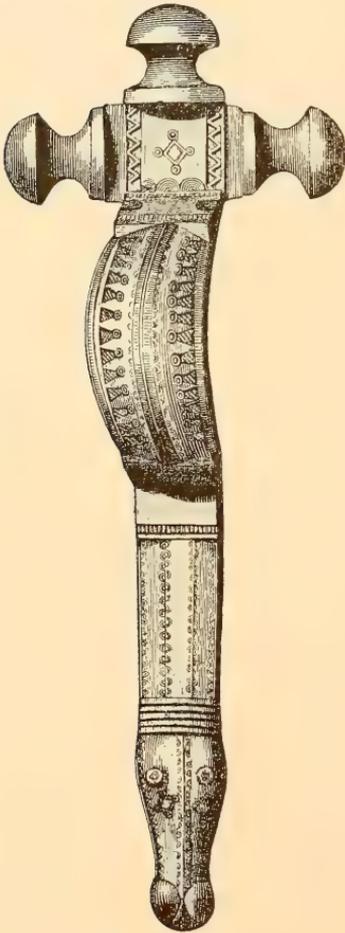
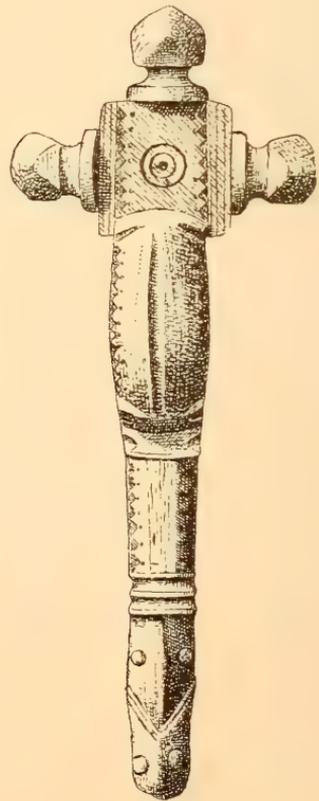
Fig. 52. $\frac{1}{1}$.

did not much change the original form of the foot, which was always relatively long and narrow with parallel sides.

d. The series of brooches whose foot consists of a faceted stem and a short animal-head is without comparison the most numerous one in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, as it is also among the

¹⁾ Western Norway, (locality unknown). B. 5591. B. M. Aarb. 1094, no. 6, p. 45.

Danish and English forms. We have also seen several specimens of it among the early brooches illustrated above, which all show that the form here in question is perhaps the one that most properly belongs to the cruciform type and best corresponds with the original shape of the foot. We have seen that most of the early specimens are long and narrow in all the countries where cruciform

Fig. 53. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 54. $\frac{1}{1}$.

brooches are found; but also here, as was the case respecting the forms treated above, we soon find some differences characteristic of the different districts. In Denmark and England the faceted stem is generally made shorter, so that it must be regarded only as a link of connexion between the animal-head and the bow, and traces

of a similar transformation are sometimes seen also in Norway, for instance in the brooch fig. 31 above which is, as well in this respect as in others, a rarity here, much resembling, however, some of the early specimens from Sleswick-Holstein (MESTORF: *Alterthümer* fig. 593, fig. 30 above). As a rule the Norwegian and Swedish specimens have preserved the foot long and relatively narrow, and the animal-head is shorter than seen in the early forms of the Southern district. The fine brooches of this series, as they are represented here by the figs. 53 and 54,¹⁾ are perhaps the most harmonious form of the cruciform brooches and certainly the form most characteristic of the Eastern parts of Norway. The specimens belonging to this stage of development are exceptionally uniform.

The late development of the series treated here I have illustrated in the following four figures,²⁾ three of them representing exceptionally large and fine brooches and consequently to be regarded as an exact expression of the taste of the time. Respecting the foot it must be observed that it is made gradually broader, at the same time as the animal-head becomes

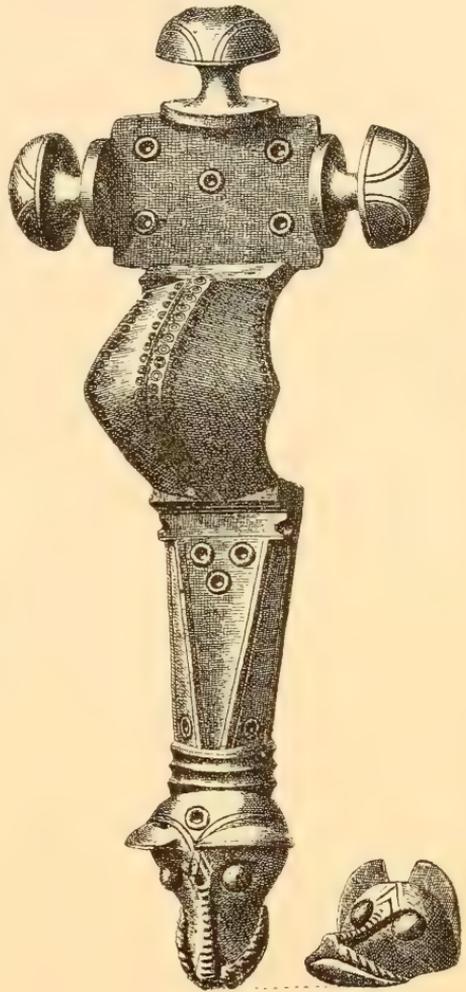


Fig. 55. $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹⁾ Fig. 53: Vøien, Gran pgd. Hadeland. C. 2460. RYGH fig. 247. — Fig. 54: Eine, Vang pgd. Hedemarken. C. 15687. LORANGE's collection.

²⁾ Fig. 55: Ertseid, Søndre Undal pgd. Mandal. C. 9188. Ab. 1879, p. 170, pl. V, fig. 23. — Fig. 56: Langlo, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 5952. Ab. 1872, p. 103 ss. — Fig. 57: Foldvik, Brunlanes pgd. Larvik. C. 10322. Ab. 1880, p. 217. — Fig. 58: Bringsdal, Holme pgd. Mandal. C. 8961. Ab. 1878, p. 182—183, pl. II, fig. 10.

larger and the faceted stem shorter than before. This series is also very instructive as to the changes of the other parts of the brooches during the late development in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula. In the brooch fig. 55 the form and the proportions of the original type are not much changed, as the knobs have pre-

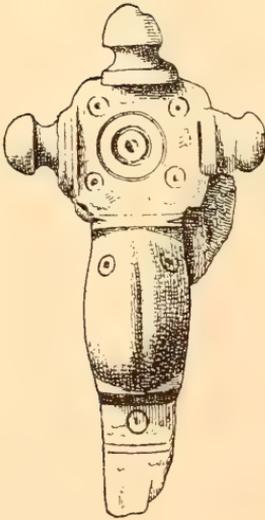


Fig. 56. $\frac{1}{1}$.

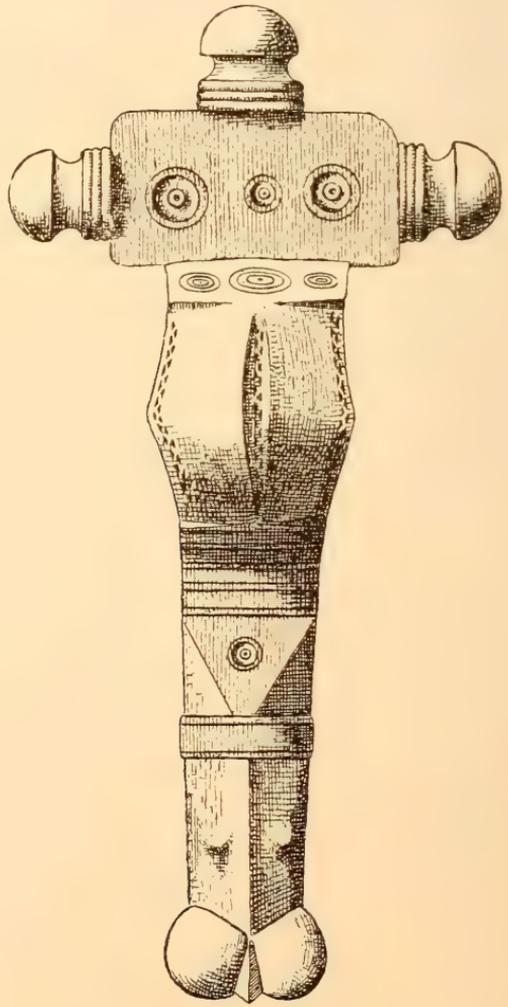


Fig. 57. $\frac{1}{1}$.

served the round form though they are all cast in the same piece with the rest of the brooch, and as the dimensions of the plate, which is only a little broader than it is high, have the same relations to each other as in the early forms. In the specimen fig. 58

the knobs are concave from the underside, and the plate is nearly twice as broad as it is high; an intermediate stage is represented in fig. 57, the knobs of which have a flat underside. The proportions of the whole form are thus transformed, as the bow, which is now broader than before and concave from the underside, must become a more predominant part of the brooch, when both the plate and the foot are made shorter. More than any of the transformations of the details does this change of the proportions of the whole form prove, how far we have come here from the early form of the cruciform brooches. Regarding the last two figures is to be mentioned also the very degenerated form of the animal-head, though it is in both cases directly developed from earlier forms. Sometimes are found more curious variations, as seen in the details illustrated in figs. 59 and 60,¹⁾ which apparently have a less direct connexion with the forms known from an earlier stage of development.

Besides the large brooches, the transformation of which we have just seen, are to be noted some smaller specimens preserving more of the original form even at a time when the former had been much changed. As they are not numerous and have no important variations, they are represented here by one figure only (fig. 61)²⁾ showing their most characteristic features: the nearly quadratic plate with small,

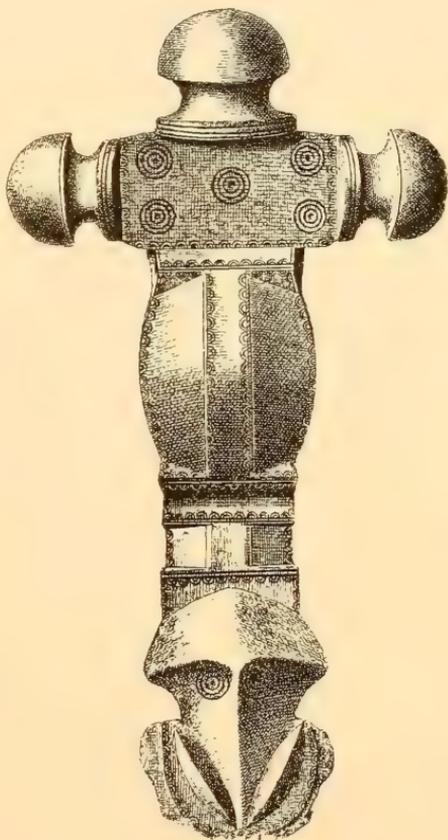


Fig. 58. $\frac{1}{1}$.

1) Fig. 59: Ertseid, Søndre Undal pgd. Mandal. C. 9189. Ab. 1879, p. 170. — Fig. 60: Hole, Gryten pgd. Romsdalen. T. 2913. Ab. 1882, p. 127 s.

2) Nordre Fevang, Sandeherrad pgd. Larvik. C. 6980. Ab. 1874, p. 139.

but relatively high knobs, the narrow bow and the long foot. In spite of its rather archaic appearance it must be counted among the latest varieties (compare fig. 173 below).

Among the early cruciform brooches the foot sometimes appears in rare and irregular varieties — as seen for instance in figs. 28 and 29 — of which, however, no traces are found in the following development. But also among the late forms we meet with irregularities; and we shall here especially treat two not very numerous varieties of the foot, different from all we have hitherto seen and

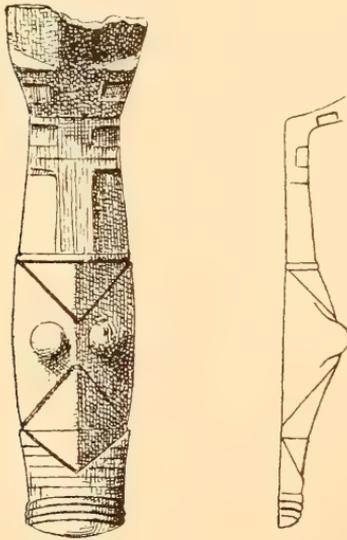


Fig. 59. $\frac{1}{1}$.

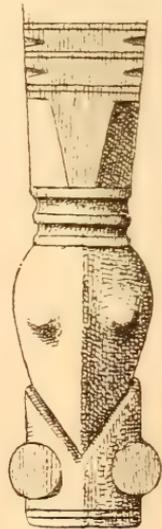
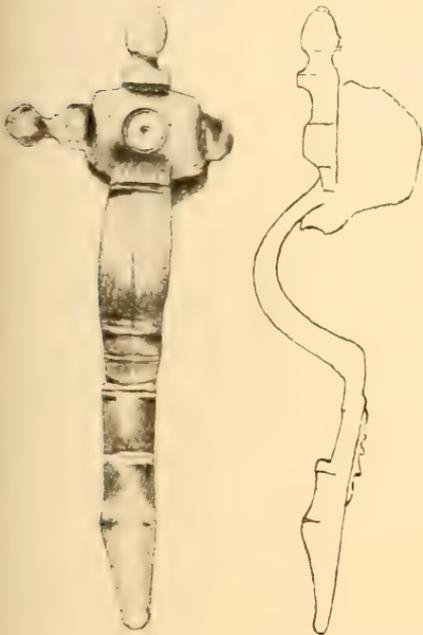
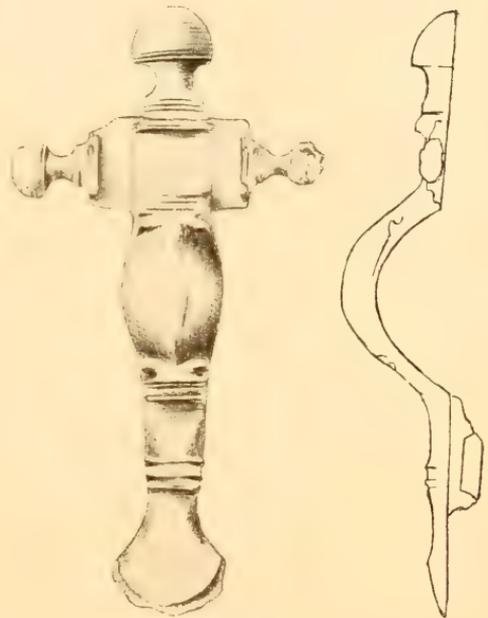


Fig. 60. $\frac{1}{1}$.

certainly not originally belonging to the cruciform type. These varieties have the foot terminated by a semicircular or by a triangular plate. Such forms are unknown among the cruciform brooches till a relatively late stage of development and, consequently, it is in itself most likely that they have been transferred here from other contemporary types, but as both the forms are of different origin they ought to be treated separately.

e. The brooches with the foot terminated by a semicircular plate are rather rare in all parts of Scandinavia, and there is little difference between the specimens found in the Eastern and in the

Western parts of the Peninsula; it will then be practical to keep together as a whole all the brooches of this sort, and I consequently reserve the special treatment of them — their origin and development — for the following description of the forms in Western Norway. Here I have figured only two specimens to show the form as it appears in the Eastern district (figs. 62 and 63),¹⁾ both of them in many points showing an advanced stage of development, as the knobs are cast concave from the underside, the side-knobs are somewhat smaller than the top-knob, and the bow is relatively longer than commonly seen in the cruciform brooches.

Fig. 61. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 62. $\frac{1}{1}$.

We also note that not only the peculiar form of the foot is here a novelty for the type; in most of these brooches the bow has got a flat little plate at the top, a detail nearly unknown in all the ordinary varieties of the type. This circumstance is a proof more that we have here to do with a hybrid form, produced by combining the upper part of the late cruciform brooches with elements originated from a different source. Respecting the foot, a

¹⁾ Fig. 62: Lund, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 6075. Ab. 1872, p. 120. — Fig. 63: Bjørke, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. C. 17859. Ab. 1894, p. 102.

trace of its original form is probably to be found in the cases where the semicircular plate along the edge is provided with a series of holes, placed close to each other, as seen in a fragment of such a brooch illustrated in fig. 64.¹⁾ Such a form is evidently very like the corresponding part of the Prussian brooches with star-pattern foot. The possibility thus indicated will be discussed in the following.

f. The brooches with the foot consisting of a triangular plate must be considered as a variety chiefly belonging to the Western parts

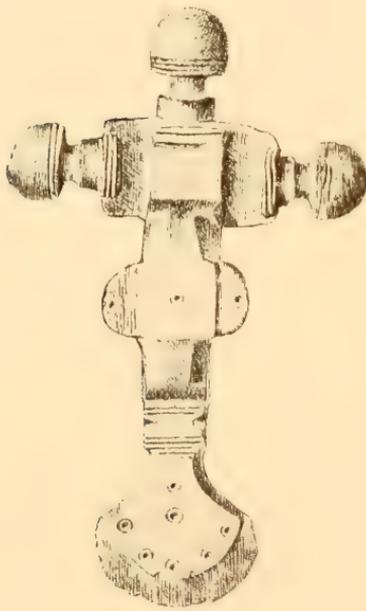


Fig. 63. $\frac{1}{1}$.

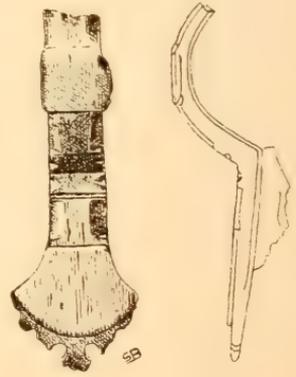
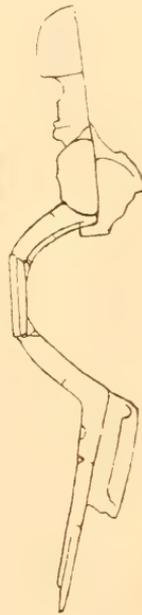


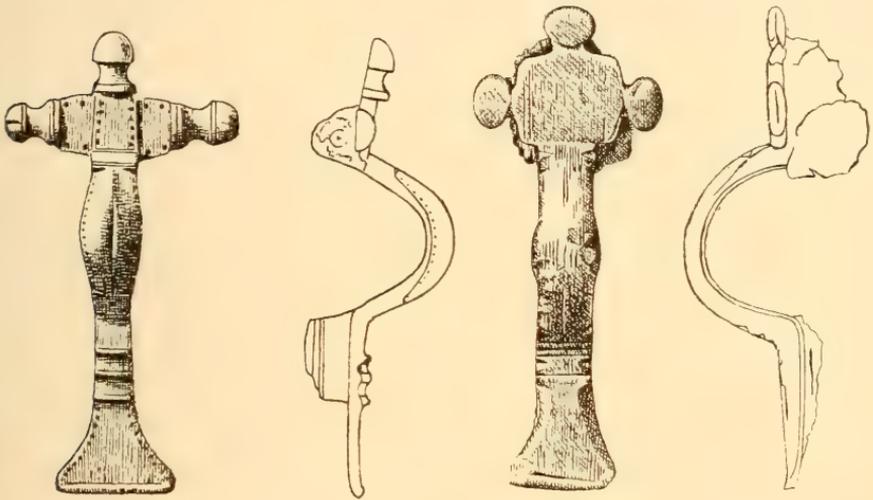
Fig. 64. $\frac{1}{1}$.

of the Peninsula, and of the not numerous specimens found within the Eastern district great part is probably imported here from the West. It will be convenient also respecting this variety to reserve the description for the following and at the same time to treat in connexion with it a certain type of small bronze brooches with a square upper plate, which has hitherto been regarded as a late variety of the cruciform type.

¹⁾ Lasken, Sem pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 11623. Ab. 1883, p. 119 s. Cf. MONTIELIUS: Från Jernåldern, pl. 4, fig. 16, from Skaane.

To show the form here in question, I have given as fig. 65¹⁾ a little brooch where the foot seems to represent the more original shape of this form, and as fig. 66²⁾ a brooch representing nearly the most advanced degeneration of form possible. In the latter figure the bow is provided with a little top-plate, a detail which is here rarer than in the variety treated above.

Some of the Swedish specimens with the foot consisting of a triangular plate are in many points different from all I have seen in Norway, as also in other cases several more isolated varieties found in Sweden seem to indicate an independent development in

Fig. 65. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 66. $\frac{1}{1}$.

that country; but the material is here too scarce to admit of any precise conclusions.

I will not close the description of the cruciform brooches in the Eastern territory before having mentioned a very remarkable find of three such brooches at Friedefeld in Pommerania (figs. 67—69)³⁾, the forms of which are most closely related to some Swedish

¹⁾ Giskegjerde, Borgund pgd. Søndmør. B. 720. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M., p. 108.

²⁾ Nordre Fevang, Sandeherred pgd. Larvik. C. 6935. Ab. 1874, p. 134.

³⁾ Dr. H. SCHUMANN: Skeletgrab aus der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Friedefeld, in Nachrichten über deutsche Altertumsfunde, 1898, p. 93, figs. 1—4.

brooches, especially from the Southern parts of that country, as seen in figs. 70—71,¹⁾ all of them being rather late specimens. I have not seen the three Pommeranian brooches myself, and therefore I am not able to make out whether they are to be regarded as imported from Sweden or as brooches made in the country where they were found; but as some of their details — for instance the rounded corners of the plate — as far as I have seen, are unknown in Scandinavia, I am inclined to think the latter possibility the most likely one, though the find seems to be a quite unique appearance in the whole of Northern Germany. But howsoever this may be decided, I think it certain in any case that the appearance in

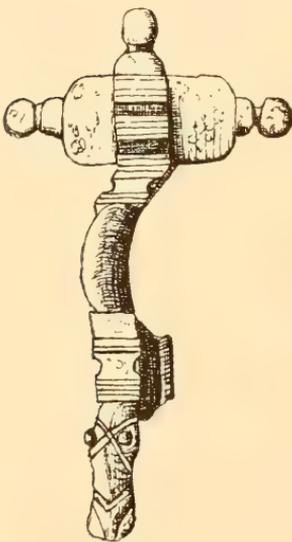


Fig. 67.

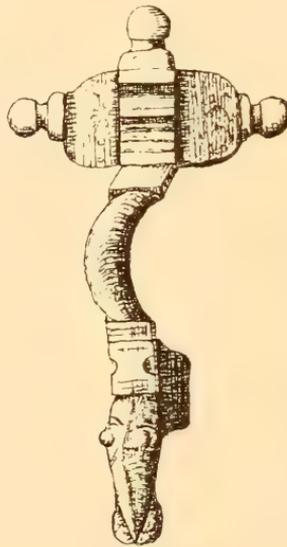


Fig. 68.

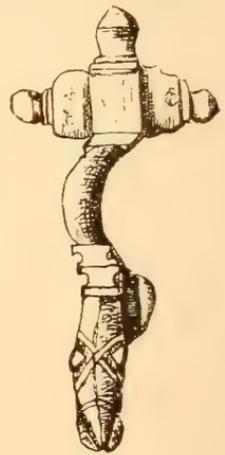


Fig. 69.

Pommerania of the cruciform brooches, which must be referred to the late 5th cent., is due to an influence from the Scandinavian Peninsula, and that they may well be ranged in the series of development within the Eastern district. Dr. H. SCHUMANN has kindly informed me that all the three specimens have the knobs cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch, a proceeding which has never been met with in Sleswick-Holstein and very rarely in Denmark. I cannot agree with the pronouncement of dr. SCHUMANN

¹⁾ Fig. 70: from MONTELIUS: från Jernåldern, pl. 4, fig. 13. — Fig. 71: Halland. Stockholm Museum nr. 7331 : 597. From a sketch by the author.

who has carefully described the find, when he thinks the brooches from Friedefeld closely allied to the forms known from Sleswick and Holstein. As the brooches found in the last mentioned district have all been of earlier forms and as the intermediate stage, which could connect them with the form known from Friedefeld, is yet missing in these districts I think it at present the most reasonable explanation to suppose that they have in Pommerania been produced by imitation of Swedish forms, though I will not deny the possibility that this opinion may be contradicted by future finds.

General transformations of the form during the development in Eastern Norway. On several places in the previous description of

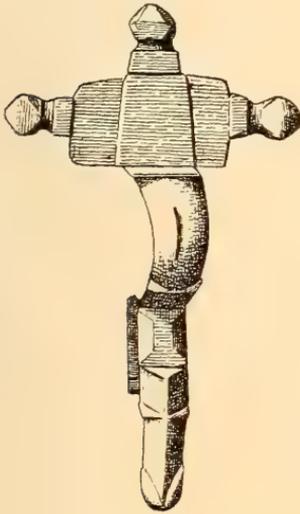


Fig. 70.

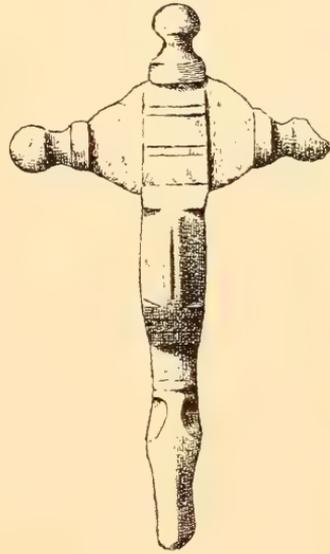


Fig. 71.

the special varieties of the type I have also occasionally made some remarks upon the general transformation which equally in all the parallel varieties indicates the advancement of the development. Though these features are commonly well known and moreover can be extracted from the figures above, I think it practical to make here some further remarks upon them.

The technical proceeding in the making of the brooches is always the same. They are nearly without exception of bronze — a few specimens are of silver; but hitherto no cruciform brooch is

known neither of gold nor of iron — they are cast as perfect as possible in the form intended, only corrected afterwards with a file and provided with the ornaments executed with punch or drill. As no unfinished specimen has been found we do not know in what degree the filing was required; but that this part of the work was not at all insignificant is seen by comparing specimens which have come from the same mould, as in such cases the finished brooches are diverging not a little from each other respecting the details of the form. In all cases the exactness of the workmanship is well worth our admiration respecting the fine brooches really destined to be ornaments of the dress.

As mentioned above the brooches are originally cast in the full thickness indicated by the facets of the surface, a circumstance especially characteristic of the early stages of development. Later on, when the brooches often became larger, of broader forms, and of a more marked moulding than before, they are generally made concave from the underside, the bronze being cast relatively thin in all parts of the brooches. This proceeding, which no doubt signifies a progress in the workmanship of casting, of course did not diminish the ornamental effect of the form when the brooch was used, and it also afforded a practical improvement by diminishing the weight of the piece, a circumstance not unimportant in the case of so large ornaments destined to be worn in the dress.

The general transformation of the form, though in some degree influenced by this change in the workmanship, is chiefly due to the gradual forgetting of the original meaning of the different elements constituting the form. As we have seen were all the characteristic parts of the cruciform brooches produced in connexion with some practical purpose; the long and narrow shape of the foot had been a necessary consequence of the returned foot which was at its time a very useful invention in order to form the brooch by bending a piece of string and not by casting; the three knobs had got their natural place at the upper end of the brooch as the completion of the arrangement of the spring-coil, and the square plate had originally the destination to cover the spring-coil and to connect the three knobs with each other. When all the elements of the form were reduced to mere ornamental parts of the brooch the transformation of them seems to have gone rather rapidly, but it was just of this reason never consequentially and equally brought about in all the brooches made at the same point of time. It is

evident that the workman always had the opportunity of seeing older brooches still in use and that consequently some of the features characteristic of the early stages of the development may spontaneously have been combined with the late forms of the type, especially as the whole development of the cruciform brooches in Norway has taken place, in my opinion, within a space of time not much more than a hundred and fifty years.

Respecting the head of the brooches I will first draw the attention to a detail which ought to be spoken of — though of little importance as to the transformation of the form — as it has sometimes been mentioned as a feature indicating a late stage of development. As seen from many of the figures above it is a fact that, when seen from the side, the plate is a little sloping a proportion to the foot, being a little raised. This peculiarity is seen already in the prototype of the cruciform brooches and is also very common through the whole development of them, but sometimes missing even among the early forms. It is not till the very latest varieties that it is regularly given up.

The variations of the dimensions of the plate and of the shape of the knobs have already been spoken of sufficiently to give an impression of the general transformation of them; it may be mentioned only that the head of the brooches in the Eastern district generally have preserved the original shape better than in the late Western forms. I proceed to treat the not uninteresting question about the development of the form of the bow.

The simple bow with parallel edges, which is certainly the original form of it, is always preserved besides the later variations, though it is gradually made shorter and broader than before.¹⁾ But even early we find specimens the bow of which is a little broader in the middle than at the ends, and somewhat later the middle part is extended so as to form a pointed angle on both sides. A marked specimen of this sort is seen in the late brooch fig. 72.²⁾ The form of the bow seen here is certainly a speciality of the cruciform brooches, developed from the original form of this type, and it seems also to be confined to the Scandinavian Peninsula, as I have

¹⁾ As mentioned above, the shortness of the bow is one of the typical differences between brooches from the Scandinavian Peninsula and from Denmark. In the later English brooches the bow is also generally very short.

²⁾ Nordheim, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. Skien Museum, nr. 3720. Published by the kind permission of Mr. J. CHRISTIE, director of the Skien Museum.

seen it in no English and only in one Danish specimen.¹⁾ It is, however, most marked in the late forms from Western Norway. Where a similar form of the bow appears in the large brooches with relief ornaments from a later part of the migration period, I think it transferred here from the cruciform brooches, a circumstance not without interest as it probably proves that such large brooches have been made within the Peninsula.

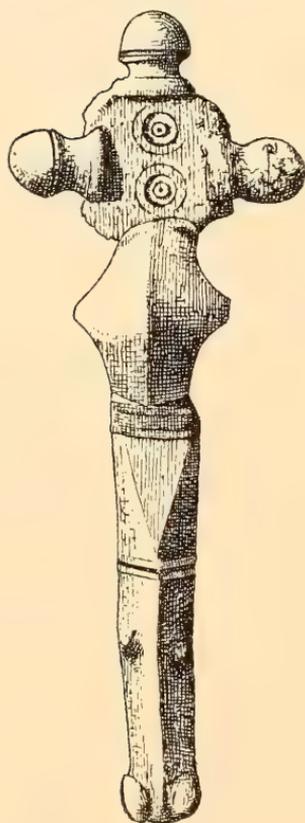


Fig. 72.

A rarer variety of the bow has been shown already in fig. 41 above, having a rhomboidal figure drawn with four lines upon the surface of the bow. This form is found only in the cruciform brooches and only in Norway and Sweden. It is often combined with the form of the bow just mentioned (as in fig. 45), though it is not necessarily connected with it. I am not able to make out the origin and gradual transformation of it, because it is rather rare in the early stages of the development.

The third variety — of which we have a specimen in fig. 46 — does not, in my opinion, originally belong to the cruciform brooches. This kind of moulding of the bow, being regularly found in the large, silver-plated brooches²⁾, which are contemporary with the middle cruciform brooches, and being certainly a feature properly belonging to that form, must from here have been transferred to some cruciform brooches. It is sometimes combined with the two previously treated varieties. In Norway it is not very rare,

in Denmark I have seen it only in a few instances, and it seems to be unknown in England.

¹⁾ The Danish specimen is found in Jutland (Copenhagen Museum), it is of silver and provided with ornaments cast in relief. A fragment of a brooch in the Copenhagen Museum (nr. 8414) showing a marked development of this form of the bow, has probably come from Norway.

²⁾ Compare MÜLLER: *Jernalderen*, fig. 264 and fig. 148 below.

At last may be mentioned that the catch-plate of the pin, being originally as long as the whole foot of the brooch but not very broad, gradually was made shorter and broader and thus by its form gives one of the best indications of the relative stage of development, though not even the form of this detail alone is sufficient to admit of a reliable conclusion. I have seen some brooches, which show in all other parts an advanced transformation, but where the catch-plate reaches from the bow to the nose of the animal-head. Such instances are, however, to be regarded as exceptions, and I have only noted very few irregularities of this sort.

Also the ornamentation of the brooches is subject to some changes during the development of the form, as far as it in the early brooches consists nearly exclusively of incised lines and small figures executed with a punch, while we in the later brooches find a more extended use of groups of concentric circles, drilled in the surface with a special instrument. In a few early specimens even figures of silver are found inlaid in the surface, and sometimes is found an ornamentation in relief, though only forming geometric patterns. A brooch of the last sort is seen fig. 73.¹⁾ The ornamental part at the bow is made of a separate little plate of bronze fastened in an incision in the bow; the brooch is so much worn, that the pattern is here no more quite distinct. Along the edges of the plate are placed a series of small triangles executed with a punch.

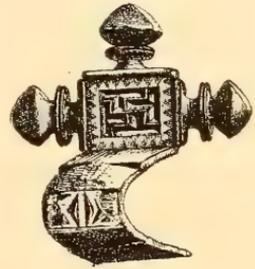


Fig. 73. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Of these different sorts of ornamentation the punched patterns and the incised lines are also well known from Denmark and England. The drilled circles, so commonly met with in Eastern Norway, are rare in the brooches from Denmark, and from England I know only one instance of them, which will be especially mentioned in the following. The very extended use of concentric circles as seen

¹⁾ Langlo, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 5951. Ab. 1872, page 103 ss. pl. I, fig. 6. Though this brooch in other respects has not the appearance of an early specimen and, as I will show in the following, really must belong to a relatively late time, its side-knobs are fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil and provided with a groove to keep the edge of the plate.

in the late brooches from Eastern Norway must consequently be regarded as a speciality of that district, a proof more how, during the migration period, the Teutonic tribes in the different districts diverged from one another respecting the taste as expressed in forms and ornaments.

