

### III.

A BRONZE HANGING-BOWL FROM CASTLE TIORAM, MOIDART:  
AND A SUGGESTED ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY FOR  
BRITISH HANGING-BOWLS. BY H. E. KILBRIDE-JONES,  
F.S.A.Scot.

In England, bronze hanging-bowls, or parts (usually escutcheons) of such bowls, have been found on nearly fifty sites. Many have been found in Saxon interments; but there is now little doubt that they were acquired as loot by the Saxons, to whom the art of enamelling was as a closed book. And but for the fact that the bowls were actually interred along with the remains of those who had stolen them, it is possible that we might have had to-day very few specimens with which to adorn our museums. Had the bowls remained with their original (Celtic) owners, they would, in all probability, have been melted down, or merely cast out into the open, where decay would have been rapid. It is as well to emphasise these points, as it was apparently not a Celtic custom to preserve curiosities of a former age, when once those objects had ceased to be useful, or to bury enamel-work in the same way as did the Saxons.

Since Saxon burials are unknown in Scotland, it is obvious that we need not be too hopeful of finding many hanging-bowls in this country. Any bowl thrown on to a midden would have a poor chance of survival; whilst burials of the period under discussion are noticeably rare. Hitherto we only knew of the existence of a single hanging-bowl in Scotland—the much-battered and rather fragmentary remains of a specimen from

Tummel Bridge, Perthshire<sup>1</sup> (fig. 2, 3), a bowl which had been buried along with silver penannular brooches of a fifth-century type, and perhaps by someone who wished to hide his small hoard from marauders. The presence of this bowl in Perthshire has been ascribed to a raid of the Picts south of the Border.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore very gratifying to be able to record the discovery of yet another hanging-bowl, this time in a locality well removed from the area of Pictish incursions. It was found sometime prior to

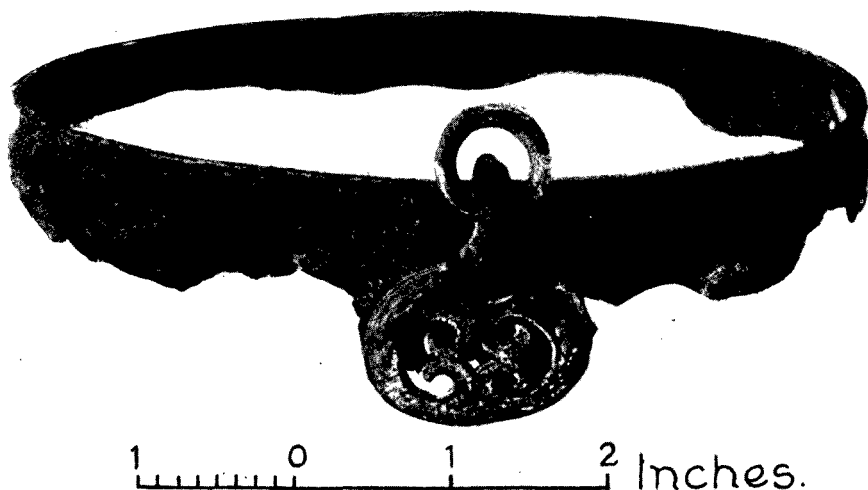


Fig. 1. Remains of Bronze Hanging-bowl from Castle Tioram, Moidart.

1928 in a kitchen-midden (along with other objects, the nature of which is unknown) at Castle Tioram, in Moidart. During a visit to Fort William last year, it was seen by Dr Alex. O. Curle in the West Highland Museum, and to him the present author is under a deep obligation for the present opportunity of describing the find.

The new bowl is in a very fragmentary condition: nothing remains apart from the rim and shoulder, and one escutcheon, together with a ring for suspension (fig. 1 and fig. 2, 1). The bowl is only  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. It has been spun from a single piece of bronze (a difficult process, and achieved by the continued application of heat) and the walls are less than 1 mm. in thickness. The metal thickens above the shoulder, the neck is slightly hollow, whilst the rim has been hammered down

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxii. p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Leeds, Celtic Ornament*, p. 145.

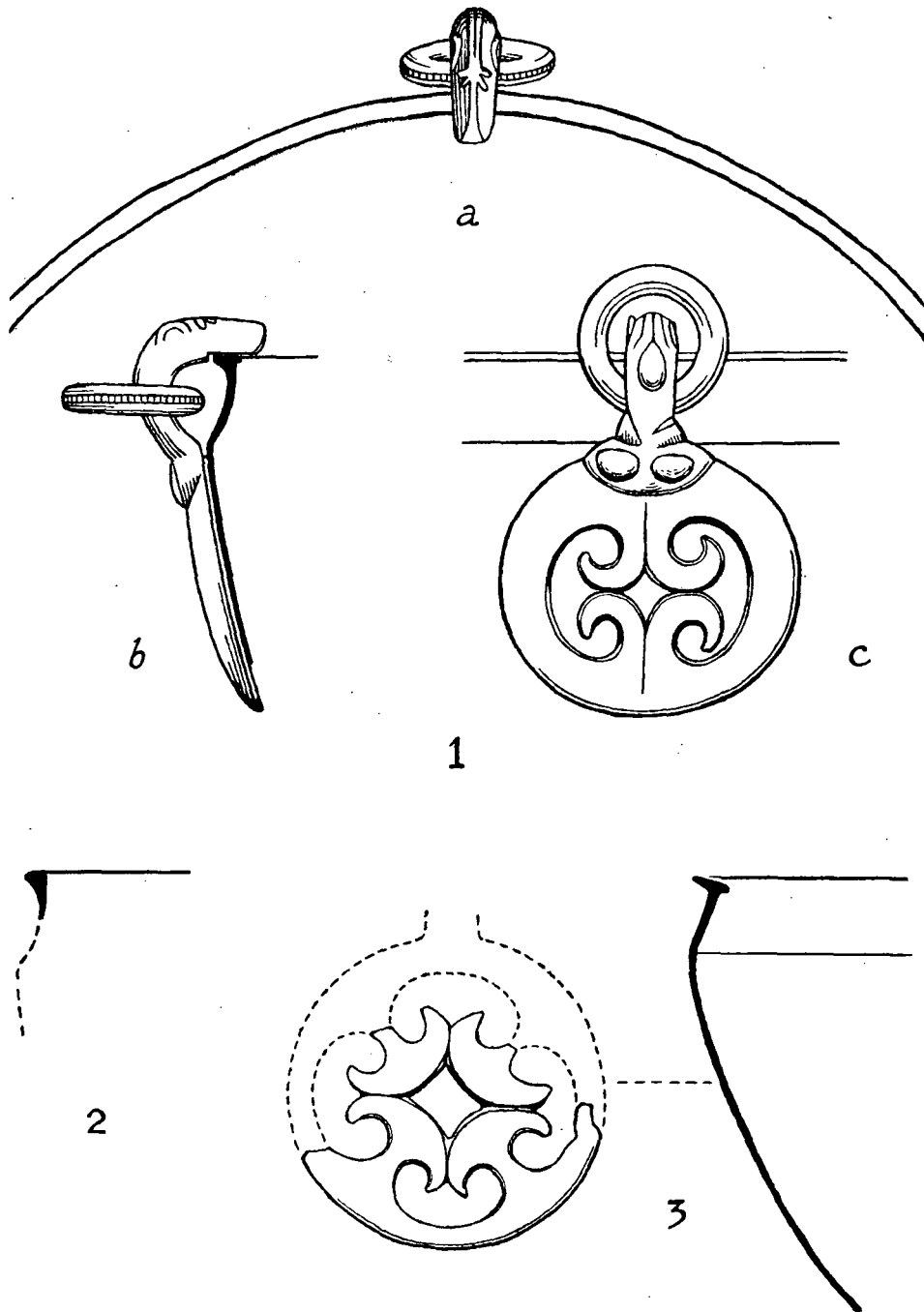


Fig. 2. Scots Hanging-bowls: (1) Castle Tioram, Moidart; (c) escutcheon, with (b) side-view and section of bowl, and (a) top elevation. (2) Fragmentary Rim from Tummel Bridge, Perthshire. (3) Section of Bronze Hanging-bowl, and Escutcheon (restored) from Tummel Bridge, Perthshire. (†.)

from above, thereby producing a slight eversion and inversion, giving a width to the top of the rim of nearly 3 mm. The object of producing this T-girder form of rim was for the prevention of sagging, or buckling, which would otherwise have taken place at the points of suspension when the bowl was hung aloft.

The single remaining escutcheon, the obverse of which is slightly convex, has an openwork design of two laterally opposed *palmettes*. (Not every one will agree about this, so that later we propose to examine the design, which also appears on another bowl from England, in detail.<sup>1</sup>) The hook has a zoomorphic form, both ears and eyes being clearly indicated. Along the top of the "head" runs a thin, raised moulding which terminates in a small raised oval panel (barely discernible) at the back of the head.<sup>2</sup> Below this, at the junction of hook and escutcheon, are other two small, oval panels; but decay is such that it is impossible to determine whether or not they bore ornamentation. The ring is encircled on the outside by ladder ornamentation.

There is no indication as to whether the bowl had originally three or four escutcheons; but, in view of its small size, it is probable that there were but three escutcheons. When complete, the bowl must have been more or less hemispherical in shape, and it doubtless possessed a wide kick in the base, which quite possibly bore a print both inside and outside.

The discovery of the new bowl provides us with an excuse for setting forth our ideas of an absolute chronology for British hanging-bowls; and we do so all the more readily because we find that our ideas differ fundamentally from those of Mr Kendrick (who was the first person to study in detail the typology of British hanging-bowls)<sup>3</sup> and more or less absolutely from those of Mlle Henry, whose very recent contribution<sup>4</sup> to the subject is just the sort of article which stimulates us to rival activities, since, by her own admission, she is unable to discover a chronological sequence for the bowls.

Although the type of bowl with which we propose to deal originated in Britain during the Roman occupation, hanging-bowls were actually known in these islands in *la Tène* times. So far, there is but one such

<sup>1</sup> See p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr A. J. H. Edwards, Assistant Keeper, for drawing my attention to the manner in which the moulding terminates in the panel. Decay is such that this can only be made out with any degree of certainty with the help of a powerful lens.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. pp. 161 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, vol. lxvi. pp. 209 *et seq.*

bowl; it was found at Cerrig-y-Drudion, Denbighshire,<sup>1</sup> and it is an import.<sup>2</sup> It was made probably in the second century B.C. The bowl was provided with four chains and hooks for suspension, so that little special significance can be attached to the quadruple as opposed to the later triple arrangement of the escutcheons.<sup>3</sup>

The remaining British hanging-bowls may be divided into three groups—(I.) Romano-British; (II.) Celtic; (III.) Kentish—for reasons which will become obvious as we proceed.

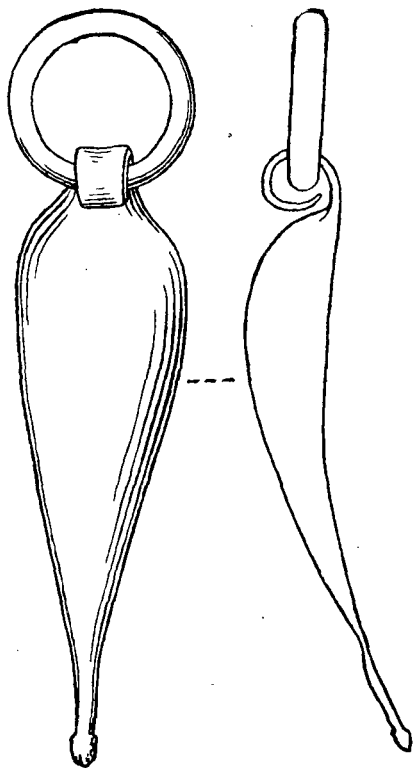


Fig. 3. Escutcheon from Roman Fort at Newstead. (†.)

**Group I. (Romano-British).**—It is to be doubted whether the Cerrig-y-Drudion type of bowl was ever manufactured in Britain. In fact, it is not until Roman times that we meet the form of hanging-bowl which forms the subject of this paper. From the Roman Fort at Newstead, Roxburghshire, we have just the kind of primitive-looking escutcheons<sup>4</sup> (fig. 3) which we would associate with the earliest of the hanging-bowls.<sup>5</sup> These escutcheons are long and kite-shaped, and they number four. They are hollow and have very convex surfaces, and they would appear to be hand-wrought and not cast. At the top of each escutcheon is a primitive loop bent *outwards* over a free-moving ring, intended for the purpose of suspension. Unfortunately, nothing remains of the bowl; but we can see, from the curve of the escutcheons themselves, that it must have been more or less hemispherical in shape.

Since Newstead was evacuated c. A.D. 180, we can see that these escutcheons are the earliest which we possess. But at Traprain Law, where similar-shaped escutcheons<sup>6</sup> were found in the hoard of Roman

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> The quadruple arrangement does not assume the importance attached to it in *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xv. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

<sup>5</sup> The Cerrig-y-Drudion type does not henceforth enter into our argument.