4. The cruciform brooches of Western Norway.

A general knowledge of the Norwegian antiquities, as they are arranged in the chief museums of the country, is already sufficient to show a difference between the Eastern parts and the Western parts of the country respecting the cruciform brooches. It is striking, that most of the later forms are confined to the one or to the other of these main districts, and it is not difficult to make out that the varieties most diverging from the original form of the type are especially characteristic of the West coast of Norway. Certainly these varieties have been found also sometimes in the Eastern district, and they often appear in the Northern parts of Norway and Sweden, but in such cases the brooches always belong to a late stage of development, and — as far as I have seen — their typological origin is only to be found in the coast districts between Lister and the promontory of Stat. The signification of *Western forms*, as used here, consequently is not to be understood as meaning the forms exclusively found in Western Norway; I intend in this way to comprise the forms chiefly belonging to this part of the country and probably indicating a somewhat independent transformation of the type here, but also occasionally found in other parts of the Peninsula.

These coast districts having been till the later part of the Iron-Age, at least in some degree, isolated from the Eastern parts of the country, it is no more surprising to meet with a separate development in Western Norway than it is to observe certain differences of the brooches found in Jutland from those found in Norway. In what degree the Western forms are diverging from the common type in Eastern Norway is seen from the following description. I will not here discuss the question, whether we may from these differences deduce any more general conclusions; it must be repeated only, that in my opinion these differences are not chiefly due to a difference of time between the finds in the Eastern parts

and in the Western parts of the Peninsula, but to a different direction of the typological development in the two districts.

The earliest cruciform brooches in Western Norway are, as above mentioned, exactly like specimens from the other Northern countries, and some of them have been figured already in the first part of this description. The early development of the type has also here gone in the same direction as described respecting the Eastern parts of the Peninsula; the knobs, originally placed upon the ends of the axis of the spring-coil or upon a separate axis, and generally provided with splits to keep the edge of the plate, are in later stages nearly always cast in the same piece as the rest of the brooch. As it would be superfluous through examples from Western Norway to repeat the description of this transformation of the construction, I proceed at once to describe the different later varieties of the territory here in question, intending after the description to resume the chief points in which they diverge from the varieties of the Eastern territory. To get a general view of the many varying forms I have also here arranged the brooches in different series, distinguished from one another especially by the variations of the form of the foot. As before, this arrangement is to be regarded chiefly as a practical division of the material and not as expressing deeper differences of importance respecting the origin of the type.

For practical reasons the Western varieties are not described in the same order as the corresponding Eastern forms.

a. Brooches whose foot is in its whole length formed as an animal-head are not numerous in Western Norway, and all those found have the form with a flat triangular space stretching downwards from the end of the bow, the other form, fig. 41, being here totally wanting. The former is represented in Western Norway already from an early part of the development,¹⁾ but as the oldest specimens are not at all different from the corresponding brooches in Eastern Norway — though never as fine and large as some of these ones — I shall here only deal with the later development of

¹⁾ As an early brooch of this sort may be mentioned a specimen from Lygren, Lindaas pgd. Nordhordland. B. 3175. Ab. 1877, p. 69, with the side-knobs fixed upon a separate axis.

them, of which three specimens are shown in figs. 74—76,¹⁾ all showing a rather advanced transformation especially respecting the bow and the knobs. The more surprising is it to see in the first of them a form of the foot very closely resembling the same part of some of the early specimens figured among the Eastern forms and appearing as an archaism in combination with a brooch of the later development. To explain how so original a form of the foot could be used in a brooch the other parts of which have been

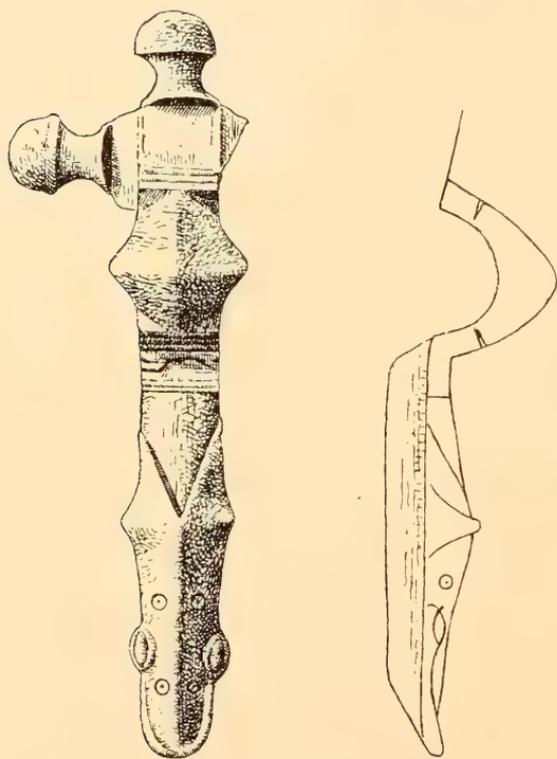


Fig. 74. $\frac{1}{1}$.

transformed already in a high degree, I must here anticipate the conclusion, chiefly founded upon the following series, that the general transformation of the form has taken place more rapidly in Western Norway, and that consequently some more advanced forms here may be, chronologically, coincident with earlier stages in Eastern Norway.

In the next two figures I note the punched and incised ornaments, as such decorated brooches are rarer in the Western parts of the Peninsula;

it is also remarkable that on these specimens the ornamentation is generally not so rich as on the specimens found in Eastern Norway and in Jutland.

¹⁾ Fig. 74: Dirdal, Høgsfjord pgd. Ryfylke. C. 3457. N. NICOLAYSEN: Norske Fornlevninger, p. 798. — Fig 75: Gjervik, Hammer pgd. Nordhordland. B. 2266. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 85. — Fig. 76: Obrestad, Haa pgd. Jæderen. B. 4344. Ab. 1885, p. 83.

The peculiar transformation of the side-knobs, seen in fig. 76, is a nearly unique appearance.

From this brooch and several others which must be attributed to the latest part of the development, it seems that the variety here in question lasted longer in Western Norway than in any other district. The late specimens of them are, however, small and in no respect especially remarkable; they were certainly at this time an obsolete and degenerating form.

b. The variety with the animal-head separated from the bow by a faceted stem is in Western Norway far from being the most numerous sort of the cruciform brooches and consequently in no way so important as in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, though they are certainly better represented than the first series.

In the brooch fig. 77,¹⁾ which has the side-knobs fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil and where the catch-plate of the pin is of the same length as the foot, we see already the proportions not a little different from the original form of the type, and we especially note the inclination to a broader shape and an extreme sharpness of the facets, which is characteristic of so many of the later brooches in Western Norway.

Owing to the corrosion of the bronze the details are not quite distinct, especially respecting the animal-head of the foot. It is certain, though, that punched or incised ornaments are totally wanting.

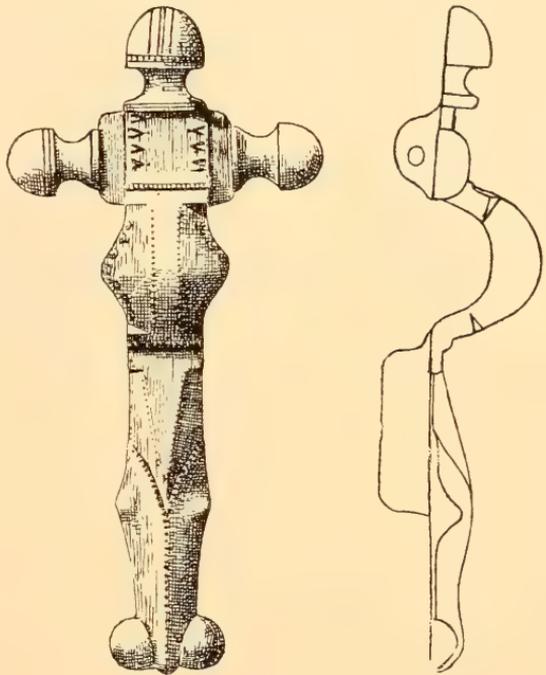
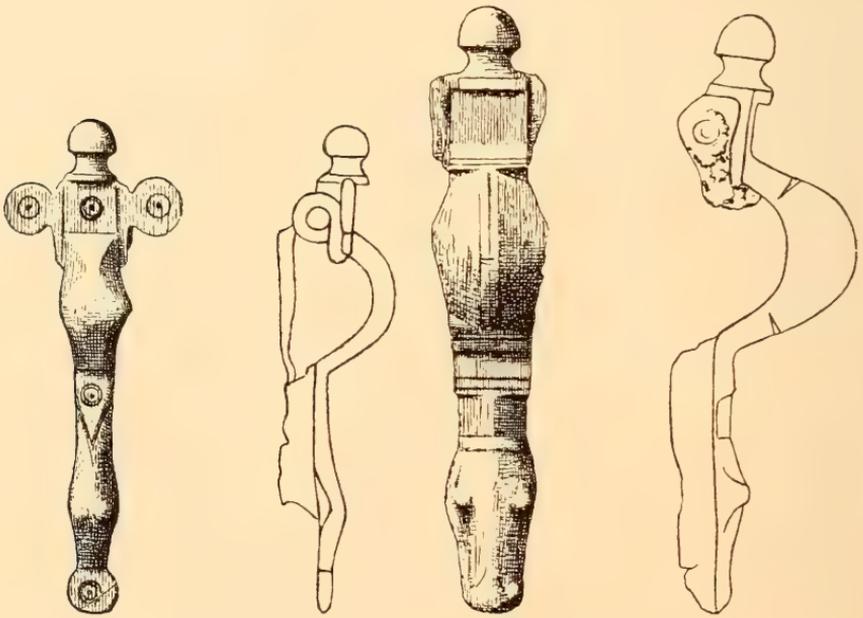


Fig. 75. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Horr, Haa pgd. Jæderen. B. 4834. Ab. 1881, p. 144.

The relatively advanced transformation of the general shape of this brooch is a striking feature when seen in combination with the very original arrangement of the constructive parts of it — the side-knobs and the catch-plate of the pin — and the same peculiarity is observed also in the following two brooches, figs. 78 and 79,¹⁾ though the transformation here is somewhat different from fig. 77. Typologically they are referred to a later stage by having the side-knobs cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch, but in both of them all the knobs have preserved the full roundness, and the catch-plate of the pin is as long as the foot. In relation to other Norwegian broo-

Fig. 76. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 77. $\frac{1}{1}$.

ches they are no doubt to be regarded as earlier than the middle stage of the development; the details of the form are, however, more different from the original type than I have seen in any instance of the corresponding forms in the Eastern territory.

I am fully aware of the risk by inferring from a few brooches of this sort a more general rule of development, but from the number of such cases in Western Norway — and more of them

¹⁾ Fig. 78: Western Norway. Locality unknown. B. 5631 *a*. B. M. Aarb. 1904, no. 6, p. 55. — Fig. 79: Obrestad, Haa pgd. Jæderen. B. 4344 *b*. Ab. 1885, p. 83.

will be found in the fourth series of the description, p. 71 ss. — I have got at least a personal impression that in this district the primitive arrangement of the knobs and of the catch-plate of the pin are oftener found in brooches of an advanced transformation than is the case in Eastern Norway. I am consequently inclined to suppose that the transformation of the shape of the brooches has in Western Norway taken place more rapidly than elsewhere. Certainly this is not the most important difference between the two districts, but I think it a fact worthy of mention, as this greater disposition for varying the form has probably been the origin of the very far-going transformation of the later brooches in Western Norway.

In the middle stage of the development the Western brooches are found in characteristic and fine varieties, well distinguished from those belonging to other districts. In fig. 80¹⁾ there is given a good specimen of this sort, well executed and of good proportions, in all worth being compared with the best Eastern brooches of a corresponding development, as seen in fig. 55. But from a comparison it will soon be found that nearly all the

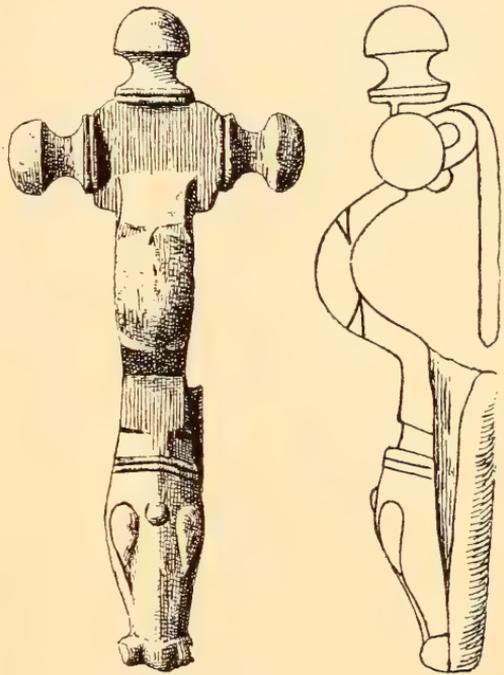


Fig. 78. $\frac{1}{1}$.

details are here treated in a different manner. The ornaments are reduced to some slight lines following the edges of the facets and along the middle of the bow — in the last place now nearly totally effaced by use, — while the mouldings and the facets are evidently executed with the intention to produce alone the ornamental effect of the brooch. For this purpose the knobs have got a more

¹⁾ Stedje, Sogndal pgd. Sogn. B. 4640. Ab. 1890, p. 111. — Respecting the form of the animal-head seen here I refer to SALIN: Thierornamentik, p. 185.

complicated moulding; the higher middle part of the head-plate is strongly developed; the bow is short and steep. As it is not seen in the figure, I especially remark that the pin's catch-plate reaches from the end of the bow to the neck of the animal-head. The underside of the brooch is concave.

The later brooches belonging to this series can only illustrate the dissolution and the degeneration of the form. They are mostly small specimens of bad proportions and carelessly executed; the

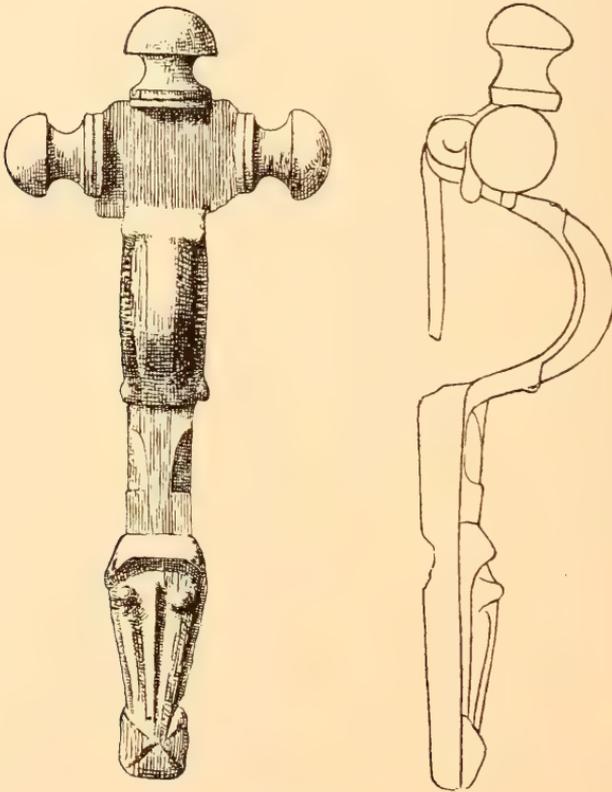


Fig. 79. $\frac{1}{1}$.

form is getting flat and the facets are losing their sharpness, which is all seen in figs. 81—83.¹⁾ It is a curious fact that such declining variations of this series are contemporary with the largest and most remarkable specimens of the numerous series described in

¹⁾ Fig. 81: Rongve, Haus pgd. Nordhordland. B. 439. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 90. — Fig. 82: Western Norway. Locality unknown. In Bergen Museum. — Fig. 83: Dragsvold, Vossestranden, Voss. B. 4353. Ab. 1885, p. 85.

the following (figs. 91—96), and that consequently the development is not necessarily parallel even among forms so closely allied to each other as the different varieties of the cruciform brooches.

It is of little attraction to go deeper into the study of these degenerated forms, but one point must especially be mentioned. The

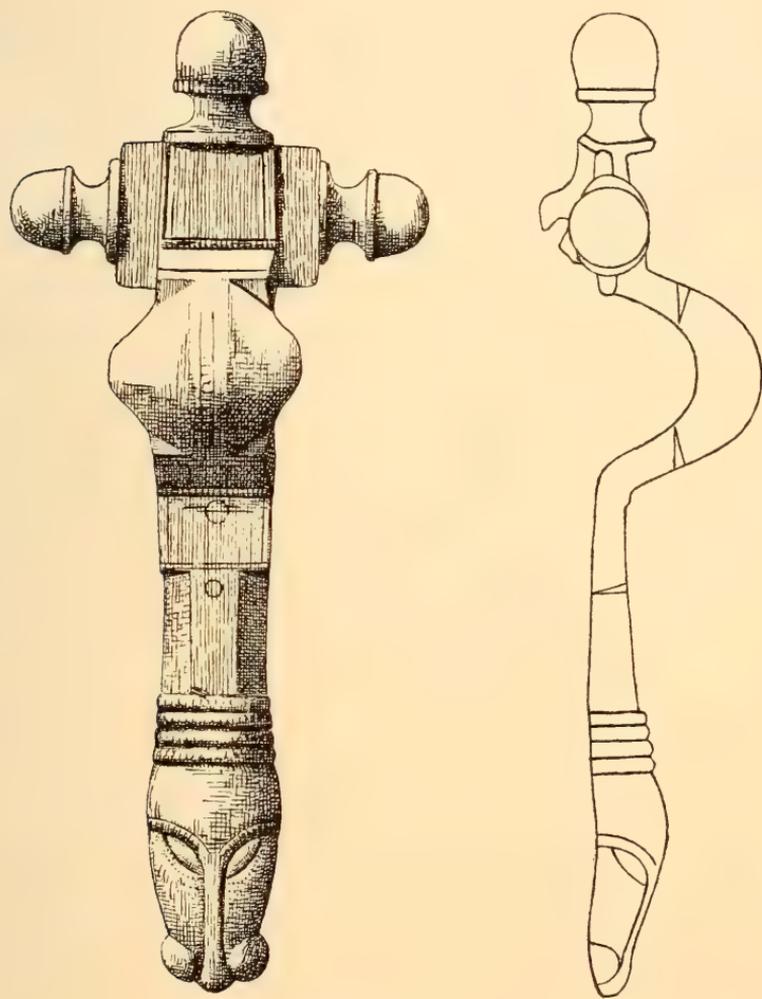


Fig. 80. $\frac{1}{1}$.

terminal heads in the brooches figs. 82 and 83 are modelled in a marked and characteristic manner and thus forming a striking contrast to the other parts of these brooches. The ornamental form of these heads is certainly developed from another origin

than the heads commonly seen in the cruciform brooches,¹⁾ though it is known in not a few specimens from all parts of Scandinavia. The study of pure ornamental forms not being within the limits of this paper, I have elsewhere not especially mentioned such instances; an exception is made here, because the heads seen in figs. 82 and 83 are of a more special interest, appearing in a characteristic and constant form, confined to the small district of the present diocese of Bergen — the country between Hardanger and Nordfjord —

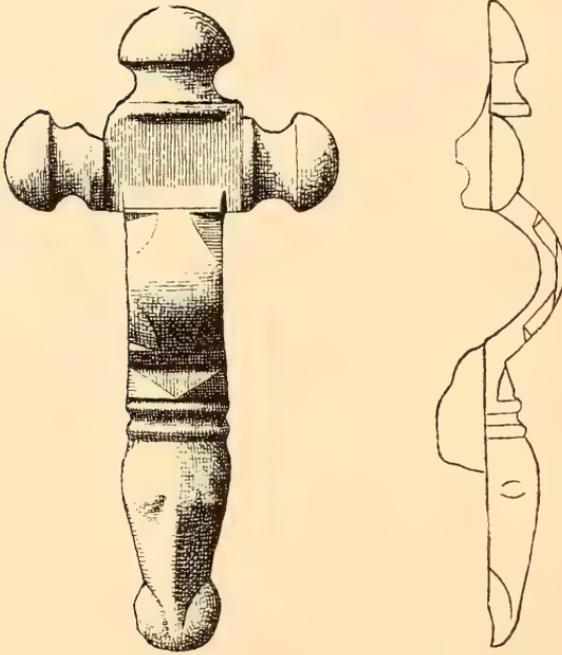


Fig. 81. $\frac{1}{1}$.

and found only in certain varieties of the late development of the type. It has, as clearly seen in the brooch fig. 83, the appearance of a new element combined with a type already old; the knobs, the plate, the bow, and the faceted part of the foot having lost all of the organic proportions and of the original elegance of the form, while the broad animal-head, in itself by no means a harmonious termination of the brooch,

is the only part well formed and carefully executed. That this brooch really belongs to the latest stage of the development is seen also from the fact that the underside is very concave.²⁾ It is

¹⁾ Compare fig. 80 and SALIN l. c. I cannot in all points agree with dr. SALIN's opinion about the development of this head in the cruciform brooches. It seems to me that the form of the head in fig. 80 here must be older than fig. 84, and the variations figs. 82 and 83 the youngest of all of them. Dr. SALIN has arranged them just in the opposite order.

²⁾ For the date of such brooches compare the find illustrated in figs. 179 and 180 below.

evident that the maker of this and of similar brooches has tried to give fresh interest to an obsolete form by introducing a strange head as a more modern element in the decoration.¹⁾ The puzzling appearance of this new element I think, at least in some degree, explained by the brooches described in the next series.

c. I think it convenient to treat here a very rare variety, which is always combined with the form of the animal-head just mentioned, and which is only found within the small district, the present diocese of Bergen. *The foot here consists of a broad plate, projecting on both sides of the end of the bow and getting farther down the same dimension as the neck of the animal-head.*

The few brooches of this sort known from Norway are all late specimens, as is clearly seen from the one figured here, fig. 84;²⁾ apparently it is not badly formed, but on closer inspection it will be found that the original proportions are not a little corrupted, that the plate is not sloping in relation to the line of the foot (which is of some weight being a common feature of all the Norwegian brooches of this series), further that

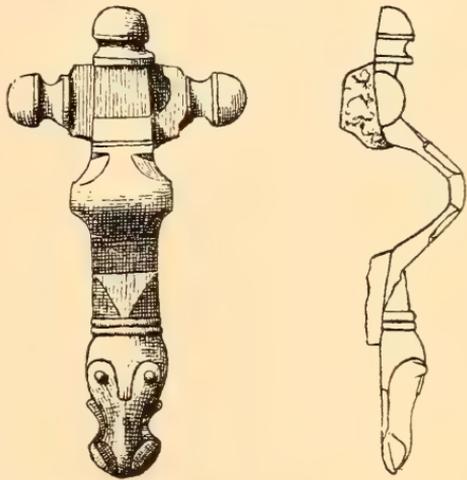


Fig. 82. $\frac{1}{1}$.

the catch-plate is very short, and that the underside is very concave. As the animal-head is very like the same part of the brooch fig. 83, it also seems probable that the two brooches are not very different of age, or at least that both of them belong to a late stage of the development, though the animal-head of fig. 83 is, typologically, the later of them.

The Norwegian brooches of the form fig. 84 are thus in different respects a rather surprising feature, as one should expect

¹⁾ Such typological instances have often been observed, compare the remarks of dr. HILDEBRAND in *Månadsblad* 1876, p. 216.

²⁾ Mo, Førde pgd. Søndfjord. B. 2828. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 101.

neither to meet with these relatively good specimens at a time when other varieties were already declining towards the final degeneration of the type, nor to find here a peculiar variation of the foot nearly unknown among all the earlier varieties in Norway. When searching elsewhere for the more original stages of this variety of the foot, we notice in Sleswick and Jutland a few specimens indicating its earliest appearance already as early as in a middle stage of the

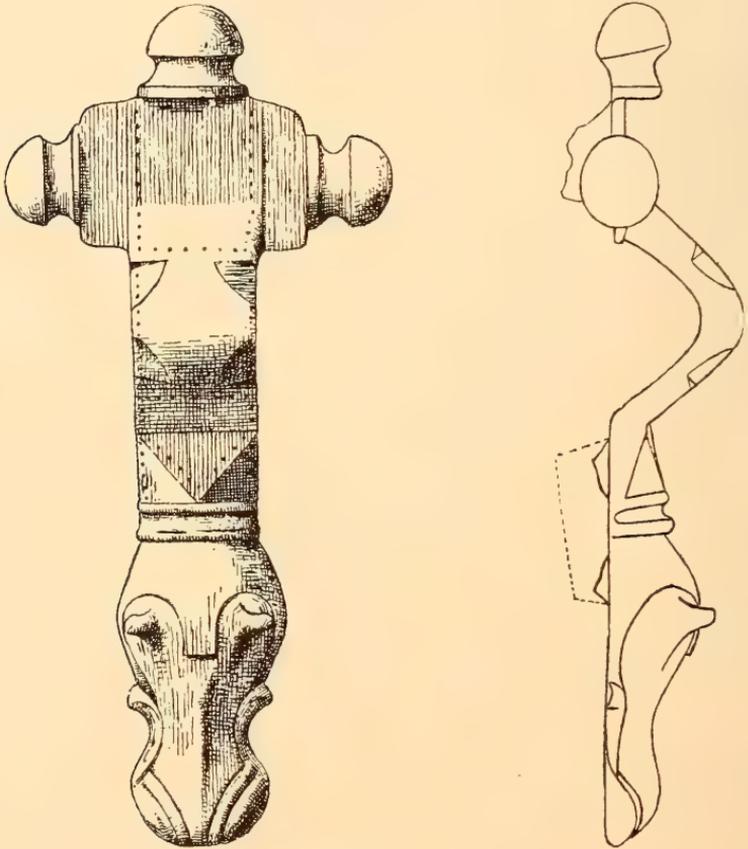


Fig. 83. $\frac{1}{1}$.

development of the type, as seen in fig. 30, a brooch found in Sleswick, the foot of which is provided with two small projections at its upper end, which do not, however, influence the form of the rest of the foot. And in a brooch from Jutland, fig. 85,¹⁾ we see

¹⁾ Jutland. Locality unknown. Copenhagen Museum, no. C. 8719. — The drawing is most kindly afforded by the director, dr. SOPHUS MÜLLER.

how these small projections have afterwards produced a change in the shape of the faceted stem, which has here got a more triangular shape not principally different from the West-Norwegian variety here in question. It is remarkable that in the brooch from

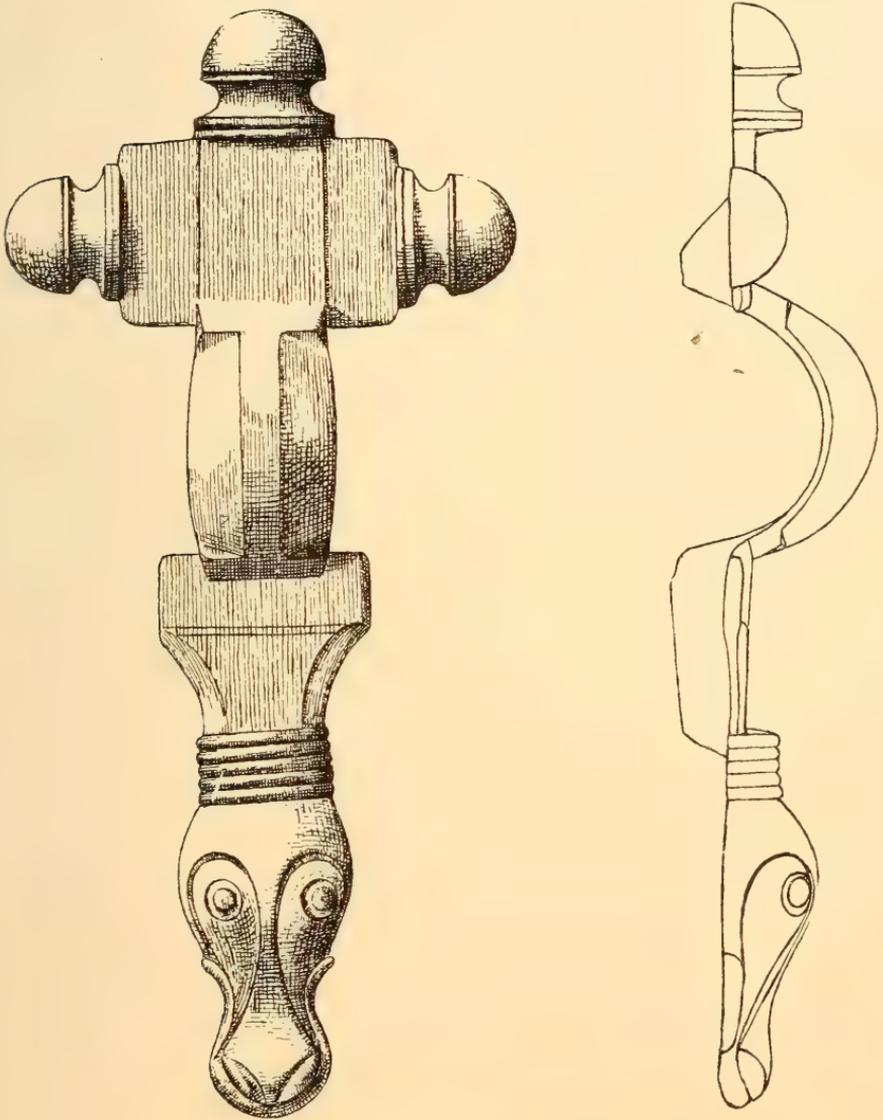


Fig. 84. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Jutland the animal-head is of the same family as the head which is always found in these brooches in Western Norway. That these brooches do not belong to the next series is proved by the fact,

that they have always preserved distinct typological rudiments of the faceted stem.

Concluding from the facts referred to here, I think the appearance of this variety in Western Norway most likely explained, if we suppose that it has here in a relatively late time been imitated from Danish brooches, and I do not think it an important objection against this supposition, that the variety is known from Denmark by one specimen only, which has not even exactly the same form as those from Norway. As already observed, the Danish material is very scarce and evidently gives no complete impression of the richness of varieties which have really existed in the country. Moreover, from the material now known it seems certain that the cruciform brooches preserved in Jutland their original character much better than in Western Norway, which is in itself an acceptable reason why they should be imitated here, and which also explains why the imitations show a less advanced transformation of the type than the contemporary brooches of the native development.¹⁾

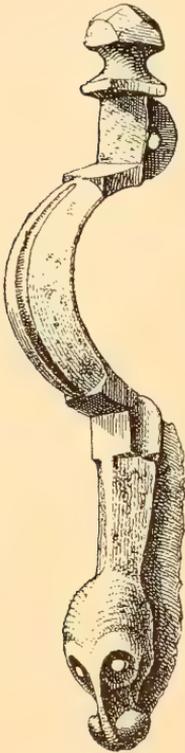


Fig. 85. $\frac{1}{1}$.

I think it also worth notice, that this variety of the foot as well as the characteristic form of the animal-head connected with it, is found only within the present diocese of Bergen, in the districts of Voss, Sogn and Søndfjord. But the cruciform brooches in Western Norway are known in so great numbers, that this circumstance is not well explained by supposing an accidental lack in our knowledge, and the form must consequently be regarded as a local appearance, confined to these fjord-districts, which is also more natural if we suppose the form produced by influences from another country, than it would be, if the form in question exclusively belonged to the native development. Examples are not wanting, how in historic times accidental and personal connexions may have occasioned in one place a strong influence of the industry of one place in another

¹⁾ To the study of this variety, compare the remarkable brooch, RYGH fig. 250, fig. 114 below. This brooch is found in Sogn.

country, and it is not impossible, I think, that somewhat similar connexions may have taken place during the prehistoric periods.¹⁾

d. The brooches with the foot consisting of a square plate separating the animal-head from the end of the bow are in Western Norway more numerous than all other varieties and certainly the most characteristic form of this district. As we have already seen, it is very rare in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, and in Denmark it is known only from a few late specimens; in England it is rather common, especially among the later brooches. But the real home of this form is the West coast of Norway, where it is found in all stages of development and partly in excellent specimens. As this variety in all probability did not appear till after the development had taken a separate direction in the different parts of the Northern district, we find here the explanation why it has been chiefly confined to a smaller district than most of the others. The very earliest specimen I have seen of this sort, is at all events the brooch given here as fig. 86,²⁾ where the plate is only a little broader than the bow, with its edges sharpened so as to be inserted into small grooves in the knobs; it is thus an early specimen of the Norwegian development, but the proportions and the form as a whole already

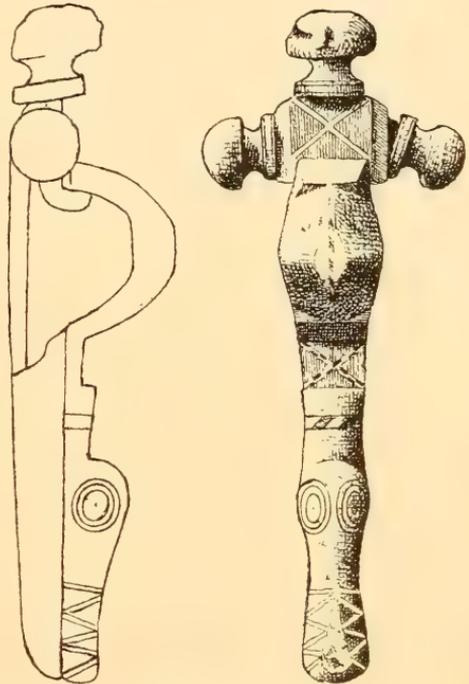


Fig. 86. $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹⁾ From my observations respecting this variety I should be tempted to suggest that it was brought from Jutland to the districts in Western Norway through immigration of a Jutish tribe. The supposed immigration must then have taken place at the beginning of the 6th cent. The material seems, however, not yet sufficient to make reliable conclusions of this sort.