<sup>6</sup> Curle, *Treasure of Traprain*, pls. xvii. and xxx.

CORRIGENDUM

Page 211, line 4: *for* "to have been hidden in the fourth century;"  
*read* "to be of fourth century date."

silver discovered there, we see that these plain loops have given way to hooks which certainly simulate the neck and head of a swan. That was apparently the sole development which took place over a period of more than a century, the hoard generally being considered to have been hidden in the fourth century.

But during this period other forms of bowl were finding their way into Britain from the Continent. They are represented only by their escutcheons. One escutcheon from Barton, Cambridgeshire,<sup>1</sup> is exactly similar to others on the bowl from Nauheim,<sup>2</sup> as Mlle Henry has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> whilst another from Silchester<sup>4</sup> is rather similar to the hooks of the bowl from Sackrau, Silesia. The Silchester escutcheon is heater-shaped, and the head of the hook has less of a leonine character about it than the Sackrau specimens. It is, in fact, drifting to that hippocampic form about which later we shall have a good deal to say.

Whereas the Newstead and Traprain Law escutcheons had hooks bent *outwards*, these new importations had their hooks bent *inwards*. The adoption of the latter form had served to confine the ring permanently, since it was bounded by the wall and everted rim of the vessel on one side, and by the hook itself on the other, there being, by this arrangement, less chance of the ring becoming detached. In addition, these continental bowls had straight walls, rather flat bases, and three escutcheons. All these features—the number of escutcheons, the fact that the hooks faced inwards, and the shape of the bowl itself—had a profound effect upon future developments in Britain.

The first sign of a change in form is to be seen amongst the escutcheons from Traprain Law, where one badly battered specimen looks very much as though it had had a hook which had been bent *inwards*.

There can be little doubt that the bowls for which these escutcheons were intended must have belonged to an earlier form of what Mr Kendrick has termed the Irchester type.<sup>5</sup> The Irchester type was a nearly hemispherical bowl of beaten bronze, possessing a cupped base, and a short inturned neck and rim. Mr Kendrick has produced evidence to show that this type of bowl, which does not possess hooks and rings for suspension, probably belongs to the end of the fourth century. But the Irchester type could not have come into existence at so late a date,

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi. pl. xx. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xx. 1.

<sup>3</sup> But we cannot agree with Mlle Henry's assertion that the Nauheim bowl is representative of the fully developed type in this country (*Ibid.*, p. 214). The only effect the form had on British bowls was to alter slightly the shape of the hemispherical type, a form of bowl which was probably existent in Britain during the period under review.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi. pl. xx. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 162, and pl. i. 1.

to become the forerunner of the present series of hanging-bowls; it must have had a prototype, because all the escutcheons which we have mentioned are earlier than the late fourth century. Fortunately, we possess that prototype in the bowl from Finningley, Yorkshire (fig. 4, 1). This bowl, as will be seen, has the same form of rim and neck as the Irchester type, but, in contradistinction to the latter, it possesses a round base. It must, therefore, be earlier than the Irchester bowl, which not being intended for suspension, probably acquired a cupped base so that it might stand upright, and not roll about as the Finningley bowl would do when set upon a table.

Our series really begins with the Finningley bowl. The escutcheons are rather like the Traprain Law specimens, except that the hooks face *inwards*, and their ends simulate the head of a hippocamp.<sup>1</sup> Like the continental imports to which reference has been made, the ends of the hooks fit against the neck of the vessel, and they number three. But whereas the Nauheim bowl had an everted rim, the Finningley specimen had, on the contrary, a sloping inturned neck, so that this arrangement of escutcheon and hook, modelled on the continental counterpart, was not exactly a success here. Thus do we see how already this Finningley bowl is feeling the influence of the Nauheim-Sackrau type, and later we shall watch this influence increase, so that the bodies of the succeeding bowls become increasingly fuller, the walls straighter, and the base, besides becoming flatter, also takes on a wide kick, an idea which was borrowed from the non-hanging Irchester type.

Mr Kendrick has suggested a fourth-century date for the Finningley bowl.<sup>2</sup> That is too late, for it is much earlier than the Irchester type, as we have seen. Also, down the back of the hippocamp's neck, and looking very much like a mane, are four little outstanding knobs. Now, knobs exactly like these occur on a rather rare type of brooch, examples of which have been found at Caerleon,<sup>3</sup> Richborough,<sup>4</sup> Corbridge,<sup>5</sup> and on the Continent at Heddernheim.<sup>6</sup> In each case, on the bows of the fibulæ, are identical knobs; and the analogy between these and the knobs on the hooks of the Finningley bowl is too striking to be entirely ignored. In Britain, these brooches seem to be mostly of early third-century date. Perhaps that is a little too early for the Finningley bowl, but there seems to be no reason why it should not date from the latter half of the same century.

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. 78, p. 164, fig. 14, No. 17. In early third-century deposit.

<sup>4</sup> Third Richborough (Kent) Report, p. 78, pl. ix. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Æl.*, 3rd series, vol. vii. p. 184, figs. 20-21. Attributed to A.D. 150-250.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.



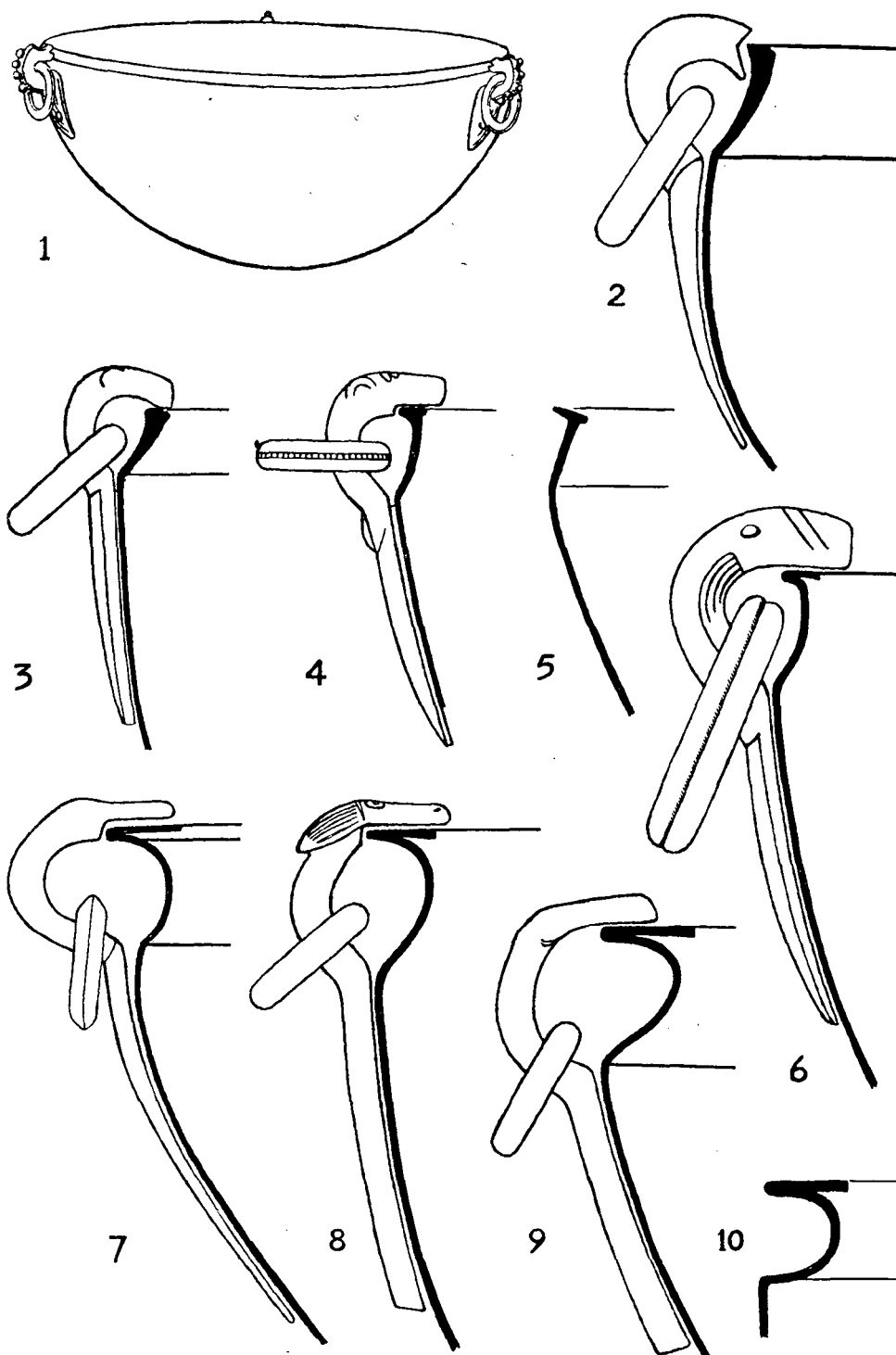


Fig. 4. (1) Bronze Hanging-bowl from Finningley, Yorkshire. Sections of Bronze Hanging-bowls: (2) Chessel Down, Isle of Wight; (3) Baginton, Warwickshire; (4) Castle Tioram, Moldart; (5) Tummel Bridge, Perthshire; (6) Wilton, Wiltshire; (7) Hawnby, Yorkshire; (8) Winchester, Hampshire; (9) Lowbury, Berkshire; (10) Capheaton, Northumberland. (†.) (Nos. 1, 2, 7 after *Antiquity*, vol. vi.; No. 8 after *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xi.)

It was the realisation that the Finningley type of bowl was really unsuited to the new form of escutcheon which occasioned later developments of both rim and hook. But the triple arrangement of hooks facing the interior (as adopted for the Finningley bowl) was not adopted at once everywhere. The maker of the bowl from Sleaford, Lincolnshire,<sup>1</sup> for instance, was of a more conservative nature; for although the bowl is indubitably later than the Finningley bowl—as we can see from its possessing a fuller body and a cupped base—he has preserved the old quadruple arrangement of hooks bent outwards. When, however, we look at the bowl from Chessel Down, Isle of Wight (fig. 4, 2), we see that we are already beyond the start of a rapidly progressive series; for it is obvious that there is a fairly wide gap between this bowl, with its much fuller body, its slightly hollow neck, and its thickening rim, and the specimens from Sleaford and Finningley. And between the Finningley and the Chessel Down bowls we must place those several detached escutcheons from Sarre, Kent,<sup>2</sup> from Newham Bog,<sup>3</sup> and perhaps also those from Twyford, Leicestershire,<sup>4</sup> since all belong to a common form—kite-shaped escutcheons with circular appendages at the bases, and all hooks bearing hippocampic features. The Chessel Down bowl would seem to be about the last of this family, since nothing beyond a V-like moulding has been given to the ends of the hooks, to suggest the opened jaws, and these mouldings here fit against the outer edge of the rim. This has been achieved by moving up the three escutcheons until they were level with the shoulder. The surfaces of the escutcheons are also less convex.

We must mention here the rather unique escutcheon from Basingstoke, Hampshire (fig. 12, 4), which, as Mr Leeds has recently pointed out,<sup>5</sup> belongs to a bowl with a primitive rim. This enamelled escutcheon<sup>6</sup> is clearly of an ornithomorphic form, and it is somewhat reminiscent of later imported Gallo-Roman ornithomorphic fibulæ.

Another example of the hippocampic form, which incidentally introduces us to a new form of openwork escutcheon, comes from Faversham, Kent (fig. 11, 4). Here the hook has assumed the form of a rather lively

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. pl. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi. pl. xxi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, p. 9, footnote 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mile Henry confuses this escutcheon with those from Needham Market, Capheaton, and Faversham (*op. cit.*, p. 229), and includes all four within her Group A, "bowls with patterns similar to those of the champlévé hand-pins, penannular brooches and latchets"—surely a sweeping statement. Apart from the Capheaton bowl, which is Romano-British, the form of the Basingstoke escutcheon, as we have remarked, is not even at home in England, least of all Ireland. It is plainly a copy of an imported design, representative of an art that was purely continental in origin, and which certainly had no direct connection with Celtic art. In addition, the Faversham, Needham Market, and Capheaton bowls are really at opposite ends of the series.

hippocamp,<sup>1</sup> whilst other versions of the same appear on either side of a central Latin cross. A fifth-century date for the piece would seem to be very likely.<sup>2</sup> Of particular importance is the fact that hardly any other form of rim except the Chessel Down type could be made to fit this escutcheon, and this gives us a clue as to when this particular form of rim was current. But, in addition, the Faversham escutcheons (they numbered three) introduce us, for the first time, to the round openwork escutcheon, a type which, a little later, enjoyed a fair though short-lived popularity. In every instance, the obverse is slightly convex.

When, after setting forth the above observations, we take a glance at other two later Kentish bowls (of Group III.), the one from Kingston,<sup>3</sup> the other from Faversham,<sup>4</sup> we begin to realise that there is nothing which we can describe as Celtic (in the sense in which we make use of the term in our Group II.) about the decoration which they bear.<sup>5</sup> All the decorative patterns, especially the dove-like form of the Basingstoke escutcheon and the hippocampic forms of other specimens, are entirely strange to Celtic art. The former is fairly common in Gallo-Roman art, as we have lately pointed out, and the same may be said for the latter, as Mr Leeds has demonstrated.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the ornithomorphic fibulæ already instanced, we can see how the dove-form persisted in Kent, if we look for a moment at the decoration of the so-called quoit brooch from Sarre;<sup>7</sup> another of the same type of brooch, this time from Howletts,<sup>8</sup> shows that there was an equal persistence of the hippocamp in the decoration. And the hippocamp is well represented on objects from the late Gallo-Roman graves at Vermand, Dept. Aisne, as Mr Leeds has said. It is therefore quite easy to see from whence the makers of the bowls included in our Group I. were deriving the patterns which they copied; and since they preferred to adopt patterns common in a foreign art, quite obviously we cannot describe the bowls adorned with these patterns as "Celtic." But, on the other hand, since, as we believe, the bowls were in all probability made by Romanized Britons, there is thus nothing amiss with our describing Group I. as *Romano-British*. The series began, as we saw, just before the third century, and

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 174, fig. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176, pl. iii.

<sup>5</sup> This statement is not meant to imply that the makers themselves were not Celts. What is meant is that to them Celtic Art was as a closed book, and the only patterns with which they were familiar were those which they actually utilised. This seems to suggest that the craftsmen did not come in contact with those who had preserved intact the Celtic art of their forefathers. The latter must have been hidden in the impenetrable wilds. May we suggest, in view of succeeding remarks in Group II., some district north of the Roman Wall?

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-9.

<sup>7</sup> *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, p. 55, fig. 59.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54, fig. 58.

it continued in the south-east of England until the seventh century. The later bowls are included in our Group III.; but they must await our attention until we have disposed of Group II. (Celtic), since the makers of the bowls forming Group III. were all forceably affected by Celtic art at its post-Roman best.

But we must mention here the bowl from Wilton, Wiltshire, since, as it is not a Kentish product, it really belongs to Group I. It is included in Group II. because it was the work of a smith who was endeavouring to imitate a bowl of that group, and it would otherwise have been impossible satisfactorily to analyse the openwork decoration of its escutcheons.

**Group II. (Celtic).**—The Celt was primarily a copyist, so that it need occasion no surprise to discover that the Celts living in the outer world where Rome never ruled began to copy Romano-British bowls when these came into their hands. But these imitations were unknown before the fourth century, and they are represented only by their escutcheons. The earliest specimens were found so far south as Faversham, Kent (fig. 8, 1). Probably the Kentish folk acquired them some years after the date of their manufacture, and they kept them as curiosities; and these pieces would have given them their first glimpse of the art of a school of whose existence they must have hitherto been unaware.

The Faversham escutcheon follows closely the shape of the Traprain Law escutcheons, with their swan's-head hooks; but, in contradistinction to the latter, the hook of the former faces inwards. Its obverse, too, is flat. The decoration which it bears is in the form of scrolls, whose swelling finials have been interlocked in such a way as to form double and triple-spirals, with a single spiral below. The swelling ends of the scrolls have been transformed into ornithomorphic heads, this being a style which was typical of a school which was working in the north,<sup>1</sup> or north-west of Britain. The idea of transforming the finials into ornithomorphic heads "caught on" rather well, but the style did not last very long. We meet it upon Irish lachets and hand-pins, and also upon a penannular brooch with zoomorphic terminals which can be dated to the end of the third or to the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> We also note a similar, but rather earlier, version of the same style on the embossed bronze brooches from Brough, Westmorland, which Professor Collingwood considers to be of third-century date.<sup>3</sup> The style, in weaker form, is

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii, p. 413, brooch No. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæology of Roman Britain*, p. 259.

also evident upon one or two of the Scots handpins. It seems therefore that the Faversham escutcheon and print must be quite as early as the fourth century, and they are the products of a North British school.

Other pieces which were probably also the products of the northern school are the escutcheons and the print (all now lost) from Needham Market, Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> The shape of the escutcheons is clearly an imitation of the Romano-British kite-shaped variety with circular appendage at the base, and, so far as we may judge from the crude illustrations,<sup>2</sup> the Needham Market escutcheons were decorated with simple running scrolls. The style is, in fact, very little different from that of the Faversham escutcheon described above.

We can thus conclude, from our study of the shape and of the decoration of the above escutcheons, that this northern Celtic school was busy turning out very creditable enamel work before the Roman occupation of south Britain came to an end.

And this brings us to the fine bowl from Baginton,<sup>3</sup> Warwickshire (fig. 5 and fig. 4, 3).<sup>4</sup> It is apparent that the maker of this bowl was fully conversant with the Chessel Down type, as may be seen by comparing the respective forms of the bowls, and particularly of the rims. In fact, the Baginton specimen is almost an exact copy of the Chessel Down type of bowl. Nevertheless, it is slightly later, even if similar in form, for the ends of the hooks rest upon the top of the rim of the Baginton bowl, instead of against the outside edge, as was the case with the Chessel Down bowl. In addition, the Baginton escutcheons (there are four of them—a survival of the original Celtic quadruple arrangement) are round, and they bear an openwork design of two laterally opposed palmettes (exactly similar to that of the Castle Tioram escutcheon), surrounded by a border of running scrolls. Whether or not the round escutcheon is an original idea is uncertain: maybe the maker had seen one of the round Romano-British escutcheons, perhaps one of the hippocampic variety, which not only suggested to him the idea of incorporating openwork decoration in the design, but which further suggested the moulding of the hook into a zoomorphic form.<sup>5</sup> But if he borrowed these

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, vol. vi. p. 245.

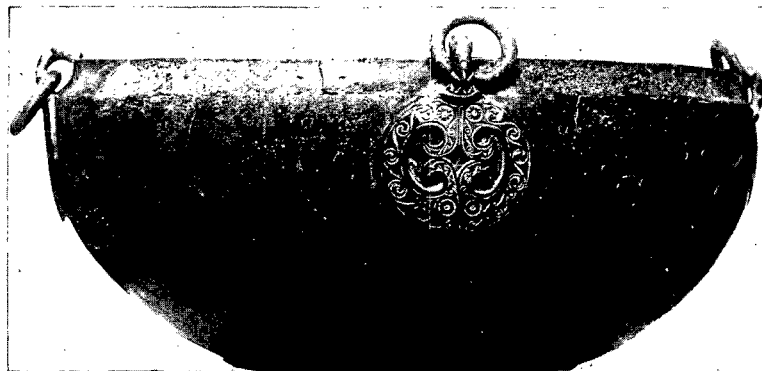
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xv. p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Since the Baginton bowl is now in private hands, it was not found possible to obtain the required section, and that shown in fig. 4, 3 is taken off the photograph, fig. 5, 1. I am indebted to Mr D. B. Harden, Assistant Keeper, Ashmolean Museum, for his help in obtaining information about the bowl.

<sup>5</sup> Zoomorphism was popular in the north during the second to fourth centuries, and in Ireland until the coming of the Vikings. Cf. *P.R.I.A.*, vol. xliii. p. 379 ff. Celtic zoomorphic forms must not be confused with Teutonic animal ornamentation; the two forms are quite distinct and bear little resemblance to one another.

ideas he certainly borrowed no art patterns from the Romano-British school. And what really stamps him as being resolutely Celtic is his



1



2

Fig. 5. Baginton, Warwickshire: (1) Bronze Hanging-bowl (over  $\frac{1}{2}$ ); (2) Enamelled Escutcheons and Print. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

use of an openwork design of two laterally opposed palmettes, since the form which they take here (and, we may add, this also applies to the Castle Tioram escutcheon) is precisely the same as that which was current in Celtic art prior to the Roman conquest of Britain.

This last statement needs substantiation. To this end we have therefore collected together (fig. 6) a number of details from the decorations of various objects, all of pre-Roman date. Fig. 6, *a*, is a degenerate form of an enclosed palmette, of a type familiar to us in classical art. It forms a conspicuous element in the decoration of the fragmentary second-century B.C. hanging-bowl from Cerrig-y-Drudion,<sup>1</sup> to which

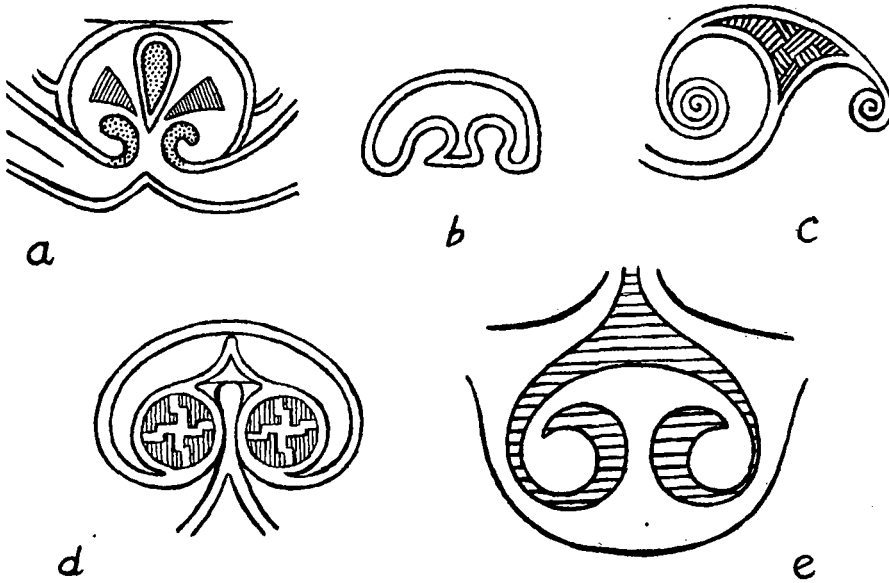


Fig. 6. Palmettes, being details from the decoration of (a) Bowl from Cerrig-y-Drudion, Denbighshire; (b) Sword from River Witham; (c) Sword-scabbard from Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim; (d) Battersea Shield; and (e) Bronze Axle-cap from Thames at Brentford. (Not to scale.)

reference has already been made. A little later comes the Witham sword,<sup>2</sup> and we see (fig. 6, *b*) that already the palmette has lost its leaves,<sup>3</sup> and it has taken on a rather uncertain form—it is, in fact, in a state of flux: but the art was virile, and a little later the now thoroughly degenerate palmette became rather more definite. We would place here the palmettes (fig. 6, *c*) on the sword-scabbard from Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim.<sup>4</sup> Some memory of the original conception of the classical palmette was still in the craftsman's mind, but, although he has effected

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, p. 66, No. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the degeneration of the palmette, see remarks by Mr R. A. Smith in *B.M. Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, pp. 19 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 9, fig. 5.

a regeneration, he has filled in his palmettes with basketry decoration (popular at this time), whilst their tendrils he has twisted into closely wound single spirals. Once this treatment of the tendrils was adopted, it was but a short step to the enclosed palmettes (fig. 6, *d*) of the Battersea shield,<sup>1</sup> the decoration of which has been executed in a manner quite impossible after the first century, and improbable after the end of the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> Little enamelled discs, as we see, have taken the place of the single spirals. If we now look at the palmettes (fig. 6, *e*) on the bronze axle-cap which was recovered from the Thames at Brentford,<sup>3</sup> we observe that it does not take a very long stretch of the imagination to see how this much-simplified form was evolved from the enclosed palmettes of the Battersea shield.<sup>4</sup> The point which we wish to emphasise here is that all these developments had taken place by the second half of the first century B.C., which is the probable date of the axle-cap. Now, if we turn this last detail (fig. 6, *e*) on its side, and consider the hatched parts to be solid metal, and the palmette itself to be cut in openwork fashion, we see that we have the identical openwork decoration of the escutcheons of the Baginton and Castle Tioram bowls. And what is particularly interesting to us is the fact that the motif should have survived in this form completely unchanged throughout the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. This is obviously yet another case of arrested development;<sup>5</sup> but, after sudden exploitation here in the north, the motif, in this form, seems to have vanished completely. The recurrence of the motif on our hanging-bowls shows that, somewhere in the fastnesses of Britain, during the Roman occupation, Celtic art was carefully cherished; but the conditions under which the artists were living were unfavourable to its development.

The Baginton bowl, therefore, with its running scrolls and its openwork palmettes, is an excellent example of Celtic art at this period. And it is the product of a school which was flourishing in the north.<sup>6</sup> Not only have we got a very close parallel to it in the Castle Tioram bowl (and the Tummel Bridge bowl also belongs to the same group), but the running scrolls themselves provide the necessary clues in regard to its origin.

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. lxix. p. 21, fig. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Clear traces of the palmette is how Mr Leeds refers to it (*op. cit.*, p. 59).

<sup>5</sup> See remarks upon brooch No. 56 in *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> It is here that we feel that we must quarrel once more with the views of Mlle Henry. Firstly, the Baginton bowl is not "practically identical with the Wilton bowl" (*J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi, p. 226), and her suggested hypothesis that "we may have here a vase imported from Britain, but with handles and discs redeccorated in Ireland" seems to us to be fantastic. This means that the bowl must have made the double crossing of the Irish Sea, a most improbable happening, for we must remember that it was actually found, in what must have been a Saxon interment, in Warwickshire.