²⁾ Reve, Klep pgd., Jæderen. Stavanger Museum, no. 2830.

indicate the special features characteristic of the separate form of the Peninsula. Consequently, with the earliest appearance of this variation of the foot we have left the stage of development common to all the Northern countries, and I am inclined to think that where later brooches of this sort appear outside Western Norway it must be explained through influence from that part; this is at least a fact respecting specimens found in other parts of the Peninsula.

The special form of the foot seen in this brooch (fig. 86) is no doubt closely related to the form represented in fig. 41 as

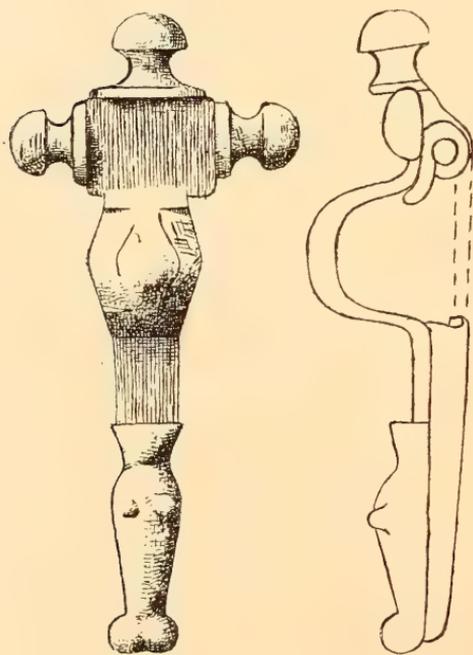


Fig. 87. $\frac{1}{1}$.

the difference between them chiefly consists in the thick neck of the animal-head which is a constant feature in the West-Norwegian brooches of this sort. It is also by the thick neck of the animal-head that the little flat space of the foot is marked as a distinct part of it and prepared for further development. It must be remarked that the special shape of the neck of the animal-head seen here (in fig. 86), which is certainly the most original form of this detail, is only found in Western Norway where it is preserved also in some later specimens (so in fig. 87),¹⁾ but it is generally

changed into a moulded ribbon placed across the foot between the animal-head and the flat space. Commonly this ribbon is quite narrow (fig. 88)²⁾ and very like the same detail in many other varieties; in some instances it is broader and very like the shape of the neck of the animal-head first mentioned, as seen in fig. 89,³⁾ a

¹⁾ Varhaug, Haa pgd. Jæderen. Stavanger Museum no. 1559.

²⁾ Maandalen (?) Romsdalen. B. 5102. Ab. 1894, p. 172.

³⁾ Varhaug, Haa pgd. Jæderen. Stavanger Museum no. 1460.

very late brooch I conclude from the remarkable development of the bow and from the curious form of the animal head.

The most important feature in the transformation of this series is, however, the widening of the flat part of the foot which is generally provided with two wings, making the foot broader than the end of the bow. At first the wings are very narrow, appearing only as lower edges along the sides of the foot (fig. 90).¹⁾ In later specimens they become broader and appear in varying forms. Commonly they have rounded corners and an incision in the middle, which gives to each of them the shape of two semicircular projections (fig. 91).²⁾ By a slight change these projections are transformed into ornamental animals placed along the sides of the foot (fig. 92).³⁾

The form seen in the last two figures represents one of the most uniform varieties of the cruciform brooches; it is found in great number all over Western Norway and in specimens showing very little difference from one another. The only part which shows some more striking differences is the animal-head or rather the nose of the head, a point apparently especially fit for further ornamental additions. Two such variations

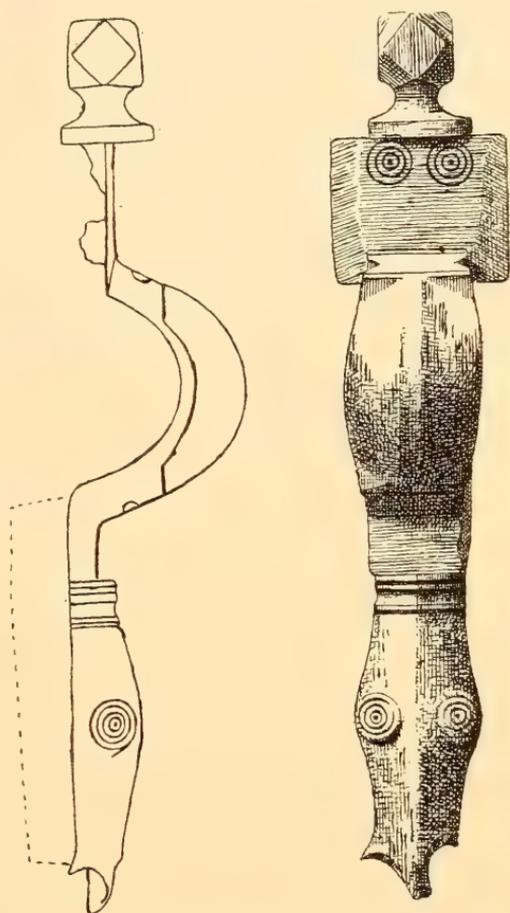


Fig. 88. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5306.

²⁾ Indre Opedal, Brekke pgd. Sogn. B. 2671. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 100—101.

³⁾ Røldal, Hardanger. B. 450. LORANGE: l. c. p. 79.

may be seen already in the last two specimens mentioned above (figs. 91 and 92); a simpler and more tasteful termination of the head than usual is found in fig. 93.¹⁾

As seen from the figures, all the parts of these brooches have become much transformed, but the workmanship is good and the details are sharply and precisely executed; we cannot yet in this stage of the development call them degenerated forms, though they have diverged from the original form of the type in a degree surpassed only by the latest varieties of the English development. As the most characteristic feature of the advanced stage of development

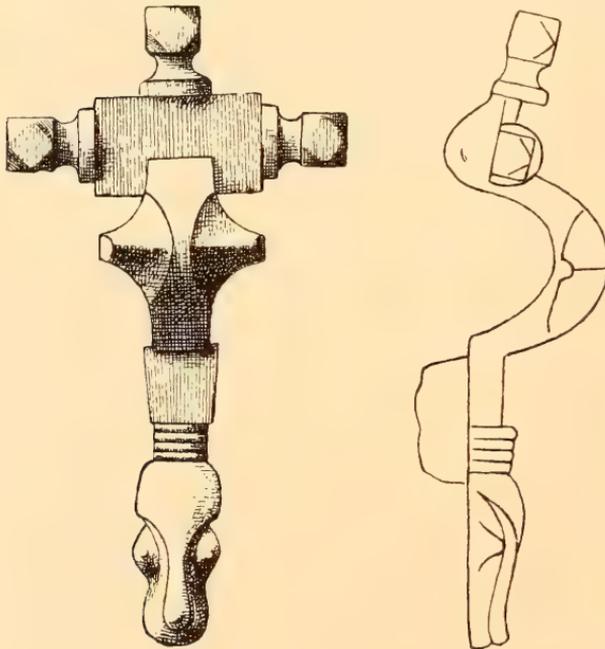


Fig. 89. $\frac{1}{4}$.

of this series may be noted the exaggerated moulding, the sharpness of all parts of the form, the total want of ornaments, and the large dimensions which are common to nearly all the specimens of this sort. Nearly always the headplate has a higher middle part, and the bow is very short.

As I have just mentioned, I think these brooches cannot be regarded as

degenerated forms as long as none of the original elements of the form have been effaced, but the final degeneration is not far away as none of these elements have here preserved any practical meaning, and the further ornamental additions soon led to the dissolution of the type. In this respect an alteration of the form of the knobs is very illustrating; they are in many cases replaced by what seems to be at first imitations of the small animal-heads placed at the end

¹⁾ Skeie, Klep pgd. Jæderen. B. 4226 a. Ab. 1883, p. 68.

of the foot in such brooches as fig. 92; one of the oldest specimens of this sort is seen in fig. 94.¹⁾ This alteration is in itself remarkable as it is the first transformation of the head of the cruciform brooch, the part from which the type has got its name and which has been nearly unaltered through so many transformations of the bow and the foot. It is noteworthy that the plate and the knobs are not much transformed even in so late a stage of development as fig. 92. But the plate also became altered in consequence of

the transformation of the knobs. These being now three animal-heads required a more organic connexion with the brooch than did the moulded knobs, and consequently we generally find in such brooches that the corners of the plate have been cut off and the three animal-heads connected with each other through an elevated ribbon running along the edge of the plate (fig. 95).²⁾ In fig. 96³⁾ is represented an intermediate form where only the top-knob is formed like an animal-head while the plate is of the same sort as fig. 95. Thus we miss here the most constant and

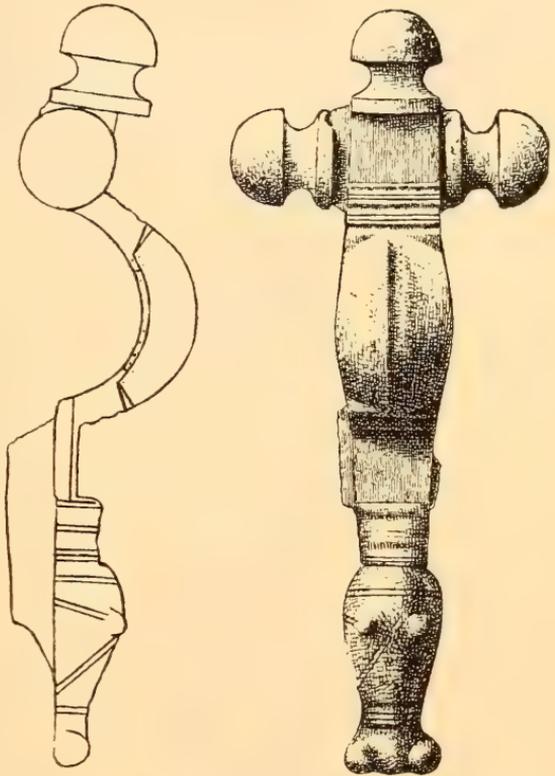


Fig. 90. $\frac{1}{1}$.

characteristic part of the cruciform brooches, the rectangular plate provided with three knobs, round or polyedrous, which is generally regarded as the evident mark of the cruciform brooches, but con-

¹⁾ Braasten, Høiland pgd Jæderen. B. 2476. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 65.

²⁾ Tu, Klep pgd. Jæderen. B. 2514. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 58.

³⁾ Tysnes, Hammerø pgd. Nordland. Tromsø Museum 1286. Ab. 1900, p. 261.

cluding from the typological development as given here, and from all the other parts of these brooches, we may be certain that they are produced by a transformation of the cruciform type alone,

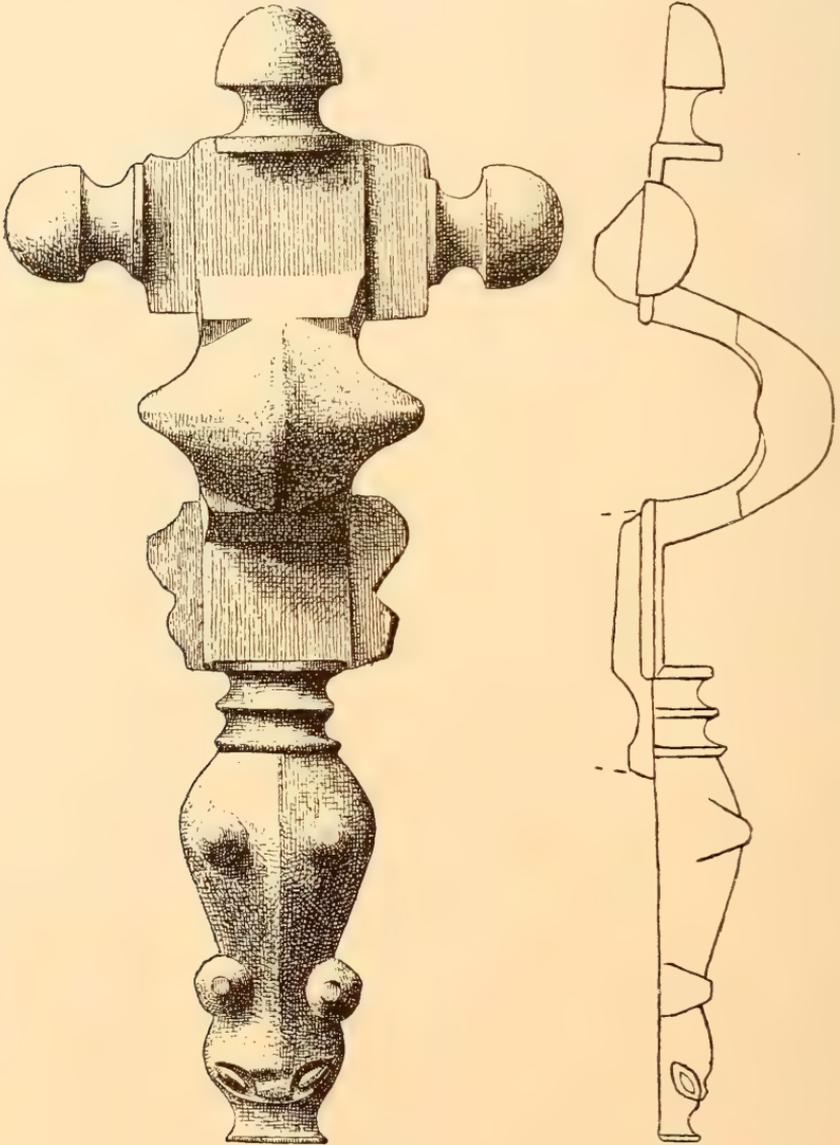


Fig. 91. $\frac{1}{4}$.

without any influence from other types, as the radiated brooches with three projections from the head (SALIN: *Thierornamentik*,

fig. 37, figs. 108—115) to which they have an accidental likeness. Moreover, such brooches as the form just referred to are unknown in Western Norway at this time.

When we remember that the large and characteristic brooches, figs. 91—95, are contemporary with the most degenerated forms of other varieties (compare figs. 57—58 and 81—83) it is not astonishing that they could spread outside Western Norway where they had been originally developed. They are, however, very rare in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula whose direct communications with the West coast were at that time — as far as we know — carried on at a rather small scale. They found their way northwards to the Romsdal and to the country around the Trondhjemsfjord where Eastern forms had till that time been predominant, if we may conclude from the scanty mate-

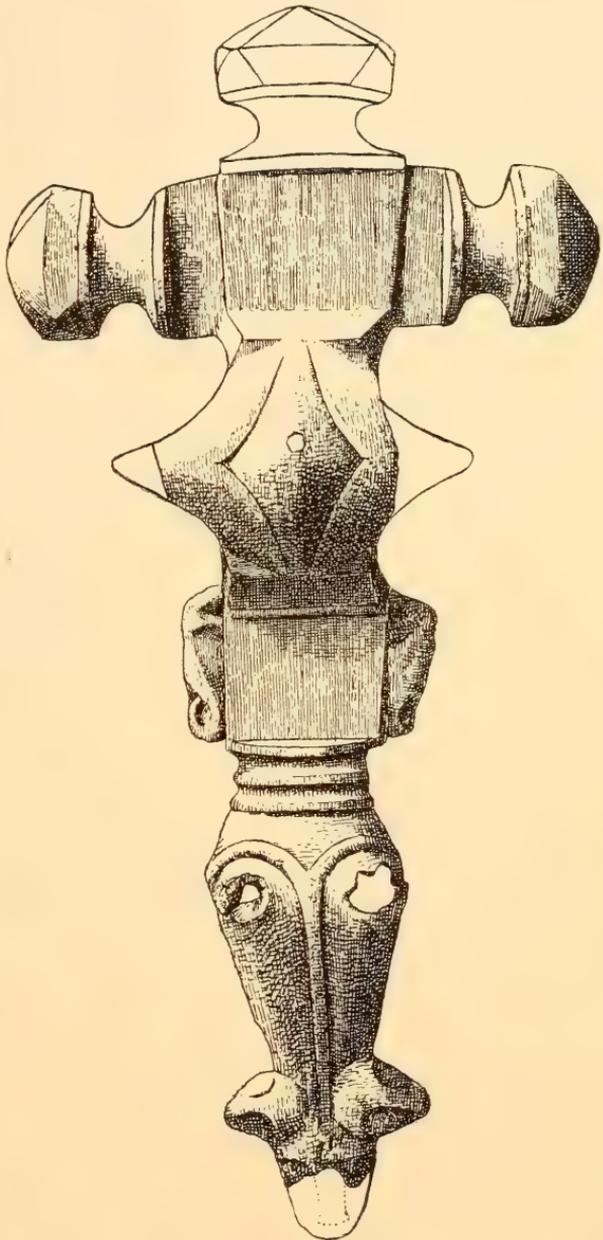


Fig. 92. $\frac{1}{4}$.

rial of cruciform brooches preserved here. From here they came to the Northern districts of Sweden; many of them are

found in Medelpad and Helsingland, and here the further transformation of them seems to have, in some degree, taken another direction than in Norway.¹⁾ — From the country around the Trondhjems-

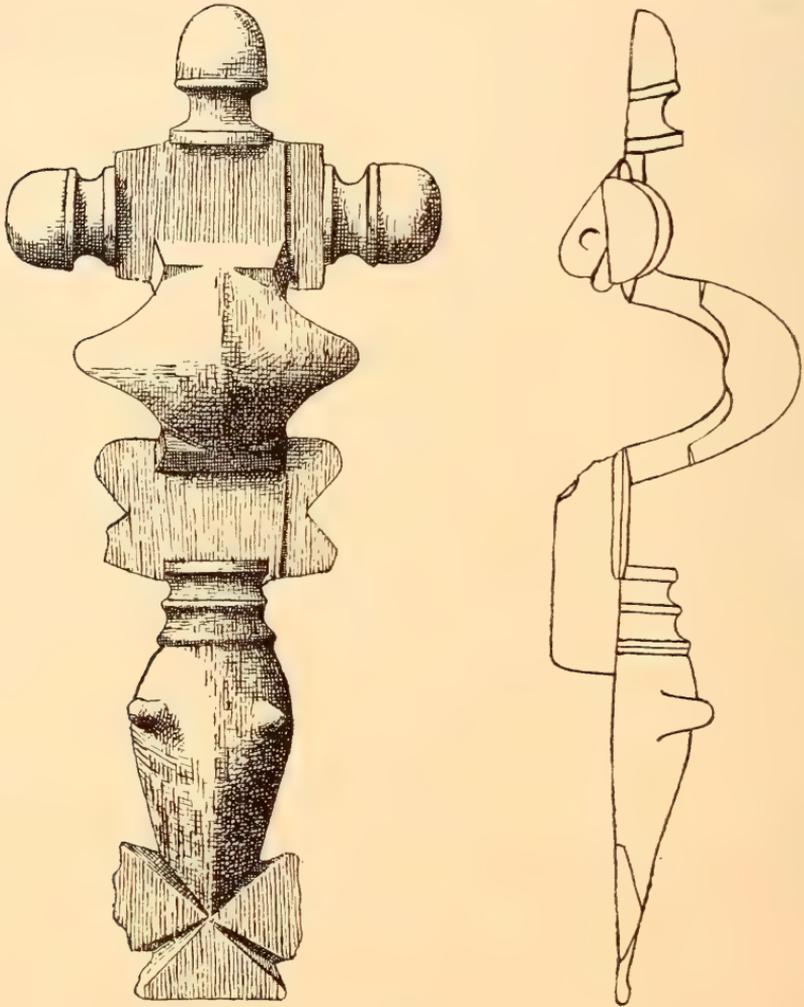


Fig. 93. $\frac{1}{1}$.

fjord they came also to the Northern parts of Norway (cf. the footnote to fig. 96, p. 75, 3).

¹⁾ Swedish brooches of this sort are figured *Antikvarisk tidskrift för Sverige* II, p. 264; MONTELIUS: *Huru gamal er bygden i Helsingland*, Stockholm 1901, p. 18, fig. 39; *Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* X, p. 58, fig. 130. MONTELIUS: *Från Jernåldern*, pl. 4, fig. 3. — Regarding the special Swedish development of them see MONTELIUS: *Huru gamal er bygden i Helsingland*, p. 16, fig. 35.

We return to the development of this series in Western Norway. In some cases the flat part of the foot is not provided with lower wings such as we have seen in all the former brooches of this series, but the flat part is itself made broader, thus forming a flat, rectangular plate, broader than both the end of the bow and the neck of the animal-head (fig. 97).¹⁾ It is possible, though not certain, that this form which we have already met with in a few

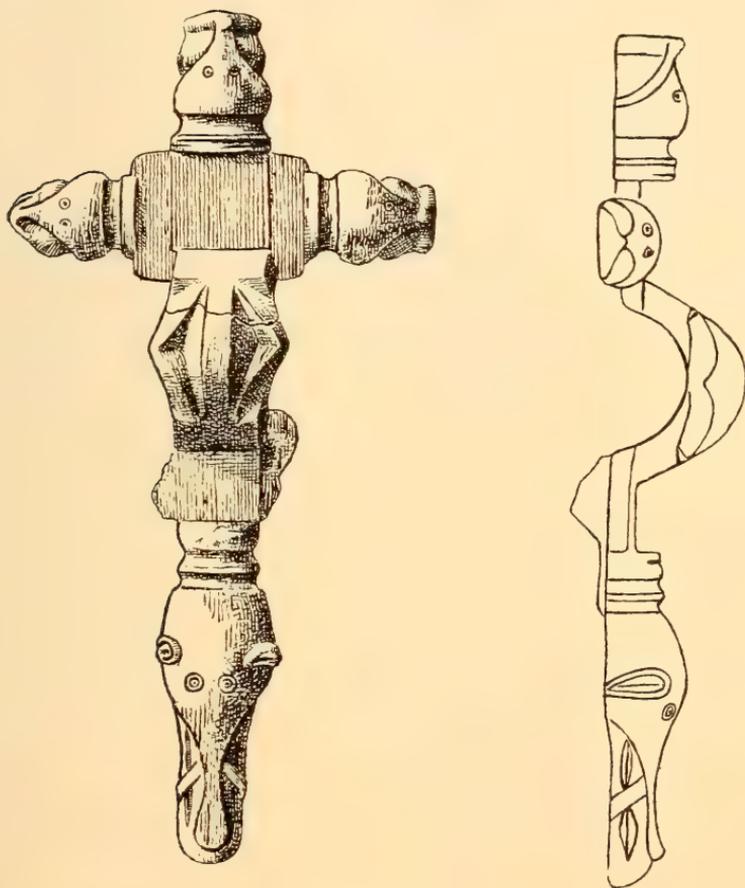


Fig. 94. $\frac{1}{4}$.

brooches of the Eastern district (for instance figs. 45 and 46) may be explained as a simplification of the form treated above (figs. 90 — 96). This explanation is at least typologically very probable and the two forms may be regarded as closely related to each other. The flat plate of the foot appears in varying forms; in the frag-

¹⁾ Bø, Haa pgd. Jæderen. C. 7530. Ab. 1875, p. 88, no. 112.

ment, fig. 98,¹⁾ it is broadest downwards; generally it has on each side two semicircular projections, formed in the same way as the corresponding wings of the brooches mentioned above (fig. 99).²⁾

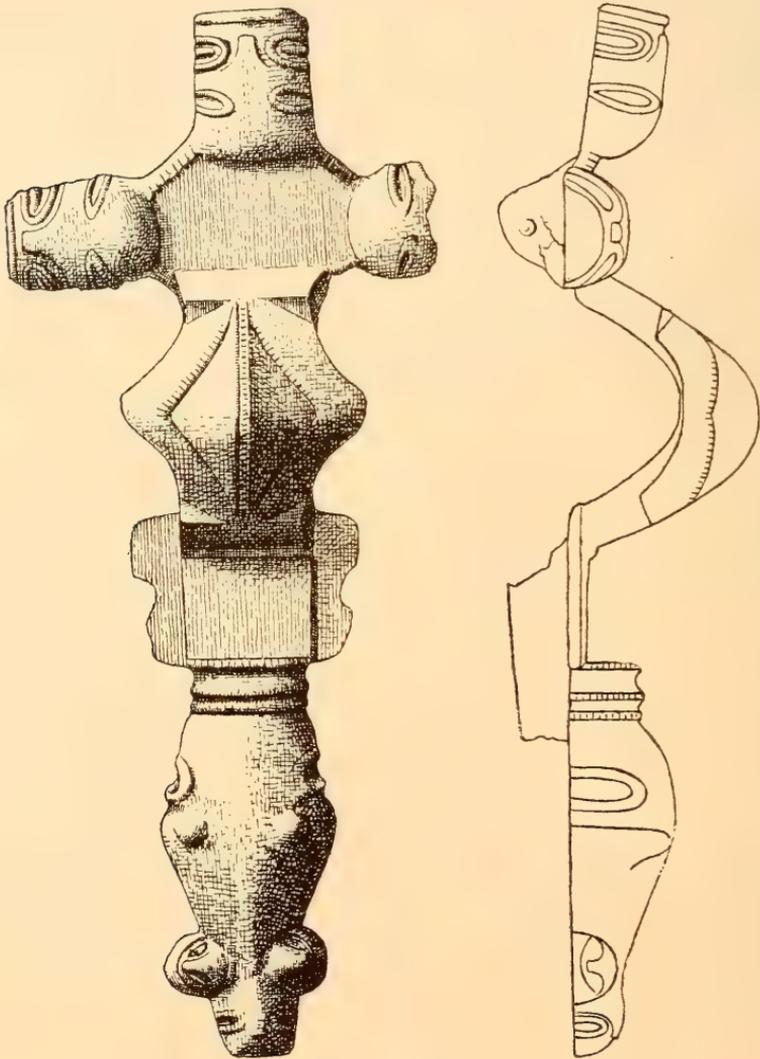


Fig. 95. $\frac{1}{1}$.

A later specimen of the same sort is the brooch, fig. 100.³⁾ Here we see the type in full degeneration; all parts of this brooch

¹⁾ Angestadsanden, Jondal, Hardanger. B. 4338. Ab. 1885, p. 80, no. 40.

²⁾ Kvalbein, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5550. B. M. Aarb. 1904, no. 6, p. 32.

³⁾ Skeie, Klep pgd. Jæderen. B. 4226 d. Ab. 1883, p. 68, no. 47.

are flat and carelessly executed, the details are effaced, and of the animal-head are only left the eyebrows and the nose which may be recognized by comparison with better and earlier forms (compare figs. 92 end 96). The bow is broad, without any facets, and lower and thinner than any other Norwegian varieties of this type. In short we miss here all the characteristic features of these brooches

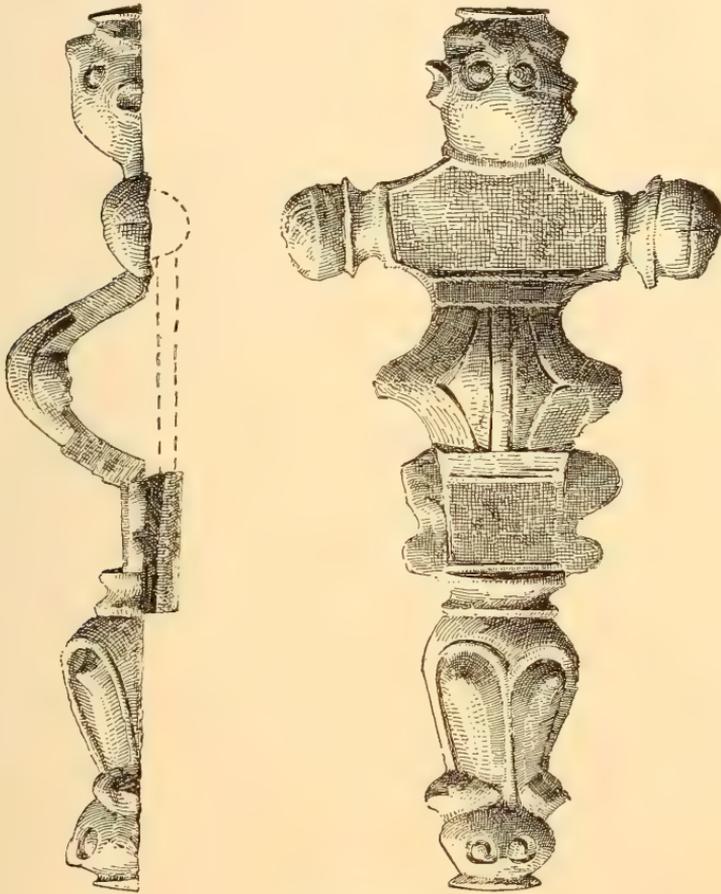


Fig. 96. $\frac{1}{1}$.

in Norway, though the general shape of the type is quite well preserved.

At last I have given in fig. 101¹⁾ a nice little brooch showing how in the small brooches of this sort the animal-head has some-

¹⁾ Skeie, Klep pgd. Jæderen. B. 4226, f. Ab. 1883, p. 68, no. 47.

times been replaced by a flat plate without any details recalling its former figure.

Such small and simple brooches afford an illustrating example of a rule often referred to in this paper, that during a typological development the large and fine specimens are in a high degree subject to the alterations required by taste and fashion, while the small specimens, regarded merely as implements, were made without any consideration to the elegant and modern form, although they certainly belong to the common type of the time. The striking difference between the fine and the cheap brooches is best seen where we compare two brooches such as fig. 91 and fig. 100; in both of them all the elements of the form are the same, but in the one they are seen in the highest degree of development, while the other represents the greatest degeneration possible.

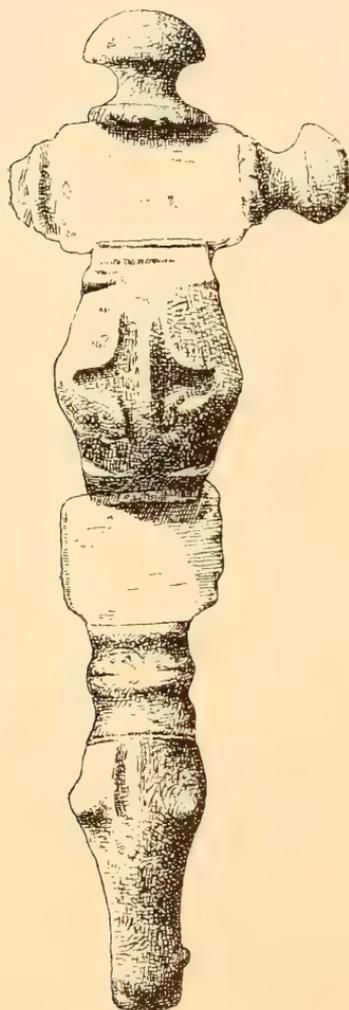


Fig. 97. $\frac{1}{11}$.

A similar opposition is found by comparing the two following brooches, figs. 102 and 103.¹⁾

These two brooches also in another respect attract our interest, as the flat part of the foot here has got a rare and remarkable form which we have seen in none of the brooches treated above. Probably it is a hybrid form.²⁾ It is surprising that the best specimens of this sort are found in

Eastern Norway and I am not able to explain why it should be so. But as the form of the upper part of these brooches and also

¹⁾ Fig. 102: Fen, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 20154 a. Ab. 1902, p. 339, no. 154, fig. 5. — Fig. 103: Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. Stavanger Museum, 949.

²⁾ Compare RYGH fig. 254. SALIN: Thierornamentik p. 68, figs. 146—149, though these specimens are later than the cruciform brooches before us.

the composition of the foot — the animal-heads excepted — are certainly most closely related to the West-Norwegian series here before us, I have preferred to introduce them at this place in the description. It may be noted in this connexion that a similar ornamentation of the foot is common among the cruciform brooches in England, but there arranged in such a different manner that I consider an influence from that country excluded.

We have now reached the last stage of development of the cruciform brooches in Norway; from this point the cruciform type ceased to be the fashionable ornament of the dress and was therefore subject to no more typological transformations. The large and fine brooches were now made after another type than the cruciform. Only a few of the smallest and most worthless specimens which will be mentioned in connexion with the chronological questions treated in the following, may be of a later date than any of the specimens mentioned in the description.