If we look at the swelling ends of some of these scrolls we note that these ends bear a remarkable resemblance to degenerate ornithomorphic finials, for, in many cases, the all important "eye" is plainly visible (see fig. 7, *a*). But it is clearly a style in process of degeneration. Now, if once more we turn our attention to the Faversham pieces, we can see exactly the same kind of scrolls, but before degeneration set in (fig. 7, *b*); in the latter the scrolls are interlocked, whereas those on the Baginton escutcheons are not.<sup>1</sup> And since there is no doubt at all that the Faversham escutcheon is a North British product, we may say the same for the Baginton bowl.

But, whereas the designs on the Faversham pieces were representative of a "pure" style, we see that by the time the Baginton bowl was made there had been an assimilation of a motif or two from classical sources into the art; for on the enamelled print we can see an excellent representation of the hexafoil motif (fig. 5, 2). This assimilation was probably due to the fact that the Celtic artists were now beginning to realise that their art was a little arid, and they wished to avoid monotonous repetition.

The type of hexafoil motif which we have on the Baginton print is that which Dr Hencken has called Type B (fig. 7, *d*).<sup>2</sup> Dr Hencken has also provided us with a most useful list of all objects known to him upon which the hexafoil motif, or six-petalled rosette as he calls it, appears.<sup>3</sup> On referring to this list, under the sub-title *Britain, Roman Period*, we note that; with the single exception of the Lanchester altar (which has, incidentally, a bilingual inscription upon it), all the objects bearing the hexafoil motif have it in Type A (fig. 7, *c*). Now it is curious that Type A is unknown in Celtic art until a late period—probably not before the seventh century in England, and certainly not before the ninth century in Ireland—yet on early objects of Celtic workmanship in Britain, it is always Type B which appears first. Does this indicate, we wonder, that Type B was a Celtic adaptation of Type A?<sup>4</sup> Not every one,

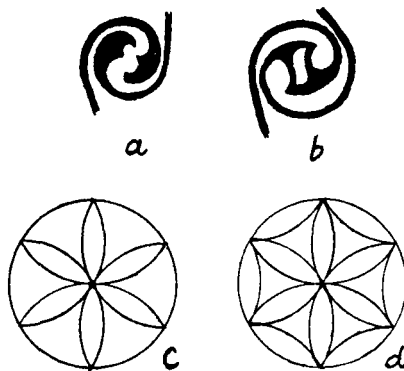


Fig. 7. (*a*) Scrolls on escutcheon from Baginton, Warwickshire; (*b*) Scrolls on print from Faversham, Kent; (*c*) Hexafoil motif, Type A; (*d*) Hexafoil motif, Type B.

<sup>1</sup> This point may be appreciated better by reference to *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xv. pl. xi. 2, left-hand escutcheon.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> We are not forgetting, of course, that Type B also occurs during the Roman period on the Continent, as Dr Hencken's list shows.

probably, would have known how to produce Type B,<sup>1</sup> and the secret may have been held by only a few artificers. Whatever its origin, the hexafoil motif, Type B, was placed in the pattern book of the North British school, and it eventually found its way into Ireland.

As for running scrolls, there seems to be no reason why they should not have been developed from the broken-backed scroll of pre-Roman times, under the influence of the la Tène S-turn. The broken-backed scroll is represented in the north. We have it especially well represented on the embossed bronze plaque from Lambay Island, Co. Dublin,<sup>2</sup> which can be assigned to the first half of the first century A.D.<sup>3</sup> It would not have been a difficult matter to develop the running scroll from the rather tenuous, broken-backed scroll displayed on this plaque.

Not very much later than the Baginton bowl is our new hanging-bowl from Castle Tioram, Moidart (fig. 2, 1, and fig. 4, 4). The openwork decoration of the escutcheons, consisting of two laterally opposed palmettes, is identical with that of the Baginton escutcheons. But developments have taken place elsewhere. The rim of the bowl has been hammered down from above, giving to it a sort of T-girder form, whilst the neck will be seen to be less hollow. The hook, here in more pronounced zoomorphic form than we had it on the Baginton bowl, is not so hooked; the head is horizontal, whilst it has been filed down underneath so that it might rest upon, and be parallel with, the upper surface of the rim. This was an idea that was retained for some time. The collar at the base of the hooks of the Castle Tioram bowl is of larger dimensions than those of the Baginton escutcheons, and it bears two small oval panels. The ladder decoration which appears on the suspension ring (fig. 2, 1 b) is a form of ornamentation which is common on Irish penannular brooches during the third and fourth centuries A.D.<sup>4</sup> The other Scots bowl, the specimen from Tummel Bridge, Perthshire<sup>5</sup> (fig. 2, 3, and fig. 4, 5) is later than the Castle Tioram bowl. The neck has straightened out, whilst the rim has been hammered down to a far greater extent than before. This must have been an extremely laborious process upon metal so thin. But of particular interest is the openwork decoration of the escutcheon (here shown restored). Here, instead of two laterally

<sup>1</sup> Type B was produced quite simply by drawing a line through the points of any two petals, and repeating this for the next two petals on either side of the first two. These two lines were extended until they met, and the point of intersection was the centre of a circle whose arc was inscribed between the points of the middle pair of petals. This was repeated five times. Although simple, the method could easily be forgotten in a primitive community.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, fig. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 413, on brooches of Group B.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxii. p. 268.

opposed palmettes, we have four openwork palmettes (of exactly the same type as those of the Castle Tioram and Baginton escutcheons) arranged in a quadripartite design; whilst, in addition, the obverse of the escutcheon is now almost flat.

And so we come to the famous hanging-bowl from Wilton, Wiltshire (fig. 12, 1, and fig. 4, 6). This bowl, as we have said, really belongs to Group I.; but we have had to consider it here because it is the only specimen of its type. Without it we should have been unable to enlarge upon the form of succeeding bowls in the present group, because we should not have known how the transformation from a solid to a fold-over rim occurred; for all our later bowls possess fold-over rims.

The Wilton bowl was made by a craftsman of the Romano-British school—our Group I. He must have seen a bowl exactly like the Tummel Bridge specimen, and he set about copying it; but he was entirely ignorant of Celtic art, so that the quadripartite openwork pattern of four palmettes had no meaning for him. Instead, he mistook the central metal part of the escutcheons for a quadripartite design of four peltæ, the pelta doubtless being a motif with which he was already familiar; so that, when he made the four escutcheons of the Wilton Bowl, he reproduced these (presumed) peltæ in openwork fashion, preserving an identical arrangement. He failed rather miserably, however, when he endeavoured to reproduce the zoomorphic hooks; for the hooks of the Tummel Bridge bowl must have been very like those of the Castle Tioram specimen. The rather curious eyes had no import for him, so he indicated their existence by means of two simple, parallel incisions. He mistook the ears for eyes. The result of his handiwork is a rather angular, wooden-looking beast. The ladder ornamentation of the rings was far too finicking for him, so a single deep incision sufficed here. But, when he came to reproduce the rim of the bowl, he was fully equal to the occasion. To hammer it down, to produce the T-girder effect, was a laborious business; so he solved the problem first by bending the edge of the rim outwards, and then by neatly folding it over upon itself. The effect was the same. In fact, the idea was revolutionary, so that the old hammered-down rim eventually vanished completely. In this way the fold-over rim came into existence, and this type of rim is typical of all the following bowls of Group II.

Many escutcheons exist as isolated units. This was due to the fact that once a bowl had become too cracked for further use our Saxon thieves liked to preserve the discs as trinkets,<sup>1</sup> and of these we pick out

<sup>1</sup> As, for instance, at Camerton, Somerset (*Ant. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 53). The Oxford disc also has a hole in it near the circumference, so that it might be suspended.

fig. 8, 2, as being the earliest.<sup>1</sup> It was found in grave 76 at Kingston, Kent.<sup>2</sup> The disc is rather pleasing by its very simplicity, and it hardly seems to be at home in Kent. The design is a simple one of three linked triskeles, themselves laid out in triquetral fashion, and executed with all the characteristic Celtic feeling for curvilinear ornament. In the particular arrangement adopted here we have the foundations of all later patterns; and of importance is the method adopted for linking up the triskeles, by interlocking them at a common point in the middle of the disc and by extending the remaining arms of each, just within the circumference, until they meet and interlock.

The first of the two enamelled discs from Stoke Golding, Leicestershire<sup>3</sup> (fig. 8, 3), shows that the first development was in conjunction with double-spirals. But this precluded any interlocking in the middle of the disc: otherwise the arrangement is the same. When, however, double-spirals gave way to triple-spirals, we return to precisely the same arrangement as obtained on the Kingston disc. The second Stoke Golding enamelled disc (fig. 8, 4) is similar to the first, except that the end of each third scroll has been brought round to the centre, where all three were interlocked. These finials, however, for the first time, possess swelling ends, thus heralding the trumpet form on the later discs; whilst three little leaflets have been introduced at the centre to show that each finial is really separate from the others. This was the first step to the isolation of each triple-spiral as a unit in the design.

Further experimentation led to the adoption of a fourth spiral in the middle of the disc, and a specimen which exhibits this central spiral, as yet imperfect, is the first enamelled disc from Camerton, Somerset<sup>4</sup> (fig. 8, 5). The adoption of this fourth central triple-spiral raised problems which the craftsman seemed unable satisfactorily to solve; and one cause of this confusion was the fact that it was now becoming the custom to provide all scrolls with trumpet finials. To interlock two plain ends at right angles to one another was a simple matter, but to join, at a common point and at right angles to one another, two trumpet finials with their attendant leaflets was considerably more difficult of achievement. Only in one instance has the craftsman who made the first Camerton disc succeeded more or less satisfactorily, whilst he has made no attempt whatever to provide the central triple-spiral with swelling ends. The maker of the second Camerton disc (fig. 8, 6) laid aside the

<sup>1</sup> No one is going to convince us that these discs belong to the bowl to which they are at present attached.

<sup>2</sup> Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 55, pl. xvi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xii. p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 53.

problem of the central spiral, and instead devoted his attention to the remaining three triple-spirals with the purpose of perfecting them, and this, we note, he has achieved rather well. Here all the little leaflets, indicating the terminations of the interlocking developed trumpets, are thoroughly in order. A third leaflet has been added in the angle formed by the junction at right angles of the trumpet ends, whilst a fourth has been introduced into the red enamel filling, perhaps because the enamel was likewise supposed to possess trumpet characteristics. This fourth leaflet had not been incorporated in the first Camerton disc. Lastly, it will be observed that the introduction of these leaflets was gradually bringing about the isolation of each triple-spiral from its fellows. And to accentuate the developed trumpet effect the spirals themselves became thin and tenuous.

It is curious to note how the triquetral conception persisted down the centuries, a persistence that is very well exemplified in the second Camerton disc. For we see that the corners formed by the interlocking trumpet finials, just within the circumference, have been slightly extended, and additions, in the form of other two arms to each such corner, have been made, thus forming a supplement to the design of three additional triskeles, the extended arms of which have been made to enclose the central pattern, thereby indicating that the arrangement, which we noted on the Kingston disc, was still current practice, the only essential difference being the elaboration of the pattern as a whole.

The only problem which still remained to be solved was that of the central triple-spiral. We lack a suitable disc, demonstrating the intermediate stage between experimentation and perfection; but perfection has been attained in the Oxford disc (fig. 8, 7). Here also, in addition to the usual red enamel, yellow enamel has been added as a filling for the spirals and for the outer trumpet ends. Another escutcheon that may be more or less contemporary with the Oxford disc is that from Middleton Moor, Derbyshire (fig. 10, 1). Here also we include another escutcheon, this time a bird-shaped specimen, from Benniworth, Lincolnshire<sup>1</sup> (fig. 8, 8). We only include it here because the technique employed seems to be very similar to that of the Oxford disc. It shows a Celtic pattern applied to a Romano-British form of escutcheon. But it is an enigma; the design is late, but the style and the shape of the escutcheon itself indicate that it should be more or less contemporary with the Oxford disc.

Mr Kendrick has postulated a theory<sup>2</sup> to the effect that the pelta played an important part in the evolution of the interlocked spirals

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xvi. p. 98.  
VOL. LXXI.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 169.

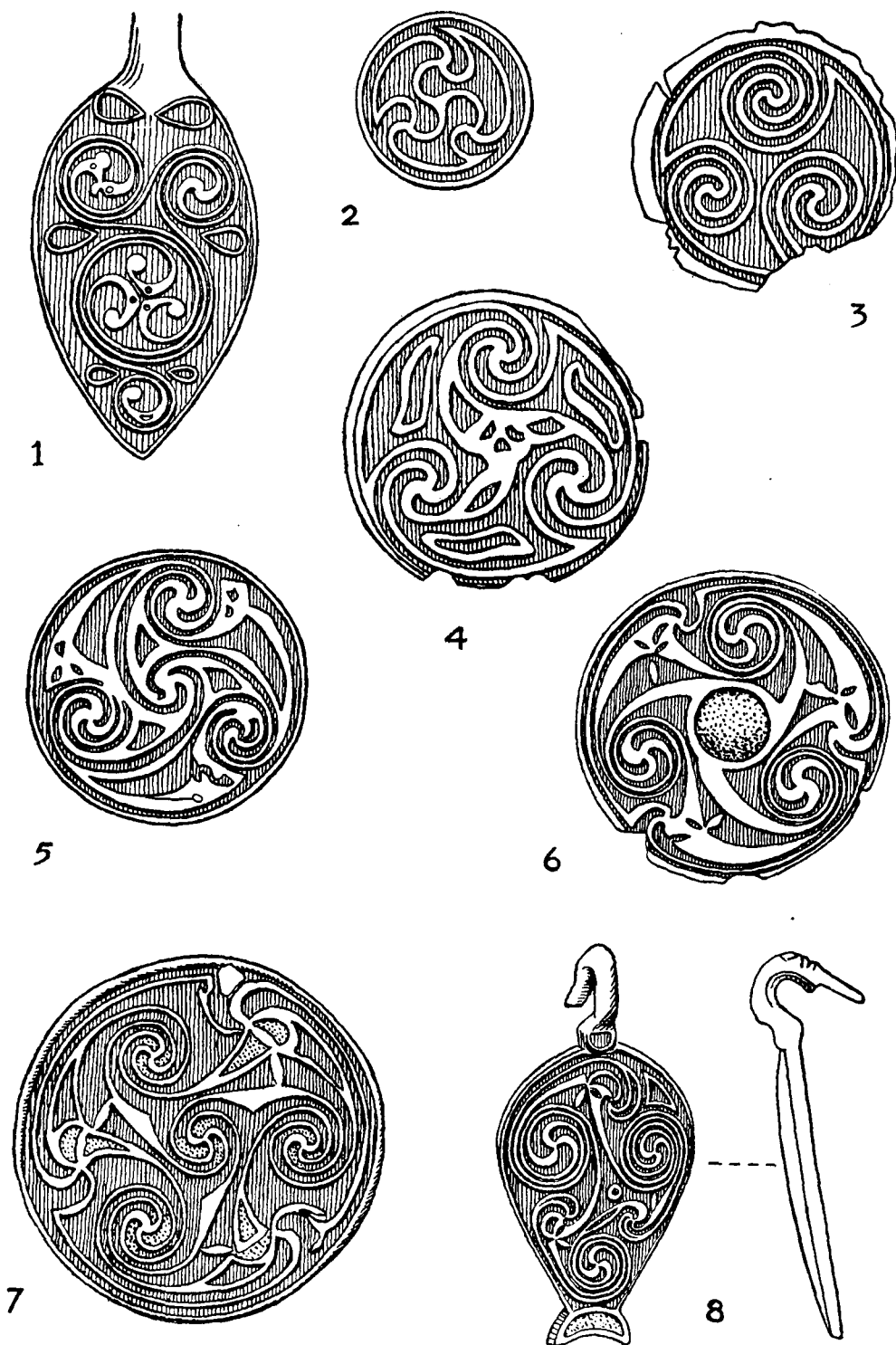


Fig. 8. Enamelled Hanging-bowl escutcheons and discs of same: (1) Faversham, Kent; (2) Kingston, Kent; (3 and 4) Stoke Golding, Leicestershire; (5 and 6) Camerton, Somerset; (7) Near Oxford; (8) Benniworth, Lincolnshire. (All  $\frac{1}{2}$ , except 1, 3, 4  $\frac{1}{4}$ .) (Nos. 1, 8 after Leeds; Nos. 2, 7 after *Antiquity*, vol. vi.; Nos. 3-6 after *Ant. Journ.*, vols. x. and xii.)

that adorn the above discs. Mr Leeds concurs.<sup>1</sup> We are to suppose that, in order to produce the above patterns, three pelta-like scrolls were set on edge, in reference to the circumference of the disc, in such a manner that all three could be interlocked at the centre of the disc. The suggestion is ingenious, if forced, and we might have been tempted to concur also but for the fact that our present study has shown how the whole pattern of the Oxford disc was but a development of the simple design on the Kingston disc, and that the whole basis of that design was the *triskele* and not the pelta. In fact, the pelta, as a classical motif, and therefore foreign to Celtic art, had considerably less influence on the

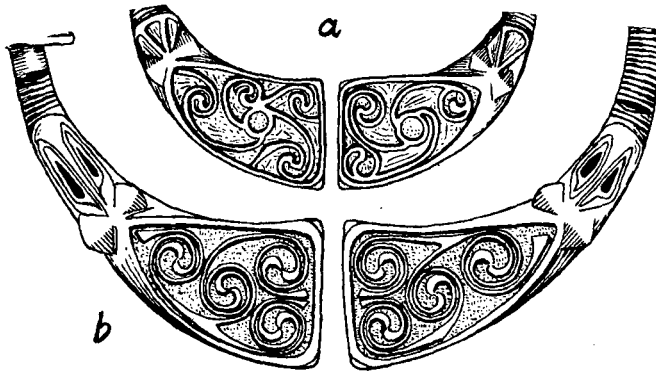


Fig. 9. Enamelled zoomorphic terminals of penannular Brooches from Ireland. (†.)

development of patterns in Celtic art than is generally conceded. Apart from the openwork peltæ of the Wilton bowl, there is not one single instance in which the pelta played any part at all in the development of the patterns upon the present series of escutcheons. Those who uphold this pelta theory even see the motif's extending influence in the early manuscripts and in Irish art generally. It is not true: it cannot be proved.

But to demonstrate that our present derivation of the design, on the Oxford disc, from a triquetral motif is really justified, we illustrate (fig. 9) two objects which were made in a country which may be said to have been considerably less influenced by classical art than was the case with Britain. These two penannular brooches with zoomorphic terminals from Ireland show that the development of the spiral in that country was along similar lines to that outlined for the present series of escutcheons. We have already shown how the design of fig. 9, a,

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 149; *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archæology*, p. 12.

was evolved from the triskele, by a process which began by bending the ends of the arms of that motif into single spirals.<sup>1</sup> Here, on this mid-fifth century brooch, we not only see how such a triskele had to be distorted so that it might fit in the rather irregular space available on the terminal, but how an effort has been made to link up these scrolls as a result of the single giving way to the double-spiral. And in regard to the double-spirals themselves that element of confusion which is visible is that which is nearly always present in Celtic art during the early stages in the evolution of a design. In addition, the free ends as yet show little or no signs of swelling. But when we look at the second brooch (fig. 9, *b*), which is of early sixth-century manufacture, we not only see how all these little difficulties of arrangement have been overcome, but we also note the now swelling ends of the spirals, and the fact that a fourth spiral has taken the place of the circle of opaque enamel in the centre of the design on the terminals of the first brooch. And where the swelling finials of the spirals have been interlocked, we note that they have automatically lost their trumpet character; but that character could easily be restored by the introduction of a leaflet at the junction of these ends. It is purely for this reason that we have placed the Oxford and Middleton Moor discs in their present position in the evolutionary sequence; and the same reason has occasioned our placing the Greenwich and Hitchin escutcheons (fig. 10, 2 and 3) after these two discs, because in the last two specimens we see the introduction of those leaflets which we have lately mentioned, thereby restoring the full trumpet character to these interlocked ends, and incidentally bringing about the complete isolation of each individual triple-spiral.

The Hitchin disc shows the pattern, whose evolution we have studied, in its purest and fully developed form. But, as was usual in Celtic art, once perfection had been attained, decadence was the general law; and, in the case of our escutcheons, decadence began with the central spiral and with the three little triskeles which, as we saw, formed additions to the corners made by the linking at right angles to one another of the outer trumpet finials. If we look at the escutcheon from Chesterton-on-Fossway, Warwickshire<sup>2</sup> (fig. 10, 4), we see that one arm of each of these little triskeles has been curtailed, and instead each is joined to a circle which surrounds the whole design, and which is just within the

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 415. At last we see eye to eye with Mlle Henry, for she also believes that the spiral originated by coiling the ends of the arms of the triskele (*J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi. p. 233).

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. 56, p. 43; *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ii. p. 162; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. iii. p. 282.



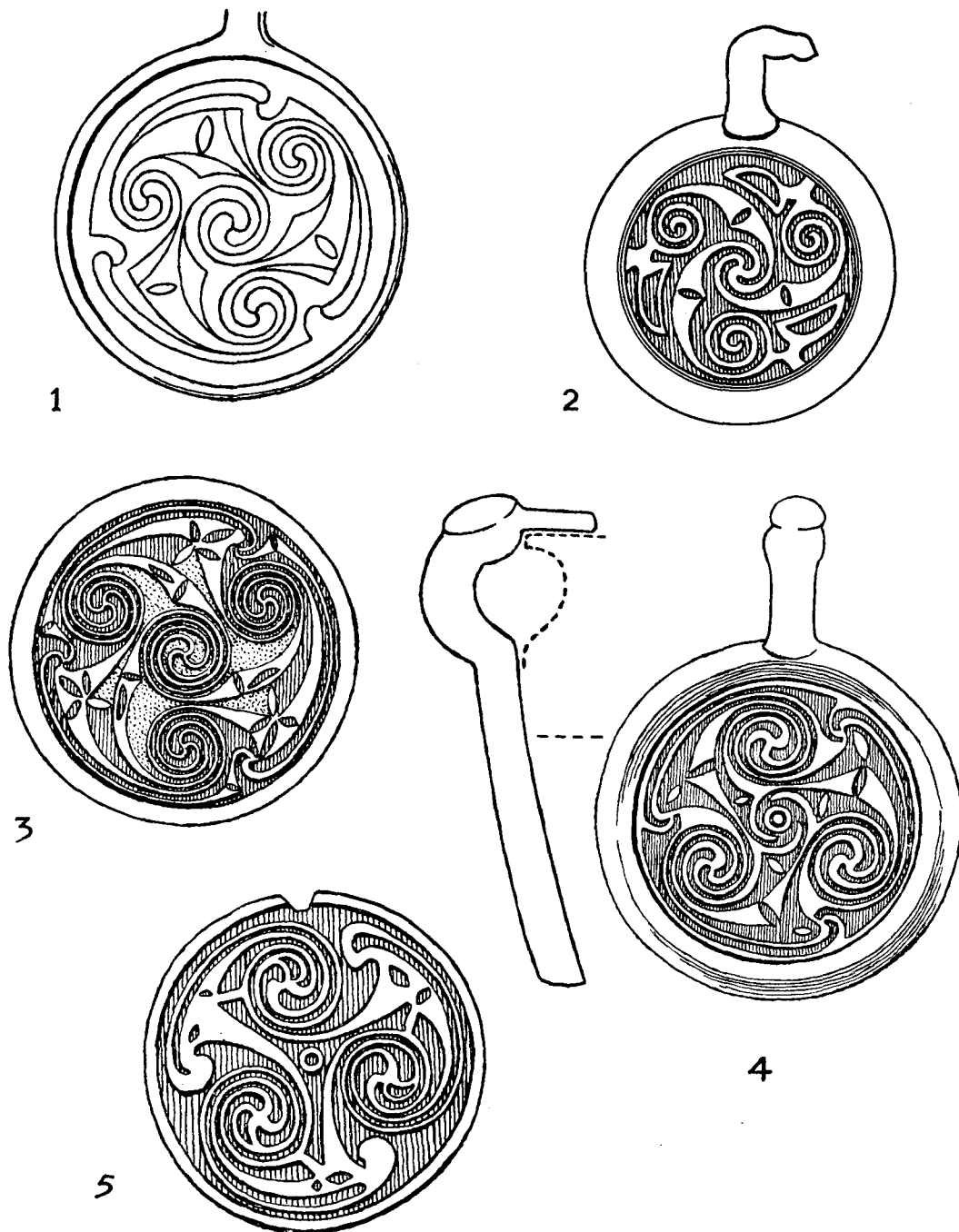


Fig. 10. Enamelled Hanging-bowl escutcheons: (1) Middleton Moor, Derbyshire; (2) Greenwich; (3) Hitchin, Hertfordshire; (4) Chesterton-on-Fossway, Warwickshire; (5) Oving, Buckinghamshire. (†.)  
 (Nos. 1, 3 after *Antiquity*, vol. vi.; No. 2 after Leeds; No. 4 after Romilly Allen; No. 5 after *V.C.H. Bucks.*)

circumference. In the disc from Oving, Buckinghamshire<sup>1</sup> (fig. 10, 5) this circle, together with the third arm of each little triskele, has vanished. In the Chesterton-on-Fossway disc we also note how the central triple-spiral was breaking up, and this brought confusion to the outer trumpet finials. Three of these have already vanished; whilst their three counterparts have been stuck on to the outer scrolls, since otherwise they would have floated about in isolation. Later, the rather detached-looking inner trumpet ends were merged into these floating finials, and the latter once more left the scrolls free. The result of this re-arrangement is to be seen in the disc from Oving (fig. 10, 5).