It would be a tempting task to explain why the cruciform brooches were used no longer in our country while they in England produced a series of remarkable variations later than all the brooches found in Scandinavia. It is difficult to answer a question of this sort. But I think the disappearance of the cruciform brooches in Norway was partly due to the increasing taste for a surface ornamentation in relief which became at that time predominant in the Teutonic world. We are going to see that the latest development of the cruciform brooches in England is directed by this taste, and that the surface of the brooches becomes more and more covered with complicated ornamental patterns; but the Norwegian brooches were not fit for such ornamentation, as their attraction consisted in the lively contrasts of light and shadow produced by the sharp facets and edges of the form itself; consequently they did not afford such large and flat surfaces as were necessary for the decoration with animal-ornaments in relief.

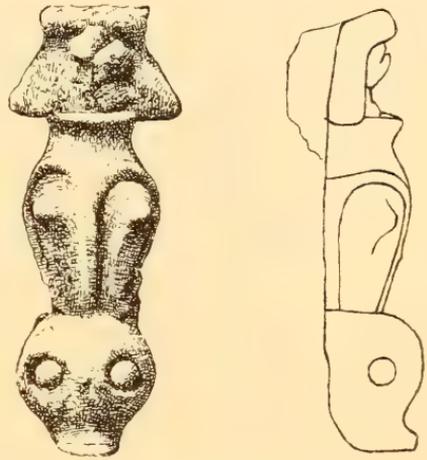


Fig. 98. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Among the Eastern varieties of the cruciform brooches I have briefly mentioned a small number whose foot ends in a semicircular or a triangular plate. They were pointed out as forms that, appearing first at a relatively late stage of development and never very numerous, probably are to be regarded as a combination of the cruciform type with details taken from other types, and the two forms mentioned have certainly come from different parts. But before entering into the special research it must be remarked that regarding most of these brooches it is impossible to establish a clear distinction between specimens from the Eastern and from the Western

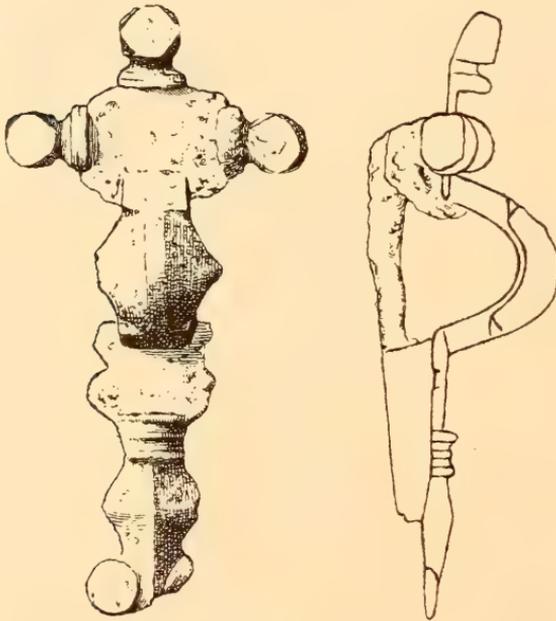


Fig. 99. $\frac{1}{1}$.

parts of the Peninsula, a fact probably explained by the foreign origin of the form; these brooches being in some respect strangers in Scandinavia were not subject to local variations in the same degree as the entirely native forms.

e. The semicircular termination of the foot is most commonly found in the Prussian brooches of the Migration Period. Generally, though not always, the edge of the foot-plate

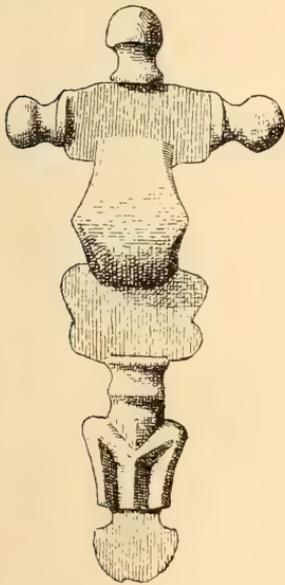
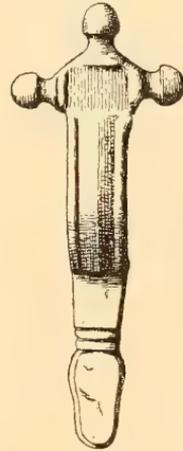
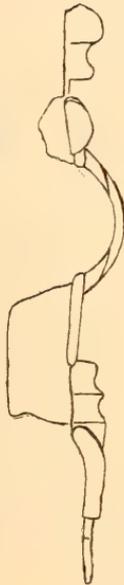
is in these brooches shaped like a cog-wheel, a form which has caused the signification of brooches with star-pattern foot („Sternfussfibeln“), and very often they also have a little square plate at the top of the bow. A Prussian brooch showing these characteristic features is here given as fig. 104.¹⁾ Such brooches are found also in other districts around the Eastern Baltic and in Finland,²⁾ but

¹⁾ From dr. OTTO TISCHLER: Ostpreussische Altertümer, herausg. v. HEINRICH KEMKE, Königsberg 1902, taf IV, fig. 4.

²⁾ Dr. ALFRED HACKMAN: Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finland, Helsingfors 1905, p. 158 ss. pl. 3 and 4.

they are very rare in Scandinavia; in Oland only some few specimens are found.¹⁾ A similar termination of the foot is unknown in brooches from the Western parts of the Teutonic countries with the one exception of some of the cruciform brooches in the Scandinavian Peninsula. It is then very likely that this form, when appearing in Scandinavia, has been borrowed from the Prussian brooches.

This conclusion is confirmed by some peculiarities observed in the Scandinavian brooches of this sort. The edge of the semi-circular plate is sometimes cogged in a way much resembling the

Fig. 100. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 101. $\frac{1}{1}$.

shape of the real star-pattern foot (fig. 105,²⁾ fig. 64, and Ab. 1878 fig. 3); in other cases the splits in the edges have been replaced by a series of holes placed at some distance from the edge, while small incisions in the surface still indicate the places of the former splits (see Ab. 1878, fig. 3); sometimes the holes are left as the

¹⁾ The brooches from Øland are enumerated by dr. HACKMAN l. c. p. 161, foot-note 2. Besides those mentioned there dr. ALMGREN has kindly informed me about two instances of such brooches in Øland, both from the parish of Gårby (Kalmar Museum no. 2165 and Göteborgs Museum no. 1911). An irregular brooch, though with foot-plate of the sort treated here, is figured by SALIN: *Thierornamentik* fig. 457; it is also found in Øland.

²⁾ Vestly, *Lye* pgd. Jæderen. B. 2532. LORANGE: *N. Olds.* i B. M. p. 56.

only reminiscence of the original form, (MONTELIUS: *Från jern-åldern*, pl. 4, fig. 16, compare HACKMAN: *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finland*, I, p. 162, fig. 123 and pl. 3, fig. 5). It is not possible to explain these features otherwise than as borrowed from the Prussian brooches.

Many of the cruciform brooches whose foot ends in a semi-



Fig. 102. $\frac{1}{1}$.

circular plate show also in another respect a remarkable difference from the common Scandinavian form. As the bow of these brooches very often has got a square top-plate it is reasonable to think that this peculiarity has been borrowed from the same model as the plate of the foot, the more so as the same detail is very common in the Prussian brooches here in question. On the other hand this form of the bow is nearly unknown in the cruciform brooches whose foot ends in an animal-head.

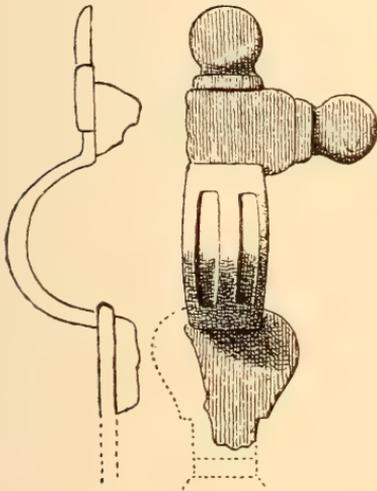
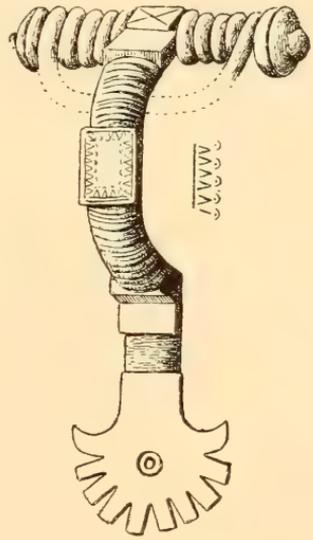
It ought also to be noted that this form of the foot makes its earliest appearance in Scandinavia in brooches of so late forms as the two specimens given in figs. 106 and 107.¹⁾ In both of them the proportions of the head-plate are the same as in the later Western forms and the knobs are concave from the underside.

From all these features we may with certainty deduce the foreign origin of the semicircular plate of the foot.

As the form has been little used and has been subject to no

¹⁾ Both from Obrestad, Haa pgd. Jæderen. B. 4344, Ab. 1885, p. 83 and B. 4254, Ab. 1884, p. 86.

noteworthy development in Scandinavia, it is not possible to put together a typological series showing the successive transformations of it. In fact, it presents rather a number of different combinations than what might be called a development of the form, with exception of the gradual effacing of the splits in the edge of the foot-plate already mentioned. The form of the bow is not constant, as the top-plate is often missing, and the bow has then got the common faceted form (see fig. 62 and fig. 108;¹) the bow of the last mentioned has, however, varied in a very peculiar way, known only from two brooches of the series here in question; they are of a late date (compare fig. 181 below). In other specimens the bow

Fig. 103. $\frac{1}{4}$.Fig. 104. $\frac{2}{3}$.

is flat and its surface ornamented with three parallel ribbons, a form sometimes observed in the cruciform brooches, but probably originally belonging to another type (Rygh fig. 557—560); a specimen of this sort is given fig. 109.²) The bow is here of a very simple execution.

This branch of the cruciform brooches seems to have degene-

¹) Lunde, Vanse pgd. Lister. B. 4234. Ab. 1883, s. 76.

²) Fig. 109 and 110 are both from Vestly, Lye pgd. Jæderen. B. 2532 and 2531. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 56. — In the last of them is seen an interesting combination with the form of the foot from late West-Norwegian brooches.

rated very rapidly which is quite natural as the form was first introduced when the type was already declining towards the end of its history in Scandinavia; but the final decline went on even faster with respect to a hybrid variety, as the one before us, than was the case with the pure forms. An example, showing this process, is given in the brooch fig. 110¹⁾ where the general form is quite well preserved, while the head-plate with the knobs has lost all of distinct form and moulding. The degeneration is also easily traceable in the not good proportions observed in most of these brooches, though the corruption of the proportions may in some degree be attributed to the introduction of foreign elements; as that the bow, when provided with a square top-plate, is made broad and flat to suit this novelty. But on the whole the very rapid decline of these brooches is best explained by the missing of a fixed and conventional form, the appearance of which was prevented by the circumstance that they were not made in any considerable number. — Most of these brooches are of small dimensions,

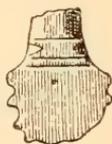


Fig. 105. $\frac{1}{1}$.

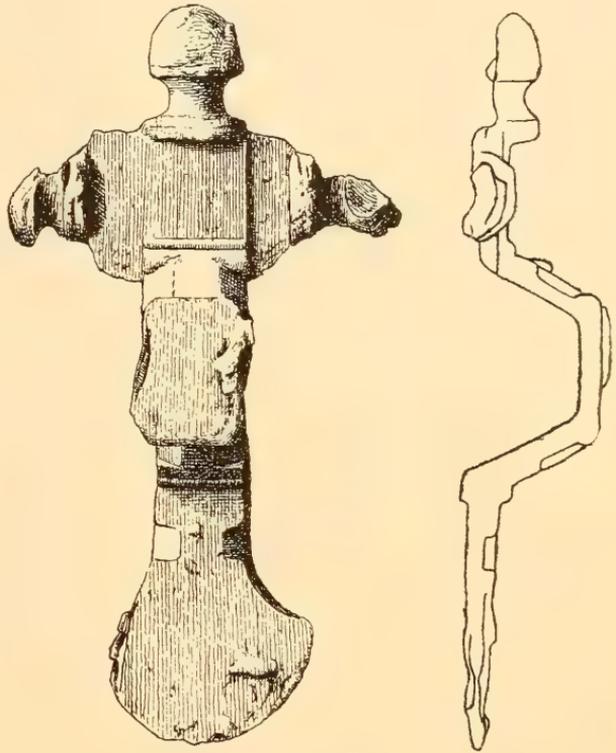
and the one fig. 106 is one of the largest specimens found; an exception is seen only in the enormous brooch fig. 114 below, which is also in other respects not a little different from the normal form of this series.

As already mentioned this form is confined to the Scandinavian Peninsula; it is known neither from England nor from Denmark, a fact which, together with the scarce appearance of it, indicates that it was never much in vogue. Certainly it was a late form of hybrid origin and consequently a form without the organic life capable of producing a long series of descendants. As its only contribution to the main development of the type may be counted the fact that in some cruciform brooches — in other respects not of the sort treated here — the bow has got a top-plate which is probably borrowed from here.²⁾

¹⁾ See foot-note 2 pag. 87.

²⁾ See fig. 153 below. Another example is C. 17475. Ab. 1893, p. 107. Two Swedish brooches (Stockholm Museum 2549 and 9589: 38) show the same peculiarity.

f. The brooches whose foot ends in a triangular plate have also been mentioned in the description of cruciform brooches from the Eastern part of the Peninsula; they have, at least in some degree, got different forms within each of the two districts. But respecting these brooches it is still more difficult than it was in the preceding series to make out the successive stages of the development. Most of the known specimens have little in common with each other except the peculiar form of the foot. In fact this triangular termination seems to have been combined with different variations of the cruciform brooches, and as it did not in other respects influence the shape of the brooches it did not produce a new and distinct variety of the type.¹⁾ Only in one instance is the flat triangular foot found in a fixed combination with a constant form of the brooch, namely in the late brooches of the variety most characteristic of Western Norway, as seen in fig. 111.²⁾

Fig. 106. $\frac{1}{1}$.

In every respect is this brooch quite identical with the late brooches represented by figs. 91—95, the only difference being that the animal-head of the foot is replaced by the flat, triangular plate. This form is known from many specimens, all of them of exactly the same form, a feature which is also characteristic of the West-Norwegian brooches

¹⁾ See figs. 65 and 66 above. SALIN: *Thierornamentik* p. 73, fig. 159.

²⁾ Skeie, *Klep* pgd. Jæderen. B. 4226 b. Ab. 1883, p. 68, no. 47. Compare RYGH fig. 253.

from which it is derived. An interesting fact may be noted in this connexion; this late and certainly hybrid form is the only one of the Western varieties which has in any greater number been found in the Eastern parts of Norway, and the specimens found there are so like those found in the Western coast districts that I think that they have been imported from here. But on the whole, the influence of this form upon the general development of the type is even less important than was the case respecting the preceding series which at least in some instances produced a change in the form of the bow. The form here in question has only been a combination of one new element with forms already existing; any influence upon the ordinary varieties of the type is then naturally excluded.

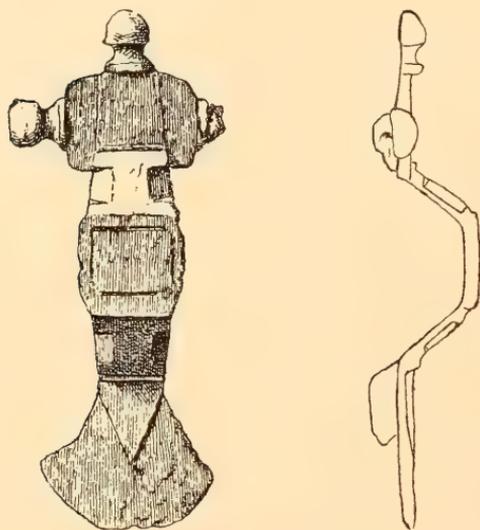


Fig. 107. $\frac{1}{4}$.

As the model from which this form of the bow is borrowed I regard the type represented by fig. 112,¹⁾ a type whose origin has not yet been made out with full certainty, but which is at least contemporary with the later cruciform brooches. It has commonly been regarded as a development of the cruciform brooches, which has, however, never been proved in a satisfactory manner.²⁾

But as the said type has not been without some influence upon some of the later cruciform brooches of Scandinavia, I think it is of interest to survey briefly its general development.

¹⁾ From MESTORF: *Alterthümer*, pl. XLIX, fig. 592. See also figs. 161 and 167 below.

²⁾ I cite the recent observation of dr. SALIN: 'Die Anordnung der Knöpfe ist höchst wahrscheinlich unter dem Einfluss der oben behandelten Armbrustfibeln (*i. e.* the common cruciform brooches) entstanden, vielleicht dachte man dabei an eine Form wie etwa Fig. 159, doch in einem älteren Stadium der Entwicklung, denn bei keinen anderen als den Armbrustfibeln sitzen die Knöpfe so dicht zusammen, dass sie das Vorbild zu der bezweckten Anordnung hätten bilden können. — *Thierornamentik* p. 73.

In my opinion this type is not derived from the cruciform brooches properly said; I think that it has sprung from the same prototype as the series figs. 11—13 above, as the form of its head is most closely allied to that form (see fig. 113)¹) and as the triangular foot-plate, in its most original stage of development, is met with already in the half-Roman brooches from which the said series is derived (see MESTORF: *Alterthümer*, pl. XLIX, fig. 581). The origin of this foot-plate is also best explained, if we suppose that it is a Teutonic transformation of the rather broad foot seen in Roman brooches of the sort given in figs. 1 and 2.

It is an important fact that the peculiar, crosslike head-plate in these brooches always appear in combination with the flat, triangular foot; but also the bow has here another character than the bow of our cruciform type (fig. 113 and figs. 161 and 167). It is thus clear that the brooches in question appear as a distinct type with hardly any details in common with the cruciform type.

But their history is in most respects parallel to that of the cruciform brooches; from Sleswick-Holstein they were brought to England where they are found in great numbers, and to Scan-

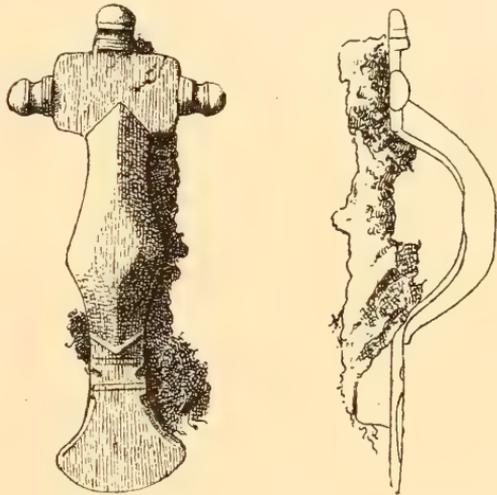


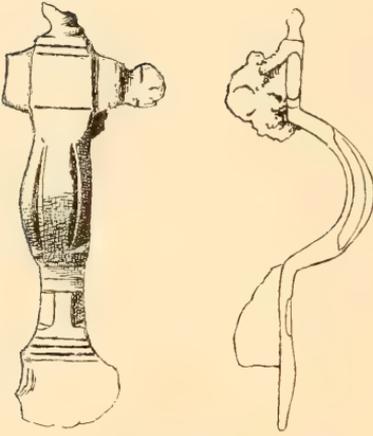
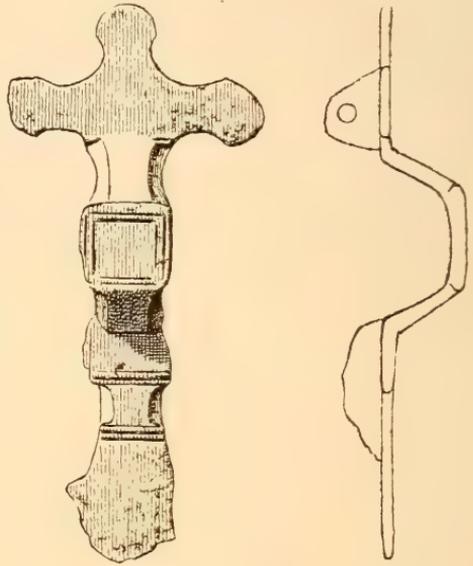
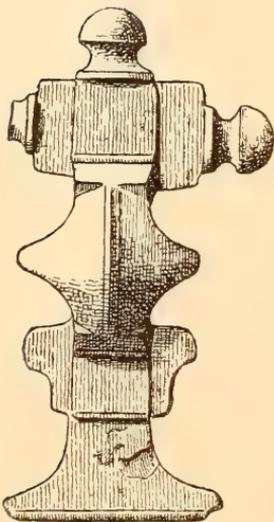
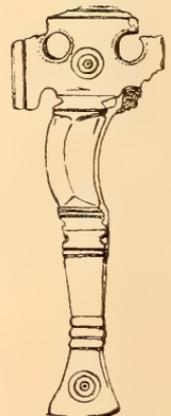
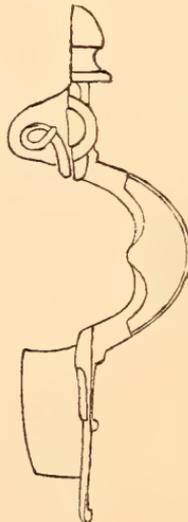
Fig. 108. $\frac{1}{4}$.

dinavia. In Sleswick-Holstein²) this type is found only in the cemetery of Borgstedt which is regarded as the latest of the cemeteries of the Migration-Period in that country, though there has also been found brooches with returned foot besides the cruciform brooches of an already developed form corresponding to the independent development in Denmark and in the Scandinavian Peninsula. Many specimens of both stages were found in the

¹) Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5984. B. M. Aarb. 1905, no. 14, p. 43.

²) For the following details I am indebted to dr. FRIEDRICH KNORR who has kindly informed me about the finds in Sleswick-Holstein.

cemetery, but as they were never found in the same graves as the brooches of the type fig. 112, the date of appearance

Fig. 109. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 110. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 111. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 112. $\frac{3}{4}$.

of this type is still uncertain. It is stated, however, that it is never found in the earlier cemeteries of the Migration-Period, and it seems therefore that its origin must have been of a later

date than that of the cruciform brooches. In Norway it has been found in association with cruciform brooches of very late forms.¹⁾

The development of this type is, generally speaking, the same in all districts, it being chiefly characterised by the disappearing of the incisions in the head-plate which thus gets a simple square form. An instructive description of this development is given by dr. SALIN: *Thierornamentik*, p. 73—74. Especially England is very rich in varying forms belonging to this type, of which some later specimens have certainly been influenced by the cruciform brooches; in some instances it is even difficult to tell whether a brooch is to be classified as belonging to the one or to the other of the two types. But upon the whole it is, perhaps, most striking to see how little connexion there has existed between this form and the cruciform brooches, a fact also pointing towards the different origin of the two forms.

Before finishing the general typological description of the cruciform brooches in Scandinavia I think it interesting to try an analysis of a more irregular form, as seen in the brooch, fig. 114.²⁾ It is found in Sogn, and we see both from its form and dimensions, that it must be a product of Western Norway.

Being cast very concave from the underside it must belong to a late stage of the development, and the shape of the head-plate and the knobs ranges it among the late specimens of the variety represented by figs. 86—100. The bow, however, has quite another appearance than the bow of these brooches; it is much longer than usually seen in West-Norwegian brooches of that time, the facetting

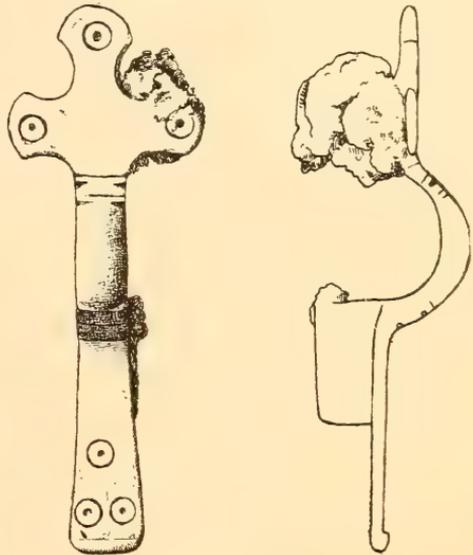


Fig. 113. 1, 1.

¹⁾ See figs. 159—162 and figs. 163—167.

²⁾ Hove, Vik pgd. Sogn. B. 560. LORANGE: *N. Olds. i B. M.* p. 96. RYGH fig. 256.

Fig. 114. $\frac{1}{1}$.

is very little marked and its middle parts is not broader than its ends. Certainly this form of the bow is so unique in Western Norway that we must conclude that it has come from another part of Scandinavia. Another point of interest is the ribbon along the middle of the bow which at once recalls a corresponding detail often observed in the prototype of the cruciform brooches (fig. 21); perhaps it must be considered as an archaism, very surprising in this late stage of the development. I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of this remarkable form of the bow in a late brooch made in Western Norway; but as a whole the form reminds us of a few of the Danish brooches,¹⁾ and I consider it likely that the model of it has been a brooch from Denmark.

The foot consists of two plates separated by a broad moulded ribbon. The upper of the plates is by its form related to the rare variety seen in fig. 84 which I have suggested may also have been derived from a Danish form. — The broad moulded ribbon in the form seen here is certainly different from the moulded neck of the animal-head, common in the late cruciform brooches of Western Norway, but very like the same part in many of the brooches of the type fig. 112 (compare fig. 161 and also fig. 65) and, consequently, I am inclined to regard it as borrowed from that form, the more so as the whole form of the foot is not very unlike in these two instances. — Finally, the terminating plate, of semicircular form, is the plate whose origin I have tried to deduce from the Prussian brooches with star-pattern foot.

It is not a new discovery that late forms show a combination of elements which have sprung from very different sources, and of course we must not imagine to ourselves that the workman, when making the brooch in question, picked out the different elements of it from a collection of different brooches actually placed before him. The different forms of ornaments used at the same time might in some instances naturally induce the workman to try a new combination of forms. But the general taste of prehistoric times does not seem to have been much inclined to such experiments as most of these combinations only got a short life. It is a most remarkable fact that the types remained so free from foreign elements as really was the case.

¹⁾ As for example Copenhagen Museum no. C. 3930, 2817, 2771, all found in Jutland, and all of them being in a late stage of development.

Respecting the *general transformation* of the type and the technical improvements observed in the cruciform brooches of Western Norway I may refer to the remarks upon the same matter made in connexion with the description of the Eastern forms (page 53) with addition of the special differences noted in the description above. Only in one brooch from Western Norway may be noted a technical innovation, though of no great importance. In the

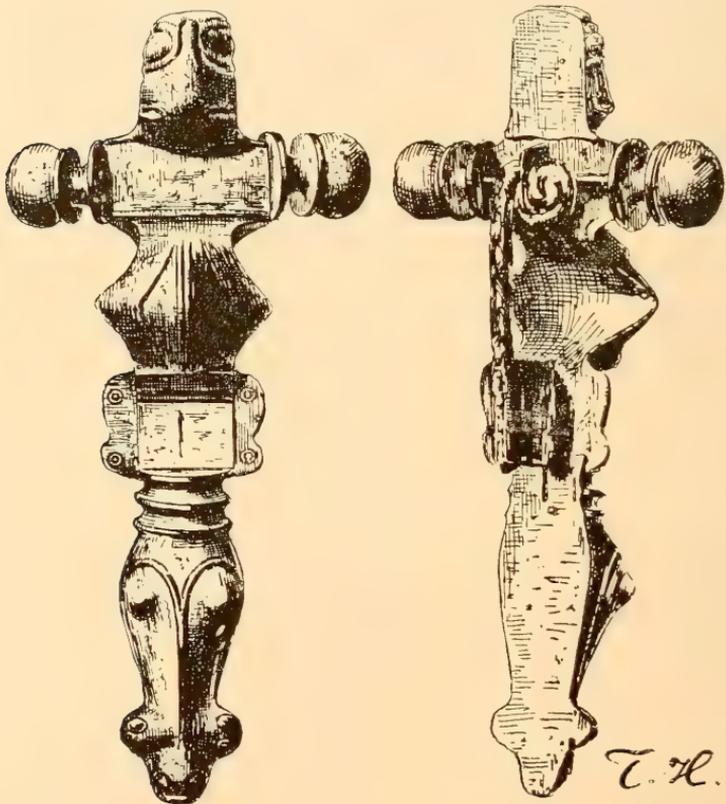


Fig. 115. ²,₃.

specimen fig. 115¹) which is in all respects an excellent example of the workmanship characteristic of the late Western varieties, the concave underside of the foot and the top-knob is covered with thin bronze-plate to give to the brooch an accomplished appearance

¹) Grindeim, Etne pgd. Søndhordland. Stavanger Museum no. 2616. Stav. mus. aarsb. 1904, p. 76, fig. 12.

even when seen from that side. The side-knobs also are, although retaining the full roundness of the form, of very thin bronze with only a small hole in the base to pass the axis; a remarkable proof of ability in small metal-work. Thus the brooch is made very light as compared with its size, at the same time as it certainly is one of the best executed specimens known from Western Norway. It is also in all probability in order to obtain a more accomplished appearance of the brooch that the workman has taken the trouble to make the side-knobs separately and to fix them to the plate by a separate axis of bronze, an arrangement at that time nearly quite forgotten.

As a summary of what has been said in the description of the Western forms, it may be pronounced that the original shape of the brooch in Western Norway has been subject to more fargoining changes than it has in the Eastern parts of the Peninsula, and that the late Western varieties are distinguished by sharpness of form and by good workmanship in a higher degree than is the case with corresponding specimens in Eastern Norway. The scarce appearance, in the brooches from Western Norway, of ornamental patterns executed with a punch or a drill, has also been noted as a difference between the brooches in the Eastern and in the Western parts of the Peninsula. On the other hand, the practical arrangement of the pin and the gradual changes of the head of the brooch are principally the same in all parts of the Peninsula and very different from the development which took place in Denmark and partially also in England.

5. The cruciform brooches of England.

My knowledge of this branch of the cruciform brooches is not sufficient to give a detailed description of all the variations of the form or of the local spreading of the type in the island;¹⁾ I must content myself with trying to draw the outlines of the general development of the type within the English district, especial respect

¹⁾ I know from personal examination the brooches preserved in The British Museum, London, and in the museums of Newcastle, Oxford and Cambridge; for information about the collection of York I am greatly indebted to dr. GEORGE A. AUDEN who has kindly afforded photographs of the specimens preserved there.

being given to the traces of connexion between the English and the Scandinavian varieties.

Brooches representative of the origin and the first part of the development of the type seem to be very rare in England. A specimen from Dorchester, now in The Ashmolean Museum,¹⁾ may



Fig. 116. $\frac{1}{1}$.

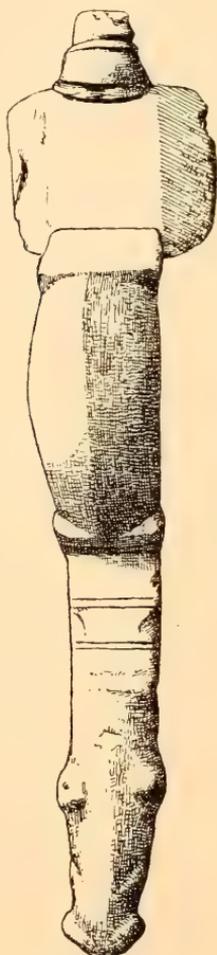


Fig. 117. $\frac{1}{1}$.

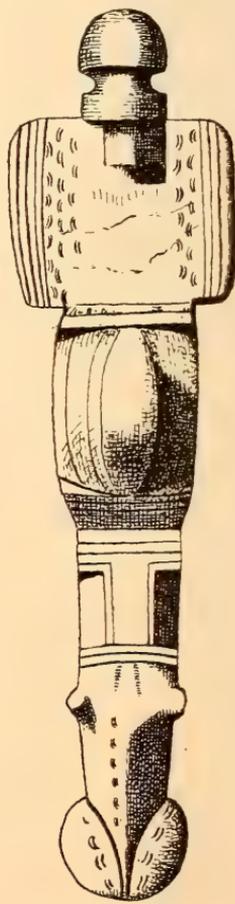


Fig. 118. $\frac{1}{1}$.

be considered as a variety of the prototype of the cruciform brooches, showing, however, in the building of the head some influence from the contemporary half-Roman forms known from Scandinavia,

¹⁾ BERNHARD SALIN: Några tidiga former af germanska fornsaker från England. Månadsblad, 1894, p. 24, fig. 1.

and as the head-plate is missing it certainly cannot be included among the cruciform brooches in the meaning in which it is used in this paper. But it is — as pointed out by dr. SALIN — very interesting as indicating a Teutonic population in the middle of England already in the 4th cent., and consequently it is not excluded that future discoveries will give evidence of the existence of the contemporary cruciform brooches (of a form as figs. 19, 20, 23, 25) also within the English district.

The cruciform brooches, properly said, which I know from England are all in a more advanced stage of development, and some of them, showing the earliest variations known, are given in the following four figures (116—119).¹⁾ It is evident that such forms have already passed the first stage of development which was common to the districts on the East side of the German Ocean, but compared with the brooches from this side of the sea they certainly are most closely allied to some forms from Sleswick-Holstein and from Jutland, and they may be said to continue the development from about the same point where it is finished in Sleswick-Holstein. Here the latest brooches found are of a form as MESTORF: *Alterthümer* fig. 593 which is rather earlier than the brooches figs. 117—119. As signs of a more advanced development I note in these brooches the larger dimensions and the broader shape of the whole form, the animal-head included, to which may be found very close parallels in Jutland²⁾ but not in Sleswick-Holstein.

Respecting the shape of several details these English brooches also suggest connexion with brooches from Jutland, while hardly any trace is found of influence from earlier

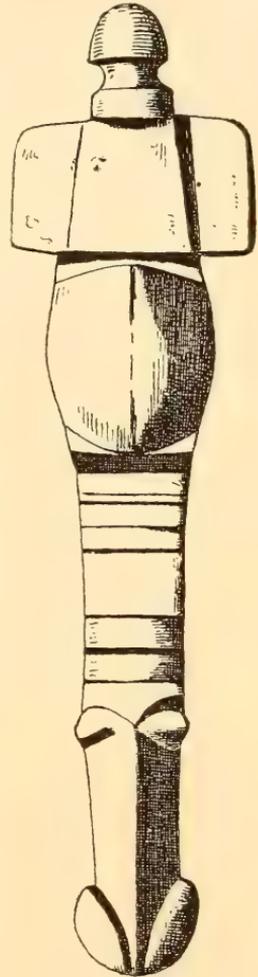


Fig. 119. $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹⁾ Fig. 116: Rugby; ÅKERMAN: *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XVIII, fig. 2. — Fig. 117: Icklingham, Suffolk; Brit. Mus. From a photograph. — Fig. 118: Wildbraham, Cambs. NEVILLE: *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 8, no. 143. — Fig. 119: Wildbraham; NEVILLE, pl. 8, no. 73.

²⁾ For instance Copenhagen Museum: 2817, C. 5411, C. 7258.

forms properly belonging to the Scandinavian Peninsula; thus the nose of the animal-head in the said English brooches is shaped like two semicircular, slightly convex wings, a form appearing in several Danish brooches and also observed in a few specimens from Norway; but the form so common in Norway with a nose marked by two hemispherical knobs (as seen for instance in the figs. 38, 57,

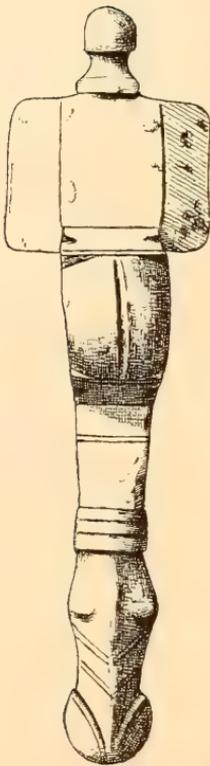


Fig. 120. $\frac{1}{1}$.

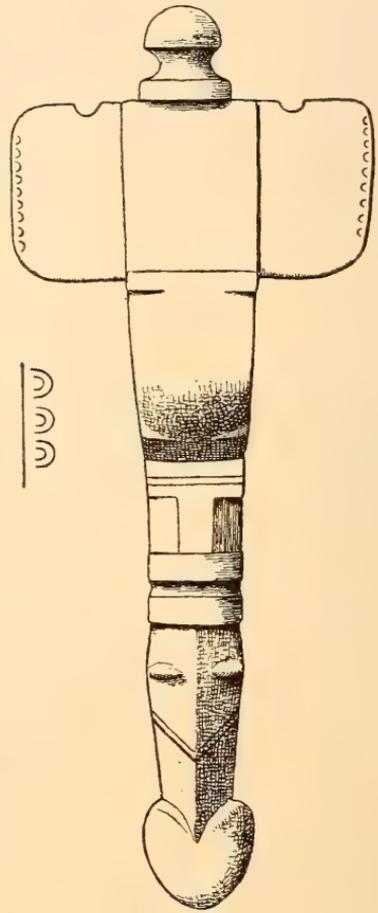


Fig. 121.

90) is never seen in the cruciform brooches from England. The brooch illustrated in fig. 116 is also related to Danish forms by having a longer bow than is usually the case in Norway and Sweden, though it must be added that this is not such a regular feature in the English as it is in the Danish brooches. Of greater importance is the form of the head of the brooches, the shape of

the plate, and the way in which the side-knobs are fixed to the brooch. It should be observed in the first place that all the brooches, figs. 116—119, have the side knobs fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil, which is also the case with the contemporary brooches of Denmark while corresponding specimens from Norway and Sweden generally have the side-knobs cast in one piece with the brooch. Regarding the way in which the knobs are connected with the plate we find again the same variations which have been already noticed in the first part of this paper. In the specimen fig. 116 the plate has lower edges, probably sharpened in order to be inserted into grooves in the bases of the side-knobs; in fig. 117 the plate is bent for the same purpose and consequently has the underside concave, a peculiarity also known in Denmark, but not in the Scandinavian Peninsula; in fig. 118 the bases of the knobs are provided with cylindrical projections which have been split so as to hold the edges of the plate; in fig. 119 the plate has a higher middle part of the same form as already seen in brooches from Sleswick-Holstein (MESTORF: *Alterthümer* fig. 593). But in one respect these English brooches diverge from the Scandinavian forms; they have a larger plate than is ever seen in the corresponding stages of development in Scandinavia and thus already indicate the Anglo-Saxon inclination to broad and flat forms of the ornaments, which in a high degree marks the later cruciform brooches of England.

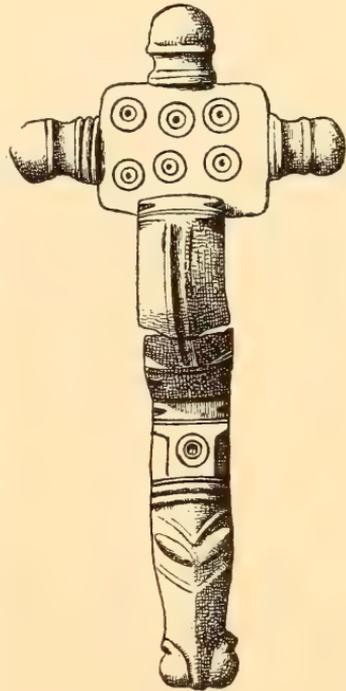


Fig. 122. $\frac{1}{4}$.

The tendency to enlarge the size of the plate is fairly expressed in the two brooches figs. 120—121.¹⁾ In the first of them the underside of the plate is concave in the same manner as noted in fig. 117, and the brooch is also remarkable for the polyedrous form

¹⁾ Fig. 120: Rudstone, East Riding, Yorksh. Brit. Mus. From a photograph. Fig. 121: Stow Heath, Suffolk. Brit. Mus. From a sketch by the author.

of the knobs, a form which is very rare in English brooches. In the other brooch may be especially noticed the two incisions in the upper edge of the plate, a feature which is also known in Denmark¹⁾ but is never seen in brooches from Norway and Sweden. This brooch is a good example of the English form in a middle stage of development and already so characteristic of England that it would be impossible to confound it with the forms from other countries.

It may thus be pronounced that the earlier stages of the development of the cruciform brooches in England are chiefly independent of, though in some points allied to the contemporary Danish brooches, while nothing is found indicating influences from Norway or even contact with the forms common there. I have noted one brooch only which may, perhaps, be considered as a proof of connexion with Norwegian forms corresponding to the stage of development here in question. The brooch fig. 122,²⁾ remarkable also as the only cruciform brooch found in Kent, is by the shape of the head closely allied to some Norwegian specimens, f. inst. fig. 41 above, but rather a stranger among the contemporary English brooches respecting as well the dimensions of the plate as the proceeding of casting the side-knobs in one piece

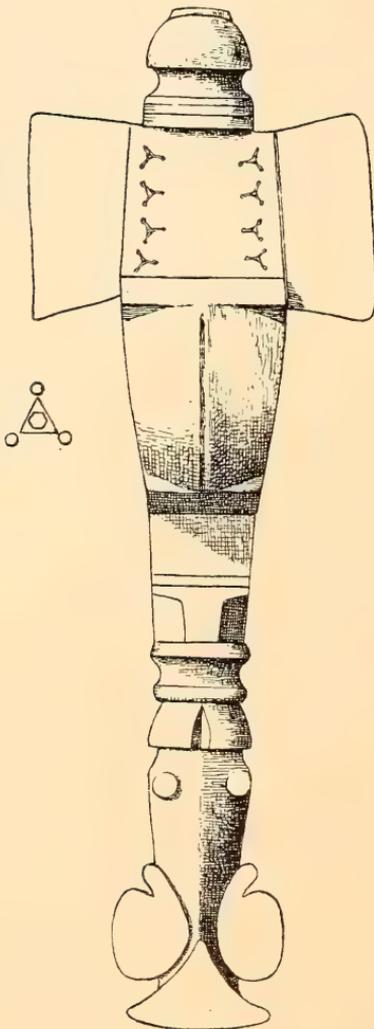


Fig. 123.

with the brooch. It is however certainly made in England, which is proved both by the low and flat bow and by some details in

¹⁾ Copenhagen Museum, C. 6396, found in Jutland, to be compared especially with the one figured by Neville, pl. 7, no. 31.

²⁾ Lyminge, Kent; Brit. Mus. From a photograph.

in the animal-head to be spoken of below, and I am inclined to think that the English workman when induced to form a brooch in this peculiar manner different from all the current forms of his own country, must have seen a somewhat similar brooch of Norwegian workmanship. It is of no little importance to state the earliest trace of connexion between Norwegian and English forms of the Migration-Period and I therefore anticipate here the chronological fixation of the corresponding Norwegian forms which is treated in the following; they are attributed to the latter half of the 5th cent. Probably it is contemporary with the English brooches just dealt with and shown in the figs. 120 and 121.¹⁾

Respecting the Kentish brooch I draw attention to the small scrolls forming the nose of the animal-head; they are the most primitive form and the earliest appearance of this detail so common in the later cruciform brooches of England, and are also interesting as another link of connexion with the Danish forms. In Denmark, however, this detail is by far less commonly used than in England and it is not observed in the cruciform brooches there, but it is at all events not unknown among the ornamental forms of Denmark²⁾ while it is quite unknown in Norway and Sweden. I am not able to make out whether this form has come from Denmark to England or *vice versâ* and for my present purpose it is sufficient to point it out as a trace of the close connexion existing between the forms in England and those in Denmark at that time.

To indicate the latest stage of development of what might be

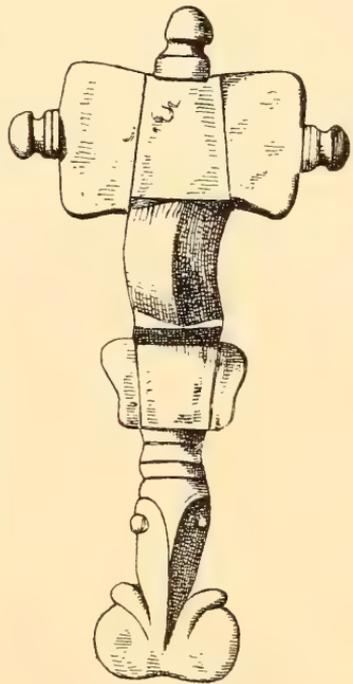


Fig. 124. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ The Kentish brooch is found in association with another brooch provided with five projections from the semicircular head-plate (SALIN: *Thierornamentik*, p. 35, fig. 79) a fact which agrees well with the date given here.

²⁾ Cf. MÜLLER: *Jernalderen* fig. 509. SALIN: *Thierornamentik*, p. 189, fig. 459.

called the Anglo-Danish series of brooches I have given the brooch fig. 123¹⁾ which is in every respect a characteristic specimen of the middle forms in England. Note especially that the wings of

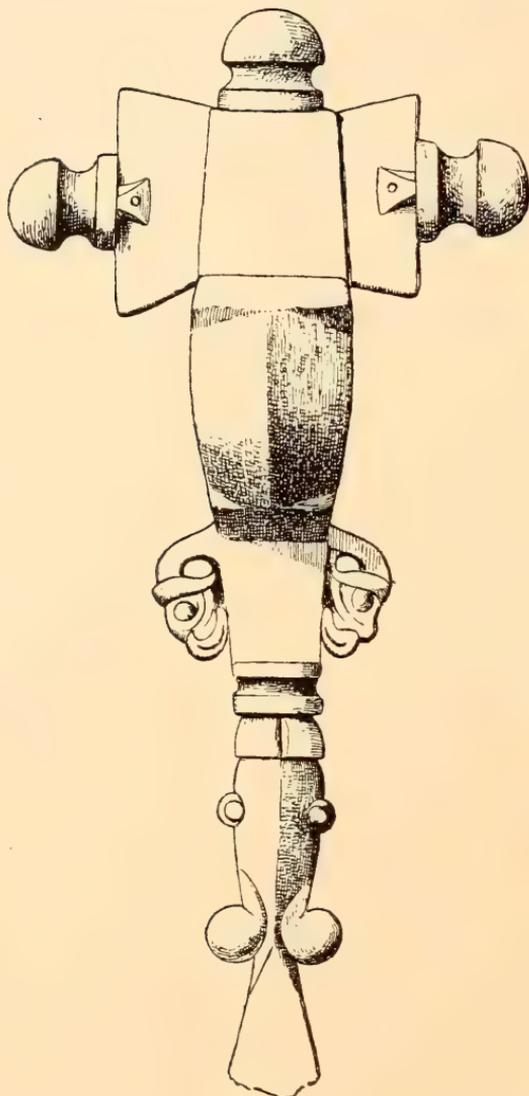


Fig. 125.

the plate become broader towards both sides and note also the flat and extended shape of the animal-head. The apparently insignificant split at the upper end of the animal-head is a most characteristic detail which I have seen in no specimen out of England.

In all the English brooches hitherto mentioned the building of the foot is chiefly the same, a faceted stem of a rather short and broad shape connecting the neck of the animal-head with the bow. In the later varieties, on the contrary, another combination is seen nearly without exception; the faceted stem being here replaced by a flat plate which is often provided with lower wings projecting on both sides and thus assuming a form most closely resembling the most common variety in the late brooches in Western Norway. It seems

almost certain that this change of form was produced by Norwegian influences as its first appearance and early development are re-

¹⁾ Haslingfields, Cambs Brit. Mus. From a sketch by the author.

presented from no other district than from the West coast of Norway, and as the earliest English specimens of this sort are very like the Norwegian form. The characteristic curve of the wing's outline, so often seen in Norway, deserves in this respect a special attention when also found in England; it is seen in the brooch fig. 124,¹⁾ and this brooch is no unique appearance. Consequently I believe that the relationship is here fairly established and also that the direction of the influence is not doubtful as the introduction of the form in the English brooches must be contemporary with the rather late stages of the development in Western Norway.

Most of the late English brooches develop from this form; the further changes in the foot being here shown in the three following figures (125—127).²⁾ The side-wings of the foot are soon replaced by animal-heads which are generally preserved through all the following stages of the development, though the form is sometimes indistinct (as in fig. 127) and sometimes completely effaced. More interest is attracted by the remarkable changes in the shape of the terminating animal-head whose nose with its two scrolls is gradually enlarged, then separated from the rest of the head by a transverse moulded ribbon and treated as an independent ornamental motive, and certainly as a motive more important than the head itself. By this process the surface is also gradually losing all relief articulation, the termination of the foot being finally

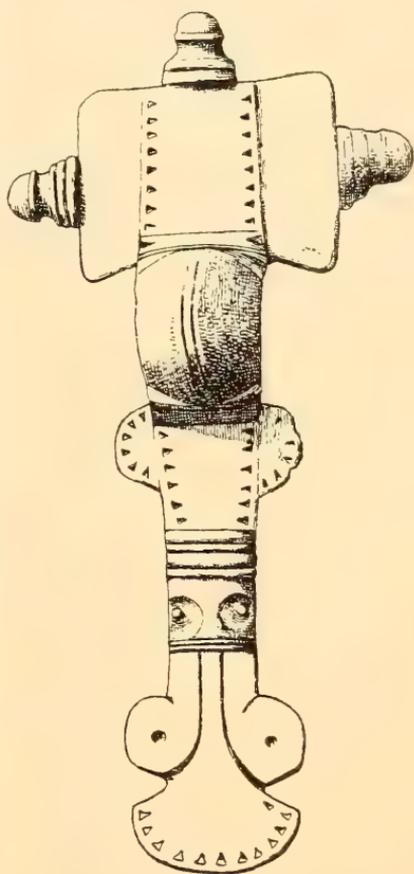


Fig. 126.

¹⁾ Wildbraham, Cambs. NEVILLE pl. 10, no. 173.

²⁾ Fig. 125: Northwold, Norfolk. Brit. Mus. From a sketch by the author.
— Fig. 126: Kilham, Yorksh. York Mus. From a photograph. — Fig. 127: Wildbraham, Cambs. NEVILLE pl. 4, no. 95.

shaped like a flat plate. Thus the late English development is in full contrast to the taste for a sharp and exaggerated moulding which marks the late brooches in Western Norway, and it seems

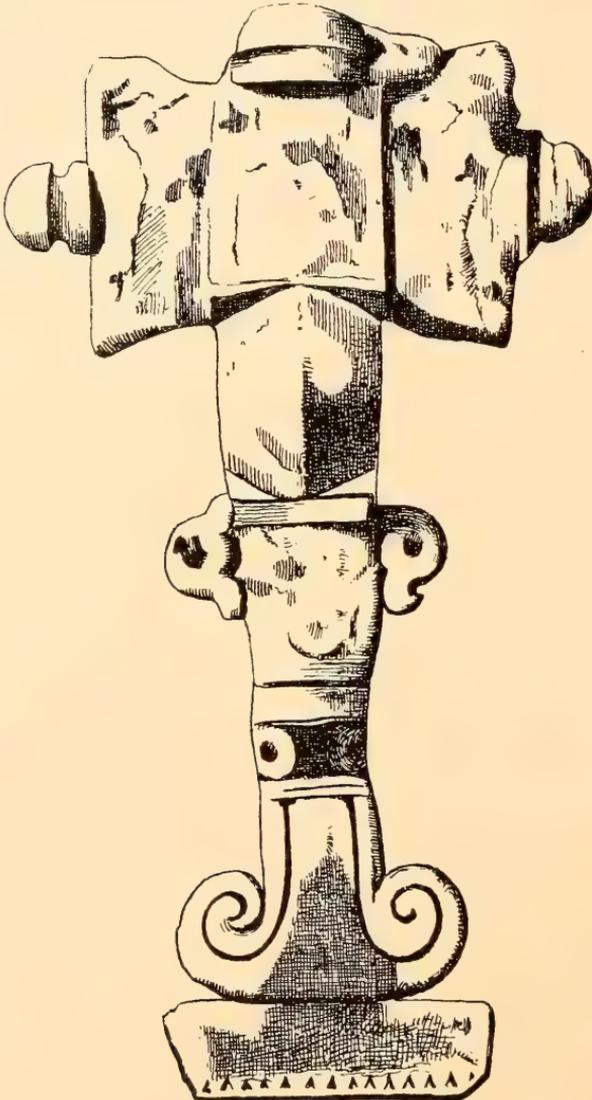


Fig. 127. $\frac{1}{1}$.

that the ruling tendencies in the two countries were too different to allow of any further exchange of forms, though it must be supposed that the intercourse indicated by such brooches as fig. 124 continued to exist even afterwards, which is also suggested by the transferring of a later type from Scandinavia to England.

In the increasing dimensions of the head-plate we trace the same inclination for broad and flat forms. The knobs are now generally cast in one piece with the brooch, fig. 125 being one of the latest specimens where the side-knobs are fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil, and the beginning degeneration of the knobs is indi-

cated by their gradual diminution (especially characteristic in this respect is the specimen figured by NEVILLE, pl. 8, no. 116). But the knobs had still to go through a last stage of development in

England. In the specimen fig. 128¹⁾ the knobs are provided with flat projections whose origin may probably be found in the circumstance that in some cases the axis of the spring-coil projected somewhat from the top of the side-knobs, and this peculiarity is also in some instances imitated when the knobs were cast in one piece with the brooch (as seen in the figure NEVILLE, pl. 8, no. 116).

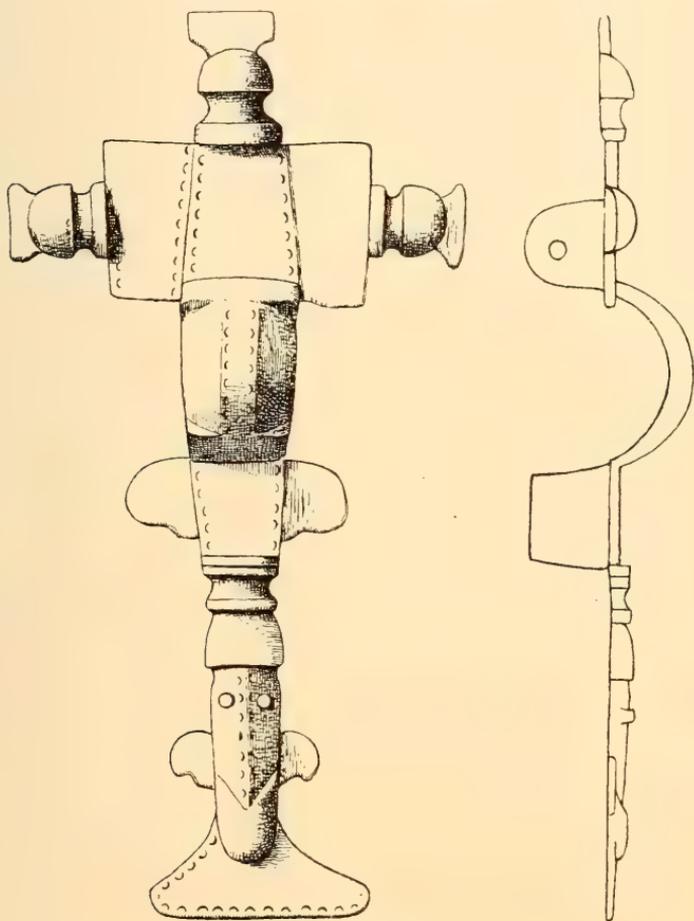


Fig. 128.

And when once formed, such flat projections were only in too good accordance with the Anglo-Saxon taste not to be enlarged at the expense of the moulded knobs. Stages of this process are seen in

¹⁾ Soham, Cambs. Brit. Mus. From a sketch by the author.

the two following figures (129, 130)¹⁾ of which especially the latter has in a marked degree obtained the broad and flat shape so characteristic of the late English brooches. We get a good idea of the contrast between the late varieties in Norway and in England by comparing the last of these brooches (fig. 130) with one of the latest specimens from Norway as for instance fig. 95; it must be remembered, however, that the English brooch probably is the later of these two, although the difference in time cannot be great.

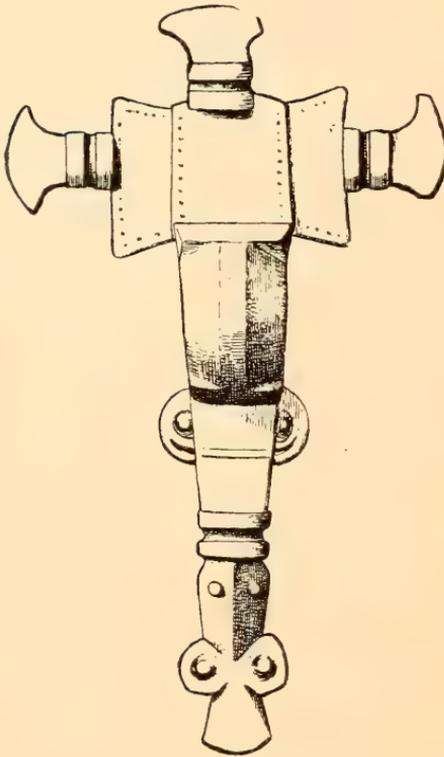


Fig. 129.

Thus we have reached the time where the cruciform brooches disappeared in Scandinavia, but in England their history was not yet finished. It was suggested above that in Scandinavia the cruciform brooches got out of use because they were not well fit for a decoration with animal-ornaments in relief so predominant in the style of the latter half of the 6th cent. The broad and flat English brooches, on the other hand, were especially adapted to such a decoration and consequently continued until nearly everything of the special character of the form had been effaced by the ornaments. A first step in this direction is observed in the brooch fig. 131²⁾ where the terminal plate of the foot and the three terminations

of the head are ornamented with animal-heads of the same form as the heads which had already at an earlier stage of development replaced the side-wings of the upper part of the foot. An innovation of no less importance is the gilt surface and the square projecting

¹⁾ 129: Woodstone, Hunts. Brit. Mus. From a sketch by the author. — Fig. 130: Wildbraham, Cambs. NEVILLE, pl. 2, no. 81.

²⁾ Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Brit. Mus. From a photograph. See note to fig. 132.

ornament close to the end of the foot, in which is set a cut garnet. Both these features which are never seen in the earlier brooches, at least not in specimens of bronze, must be regarded as an imitation of the contemporary large brooches with a square upper plate which are regularly gilt and decorated with animal patterns, and which are also often ornamented with garnets; thus we see in the brooch fig. 131 fairly indicated the beginning assimilation of the cruciform brooches with this type.

The brooch fig. 132¹⁾, also thickly gilt and provided with nine projecting ornaments in which are set glas pastes, now much decayed, shows in all parts a further decomposition, of the type, though the head with its three terminations may be easily recognized and even the shape of the foot which is here so utterly deprived of all organic composition, is understood by comparing it with forms as figs. 126 and 127 above. But certainly, very little is left of the character properly

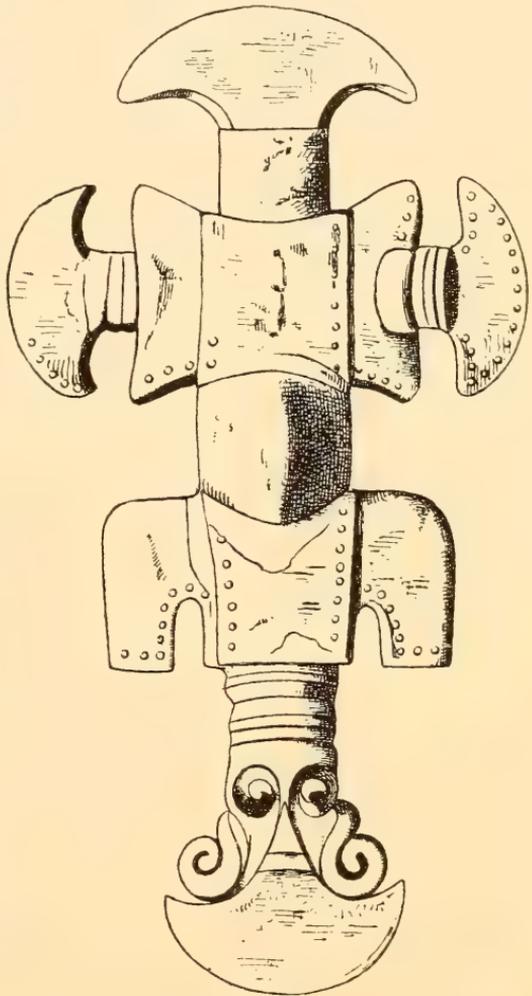


Fig. 130. $\frac{1}{1}$.

belonging to the cruciform brooches. As the final stage in this series I record here a specimen (fig. 133)²⁾ whose head-plate and

¹⁾ Sleaford, Lincolnshire; Brit. Mus. GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS: On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, *Archaeologia*, vol. L, p. 383 ss. pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

²⁾ Kenninghall, Norfolk. Brit. Mus. From SALIN: *Thierornamentik*, p. 72, fig. 157.

knobs have grown together into one square plate, where typological rudiments of the knobs are found only in the ornamentation. But even in this late stage of degeneration the type has preserved many characteristic details, such as the higher middle part of the head-plate and the little flat plate of the foot connecting the bow with the neck of the animal-head. — Such late brooches as figs. 131—133 probably belong to the latter half of the 6th cent.

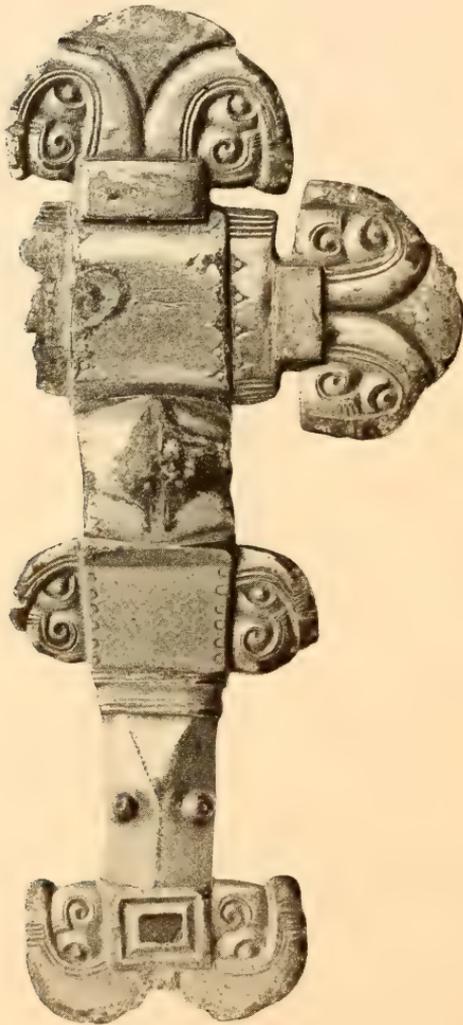


Fig. 131. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Dr. HILDEBRAND has already suggested that many of the English brooches are typologically later than all known in Scandinavia, from which he concluded that the original home of this form is not in England but somewhere in the Northern countries, and I have found this opinion confirmed by the larger and better material now at hand.¹⁾ He also mentioned the possibility of making out especially close connexions between the English and Danish brooches, a presumption being, in my opinion, evidently proved by the existing material, though

I think that the other part of his conclusion — that such brooches are rare in Denmark because the population here had emigrated

¹⁾ Dr. HANS HILDEBRAND in „Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige“, IV, p. 209—210. The same question was treated by dr. UNDSSET (Aarbøger f. nord. Oldk. Copenhagen, 1880, p. 131) with whom, however, I cannot agree, as he supposed that the cruciform brooches were first introduced in Norway from England.

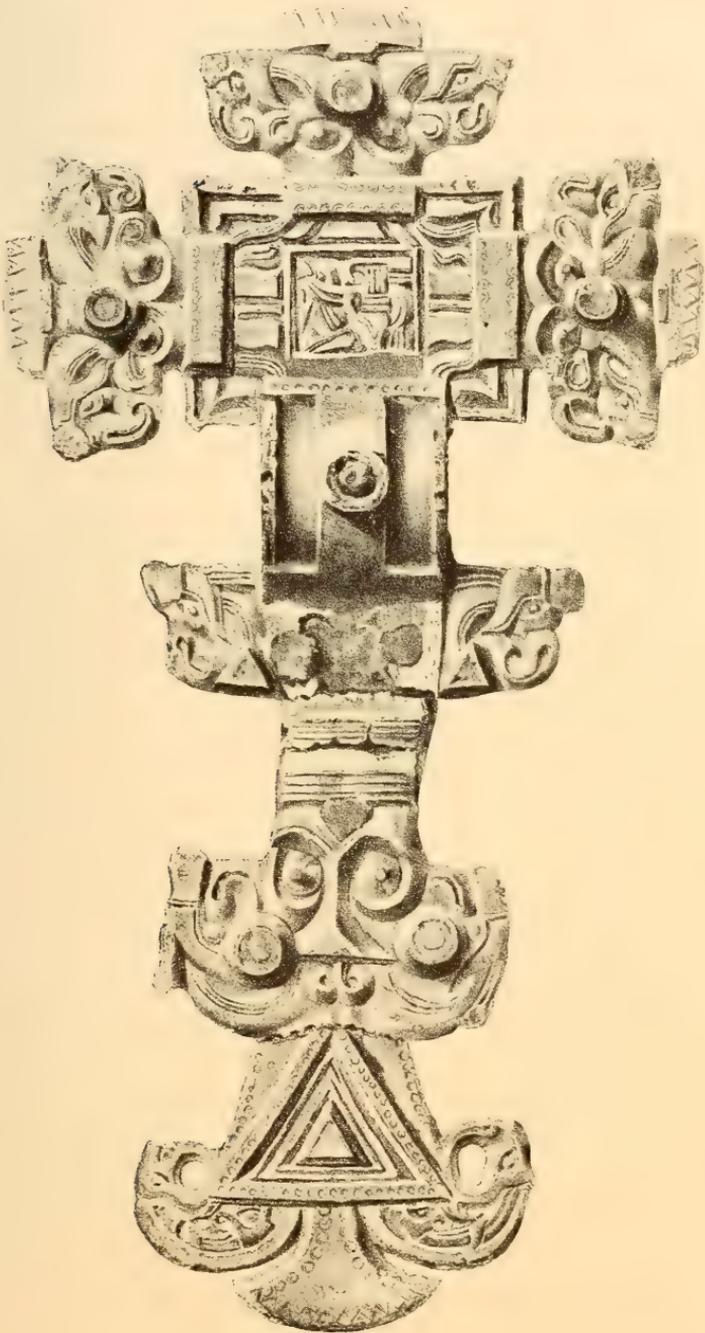


Fig. 132. 1/1.

to England — is not yet confirmed by evident proofs. In addition to dr. HILDEBRAND I have in the previous pages tried to make out that the English development was at a certain point of time in contact with the special West-Norwegian varieties from which was derived a detail in the building of the foot, observed in nearly all the late brooches of England. But certainly the English development was not only of longer duration than it was in other countries, it was in a high degree independant of and so different from that in Scandinavia, that one feels inclined to divide all the cruciform brooches into two branches, the one comprising all the Scandinavian forms, the other the English forms.