The substitution of double for triple spirals occasioned a further simplification of the design. This may be clearly seen from a glance at the escutcheons (fig. 11, 1) of the famous Winchester bowl.<sup>2</sup> What were formerly the second arms of the little triskeles near the circumference have now been run off into the border, for lack of the third scroll to which they should have been attached. This idea persisted in the Barrington, Cambridgeshire, disc (fig. 11, 2), which, therefore, is probably more or less contemporary with the Winchester bowl; but in the case of the escutcheons of the bowl from Lowbury Hill, Berkshire<sup>3</sup> (fig. 11, 3), these second arms of the little border triskeles have vanished completely.

Throughout this degeneration of design we have noticed an increasing tendency to boldness, and the effect was enhanced by tinning the metal. But of particular importance is the fact that, as a result of this process of decadence, the spirals themselves (in the Winchester, Barrington, Lowbury group) were no longer interlocked; they became separate scrolls with trumpet finials. This is a characteristic feature of all late spirals, as we may observe by reference to the Book of Durrow. On the ornamental page<sup>4</sup> opposite the preface of St Jerome's epistle we find, within circular borders, just the kind of spirals which we have lately seen on the Winchester escutcheons. The scrolls are the same in both cases; but in the Book of Durrow, to provide the circular border, we find a combination of two triple and one double scroll, a necessary combination if the pattern were to be surrounded by such a spiral border. A further point of interest is the fact that each link is itself in the form of a developed trumpet finial, complete with the usual four leaves, and very similar to those on the Winchester escutcheons. Elsewhere on the same ornamental page are other circles containing triple-scrolls which closely resemble, in arrangement, those of the Hitchin disc; but they differ

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Bucks*, vol. i. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xi. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> D. Atkinson, *Lowbury*, pp. 18-21, pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, vol. i. pl. viii.

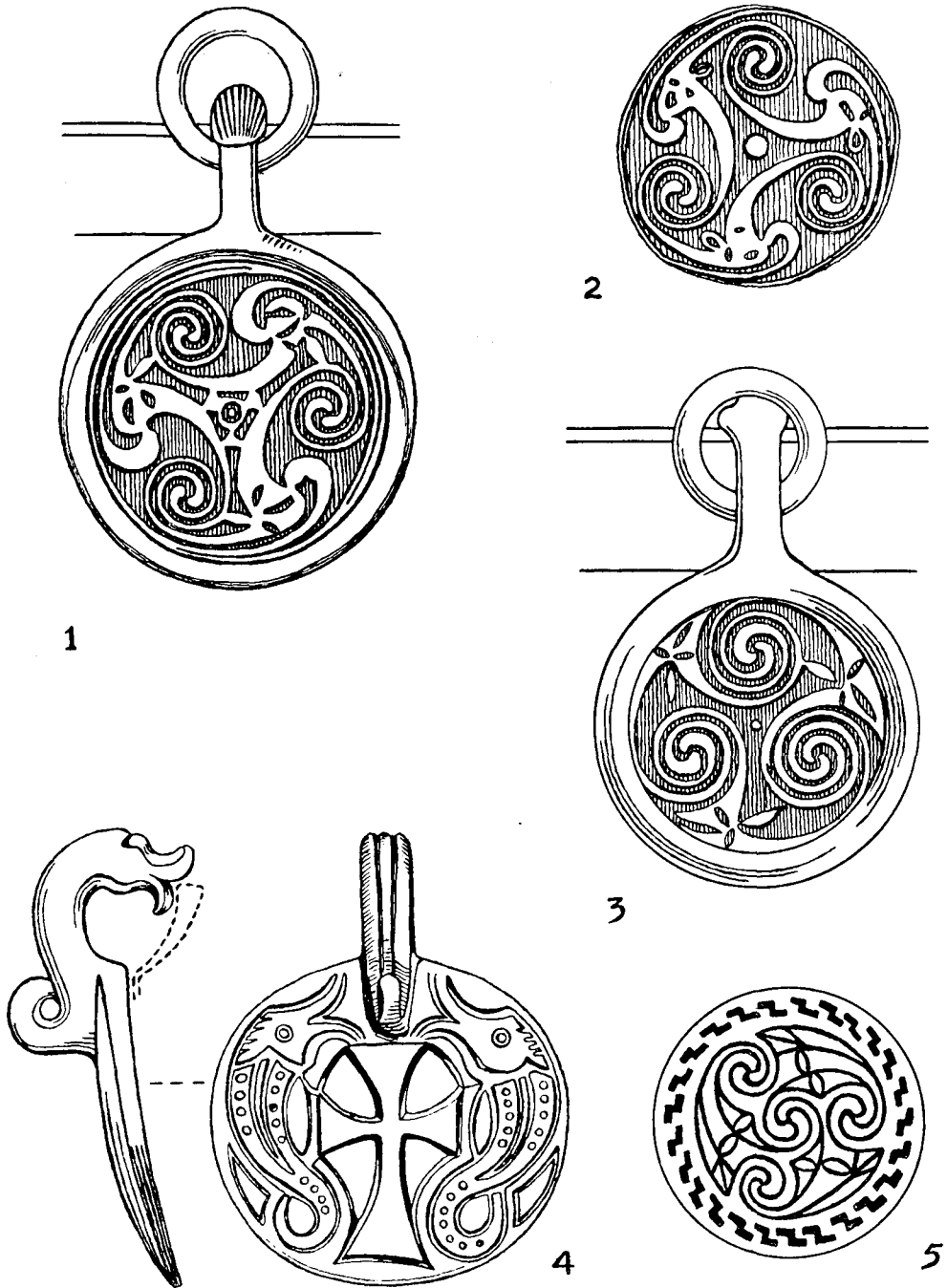


Fig. 11. Enamelled and non-enamelled Hanging-bowl escutcheons: (1) Winchester, Hampshire; (2) Barrington, Cambridgeshire; (3) Lowbury Hill, Berkshire; (4) Faversham, Kent; (5) Lullingstone, Kent. (‡.)

(No. 1 after *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xi.; No. 2 after Leeds; No. 3 after Atkinson; No. 4 after *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*; No. 5 after *Antiquity*, vol. vi.)

from the latter in that, like the double-scrolls noted above, they are not interlocked—they exist as separate scrolls. Here again we can cite a parallel in the Winchester bowl, for upon the print are identical triple-scrolls.<sup>1</sup>

If we now turn our attention to the forms of the bowls which we have been discussing, we see that we have additional support for our chronological sequence. We have only to compare No. 8 with No. 9 of fig. 4 (the Winchester with the Lowbury bowl) in order to see what a crude imitation is the latter of the former. The tendency was, apart from the degeneration of the zoomorphic hook, for the neck to become more and more hollow, until finally it became semicircular (fig. 4, 10). Incidentally, this sequence helps us to place the Hawnby bowl (fig. 4, 7) in its correct place. Its hook is ornithomorphic rather than zoomorphic—a sure trade-mark of the Romano-British group, and therefore it belongs to Group I.—and comparison of its profile with that of the Winchester bowl shows that it is rather earlier than the latter.

**Group III. (Kentish)** (sub-group of Group I.).—We have now to consider a group of hanging-bowls which may be said to have been the productions of a school that was working apparently almost exclusively in Kent. Not only were most of these bowls found actually within the county boundaries, but three (the bowls from Faversham, Dover, and Lullingstone) possess applied metal strips connecting escutcheons to a base-ring. In no other group is that peculiarity found. We are thus led to believe that, not only was there a fairly active school in existence in Kent, but that that school itself seemed to come into existence as the result of our Romano-British school losing vitality in the north, where once it seemed to be fairly active. In fact, the Kentish school seems to have come into being as the result of a mass concentration of craftsmen in that county, since the traditions which it preserved were essentially those with which we became familiar in Group I.; but, in contradistinction to the craftsmen of Group I., those responsible for the bowls of Group III. had been forcibly affected by contact with the art of Group II. The history of Group III., therefore, is practically a chronicle of an endeavour, lasting for two centuries at least, to understand the ever-changing patterns in Celtic art, and perhaps the reason why the craftsmen never rose above mediocrity was owing to the fact that, just because Celtic art was never static, they were continually

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that the drawing of the print in *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xi., is incorrect. It represents the scrolls as being all interlocked; whereas, if reference be made to the photograph of the same print in *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 176, pl. vi., No. 2, it will be clearly observed that the scrolls are *not* interlocked. Accuracy in the depiction of spirals cannot be too strongly stressed.

finding it necessary to interpret a design which never appeared twice in exactly the same form.

These Kentish craftsmen had already become engulfed in the tedium of repetition before they beheld the Faversham pieces (fig. 8, 1), which, we remember, were the products of a Celtic school working in the north. These pieces were the representatives of an art which was entirely new to them, an art of whose existence they had been previously unaware. The craftsmen were at pains to understand the pattern: but why not copy it? And this they did, in the technique of their own school. We see the result of their efforts in the case of the escutcheons and base-ring of the bowl from Barlaston, Staffordshire <sup>1</sup> (fig. 12, 2). The swastika-like design with barbaric, bird-like finials, which we have upon the escutcheons, is but a poor imitation—a vulgar reflection—of the northern style. The southern origin <sup>2</sup> of the bowl is evident because of the adoption of this very swastika-like design; and we may say that it is a piece of Kentish work because it possessed, as in the case of the Faversham, Dover, Lullingstone bowls, strips of applied metal joining the escutcheons to a base-ring ornamented with a design of linked palmettes. But the local art was not entirely forgotten; the hooks of the escutcheons have been fashioned to that beloved hippocampic form so popular in Group I. The bowl itself, as we may see from the remains of the clumsy, cast rim, is very much in the Chessel Down tradition; but that does not imply that the two were contemporary.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. 56, p. 42. Mlle Henry (*J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. lxvi, p. 237) thinks that this bowl is the product of the Celtic school. She does not state her reasons for this assertion. But any one who cares to compare the Barlaston escutcheons with any single specimen of our Group II. will see what a really clumsy object it is, with nothing of the traditional Celtic feeling for curvilinear ornament about it, so that it cannot be Celtic. It is Romano-British. Mr Kendrick (*Antiquity*, vol. vi, p. 174), like Mlle Henry, also thinks that the Barlaston bowl must be a product of the Celtic school. We entirely disagree. It was made, not by a member of the Celtic school, but by ignorant men who were attempting to recapture something of the spirit of the Celtic school, after having lived in an era of stupid ugliness. Along with the Barlaston escutcheons Mr Kendrick also includes the Northumberland specimen, and he groups all under a sub-heading "Ultimate la Tène Series." Since, as we shall show, the Northumberland escutcheon is likewise the product of Romano-British imitators, there is therefore no such art as "Ultimate la Tène Art," so named by Mr Kendrick because he thought that "the old art was dying" (*op. cit.*, p. 177). Mr Leeds (*Celtic Ornament*, p. 141) would go even further; and he applies the term to the ornament upon penannular brooches, hand-pins, and lachets. It is difficult to understand why he should have done so, because there is nothing "ultimate" about the decoration of these objects. Instead, the designs are representative of an art which, even if a little arid in conception at first, slowly increased in vigour during the interim period between the third and sixth centuries, and finally blossomed in the seventh century. Certainly, the art was definitely not dying. The term "ultimate" should be discarded forthwith, because it is inapplicable to the period under consideration.

To return to the bowls: strangely enough, Mr Kendrick compares the technique of the Barlaston work with similar work on Romano-British trumpet brooches, yet instead of seeing that the Barlaston bowl is really the work of the descendants of the same craftsmen he thinks instead that it must be Celtic.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 147.