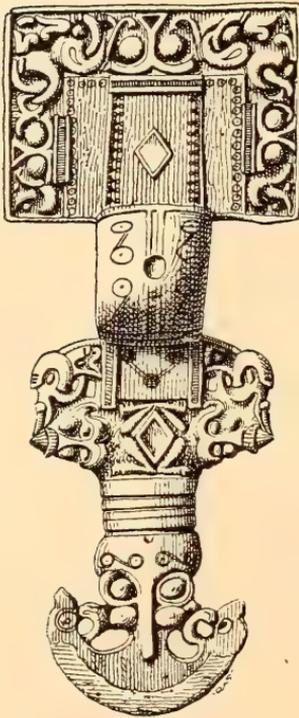


Fig. 133.

Connexions between them are, however, not wanting as it is pointed out in the preceding description, and it is very illustrative of the intercourse between Denmark and Norway on the one side and the Anglo-Saxons on the other during the Migration-Period that the Anglo-Saxon forms were at first derived from the Danish forms, and that later differences seem to be not so much due to the absence of contact with the Scandinavian countries — influences from Norway being observed from the end of the 5th cent. and from the first half of the 6th cent. — as to the gradual divergence of taste and style on the opposite sides of the German Ocean.

Before finishing the description of the English forms, I briefly note the appearance of the flat triangular termination of the foot also in England,¹⁾ which con-

¹⁾ See NEVILLE pl. 9, no. 122. Other instances are a brooch from Sleaford in The British Museum, and one from Fairford in The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

As a supplement to what was said about occasional influences from Norway upon the brooches in England, I mention here a Norwegian find of great interest. The brooch fig. 134¹⁾ was found together with two other brooches of which the one, only a fragment of which is preserved, shows the late typical form of the bow as figs. 91 and 92; the other is of a narrower shape but certainly also of Norwegian origin and contemporary with the first mentioned. The brooch illustrated here is of quite a different character, all parts of it being distinct from the other varieties found in Norway, and on the other hand being most closely allied to the common forms of England. Thus the head-plate is unusually large,

the side-wings of it are bent a little downwards, producing a corresponding cavity of the underside, and the side-knobs are fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil; the bow is longer and less raised than in Norwegian brooches and the foot with the short faceted stem and the small scrolls at the nose of the animal-head is also shaped absolutely in the manner characteristic of the middle English varieties. The differences from the normal forms of Norway are so great and the accordance

with English brooches is so complete, that this brooch must have been made in England and accidentally imported to Western Norway, as a Norwegian workman, even when copying an English model, would not have failed to introduce some features peculiar to the brooches current in his own country, and moreover, if such imitations of English brooches had actually taken place, we should expect to find more traces of them than this unique specimen. But

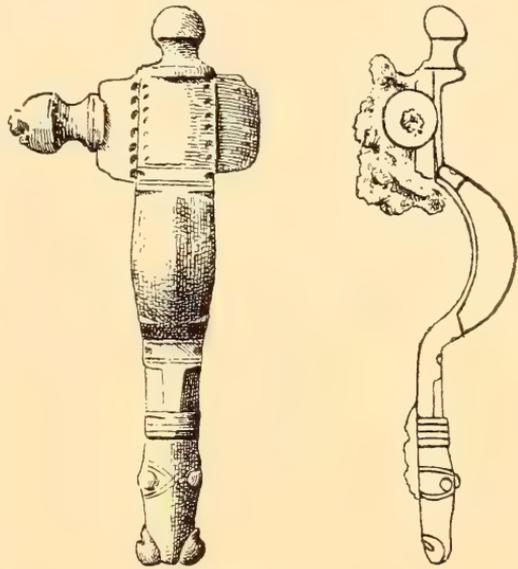


Fig. 134. $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Maage, Ullensvang pgd. Hardanger. B. 5733. B. M. Aarb. 1903, no. 3, p. 10 (1902: 55).

among the hundreds of cruciform brooches preserved in Norwegian museums this is the only specimen showing a close relationship to a form common in England.

One specimen found in a West-Norwegian grave is, however, sufficient to prove the existence of an intercourse between England and Western Norway, and it is of the greater importance as this grave is attributed to the time when the English brooches were under a certain influence from the late West-Norwegian form as already mentioned.



II. Chronology of the cruciform brooches.

By a detailed description of the different varieties of a type, such as is given respecting the cruciform brooches in the preceding part of this paper, it is possible to distinguish perfectly the different stages of a development and to attribute each of the specimens to their proper place in the series of successive forms. But it has often been stated by archaeological writers that prehistoric chronology is not to be simply derived from typological features as the development of forms has not always been parallel in the different countries and as, in some cases, successive stages of the development may have been nearly contemporary even in the same place.

To fix the limits of the period comprised by the duration of a type such as the cruciform brooches it is therefore necessary to take into consideration a larger material than this type alone and especially to study the antiquities associated with it in the graves, and this is the more requisite when one is trying not only to fix the general age of the type but also to make out the approximate date of its different varieties.

Most important help is here afforded by the chronological systems which are put together by the Danish and Swedish archaeologists, but as they do not in all points agree with each other, a closer comparison between them is necessary before treating our special questions. Though only a relatively short period of the Iron-Age is concerned in the question about our brooches I will here state the complete systems in order to give a better impression of the principal differences between them and also to point out in what degree it is necessary to consider the chronological questions regarding any of the periods in connexion with the preceding and following periods.

In a series of publications, Prof. dr. O. MONTELIUS has recently pronounced his opinions about the chronology of the Iron-Age of Scandinavia,¹⁾ dividing it into eight periods —

1. 500—300 B. C. — First part of the Pre-Roman Period.
2. 300—150 „ — Second „ — — —
3. 150 B. C.—J. Chr. — Late „ — — —
4. J. Chr.—200 A. D. — First part of the Roman Period.
5. 200—400 A. D. — Late „ — — —
6. 400—600 „ — First part of the Migration Period.
7. 600—800 „ — Late „ — — —
8. 800—1050 „ — Viking Period.

Opinions differing in some points from this system have been pronounced by the Danish archaeologists who have fixed the Iron-Age periods in the following way —

1. 4th cent. B. C.—J. Chr. — Pre-Roman Period.
2. J. Chr.—300 A. D. — Roman Period.
3. 300—500 A. D. — Migration Period.
4. 500—8th cent. A. D. — Middle-Iron-Age.
5. From the end of the 8th cent. — Viking Period.

It will be seen that the Danish archaeologists divide the Iron-Age into fewer and consequently somewhat longer periods than does Prof. MONTELIUS, owing to their inclination to avoid the fixing of absolute dates, which naturally often involve mistakes. But as they too distinguish between the earlier and the later antiquities within each period, it may be said that the different views about the relative chronology of the Iron-Age of Scandinavia — no respect being had to the absolute dates — agree quite well with each other. Thus it is allowed to regard the chronological order of successive forms as fairly established. For practical reasons I prefer the system arranged by Prof. MONTELIUS as it affords the possibility of more precise references even without the indication of absolute dates in centuries, and as I think the names which he

¹⁾ Bihang til Månadsblad 1893. — Svenska fornminnesför. tidskr. IX p. 155, X p. 55.

²⁾ Dr. SOPHUS MÜLLER: „Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager“, and „Vor Oldtid“. — CARL NEERGAARD in Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. 1892, p. 209. — E. VEDEL: Efterskrift til Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager.

has given to the periods better express the archaeological character of each period — at least respecting Norway — than is the case with the terms of the Danish system. Especially when one is working in Norwegian archaeology and with the later parts of the Iron-Age the Swedish system gives the impression of being founded upon more detailed researches, due to the fact that the Danish material from the 6th cent. and downwards is very scanty, while the Norwegian and Swedish collections are very rich in antiquities from that time. From the Danish material only, the finds from Bornholm being excepted, it seems to me quite impossible to get a clear impression of the very remarkable development which took place during the Migration-Period of MONTELIUS (the Middle-Iron-Age of dr. MÜLLER).

When one is going to deal with the important questions about the absolute chronology, the differences seem greater and more difficult to settle. But even upon this point I am inclined to follow the Swedish opinions, especially after the recent researches by dr. SALIN,¹⁾ and it will perhaps be seen by a closer examination of the antiquities, that even respecting the specification of absolute dates the opinions are not so different as it appears from the systematic indications stated above. As a matter of fact it should be always remembered that the following dates are given approximately and that they never claim an exactness of the same sort as the years of historic facts. They are, however, an excellent help to obtaining a clear expression of the length of time comprised by the different stages of the typological development.

1. The early forms.

I have mentioned already that the prototype of the cruciform brooches (figs. 17—19 above) which is represented among the objects belonging to the deposit discovered in the moss of Nydam, is by Prof. MONTELIUS referred to the 4th cent. and as the deposit in the moss is to be dated towards the end of the century, the brooches in question most probably originate from about 350 A. D. It is evident that about the same time, such brooches were introduced even into Norway, which is proved by their appear-

¹⁾ Thierornamentik p. 354 ss.

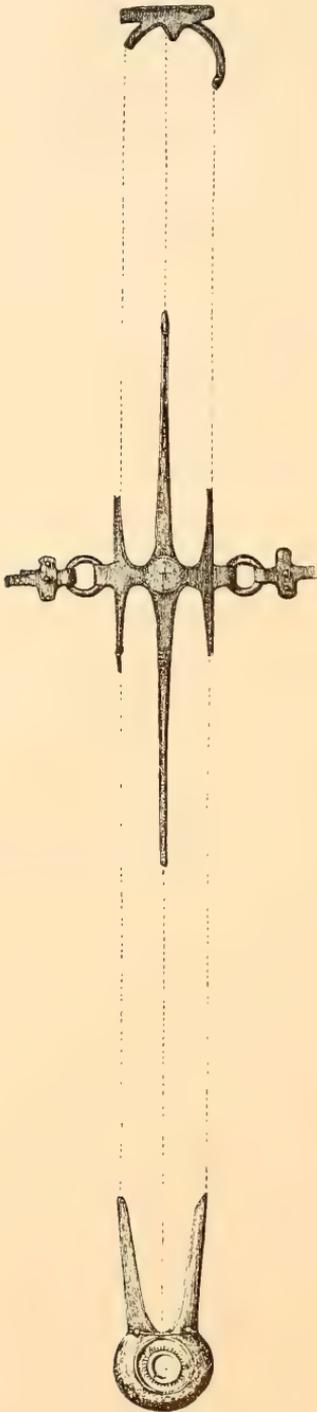


Fig. 136.

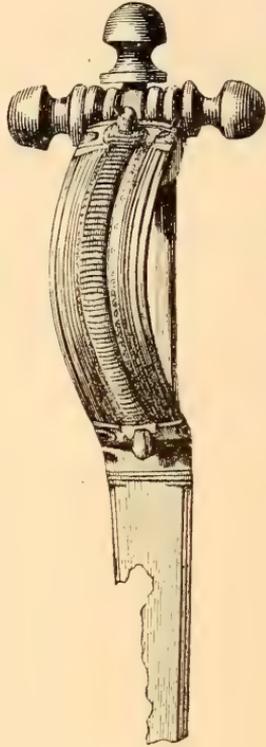


Fig. 35. 1/1.

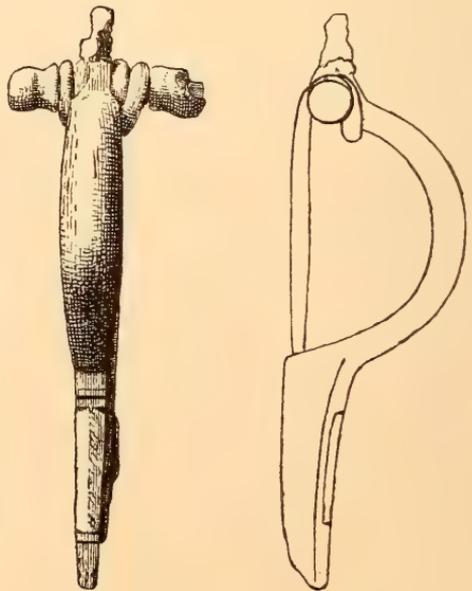


Fig. 137. 1/1.

ance in Norwegian graves associated with antiquities of the same forms as in the find of Nydam. Thus the brooch fig. 135 was found in a grave associated with the bronze mountings of a scabbard shown as fig. 136¹⁾ which is just of the form most characteristic of the Nydam find. Specimens belonging to the prototype of the cruciform brooches are, however, not numerous in our country and in most cases they have not been found in association with objects that could afford more precise indications regarding the absolute date of the find. A

grave at Kvasseim on Jæderen contained, besides the brooch fig. 22 above, only a small oval-shaped buckle of iron. In another grave of the same cemetery were found two brooches figs. 137 and 138,²⁾ but no other things which could confirm the said dating of the brooches. The incident is, however, of much interest as indicating that these two forms — the prototype of the cruciform brooches, fig. 137, and the half-Roman crossbow type, fig. 138 — were contemporary and also that they appear originally as distinctly different forms.

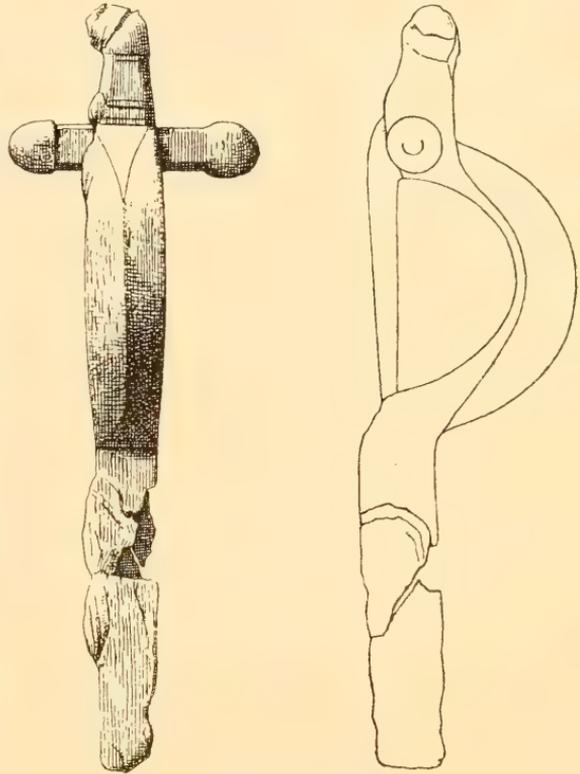


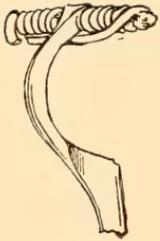
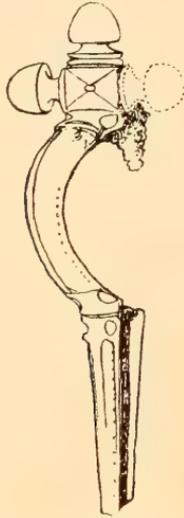
Fig. 138. 1, 1.

From the date of the prototype as it is derived from Prof. MONTELIUS' dating of the Nydam-find, it seems very likely that the early cruciform brooches belong to the late part of the 4th cent. and this supposition is ascertained also by a find from Sleswick-

¹⁾ Moldestad, Tveid pgd. Nedenes. C. 1589—94. RYGH figs. 197 and 241 with text to fig. 197.

²⁾ Kvasseim, Egersund pgd. Jæderen. B. 5292.

Holstein. From a small group of graves at Tolkwade are preserved in The Kiel Museum the two brooches figs. 139 and 140.¹⁾ As the few graves in this locality have probably been arranged in continuation one of another the chronological difference between them cannot be very great, which may be inferred also respecting

Fig. 139. $\frac{3}{4}$.Fig. 140. $\frac{3}{4}$.

the two brooches though they are not said to have been found in the same grave. The brooch fig. 139 certainly belongs to the late Roman Period of Scandinavia, to the end of the 3d and the beginning of the 4th cent. according to the date given by prof. MONTELIUS,² and the cruciform brooch from the same locality is consequently in all probability to be referred to a later part of the 4th century.

Upon this point our dating agrees quite well also with the opinions of the eminent Danish expert, Mr. E. VEDEL.³⁾ As especially characteristic of the 4th century graves in Bornholm he counts his type „H 1“ (fig. 141 here) and „F 1“ (fig. 142) of which the one is most closely allied to

¹⁾ I. MESTORF: Urnenfriedhöfe in Schleswig-Holstein, p. 45, pl. V, figs. 11 and 12.

²⁾ Svenska Fornminnesför. tidskr. IX, p. 234.

³⁾ E. VEDEL: Efterskrift til Bornholms Oltidsminder og Oldsager, Kjøbenhavn 1897, p. 28 and 29, cf. ib. p. 79. — These dates and periods in some respects approach to the Swedish system; his opinions are systematized in the following scheme:

I. *Early Iron-Age*

1. Pre-Roman. (— c. 50 A. D.)	2. Roman. (c. 50 — c. 300 A. D.)	3. Roman-Teutonic. (c. 300 — c. 500 A. D.)
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II. *Late Iron-Age*

4. Teutonic. (c. 500 — c. 700 A. D.)	5. Irish. (c. 700 — c. 850 or 900 A. D.)	6. Carolingian. (c. 850 or 900 — c. 1050 A. D.)
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Respecting the names of the periods, as given here, it should be noted that the 3d and 4th periods are signified in closer alliance to the Swedish than

the small brooch found at Tolkwade, though it is an older variety of the form.

Of great importance is also Mr. VEDEL's attribution of his type „F 1“ (fig. 142) to the 4th cent., as this, typologically, is contemporary with the prototype of the cruciform brooches. Thus, we should also from this circumstance suppose the development of the cruciform brooches to have begun during the same century, and this coincidence with the date given by Prof. MONTELIUS is the more noteworthy as these archaeologists have made their researches quite independently of each other.

It may then be taken as a most likely supposition that the prototype of the cruciform brooches appeared about the middle of the 4th cent. and that such early forms as figs. 23—25 above were used during the late part of the same century.

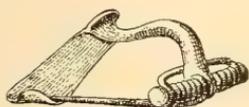


Fig. 141. $\frac{2}{3}$.

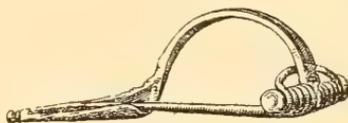


Fig. 142. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Some examples should here be recorded to show how careful one must be not to fix the dates too precisely as the graves and other deposits from which our knowledge is drawn, naturally contain objects that are not all absolutely of the same age. — In a grave in Ringerike the fine brooch fig. 143 was found associated with the mountings of a scabbard fig. 144.¹⁾ The brooch is of the early form corresponding to specimens which have been attributed above to the end of the 4th cent.; it is solidly cast and ornamented with silver inlaid in the surface. The silver mountings of a scabbard (fig. 144), found in the same grave, are on the other hand very

to the Danish system, and that the 5th of them is in good accordance with the 7th period of prof. MONTELIUS, no respect being had to the absolute dates; in the „Irish style“ of this period no distinction is made between the really Irish motives and the ornaments which dr. SALIN (Thierornamentik) has called the Teutonic style II and III. — As already remarked the graves of Bornholm afford a more complete survey of the later parts of the Iron-Age than any other district in Denmark.

¹⁾ Veien, Norderhov pgd. Ringerike. C. 325—348. N. NICOLAYSEN: Norske Fornlevninger, Kristiania 1862—68, p. 144, and R. KEYSER in *Annaler for Nord. Oldk.* 1836—37, p. 142—150.

different from objects of the same kind known from the middle of the 4th cent. They are decorated in a peculiar style with punched and engraved ornaments and partially inlaid with niello. This sort of silver mountings is best known from the recent and smaller find of Nydam (not to be confounded with the larger deposit at the same locality which is referred to above). This find is by mr. HANS KJÆR attributed to the beginning of the 6th cent.¹⁾ but according

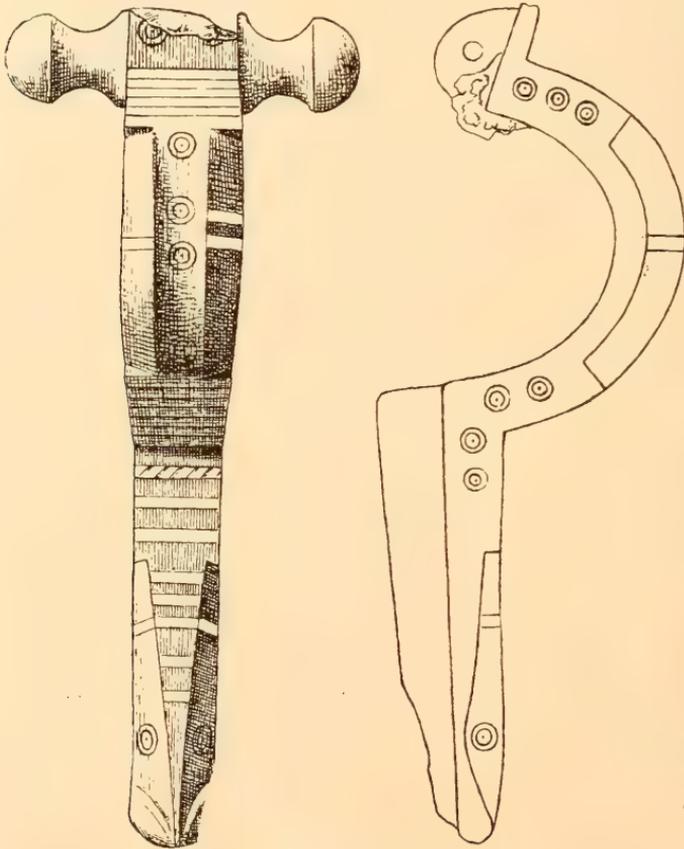


Fig. 143. $\frac{1}{4}$.

to the Swedish system it should be not a little earlier, and by comparing these mountings with the large silver-plated brooches — whose development is mentioned in the following — I am inclined to attribute the recent find of Nydam to about the middle of the

¹⁾ HANS KJÆR in *Nordiske Fortidsminder* I, p. 181, pl. XXIX and XXX.

5th cent., the date of the deposit in the moss being probably rather after than before that point of time, though I think some of the objects somewhat older. Thus the brooch which from its form alone might belong to the end of the 4th cent. has been found in a grave that cannot be older than towards the middle of the 5th cent.

In connexion with this grave from Ringerike I draw the attention to some brooches found in Sogn and shown here as figs. 145—147.¹⁾ The bow of the fine silver brooch (fig. 146) is ornamented in a way closely allied to the mountings fig. 144 and still more closely to some pieces of the smaller Nydamfind, and this sort of ornaments, being so peculiar respecting as well the patterns as the proceeding used in executing them, must have been

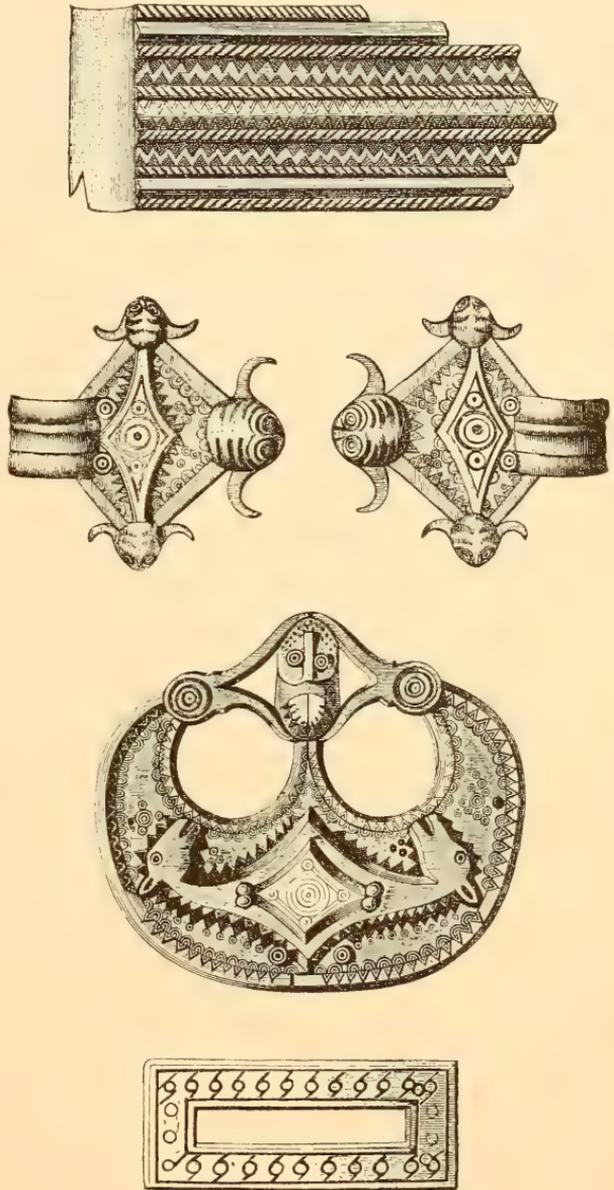


Fig. 144. $\frac{1}{1}$.

confined to a rather short time; the brooch here in question

¹⁾ Ølnes, Sogndal pgd. Sogn. B. 5968. B. M. Aarb. 1905, no. 14, p. 36.

may therefore be regarded as nearly contemporary with the mountings mentioned above and this brooch was consequently used at the same time as the brooch fig. 143. This conclusion which seems at first rather surprising, as the silver brooch presents in all its parts a much more advanced stage of development than the brooch from Ringerike, is confirmed by an examination of the two other brooches found in the same grave (figs. 145 and 147). The larger of them, which is in itself of great typological interest, is best classified, as to type, with the brooch from Ringerike (fig.

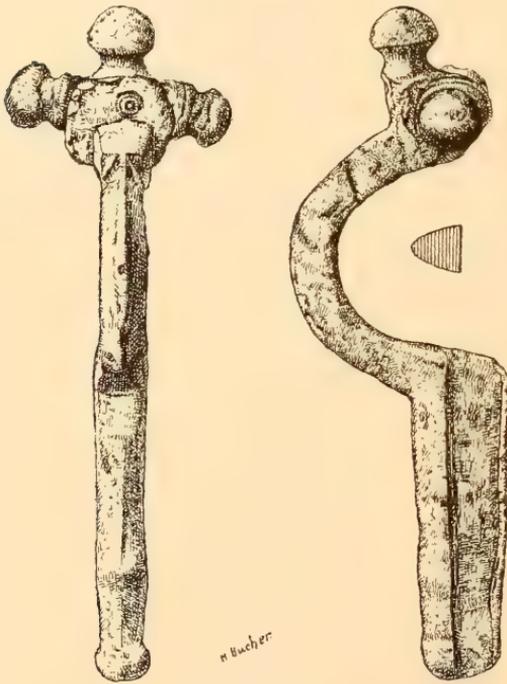


Fig. 145. $\frac{1}{1}$.

143) while the smaller specimen (fig. 147) presents an intermediate stage between that brooch and the silver brooch. It is then certain that these very different varieties of the type have been used at the same time and have sometimes been worn even by the same person, but from this single fact we are not allowed to conclude that these different brooches were made at the same time. It is more likely that people ceased to make brooches of the older varieties when new forms had come into use, and the instances in which different stages of the

development are represented in one grave, *viz.* in the possession of one person, only prove that these different stages are not separated by so long an interval of time that the earlier forms had disappeared before the new ones were introduced. From the finds cited here, it is therefore clear that the typological change, which consists of casting the side-knobs in one piece with the brooch, as has been done in the case of the silver brooch fig. 146, took place in Norway at a time not much later than the date of the early brooches, figs. 143 and 145, probably during the former half of the

5th cent. This supposition is confirmed by the ornamentation of the silver brooch fig. 146, which has been, in another way, attributed to the same time.

As a basis for the further research it is necessary briefly to sketch the history and the dates of another sort of brooch, namely the large one with a square head-plate and a rhomboidal foot, made at first of thin silver plate and later on cast of silver — rarely of

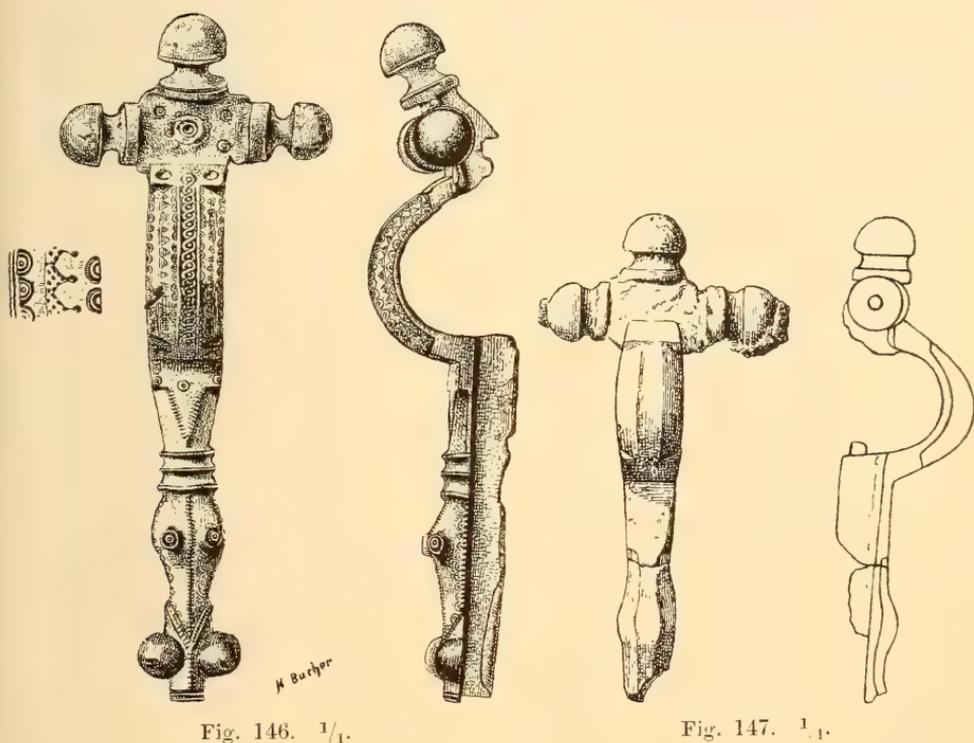


Fig. 146. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 147. $\frac{1}{1}$.

bronze — and then ornamented with relief patterns. To make the comparison more easy I have in the following five illustrations shown the principal stages of the development of this form (figs. 148—152).¹⁾ During the early stages, when the brooches were made of

¹⁾ Fig. 148: From SALIN: *Thierornamentik*, fig. 105, Sjælland, Denmark. — Fig. 149: *ib.* 489, Jutland. — Fig. 150: *ib.* fig. 128, Skaane, Sweden. — Fig. 151: *Ab.* 1900, p. 298, fig. 4. Nordheim, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. — Fig. 152: RYGH fig. 257. Trygslund, Bjelland pgd. Mandal.

thin silver-plate, they are referred by the Swedish archaeologists to the latter half of the 4th cent. and the first part of the 5th cent. while Danish writers have assigned the same brooches to the late part of the 5th cent. The earlier date which was first put forward by Prof. MONTELIUS has lately been supported by Dr. SALIN¹⁾ from sources independent of the researches made by Prof.

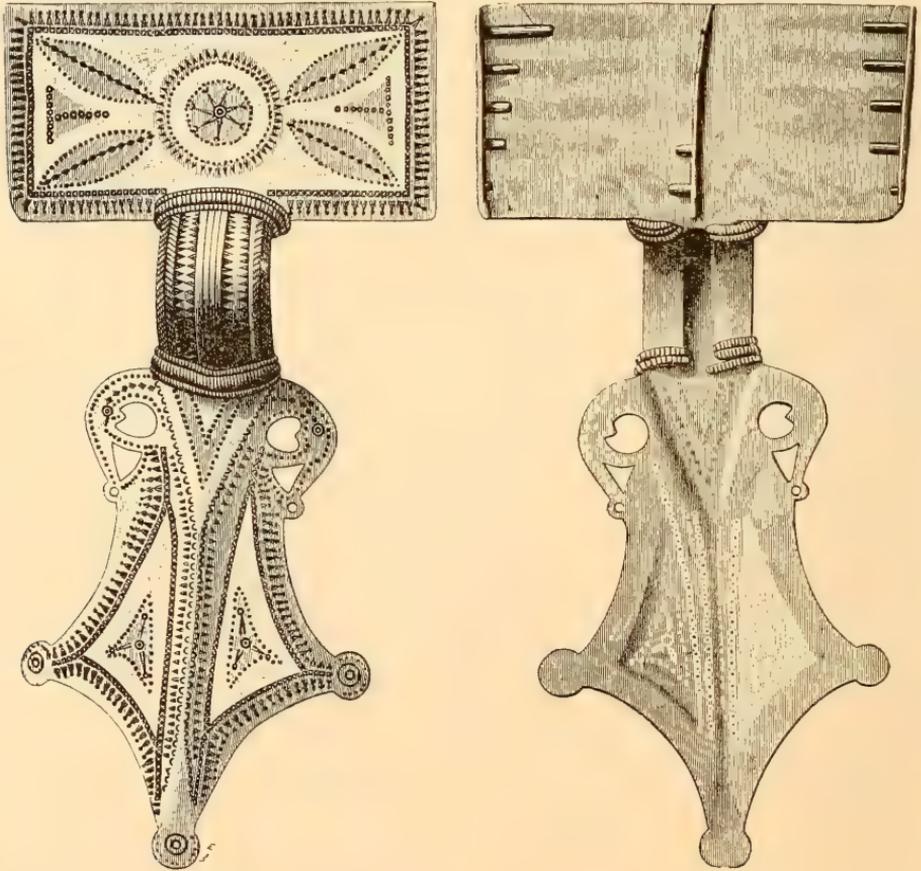


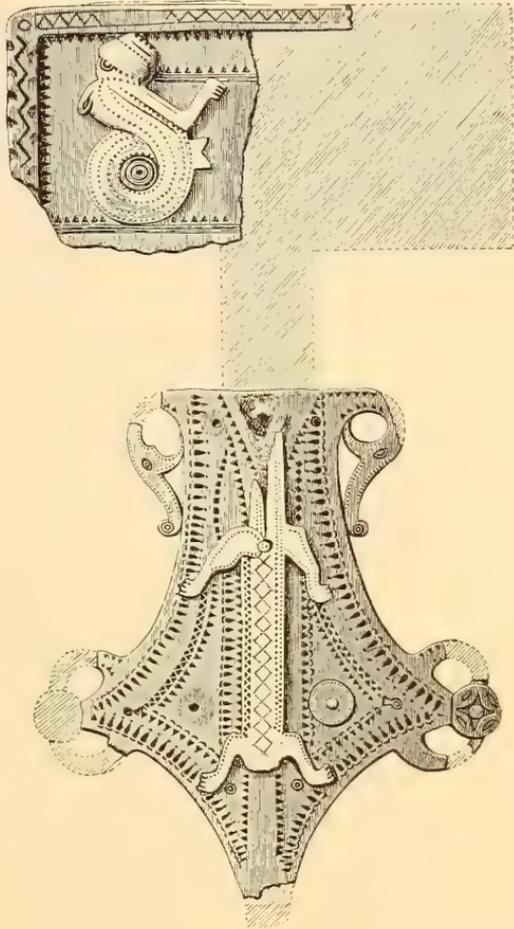
Fig. 148. ³/₄.

MONTELIUS and I think that in following them I should be on the right side.²⁾ In the same way, in agreement with the Swedish

¹⁾ MONTELIUS in Svenska Fornminnesför. tidskr: IX and X. — SALIN: Thier-ornamentik p. 355.

²⁾ From a comparison with these silver-plated brooches are also deduced the date of some of the silver mountings from Norwegian graves and from the

archaeologists, I attribute the next stage which might be called the early brooches in relief, ornamented for the most part with spirals and other geometrical patterns, to the latter half of the 5th cent. — while I would place the late brooches in relief where animal-motives have replaced the geometrical patterns, to the 6th cent. A marked distinction between the earlier and the later of these brooches belonging to the 6th cent. is farther established by the gradual degeneration of the animal-figures, as will be clearly observed if we compare the complete and well executed figures along the edges of the brooch fig. 170 below with the meaningless patterns of the later brooches (as fig. 191).

Fig. 149. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Naturally, these absolute datings are given as approximate only and with the reservation already mentioned, but in any case it is evident that the large and fine brooches just recorded give a more complete expression of all changes in taste and style than any other contemporary antiquities and, consequently, that they

recent find of Nydam, as these mountings and the brooches mentioned are closely allied in the patterns of the ornaments and still more in the technical process of their manufacture. The delicate ornamentation of these, punched or engraved, and decorated with the black enamelled lines of niello, represents a distinct period of the style in Scandinavian ornamentation, a period immediately preceding the development of relief ornaments and to some extent contemporary with the first geometrical relief patterns.

afford a most valuable help in making out the chronology of other objects associated with them in the graves. I think it then convenient to enumerate the instances of association of these large brooches with specimens of the cruciform type.

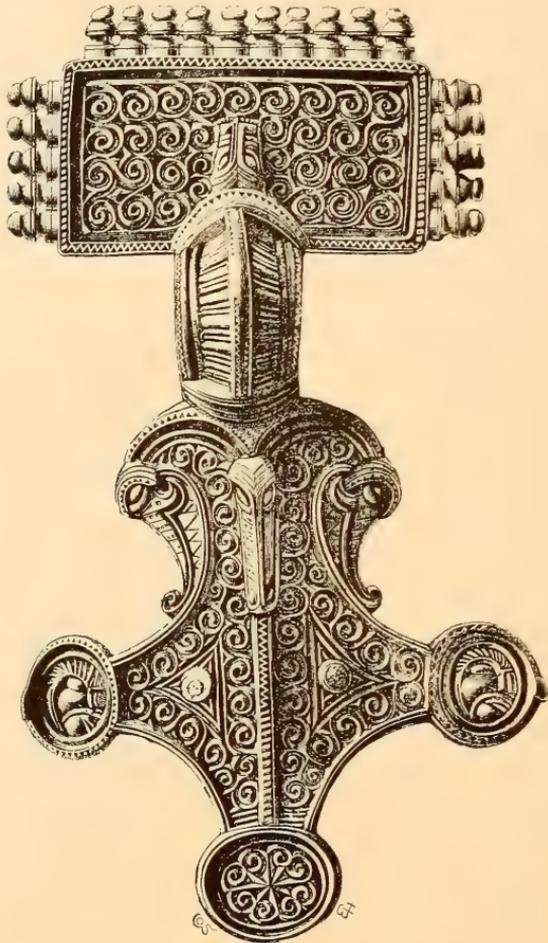


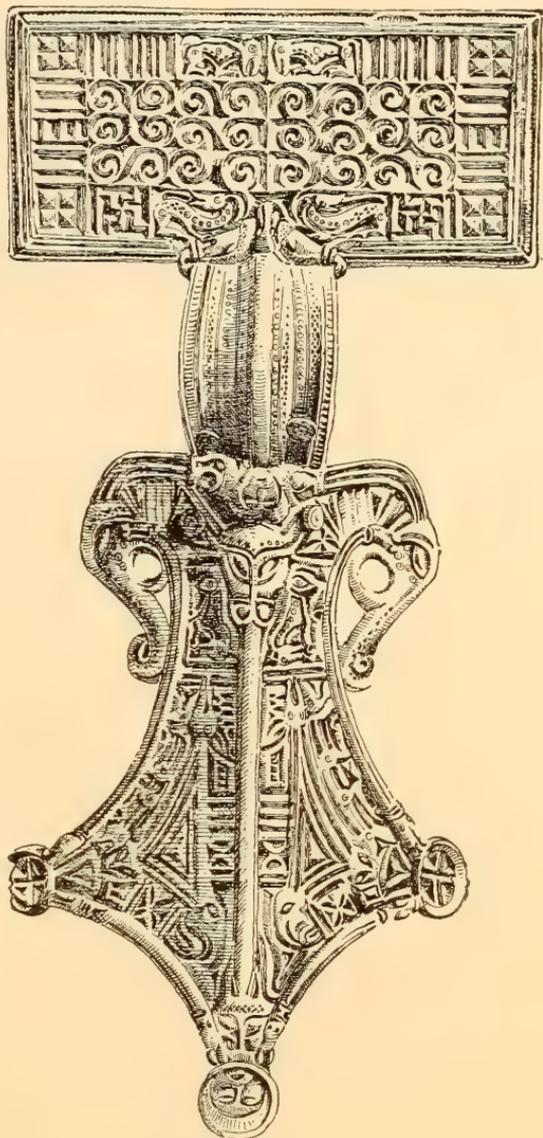
Fig. 150. $\frac{1}{1}$.

2. Cruciform brooches contemporary with silver-plated brooches.

The two brooches figs. 153 and 154¹⁾ which are found together in a grave in the county of Larvik, seem to be almost contemporary.

¹⁾ Rolighedens, Hedrum pgd. Larvik. C. 14338—50 and 14589—90. Ab. 1888 p. 145, 146, pl. II fig. 6 and 7.

They are both of silver, and the geometrical relief pattern of the one corresponds well chronologically with the stamped and niello ornaments of the other, which is referred by Prof. MONTELIUS to the beginning of his 6th period of the Iron-Age, *viz.* the first part of the 5th cent. A. D. Typologically, the cruciform brooch shows a stage of transition between the form which has the side-knobs fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil and the form which has the knobs cast in one piece with the brooch; upon the three free sides of the plate are seen projections which were passed through the holes in the middle of the knobs. When dealing with the brooch fig. 146, I briefly mentioned that the transition from separate knobs, fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil, to knobs cast in one piece with the brooch, had probably taken place in Norway during the first half of the 5th cent. and as the find before us must, in itself, be referred to

Fig. 151. $\frac{1}{4}$.

the same time these two datings will mutually confirm each other.

From another grave in Jarlsberg we possess the two brooches

figs 155 and 156.¹⁾ For typological reasons the age of the silver-plated brooch must be about the same as that of the one above, fig. 154, but the cruciform brooch certainly belongs to a more ad-

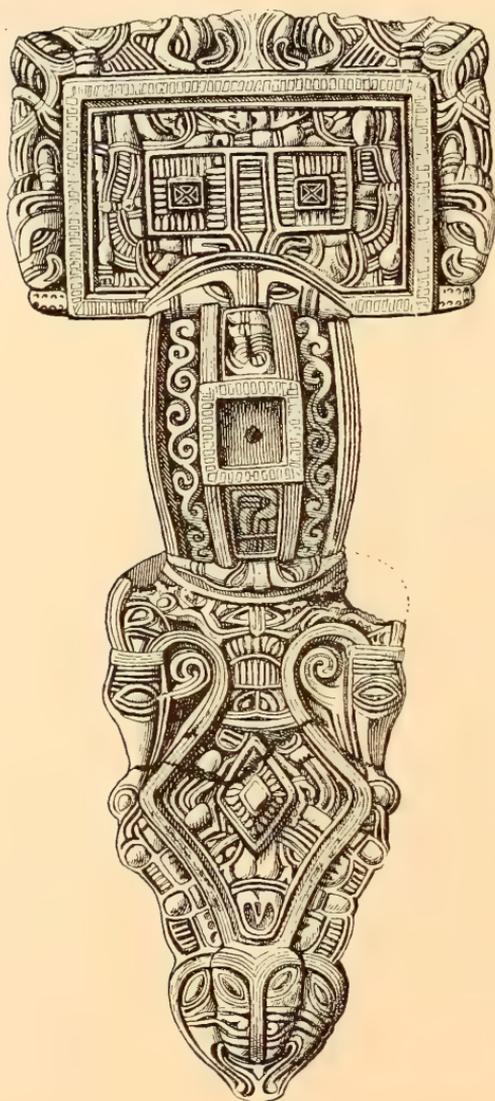


Fig. 152. $\frac{1}{4}$.

with the fine silver-plated brooch fig. 149 above.²⁾ It is of the

¹⁾ Eidsten, Brunlanes pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 19235 and 19237. Ab. 1898, p. 88—91.

²⁾ Jutland. Copenhagen Museum C. 5813.

vanced stage of the development. All knobs are cast in one piece with the brooch and the side-knobs are flat on the underside, while the top-knob has preserved the full roundness. Also the dimensions of the plate and the relatively broad proportions of the rest of the brooch indicate a more advanced development than observed in the brooches figs. 146 and 153. For typological reasons one might be inclined to conclude that one of the two brooches found in the grave here in question was already an old specimen at the time when they were buried with their possessor, but even upon this supposition, the date of the grave cannot probably be fixed later than about the middle of the 5th cent. or shortly after that time. The cruciform brooch should most likely be referred to a time about 450 A. D.

A small cruciform brooch

was found in association

variety in which the foot is provided with transverse mouldings; the head-plate is narrow — just a little broader than the end of

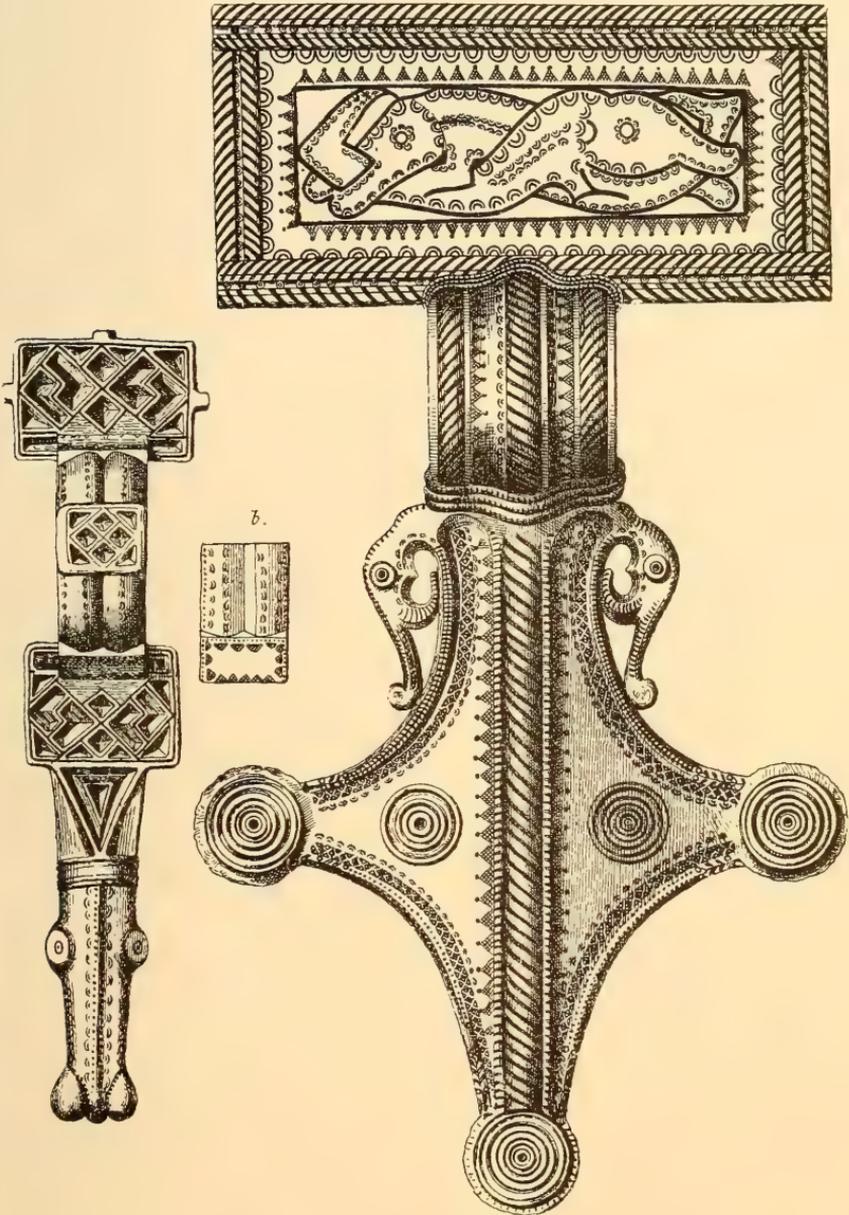
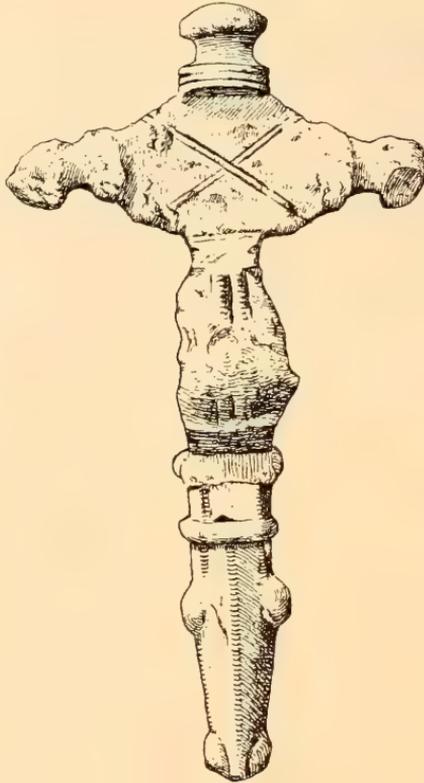
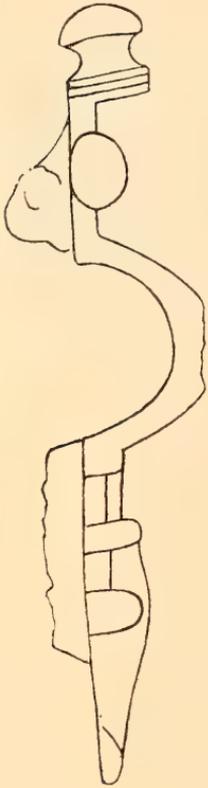


Fig. 153. $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 154. $\frac{1}{4}$.

the bow — and the side-knobs, which are now lost, have been fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil. It confirms what was said above,

respecting the principal differences between the Norwegian and the Danish varieties; the head of the brooch in question has undergone



very few changes, but its later date is indicated by other features, *e. g.* by the unusually high catch-plate of the pin which is considerably shorter than the foot, exactly recalling the catch-plate of the brooch fig. 155.

From these finds it must be concluded that cruciform brooches of the early and middle stages of development were used during the time of the silver-plated brooches, *viz.* the end

Fig. 155. $\frac{1}{4}$.

of the 4th and the first half of the 5th cent. A. D.

3. Cruciform brooches contemporary with early brooches in relief.

In the first place I record here two small and apparently insignificant fragments, figs. 157 and 158,¹⁾ from a grave on Jæderen. The cruciform brooch belongs to the middle stage, the knobs having preserved the full roundness though cast in one piece with the brooch. The spiral-patterns of the other brooch indicate that this brooch was probably made during the latter part of the 5th cent.

¹⁾ Anda, Klep pgd. Jæderen. B. 2973—2974. LORANGE: N. Olds. i B. M. p. 63.

It seems most likely that the two pieces are of about the same age. Both of them are of silver.

The large silver brooch fig. 159¹⁾ is of a different type from the common brooches in relief; but as it certainly dates from the same age as the early brooches in relief here in question, I think it most convenient to deal with this find here. The figures which are arranged along the edges of this brooch are counted by dr. SALIN²⁾ among the oldest animal-patterns of this sort found in Scandinavia and the brooch is consequently to be ranged among the early brooches in relief. It was found in a very rich grave of whose contents I mention a cruciform brooch (fig. 160), two other bronze brooches (fig. 161) belonging to the same type as fig. 112 above, and the silver buttons of two clasps (fig. 162) which are also provided with relief ornaments and consequently of importance for the dating of the find. The buttons belonging to the one of these clasps are provided, along the

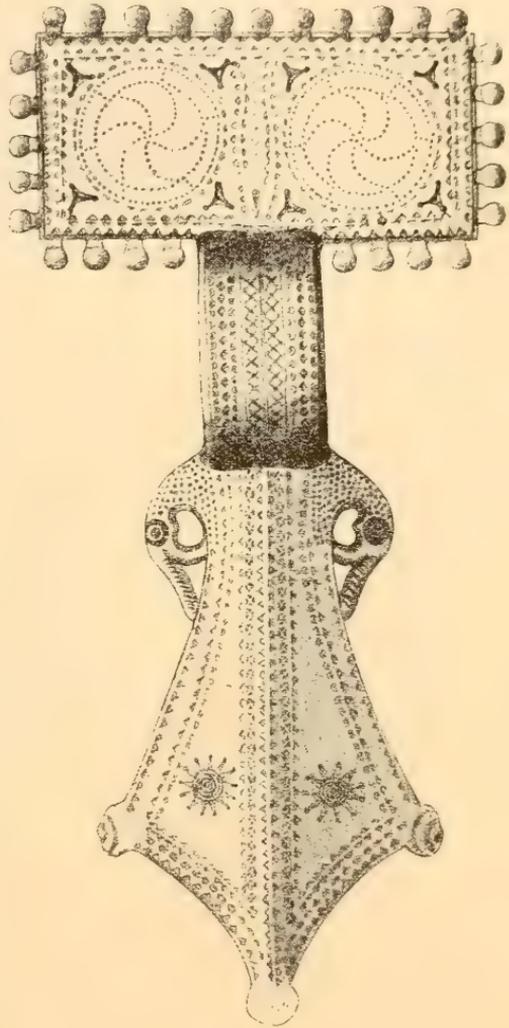


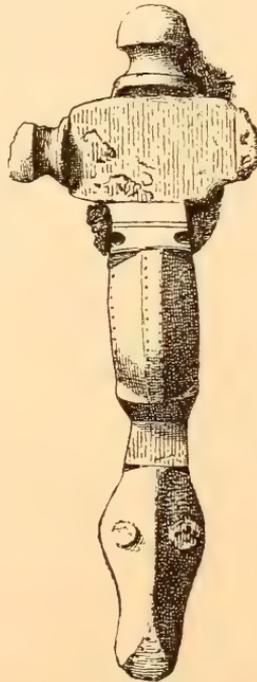
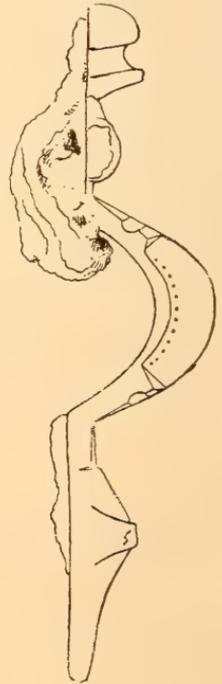
Fig. 156. 1.

edge, with a rather low edging and their surface is provided with a peculiar geometrical pattern which is also found upon some of

¹⁾ Lunde, Vanse pgd. Lister. B. 3543. Ab. 1880, p. 254, pl. IV, fig. 20.

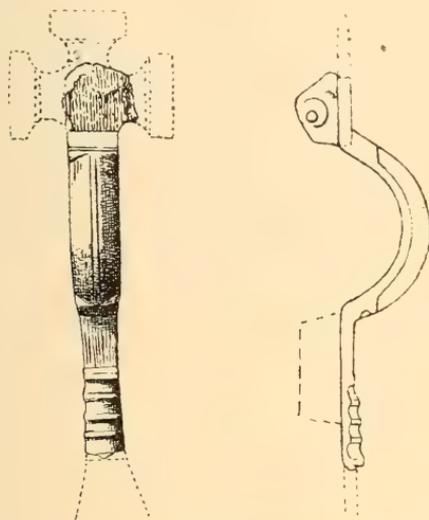
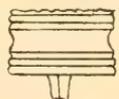
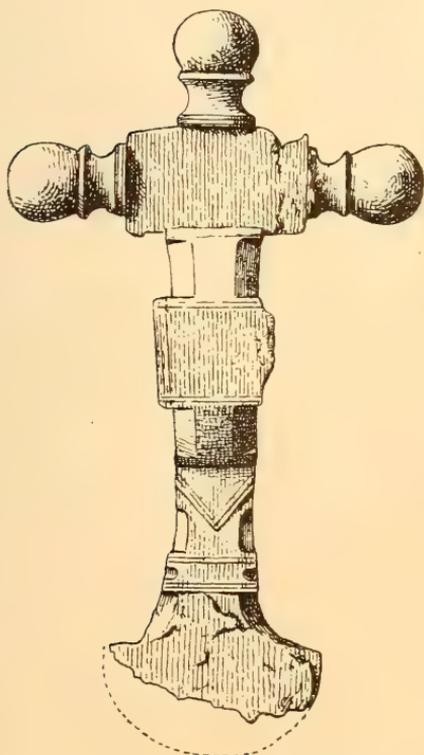
²⁾ Thierornamentik, p. 207.

the earlier brooches in relief (for instance SALIN: Thierornamentik, p. 61, fig. 30) while the buttons of the other, on the contrary, are provided with very high edgings and ornamented with an animal-motive. From these features it is not too daring to claim a difference of time between the two clasps, the last mentioned certainly being the younger of them and belonging to a time after the end of the 5th cent. The date of the grave, which can naturally not be earlier than the date of any of the antiquities found in it, may thus be fixed towards the

Fig. 157. $\frac{1}{4}$.Fig. 158. $\frac{1}{4}$.Fig. 159. $\frac{2}{3}$.Fig. 160. $\frac{1}{4}$.

middle of the 6th cent.¹⁾ and the cruciform brooch found here is probably not earlier than the silver brooch fig. 159 and not later

¹⁾ At another occasion I have assigned this grave to the middle of the 6th cent. which is probably rather too late. Ab. 1904, p. 79.

Fig. 161. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 162 a. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 162 b. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 163. $\frac{1}{1}$.

the clasp; I am inclined to suggest that it must be of about the year 500 A. D.

The association of these antiquities with the small brooch fig. 161, is of great interest, affording help to date the origin of that form, but as I do not consider it to belong to the cruciform type I think this is not the place to go deeper into the question.

I know of no other find presenting an association of early brooches in relief with cruciform brooches, but one find more ought to be mentioned in this connexion, as in some degree contributing to the solution of these questions. A remarkable series of brooches from one grave in

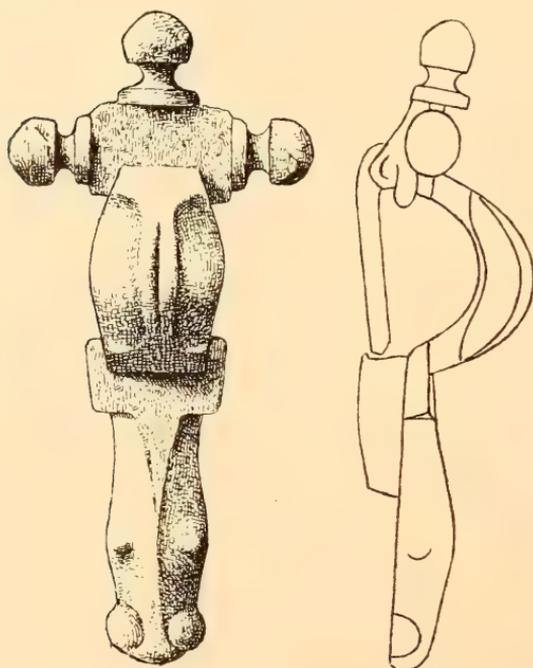


Fig. 164. $\frac{1}{1}$.

ches from one grave in Lister is illustrated in the following five figures (163—167).¹⁾ The grave contained eight brooches — besides those illustrated two specimens of exactly the same form as fig. 166 and a fragment insufficient for classification — of which six belong to the cruciform type, probably the greatest number of this type known to have been found in one grave, and as the grave was examined by an expert, Mr. A. SALVESEN, no doubt exists as to the correctness of the report. One

of the brooches is of silver and its head-plate is ornamented with a spiral pattern which, though rather awkwardly executed, is evidently of the same sort as the common ornaments of the early brooches in relief. For an exact fixing of the date, these ornaments are, however, not very instructive; it may be said only that they are certainly later than the time of the silver-plated brooches — *viz.* the middle of the 5th cent. and they are probably to be dated

¹⁾ Lunde, Vanse pgd. Lister. B. 4286. Ab. 1884, p. 95.

rather before than after the end of the 5th cent. I think it allowable to use this indication as a hint to the dating of the grave, the more so as others of the antiquities found here — two pins, a girdle-ring, and an earthenware pot — point in the same direction. From the indications thus afforded, the grave might be fixed late in the 5th cent., but as some of the cruciform brooches (figs. 163 and 166) are typologically younger than the silver brooch with spiral patterns, I am inclined to date the foundation of the grave somewhat later, most probably to about the year 500 A. D. The brooches from this grave should, consequently, be counted as contemporary with the specimen fig. 160, a supposition which agrees well with the typological state in both instances. The brooch fig. 163 only has the appearance of being considerably later than the others; it must be remembered, however, that it belongs to the hybrid forms which are always inclined to a faster degeneration than the genuine types.

From the finds quoted, we see that the cruciform brooches found in association with early brooches in

relief, or counted as contemporary with them, all belong to a rather advanced stage of the development. They might be signified as middle forms, but partly declining already towards the last part of the development. Generally such forms are to be dated to the latter half of the 5th cent. and the time about 500 A. D.

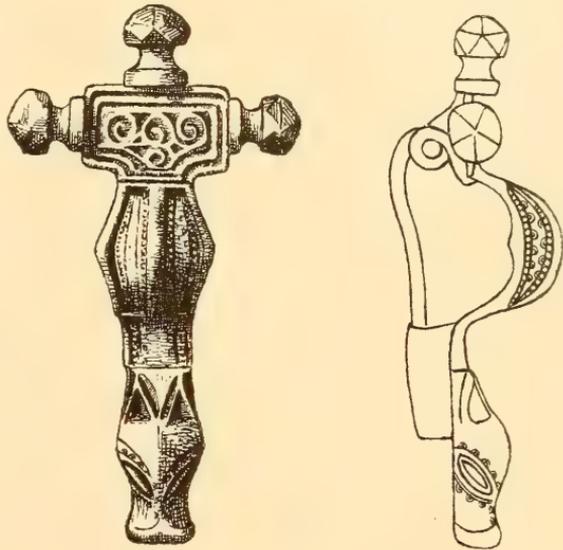


Fig. 165. $\frac{1}{4}$.

As an appendix to my treatment of this period, I may briefly mention a find from Mandal, though it is certainly of more interest in respect to the typology than as a contribution to the chrono-

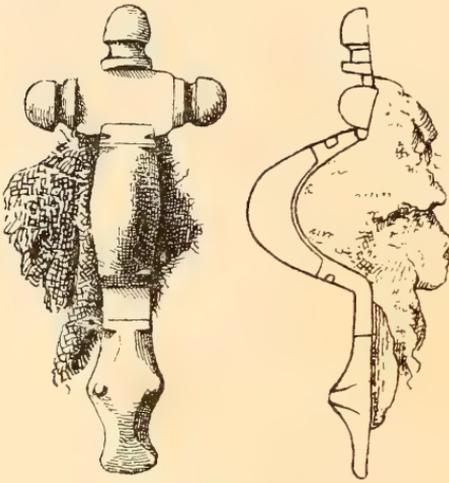


Fig. 166. $\frac{1}{1}$.

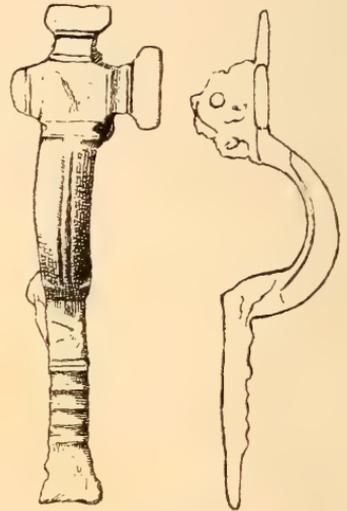


Fig. 167. $\frac{1}{1}$.

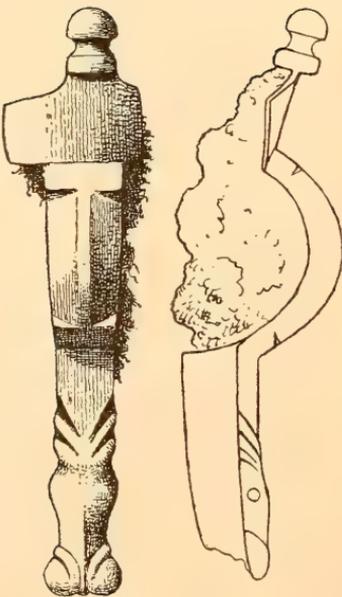


Fig. 168. $\frac{1}{1}$.

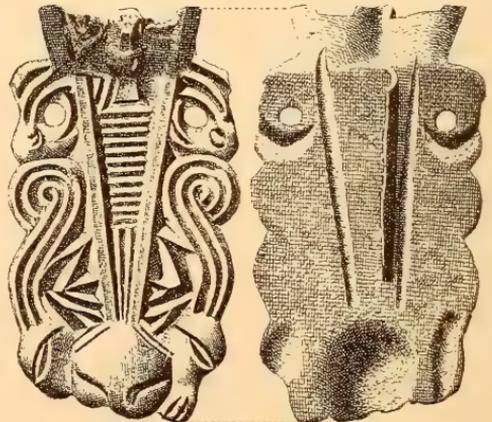


Fig. 169. $\frac{1}{1}$.

logical questions. The grave alluded to¹⁾ contained a cruciform brooch (fig. 168) associated with a fragment of another brooch (fig. 169) and some other antiquities. The fragment forms part of a brooch of the same sort as fig. 159 and is probably from about the same time. The cruciform brooch, on the contrary, is very peculiar. I call attention to the slightly bent head-plate with concave underside; to the side-knobs, now lost, but originally fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil; to the neck and the nose of the animal-head whose form is allied to some Danish antiquities, for instance the bronze-mountings illustrated by dr. MÜLLER, in „Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager, Jernalderen“ fig. 509. By all these features the brooch is pointed out as a stranger among Norwegian antiquities, though it does not sufficiently conform with any Danish brooch known to prove that it was really made in Denmark. It is however marked by a strong influence from the peculiarities predominant among the cruciform brooches in Denmark and, consequently, its association with the fragment of a brooch, illustrated in fig. 169, allows of no direct conclusion respecting the chronology of the normal Norwegian forms. It affords a good indication as to the principal difference between the contemporary brooches in Denmark and those in the Scandinavian Peninsula.²⁾

4. Cruciform brooches contemporary with late brooches in relief.

When passing to the finds dating from the 6th cent. we leave with very few exceptions the early and middle forms of the cruciform brooches. A distinction ought here to be made between finds from the earlier part and from the later part of the 6th cent.; it seems very doubtful whether the cruciform brooches were actually in use down to the end of the 6th cent. and one should in any case expect to meet with two different stages of development within this century. In continuation of the forms attributed to the time about the year 500 we naturally find the culmination of the ornamental de-

¹⁾ Stoveland, Holme pgd. Mandal. C. 8933—8950. Ab. 1878, p. 178, pl. II, fig. 7 and 8 (O. RYGH: Undersøgelser paa en gravplads fra ældre jernalder paa Holme ved Mandal).