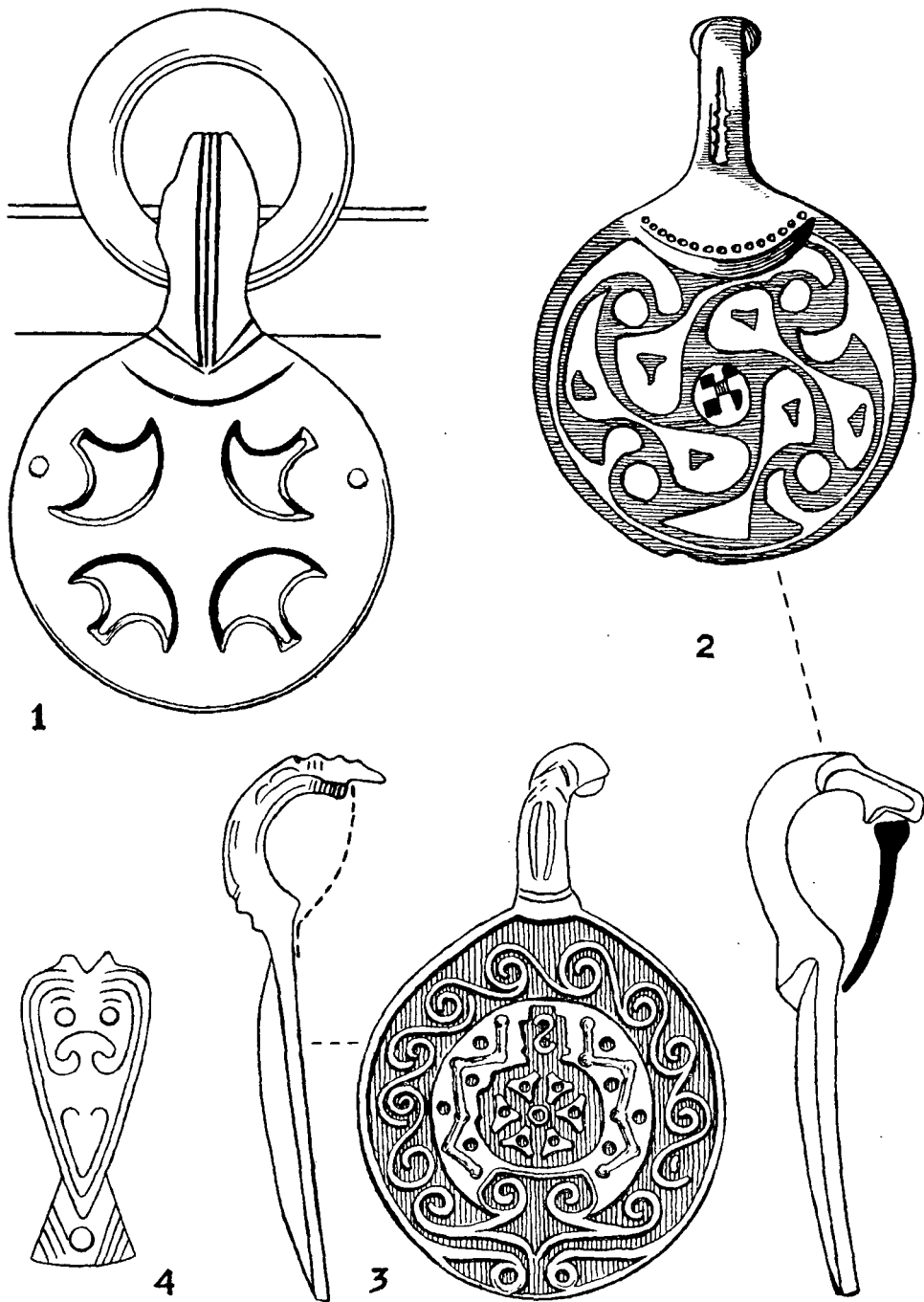


Fig. 12. Non-enamelled and enamelled Hanging-bowl escutcheons: (1) Wilton, Wiltshire; (2) Barlaston, Staffordshire; (3) Dover, Kent; (4) Basingstoke, Hampshire. (1.) (No. 2 after Romilly Allen; Nos. 3 and 4 after *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xxii.)

The escutcheons and print from Dover (one of which is illustrated in fig. 12, 3) are just as much at home in Kent. From the form of hook we see that the bowl must have been rather like the Barlaston specimen. And on the Dover escutcheon which we illustrate we see the result of further imitation of the northern (Celtic) art. The border of rather lifeless, stiff-looking, and sometimes disconnected running scrolls looks very like the result of a feeble attempt to imitate such running scrolls as those which we saw on the Baginton escutcheons. Also, in the centre of the Dover escutcheon, the hexafoil motif, Type B, appears once more, a type which, as we saw, appeared chiefly on post-Roman Celtic work. In addition, between the petals of the motif and in the centres of the spherical triangles which constitute the spaces in between these petals, appear rather clumsy dots. Now, it was a characteristic feature of Celtic art that these spaces should be invariably filled with little punched dots. This is particularly true in the case of the motif's first appearance upon metalwork in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> where it is always of Type B, but later reverts to Type A. There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the maker of the Dover escutcheon<sup>2</sup> must have got his hexafoil motif, not directly from classical sources, but from a North British school of metal workers.

There were apparently some craftsmen, however, in our Kentish school who remained unaffected by the contact which had been made with the work of the North British school. They were content with their few stock patterns. There are two bowls which remain to us, the work of these smiths: the first was found at Faversham<sup>3</sup> and the second at Kingston.<sup>4</sup> The Faversham bowl has the simple, inturned neck and rim, but the neck is more or less straight, showing that the bowl is a later specimen than the Chessel Down bowl. The escutcheons are round and enamelled, and they number three. They bear upon them a pattern which looks rather like a Greek cross, or it could even be taken for a quatrefoil version of the hexafoil motif.<sup>5</sup> Actually, the design appears to be suggestive of the Chi Rho monogram, in which all traces of the Rho have vanished. We can see other versions of the same, with but a faint indication of

<sup>1</sup> As, for instance, upon lachets (*B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, p. 132, fig. 171) and upon penannular brooches (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 435, brooch No. 64; IPEK, 1935, 30).

<sup>2</sup> We have nothing to add to, and we entirely support what Mr Kendrick has said about the other Dover pieces (*Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 169), viz.: "That they are executed in the tradition of a recognised and famous school of Romano-British enamelling, the school that was producing at the beginning of the second century such gaudy works as the West Lothian patera and the Bartlow Hills cup."

<sup>3</sup> The bowl is illustrated in *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 176, pl. iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174, fig. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ant. Journ.*, vol. xv. p. 112.

the Rho, on the Whithorn slab,<sup>1</sup> and also upon the Raasay cross-slabs,<sup>2</sup> on one of which the symbol is almost identical with that on the Faversham escutcheons. The technique is the same, if due allowance be made for the difference in the material employed. The same pattern appears upon the print of the Kingston bowl, and also upon one of the discs found at Camerton, Somerset,<sup>3</sup> a disc which was apparently more precious to its owner than the previous two specimens mentioned before. There is probably little doubt that the above is the true interpretation of the design. The prints on the Faversham bowl bear upon them Teutonic animal decoration, whilst upon the applied strips and base-ring is Roman-looking foliate decoration, as Mr Kendrick has pointed out.

The rim of the Kingston bowl exhibits an interesting departure from current practice. It is made up of a flat, circular ring which has been soldered on to the top of the neck, thus producing a T-form of rim. This is obviously nothing beyond a substitute for the hammered-down rim of the Tummel Bridge bowl, and it was an imitative trick devised before he who made the Wilton bowl had so cunningly solved the problem by folding over the rim in the manner already described.

Apparently, imitations of the Wilton bowl existed; for in the case of the fragment (in the British Museum) from Morden, we have the four peltæ of the Wilton escutcheons executed as an enamelled disc.<sup>4</sup>

Rather later in style of execution is the escutcheon from Northumberland.<sup>5</sup> The form of the hook indicates that the escutcheon originally belonged to a bowl with a fold-over rim, and one which was not of an early type of this rim. The crude design upon the escutcheon is obviously the result of an attempt at the reproduction of a similar pattern to that upon the Oxford or Middleton Moor discs. The craftsman found the triple-spirals too finicking, and indicated them by a circle of metal as shown. These "spirals" are linked together by clumsy strips of metal which were intended to represent the trumpet finials of the scrolls of our Group II. In Ireland we find similar, unintelligent copies, this time of penannular brooches with zoomorphic terminals, and the reason why the style was so wretched on about seventy-five per cent. of these Irish brooches was because the art itself seemed to be the patent of a few hereditary artists, who had no intention of imparting the secret of their craft to other less fortunate individuals.<sup>6</sup> Those not within this "ring" were, therefore, left to copy puzzling motifs to the best of their

<sup>1</sup> Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. lxxvii. pp. 63-64. See also *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xxii. p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. pp. 379 *et seq.*, for a full discussion upon this theme.



ability—and their ability was not too high. It seems that the Kentish craftsmen were in much the same position as their less fortunate contemporaries in Ireland.

We have now got to consider the vexed problem of the bowl from Lullingstone, Kent.<sup>1</sup> Mr Kendrick thinks that it should not be dated later than A.D. 500.<sup>2</sup> But that is too early. The fact that the bowl possesses four escutcheons should not be used as an argument in favour of an early date, since the bowl has a well-developed fold-over rim, whereas in the previous instances of bowls with four escutcheons the rims were all of the primitive or hammered-down form. It is thus apparent that the quadruple as opposed to the triple arrangement of the escutcheons is no guide to date. The Lullingstone bowl bears escutcheons decorated with a key-pattern border, and these borders enclose a developed trumpet design in a line technique (fig. 11, 5). The design compares very favourably with that on the Hitchin disc, but the former is nothing more than a crude copy of the latter. But Mr Kendrick argues that, just because the Lullingstone discs are actually in this line technique, and seem to be the work of a craftsman not well used to the design,<sup>3</sup> they must of necessity be the forerunners of all those discs bearing developed trumpet patterns which we considered in Group II. Were that so, our present chronological sequence would be entirely at fault; but Mr Kendrick's theory breaks down when we begin to try and estimate the place of the Kingston, Stoke Golding, and Camerton discs in the series, and when we realise that this coarse line technique is nowhere evident in Group II. The Lullingstone escutcheons exhibit none of the characteristic Celtic "feeling" for fine curvilinear ornament; they are entirely alien to the Celtic school, and may be classified with the Barlaston and Northumberland escutcheons. They are, in fact, the most credible achievement on the part of the Romano-British craftsmen which we have so far encountered; and, granted that, we have the explanation of the coarse-line technique and of that element of confusion which occurred in the handling of the trumpet finials. And, quite obviously, the Lullingstone bowl cannot be the forerunner of the present series when it is realised that the pattern on the escutcheons is but a vague reflection of the pattern which we saw on the Hitchin disc.

We now turn to the applied strips of metal which are so evident a feature of the Lullingstone bowl. We have strips, joining escutcheons to a base-ring, and ornamented with heavy zigzags which seem to be there as the result of a wayward fancy. At the junction of strips and

<sup>1</sup> The bowl is illustrated in *Antiquity*, vol. vi. p. 176, pl. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

base-ring are small discs ornamented with a jolly little Teutonic animal interlacement pattern. When we look at this pattern and then at the triple knot artfully interwoven with the tines of the deer's<sup>1</sup> horns we see at once that, instead of the bowl being the forerunner of the series, as Mr Kendrick supposed, it actually comes very near the end of that series of bowls with developed trumpet-pattern discs. But, even if these instances are insufficient to convince the reader that the bowl is really late, let us look now at the rather peculiar axe-shaped plates which have been applied to the bowl, one on either side of each escutcheon. Here we have to face the fact that these axe-like plates bear plait-work ornamentation, which we recognise as having been an inheritance from the art of the Teutonic brigands who ousted the Britons from their native heaths, and converted the southern part of our island into what is now known as England. Now skein-work ornamentation can hardly be said to have made its appearance in England before the close of the sixth century, as Mr Leeds assures us,<sup>2</sup> so that its presence on these plates on the Lullingstone bowl is the most powerful argument against Mr Kendrick's suggested late fifth-century date. Moreover, if we look carefully at the entrelac on these plates we see that some of it looks very like an amateur's attempt at copying the work of the professional artificer, from which fact we may conclude that the plates were not decorated before skein-work ornament had become sufficiently general to tempt the Kentish craftsmen to imitate it. Thus the bowl cannot be even latest sixth century, and must, perforce, be of seventh-century manufacture.

A curious parallel to the arrangement of a central disc flanked by two axe-shaped plates, which we have on the Lullingstone bowl, may be seen upon the remains of the wooden shield found in the Saxon barrow at Caenby, Lincolnshire.<sup>3</sup> Here the arrangement is the same, and the plates likewise bear similar ornamentation. There was also in this burial an embossed silver disc showing a zone of animal interacements. All the above goes to show that the burial probably dates from the first half of the seventh century, as Mr Reginald Smith has suggested.<sup>4</sup>

When we sum up our remarks about the Lullingstone bowl we see that it cannot be anything but an early seventh-century production. And since the disc bearing the developed trumpet pattern is in a similar technique to the remainder of the decoration upon the bowl, we have

<sup>1</sup> Dr Hencken has rightly drawn attention to the style of the stag (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xliii. p. 201).

<sup>2</sup> *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 30, pl. xv.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, p. 86.

here a most valuable guide for dating the discs of Group II. The Lullingstone bowl was made by a Romanized Kentish craftsman who was endeavouring to combine both Celtic and Teutonic motifs upon a single piece of work. The result of his handiwork is a very extraordinary achievement.

A less ambitious attempt was the bowl from Capheaton, Northumberland<sup>1</sup> (fig. 4, 10). This specimen and the second Basingstoke bowl<sup>2</sup> must be the latest of our present series, for in both cases the hollow neck is semicircular in section. The discs of the Capheaton bowl are, unfortunately, missing; but we note that they were enclosed within a key-pattern border. The Capheaton bowl has the hexafoil motif, Type A, engraved upon the wide kick in the base, and the Basingstoke bowl bears the same motif in multiple form.