²⁾ A cruciform brooch of almost the same form is known from Sweden; Stockholm Museum 6765: 7. (Locality unknown).

velopment of the form, and after that time, when the type was no more the favourite ornament, there ought to have existed some degenerated varieties. When enumerating, as much as possible in the natural chronological order, the finds which I intend to treat here, it will not be difficult to point out two different stages of the character just indicated; the date of transition is probably to be placed about the middle of the century, which thus also indicates the end of the development. But I must at once remark that, with respect to the earlier half of the century, the largest and finest of the cruciform brooches are rarely found in association with the fine brooches in relief, as generally only one of the large brooches was wanted for the dress of one person; the conclusions regarding the chronology of this part of the development must therefore be drawn from a small number of finds and partly from specimens which are not of the highest workmanship of the time.

In the first of these finds, however, we have to do with the very remarkable brooch shown as fig. 73¹⁾ above. Both the dimensions and the ornaments show that this brooch is one of the finest specimens from Eastern Norway, and by the peculiar moulding of its knobs and by its gilt surface it is marked as a rather late specimen in spite of the fact that the side-knobs are made separately and placed upon the axis of the spring-coil. The ornaments are in some degree allied to the early brooches in relief. As it is worn — the ornaments at the top of the bow are partially effaced by long use — it must have been an old brooch already at the time when it was placed in the grave. The large silver brooch fig. 170 was found in the same grave. It represents an intermediate stage between the early and the late brooches in relief, as the head-plate is still ornamented with geometrical patterns, while the edges are decorated with four animal-figures, and the whole surface of the foot has been covered with similar animals. This sort of brooches must be attributed to the earliest part of the 6th cent. and it seems likely that also the cruciform brooch belongs to the same time, though its date must probably be somewhat earlier than the silver brooch. It is difficult, however, to draw more conclusions from this find as the cruciform brooch in question is in every respect very irregular.

1) Langlo, Stokke pgd. Jarlsberg. C. 5951. Ab. 1872, p. 104, pl. I fig. 5 and 6.

In association with a silver brooch of almost the same character as fig. 170 and in a locality not very distant from the finding place of this brooch were found two cruciform brooches, one very different from the other in respect to form and dimensions, but both of them showing features which indicate the late stage of development. The three brooches are shown here as figs. 171—173.¹⁾ A gold bracteate from the grave (fig. 174) is also of importance

Fig. 170. $\frac{2}{3}$.Fig. 171. $\frac{2}{3}$.

for the fixing of the date; as the representations upon it are very distinctly executed, we must consider it as one of the earlier bracteates of this sort. This find must therefore also be attributed to the first part of the 6th cent. The larger cruciform brooch of this

¹⁾ Tveitane, Brunlanes pgd. Larvik. C. 11220—36. Ab. 1882, p. 173, pl. II fig. 9 and 10.

find is in many points allied to the late forms from Western Norway, a fact which is probably due to an influence from that side. I should therefore think that this find would allow of a reliable conclusion about the date of such Western forms as figs. 91—97 above.

In one instance a cruciform brooch of pure Western form, though of the hybrid variety with triangular foot (fig. 176), has

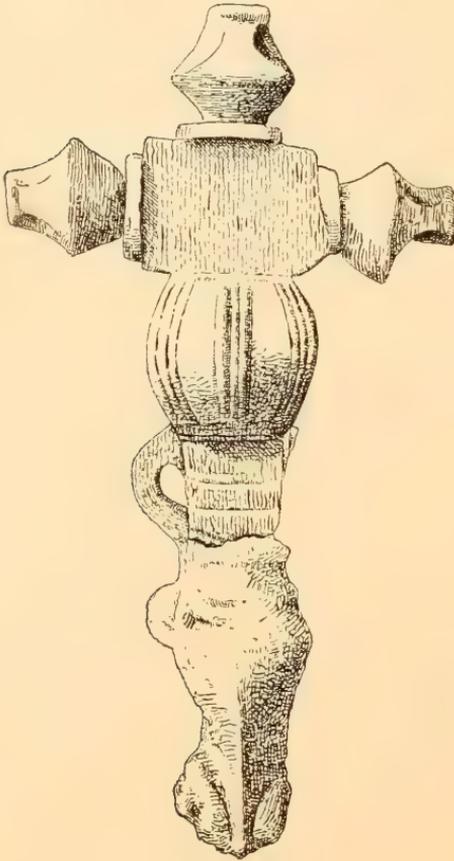


Fig. 172. ¹/₁.

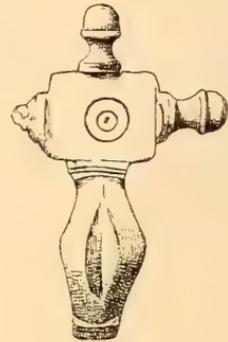


Fig. 173. ¹/₁.

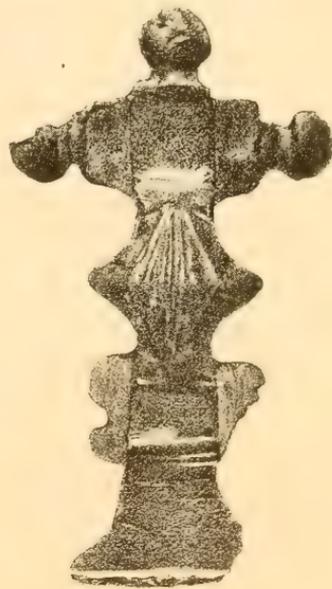


Fig. 174. ¹/₁.

been found together with a brooch belonging to our leading type. The brooch in relief, shown as fig. 175,¹⁾ is of bronze and of smaller

¹⁾ Tjotte, Klep pgd. Jæderen. C. 4923—24. Ab. 1869, p. 83, pl. III, figs. 13 and 14. — For a detailed information of the brooch I am indebted to Mr. GUSTAV MØRK. Mr. MØRK writes that the whole surface of the brooch is decorated with animal-patterns, but that the edges of the head-plate are purely geometrical. In the drawing the brooch seems more corroded than it actually is.

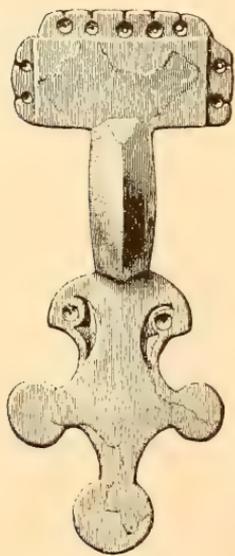
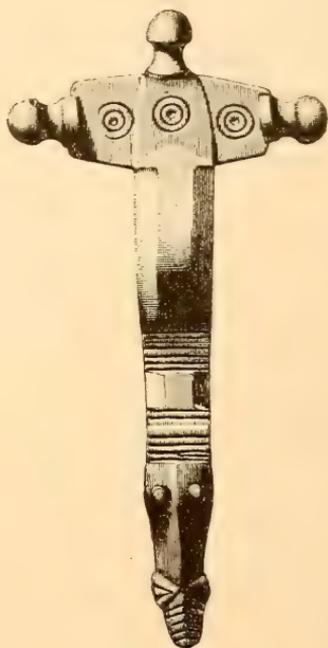
dimensions than the silver brooches already recorded; moreover the surface is badly corroded and consequently the ornaments are in some degree effaced. Its form seems to indicate a more advanced development than the mentioned silver brooches but from such details as the edges of the head-plate I am inclined to attribute it to a time not later than about the middle of the 6th cent. Thus this cruciform brooch also most probably belongs to a time within the earlier half of the century. A date is thus given also for the other West-Norwegian brooches which are just the forms referred to above, figs. 91—97. After all what I have said here, I think it

Fig. 175. $\frac{1}{4}$.Fig. 176. $\frac{1}{4}$.

likely that the development of these forms was finished before the middle of the 6th cent.

From about the same time as the brooches in relief before us must be the small imitations of them, made of bronze and without ornaments, but well preserving the form of their models. Though we miss here ornaments which are the best help for making out the date of the large brooches, we are not left without all indications as to the age of the finds, as some details of the form, for instance a series of small holes arranged along the edges of the head-plate, distinctly point to the stage of development of the model brooch.

On the other hand the missing of some details cannot in all cases be interpreted as indicating a later date, as both the missing of marked details of the form and the missing of ornaments must be counted for by the cheap and careless workmanship generally observed in these small brooches. A better help for the fixing of the date is found in another fact; in the latter half of the 6th cent. similar small and cheap bronze brooches (for the most part of the same form as fig. 181 below) were still in use, but now an ornamentation in relief is generally met with even in the case of these small brooches (compare fig. 192), and it is therefore very probable

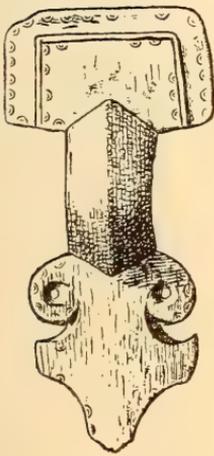
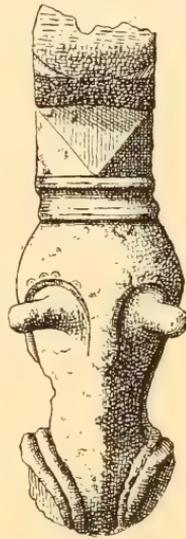
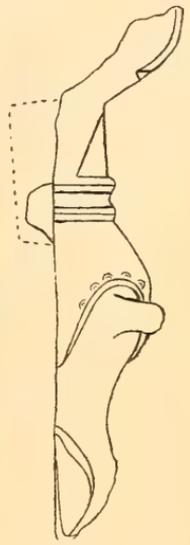
Fig. 177. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 178. $\frac{1}{1}$.

that most of the specimens not decorated in that way belong to an earlier part of the century. Respecting the question of fixing the date more precisely, it is difficult to say more than that these imitations, generally speaking, must be a little younger than the large and fine brooches from which they are copied, but that the difference of time cannot be considerable.

Thus a brooch from Vestergötland (fig. 177)¹⁾ cannot be later

¹⁾ Brunnhem, Gudhem sn. Vestergötland. Stockholm Museum, no. 11052. Månadsblad 1900, p. 148, figs. 35 and 36.

than the earlier half of the 6th cent. as the peculiar shape of the edges of its head-plate must be a copy from a form of the large brooches which probably ceased to exist before the middle of the century. A cruciform brooch found in association with it is shown as fig. 178. This brooch has little of the characteristic features which mark the late brooches from Norway, but the bad proportions, especially those of the head-plate, and other details such as some peculiarities of the bow's facets and the shortness of the foot's stem may be mentioned as indications of a late variety of the type. It need not be mentioned that the knobs are all cast in one piece with the brooch.

Fig. 179. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 180. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Respecting the two brooches from Western Norway which are shown as figs. 179 and 180¹⁾ the chronological question seems more difficult as the small bronze brooch is here deprived of all details that could show the stage of development of the model brooch. In itself the small brooch should probably be regarded as later than fig. 177, but the difference between these is not of a sort to allow of more precise conclusions. I am inclined to date this find to the middle of the 6th cent. — rather after than before that time. The

¹⁾ Hauge, Voss pgd. Voss. B. 5637. B. M. Aarb. 1904, no. 6, p. 57.

date of the cruciform brooch is here of some importance as it points also to the date of other cases of the same form such as figs. 82—83 above. The very peculiar form of the animal-head leads also to the fixing of the date of another variety, fig. 84, which is somewhat earlier than the others as far as can be concluded from the typology of the animal-head, a conclusion supported also by a closer study of the cases where this form is found associated with other antiquities.

In connexion with the considerations before us I will mention a few brooches of hybrid forms, but partially developed from the large brooches in relief and which ought therefore to be included in a discussion on these chronological questions. Thus the specimen

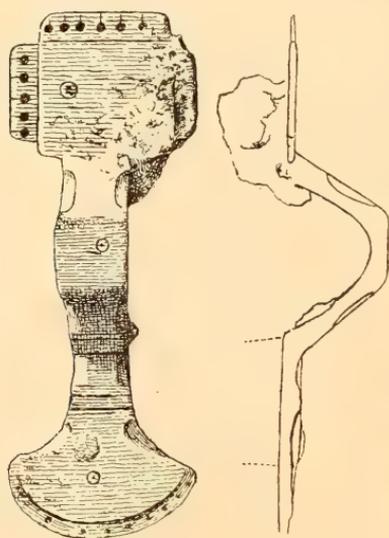
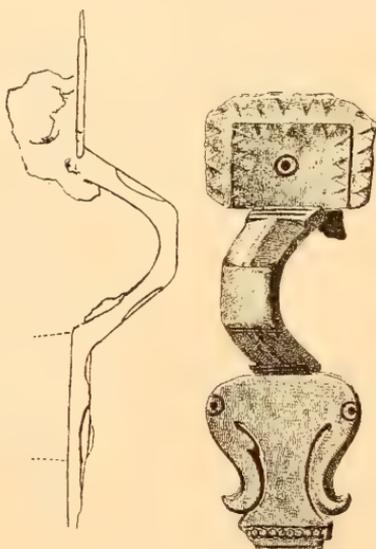
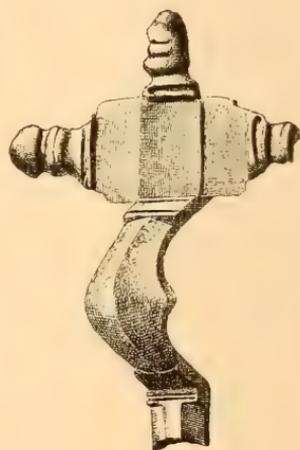
Fig. 181. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 182. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 183. $\frac{1}{1}$.

fig. 181¹⁾ is by the form of the head-plate so closely allied to some of the large brooches in relief that it affords an indication as to the date of the grave where it was found. The typological origin of some other parts of it may be put aside as of no interest to our researches; I will only call attention to the special form of the edges of the head-plate, a form which undoubtedly reminds of a similar feature in some of the large brooches from the earlier half of the 6th cent. For reasons already mentioned I think this brooch must be from about the same time as the said large brooches, and this conclusion must be extended to comprise also the cruciform brooch, shown as fig. 108, which was found associated with it. This brooch is with respect to typo-

¹⁾ Lunde, Vanse pgd. Lister. B. 4234. See foot-note p. 87.

logy fairly marked as a late specimen, and as it is of a very rare form its date has no special importance.

The two brooches shown as figs. 182—183²⁾ have the appearance of being later than the two just mentioned, though they are probably not later than the middle of the 6th cent. The cruciform brooch of this find is a very late specimen, but it has not yet lost any of the characteristic details of the type.

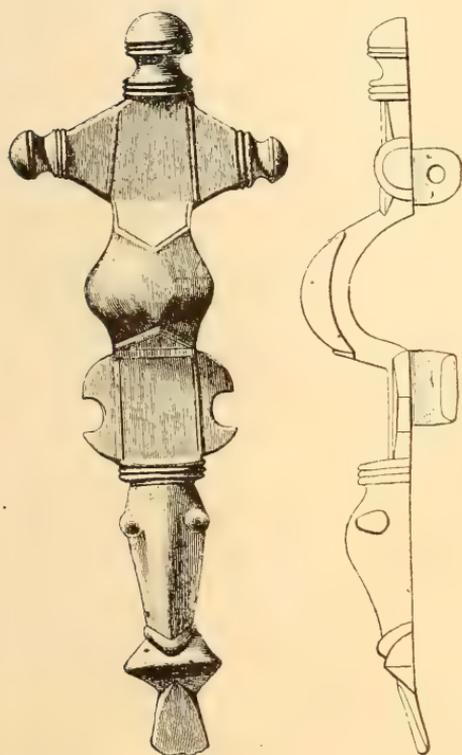


Fig. 184. $\frac{1}{4}$.

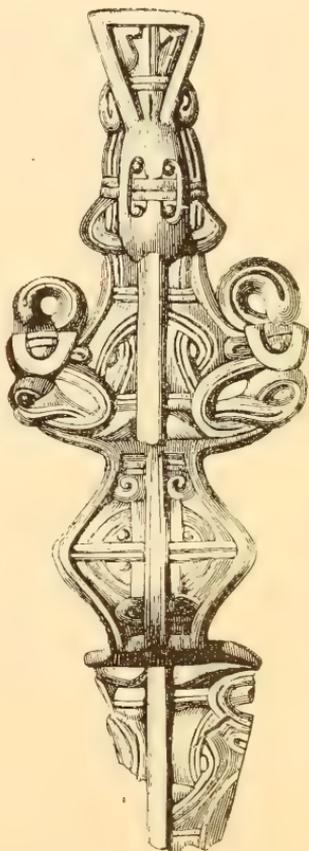
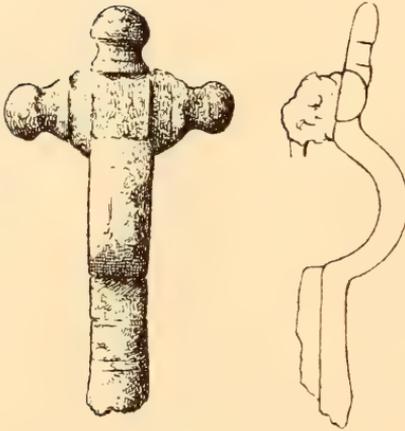


Fig. 185. $\frac{1}{4}$.

All the cruciform brooches which I have till now enumerated as belonging to the earlier half of the 6th cent., are of a late stage of development and they afford satisfactory evidence that this stage of development of our type prevailed throughout Scandinavia

²⁾ Vik, Fjære pgd. Nedenes. C. 7072—82. Ab. 1874, p. 73, figs. 27 and 28; RYGH fig. 263.

at that time, which means that brooches of this sort were then commonly made by the Scandinavian workmen and were the fashionable form of the time. Before describing the very latest finds from which we intend to study our type on the point of disappearing I ought to mention that even in the 6th cent. some older brooches were

Fig. 186. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 187. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 188. $\frac{1}{1}$.Fig. 189. $\frac{1}{1}$.

still in use and occasionally interred together with objects that are certainly relics from the earlier half of the 6th cent.¹⁾ Similar

¹⁾ So in a find from Øfsthús, Fjelberg pgd. Søndhordland. B. 3731. Ab. 1881, p. 87, pl. II figs. 12 and 13; and I. Ross: Arkeologiske undersøgelser i Fjelberg 1881; Ab. 1881, p. 40—45. The cruciform brooch from this grave is certainly not later than the middle of the 5th cent., probably earlier, as it has

cases of graves in which are found objects of different ages have already been mentioned in this paper and they are, indeed, a well known and most natural feature.

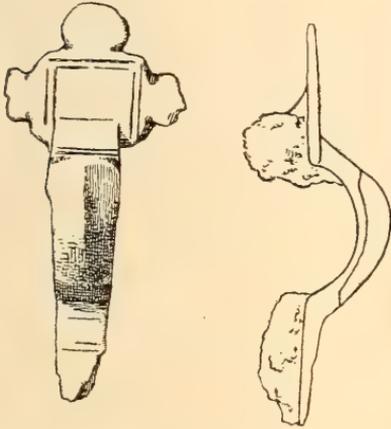


Fig. 190. $\frac{1}{1}$.



Fig. 192. $\frac{1}{1}$.



Fig. 191. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Instances of this sort are of great interest with respect to completely preserved all the features characteristic of the early part of the development and as it shows no traces of influence from later forms. The brooch is corroded and damaged so that it is impossible to tell whether it was much worn when it was placed in the grave. The foundation of the grave must be assigned to the earlier half of the 6th cent.

typology, as some irregular specimens are explained by the fact that brooches representing different stages of development were in use at the same time and probably sometimes also by the same person. The importance of this has been set out already at some places in the previous typological description. But from the latter half of the 6th cent. I know no finds where cruciform brooches of older forms are found associated with antiquities from that late time; it seems as if the type had suddenly disappeared about the middle of the century leaving only a few and insignificant descendants. The most satisfactory explanation of this fact is the supposition that the type got totally out of fashion about that time and that consequently the still existing brooches of the cruciform type were generally no more used even if they were practically well fit for use. They may have been for the most part gradually

Fig. 193. $\frac{1}{4}$.Fig. 194. $\frac{1}{4}$.

recast into ornaments better corresponding to the taste of the time. I cannot otherwise explain why the brooches which were made at the beginning of the 6th cent. should not as well be occasionally met with in graves from a later part of the century, as brooches from the middle of the 5th cent. are occasionally found in graves from the earlier half of the 6th cent. This explanation seems also in itself to be a reasonable one. As long as cruciform brooches were still made in great numbers and commonly used, some older specimens were naturally oftener preserved than at a time when new and modern brooches of the same form were never seen. It is certain at least, that no specimen of the marked varieties which belong to the first part of the 6th cent. have been found in association with antiquities from the following time, and among the cruciform brooches from the latter half of the century only one is of so characteristic form and of such dimensions that it may be considered as continuing the previous development.

It is important that this brooch (fig. 184)¹⁾ was found in Northern Sweden, in Helsingland, where it represents a late development of a variety originally belonging to Western Norway. It was found together with another brooch (fig. 185) with decoration in relief ornaments which are characteristic of the latter half of the 6th cent. (SALIN's late style I). The figure shows that the cruciform brooch is transformed in a very high degree both with regard to the form and to the proportions of the brooch.

The contemporary cruciform brooches of Norway have already lost all the marked characteristics of the form, as shown here in the figs. 186²⁾ and 190.³⁾ The former of these brooches was found in association with a brooch in relief, fig. 187, and two gold bracteates, figs. 188 and 189, which are of a much more advanced development than the corresponding forms from the beginning of the 6th cent. (compare fig. 174 above). The other find makes the impression of being still later if we judge from the brooches in relief figs. 191 and 192. Two bracteates from the same grave are shown as figs. 193 and 194. It is certain that neither find is earlier than the middle of the 6th cent. and later than the end of this century.⁴⁾ Little is to be said about the two brooches; both of them are small and plain and, although they undoubtedly belong to the cruciform type, they have preserved very little of the characteristic details of the earlier varieties. They indicate as clearly as possible the stage of a type on the point of becoming extinct, and they represent the latest finds of cruciform brooches which I know from Scandinavia.

1) Utnäs, Forsa sn. Helsingland. Hudiksvall Museum no. 87. From Prof. MONTELIUS: „Huru gamal er bygden i Helsingland?“ Stockholm 1901, p. 16, figs. 35 and 36. — Dr. ALMGREN has kindly informed me that this cruciform brooch is the specimen which should have been figured by dr. HILDEBRAND in „Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige“ IV, fig. 181, but by a curious mistake during the printing it was replaced upon the plate by an English brooch, borrowed from NEVILLE, which also appears as fig. 187 in the same work. The error has been repeated in some later publications, so by MONTELIUS in „Svenska Fornminnesföreningens tidskrift“ X, p. 58, fig. 130, and by SALIN: Thierornamentik, p. 190, fig. 462; it was first corrected by MONTELIUS in the paper cited here.

2) Gyland, Bakke pgd. Lister. C. 7456. Ab. 1875, p. 82, pl. III figs. 13 and 14.

3) Aagedal, Bjelland pgd. Mandal. B. 3410. Ab. 1879, p. 237, pl. VII figs. 41 and 42.

4) The date of the last mentioned find given by Prof. O. RYGH and referred to by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE (Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer, vol. I, p. 187) is certainly too late.

5. General chronological conclusions compared with the typology.

From the recorded finds I think it possible to make out, roughly, some main periods of the typological development expressed by absolute dates in centuries. Of course the dates are always given with the reservation before mentioned, and the discussion of the date in each of the above instances may have given results of no great exactness, as the graves in most cases contain objects of different age. But when a general progress of the typological development has been confirmed by the study of the finds, it is allowed also to combine typological features with evidences drawn from the graves in order to obtain a closer chronological evidence than it is possible to obtain from the graves alone. When a form has passed through a so rich typological development as is the case with the cruciform brooches, we may be sure that none of the distinct stages of the development has lasted for any long period; the development is to be considered only an unbroken series of small changes which gradually produced varieties very different from the first form. Thus it must be evident that the date of a certain stage of development is most exactly stated by the earliest appearance of it, and that specimens of the same form from graves of a considerably later date are to be regarded as specimens which were old already at the time when they were buried in the grave. With a sufficient knowledge of all the forms and of the other contents of the graves where they are found, it is thus possible to decide that, for instance, a brooch was made about the middle of the 5th cent. but was not buried till after the beginning of the 6th cent. In the following statements it must be remembered, however, that I have regard only to the Norwegian material, as my knowledge of the material from other countries does not permit me to draw reliable conclusions.

I have arranged the periods of the cruciform brooches from Norway in the following way:

- I. 350—400. A. D. *Early cruciform brooches*, before the beginning of a separate development in the different districts. The foot is long and narrow; the bow is long and approaches to the semicircular form; the head-plate is small and the side-knobs are fixed upon the axis of the spring-coil. Perhaps

some brooches of this sort were made after the beginning of the 5th cent. but the following period of the development must have begun at the time about 400 as it ended within the middle of the 5th cent. — Specimens from this first period are shown as figs. 20, 23—27.

- II. 400—500. A. D. First part of a separate development in the different districts. *Early Norwegian forms.* The head-plate becomes larger and is brought into contact with the side-knobs; different combinations of these two elements are found; in Norway and Sweden the side-knobs are finally cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch. The animal-head becomes a constant ornament of the foot. In Norway the bow is generally made shorter than before. — Specimens from this second period are shown figs. 35—40, 47, 48, 86, 88, 90.
- III. 450—500. A. D. *Middle Norwegian forms.* The knobs are nearly always cast in one piece with the brooch, and they have often a flat underside. The first ornamental changes of the form are found in the extension of the head-plate and of the bow, though the form is on the whole fairly well preserved. Culmination of the development in Eastern Norway. — The hybrid variety with semicircular foot appears though it chiefly belongs to the next period. — Specimens from this third period are shown figs. 41, 42, 49, 53—56, 74, 75, 77, 87, 106, 107. In fig. 80 is represented the transition to the fourth period.
- IV. 500—550. A. D. *Late Norwegian forms.* The knobs are, with very few exceptions cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch; the whole brooch has a concave underside. Culmination of the development of Western forms and degeneration of the type. Hybrid forms with semicircular or triangular foot-plate. — Specimens from this fourth period are shown figs. 43, 45, 46, 50, 57, 61—63, 67—72, 84, 91—98, 108, 111.
- With this fourth period the development has come to an end and only a few and degenerated specimens are met with after the middle of the 6th cent.

As it will always be difficult to make out chronological questions of the sort treated here I suppose that my conclusions will be subject to future corrections. I should, at least, not be surprised if more detailed comparisons will prove my periods to be too long and if consequently the end of the whole development will thus be

attributed to an earlier date than is given here. But as far as I can see do the statements expressed in the above system best correspond to the features of the present material. Therefore I do not think it too daring to make — by the help of typology and within certain limits — chronological distinctions within each of my periods and thus to fix the date of a brooch with a supposed error of about ± 25 years.



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List of abbreviations

used in referring to books and papers.

- Aarb. f. nord. Oldk.* = Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, udgivne af det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Copenhagen.
- Ab.* = Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Kristiania.
- Akerman*, John Yonge: Remains of Pagan Saxondom. London 1855.
- Almgren*, O.: Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinzialrömischen und südrussischen Fibeln. Stockholm 1897.
- Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, udgivne af det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Copenhagen.
- Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, utgifven af Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademien. Stockholm.
- Archaeologia*: or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. London.
- B. M. Aarb.* = Bergens Museums Aarbog. Afhandlingar og Aarsberetning udgivne af Bergens Museum. Bergen.
- Bendixen*, B. E.: Fornlevninger i Nordmøre og Romsdal. *Ab.* 1877, p. 173 ss.
- Bugge*, Sophus: Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer. Udgivne for det norske historiske Kildeskuffond. I. Kristiania. 1891—1903. (Norges Indskrifter indtil Reformationen. Første Afdeling).
- Ekhoff*, Emil: Bohuslänska fornsaker från hednatiden. Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen, vol. V.
- Engelhart*, Conr.: Nydam Mosefund. 1859—1863. Copenhagen 1865.
- Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen och Historia* = Bidrag til Kännedom om Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen och Historia utgifna på föranstaltande af länets Fornminnesförening. Stockholm and Göteborg.
- Hackman*, Alfred: Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finland. I. Die Funde aus den fünf ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. Published by „Finnische Altertumsgesellschaft“. Helsingfors 1905.
- Hildebrand*, H.: Fenikisk eller gutnisk. Månadsblad 1876, p. 199.
- Hildebrand*, H.: Bidrag til spännets historia. Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige. vol. IV.
- Keyser*, R.: Beskrivelse over tvende fund paa Ringerige i Norge af Oldsager fra Hedenskabets sidste Periode. *Annaler f. nord. Oldk.* 1836—37.

- Kjær*, Hans: Et nyt fund fra Nydam Mose. Nordiske Fortidsminder I. Copenhagen.
- Lorange*: *N. Olds. i B. M.* = Samlingen af norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum ved A. Lorange. Bergen 1875. Published by Bergen Museum.
- Månadsblad* = Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad. Stockholm.
- Mestorf*, J.: *Altherthümer* = Vorgeschichtliche Alterthümer aus Schleswig-Holstein. Hamburg 1885.
- Mestorf*, J.: Urnenfriedhöfe in Schleswig-Holstein. Hamburg 1886.
- Montelius*, O.: Svenska Fornsaker. Stockholm 1872.
- Montelius*, O.: Från Jernaldern. Första häftet. Stockholm 1869.
- Montelius*, O.: Huru gammal är bygden i Helsingland? Helsingland Fornminnes-sällskaps årsskrift 1901. Stockholm 1902.
- Montelius*, O.: Den nordiska jernalderns kronologi. Svenska Fornminnesföreningens tidskrift IX and X.
- Müller*, S.: Ordning af Danmarks oldsager. II. Jernalderen. Copenhagen 1888—1895.
- Müller*, S.: Vor Oldtid. Copenhagen 1897.
- Neergaard*, Carl: Jernalderen; Meddelelser fra Nationalmuseet, Aarb. f. nord. Oldk. 1892.
- Neville* = Saxon Obsequies illustrated by Ornaments and Weapons: discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville in a cemetery near Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, during the autumn of 1851. London 1852.
- Nicolaysen*, N.: Norske Fornlevninger. Kristiania 1862—66.
- Nordiske Fortidsminder*, I udgivne af det kgl. nordiske Oldskrifts Selskab. Copenhagen 1890—1903.
- Phot. Album der Ausstellung zu Berlin* = Dr. A. Voss: Photographisches Album der Ausstellung Praehistorischer und Anthropologischer Funde Deutschlands. Berlin 1880.
- Rygh* = Antiquités Norvégiennes arrangées et décrites par O. Rygh. Kristiania 1885.
- Rygh*, O.: Undersøgelser paa en gravplads fra ældre jernalder paa Holme ved Mandal. Ab. 1878.
- Salin*, Bernhard: Några tidiga former af germanska fornsaker från England. Månadsblad 1894.
- Salin*, Bernhard: Die altgermanische Thierornamentik. Aus dem schwedischen Manuskript übersetzt von J. Mestorf. Stockholm 1904.
- Schetelig*, Haakon: Spandformede lerkar fra folkevandringstiden. Ab. 1904.
- Schirmer*, Herm. M.: Dragehoveder. Ab. 1905, p. 57.
- Schumann*, H.: Skeletgrab aus der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Friedsfeld. Nachrichten über deutsche Alterthumsfunde 1898.
- Stav. Mus. aarsb.* = Stavanger Museums aarsberetning. Published by Stavanger Museum.
- Stephens*, George: The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England. Copenhagen 1866—1901.
- Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift*. Stockholm.
- Thomas*, George William: On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Archaeologia vol. L.

Tischler, Otto: Ostpreussische Alterthümer, herausgegeben von Heinrich Kemke Königsberg 1902.

Tromsø Museums aarshefte, published by Tromsø Museum.

Undset, Ingvald: Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa. Deutsche Ausgabe von J. Mestorf. Hamburg 1882.

Undset, Ingvald: Fra Norges ældre jernalder. Aarb. f. nord. Oldk. 1880.

Vedel, E.: Efterskrift til Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager. Copenhagen 1897.

In referring to the catalogue numbers of the chief museums of Norway I have used the following abbreviations:

B. = Bergen Museum.

C. = Kristiania Museum.

T. = Trondhjem Museum.



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