We are now in a position to hazard a few remarks in regard to the age of individual specimens. But any remarks about the dating of these bowls must necessarily be purely of a general character, since we are only too well aware that the associated finds (if any) throw very little light indeed upon the question, and have, on the contrary, rather the reverse effect. It was, of course, the apparent care with which these bowls were preserved which is at the root of our troubles. We have only got to remember the association of an early specimen, having a primitive rim, with a late form of bowl at Basingstoke to realise that the presence of a bowl in a Saxon grave along with dateable objects of Teutonic origin might rather have the reverse effect of clarifying the issue. It is, therefore, almost solely upon the analogy of each escutcheon's decoration with that of other dateable objects that we depend for our present system of dating.

We began with the second-century Newstead escutcheons of Group I. The Traprain Law specimens looked like third-century pieces; and we assigned a late third-century date to the Finningley bowl, because the hippocamp's "mane" seemed to bear a striking resemblance to the outstanding knobs on certain third-century fibulæ. But for the Sleaford, Chessel Down, and Basingstoke bowls we had no dates, and we can only say here that they must belong to the interim period between the late third-century and the fifth-century date of the Faversham escutcheons. We are handicapped by the fact that few of these bowls bear ornamentation of any sort.

When we turn to Group II. the problem becomes a little easier of

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Æl.*, vol. viii., 4th series, pl. facing p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xxii., p. 83.

solution. The small kite-shaped escutcheon from Faversham is undoubtedly of fourth-century manufacture. We are confident about this owing to the fact that the scrolls upon it possess ornithomorphic finials, and this is characteristic of a style which we have seen upon many objects of Irish origin; and we quoted the instance of a penannular brooch which can be dated to the early fourth century. The style was fairly short-lived, and it is impossible to consider the Faversham pieces to be other than of fourth-century manufacture. The Needham Market escutcheons and print belong to the same century. When we come to the Baginton bowl we see the same style in process of degeneration, and it is probable, therefore, that the bowl belongs to the first years of the fifth century. The Castle Tioram bowl is not very much later, and it may also be said to belong to the first half of the fifth century. The Tummel Bridge bowl had been buried with silver penannular brooches which we consider to be of fifth-century manufacture, and it is possible that the bowl may belong to the middle or to the latter half of that century. The Wilton bowl, although a copy of the Tummel Bridge type, may quite conceivably be a generation or more later, since imitations usually post-date originals by some years. Possibly, therefore, the Wilton bowl belongs to the first half of the sixth century.

Unfortunately, for the remaining bowls and discs of Group II. there are but few parallels. But we have noted that the style of the Oxford and the Middleton Moor discs is very much akin to that of the early sixth-century penannular brooch of fig. 9, *b*, except that, in the case of the discs, the style is rather more advanced. We may, therefore, say that the Oxford and Middleton Moor discs are probably also of early sixth-century manufacture. We say this because we believe that the art was as advanced in Ireland as it was in Britain. The type of pattern which we see upon the *Hitchin* disc we also see reflected in the design upon the terminals of one of the Irish penannular brooches.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the enamel filling on the terminals of this brooch is in more than one colour. But the brooch is crude because it is the work of a copyist, which also means that we must allow for a certain lag. The brooch itself belongs to the latter half of the sixth century: it is possible that the *Hitchin* disc may belong to about the middle of the same period. We have nothing, apart from an Irish disc, itself undateable, with which to compare the Chesterton-on-Fossway and Oving escutcheons; but the Winchester, Barrington, and Lowbury scrolls compare very favourably with the spirals of the Book of Durrow, as we have pointed out. It seems impossible, therefore, that these specimens can be other than

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Roy. Irish Academy*, vol. xliii. p. 430, upon the terminals of brooch No. 57.

of mid-seventh century manufacture; and, granted that, we may say that the Chesterton-on-Fossway and Oving escutcheons belong to the early seventh century.

It is a more difficult matter to deal satisfactorily with Group III., since the craftsmen were nothing more than mere copyists, and the work of copyists, as we have learnt elsewhere, is never contemporary with the work of the originators. The question is—how are we to determine the degree of lag affecting all bowls of Group III.? We have one useful guide, however, in the Lullingstone bowl. The pattern on its escutcheons is a copy of that on the Hitchin disc, but since the former belongs to the first half of the seventh century, and the latter to the latter half of the sixth century, we have thus a difference of at least a generation in length. We might consider this degree of lag to have been even more pronounced in the case of the early specimens, such as the escutcheons from Barlaston, and we are prepared to allow here a difference of even so much as half a century in length between the period of manufacture of these pieces and that of the originals. By adopting this scheme, we can consider the Barlaston specimens to be of late fourth-century manufacture, since the pattern is nothing more than a crude, clumsy copy of a fourth-century northern style; the Dover escutcheon to be of mid-fifth century manufacture, since it seems to reflect the style seen on the Baginton escutcheons; the Kingston bowl to belong to the end of the fifth century, since its rim is a type midway between that of the Tummel Bridge and that of the Wilton bowls; the Morden disc to be more or less contemporary with the Wilton bowl, since both were the work of copyists, and the Northumberland escutcheon to be of late sixth-century manufacture, since it is but a crude copy of a pattern similar to that on the Oxford disc. The Faversham bowl would then belong to the latter half of the fifth century, being rather earlier in form than the Kingston bowl, whilst the Capheaton and Basingstoke bowls must belong to the latter half of the seventh century, since the semicircular hollow neck is a rather more advanced form than that of the Lowbury bowl.

Many of these hanging-bowls, as we know, were found in Saxon graves. In particular, the Winchester and Lowbury bowls were found in seventh-century Saxon burials.<sup>1</sup> And it was because so many were found in Saxon burials, and because their distribution is almost entirely confined to that part of Britain which had passed under Saxon domination by the end of the sixth century (see fig. 13) that they were once looked upon as being Saxon, or to have been made by Celts working

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi. pp. 182-83.

for Saxon masters. Mr Kendrick has very effectively disposed of these notions,<sup>1</sup> and we need only remark here that the Saxons had no hand at

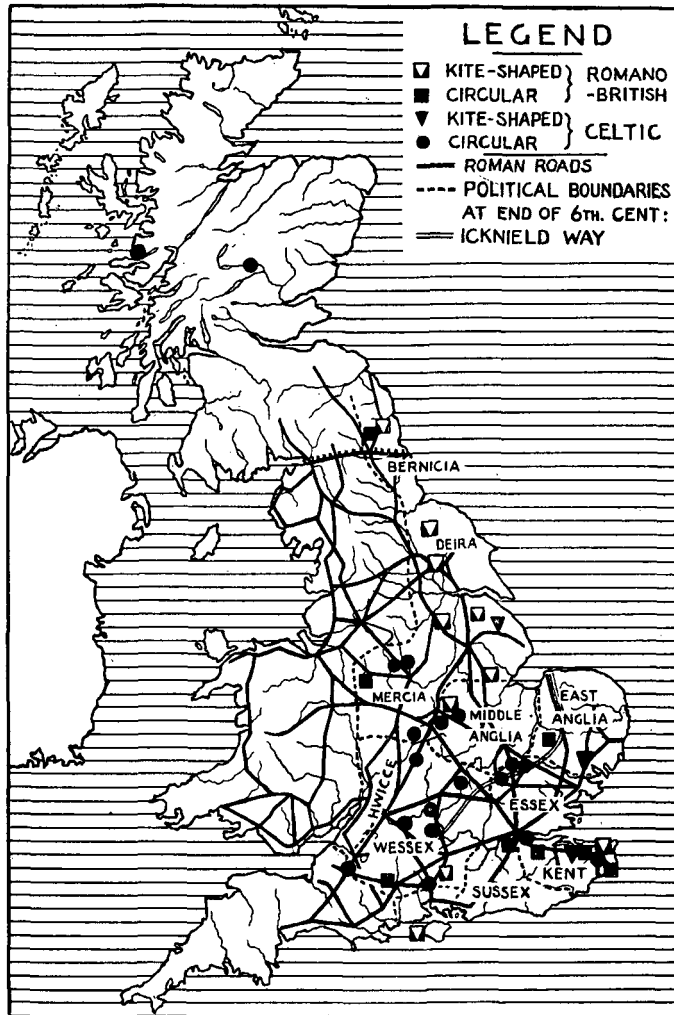


Fig. 13. Distribution-map of Bronze Hanging-bowls in Britain.

all in the bowl-making industry. We have, however, to face some very positive assertions about the lessons to be learnt from the distribution of the bowls. Mr Kendrick thinks that the bowls were made exclusively

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. vi., pp. 181 ff.

in England. Mlle Henry would prefer to believe that they (or most of them) are Irish work.<sup>1</sup> Mr Clapham sees Pictish influence in the designs,<sup>2</sup> whilst Mr Leeds considers them to belong chiefly to the south-east.<sup>3</sup> Professor Collingwood is a little more emphatic. He is convinced that "they (the bowls) are an indigenous product of Romano-British art, in its latest phase, and in the most Romanized part of the country."<sup>4</sup> He thinks further that "the analysis of their ornament and the map of their distribution conspire to prove that the revival of Celtic art to which they testify was not due to a refertilisation of the old stock by new influences washed back from the outer Celtic world where Rome had never ruled, but was thrown up by that old stock itself, out of its own continuing vitality." With the majority of these conclusions we cannot agree.

When faced with such lack of unanimity of opinion, it seems that the moment is opportune for a reconsideration and a revaluation of the available evidence. What does the distribution map (fig. 13) reveal? To begin with Group I: we note that all these Romano-British bowls are confined to the east side of our island, and they have been found on sites as far apart as Kent and Northumberland. There are strays in the Isle of Wight, and in Hampshire and in Wiltshire. Two points are to be noted about this distribution: the first is that the bowls are confined to the civil districts of Roman Britain, and the second is that these same districts were the first to suffer at the hands of Saxon raiders. The first point is important, as it clearly demonstrates that these bowls are an indigenous product of Romano-British art, as Professor Collingwood has said. The second point would help to account for the survival of some of them. It is interesting to note also that most of these bowls have come from the civil districts in the north. The reason is obscure. But if the early bowls seem to be northern products, the later Romano-British bowls (our Group III.) are almost exclusively Kentish. What does this sudden and complete change of locality mean? It means that as Roman power waned in the north, and conditions became increasingly intolerable as a result of constant barbarian raids, the Romano-British craftsmen followed their Roman protectors into the only corner of England where some semblance of law and order was maintained—that is into Kent. At Richborough it was found that an intensive occupation of the site had lasted well into the fifth century,<sup>5</sup> and regular communication with the Continent is also suggested. But

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, vol. lxvi. pp. 209 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquity*, vol. viii. pp. 43 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Celtic Ornament*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman Britain*, p. 259.

<sup>5</sup> *Second Richborough Report*, p. 8.

a question that must remain unanswered is—why should these Romano-British craftsmen have found it possible, after the Roman government ended some years before 429, to continue uninterruptedly their craft in Kent right to the end of the seventh century? It would almost seem as though the Saxon conquest was nothing more than a peaceful penetration, and that the new masters of the land refrained from interference in the native arts and crafts. Indeed, the relationship between conqueror and conquered must have been rather happier than we might have been led to suppose, since it was even possible to come by authentic pieces of Celtic work (probably stolen by the Saxons) and to copy, or attempt to copy, these at leisure.

The history of the Celtic school, or schools, whose products make up our Group II., is considerably more complicated. At the beginning of that history, the school was existent in the north. We recognised as early products of this school the bowls and escutcheons from Faversham, Needham Market, Baginton, Castle Tioram, and Tummel Bridge. Their decoration showed that they were North British products. Now it is curious that all these specimens (the Baginton bowl excepted) were found on sites far removed from the find-spots of the later bowls of this group. The earliest, the Faversham and Needham Market escutcheons, came from an area covered by the distribution of Group I., so that it is possible that they may have been traded to these districts in Roman times. They were certainly made during the last century of Roman rule, as we have seen, and, since they are decorated in a "pure" Celtic style, they were probably made outside the civil districts. The Castle Tioram and Tummel Bridge bowls are sufficiently far north to suggest that there were good trade connections with the North of Scotland. The Baginton bowl was undoubtedly stolen by a Saxon in the north-west. Since, in the treatment of the decoration of these bowls, there is a degree of freedom not to be found at this time in the south, we may say that our school existed in some district where Rome had never ruled. Galloway at once suggests itself. There is no reason why this school should not have been in close contact with others in Northern Ireland; this is suggested by the discovery of the so-called water-clock at Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim,<sup>1</sup> which is an exactly similar form of hemispherical bowl, with a wide kick in the base, as that with which we have been dealing. But the Lisnacrogghera bowl was not made to hang, and the rim is of a different form, although it has the same dimensions as the Castle Tioram bowl.

The vaguest chapter in the history of the hanging-bowls is that

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, p. 163, fig. 105.



which deals with the remaining specimens of Group II. Nearly all these bowls are grouped in the middle and middle-west of England, as we see from the map, fig. 13. They barely penetrate to the east; and the specimens found in Cambridgeshire were undoubtedly taken there along the Icknield Way. The distribution of these bowls suggests that Wales might have been a likely centre of manufacture, but that country has not yielded a single specimen. The same may be said for Cornwall and the highland zone in England. Although developed trumpet patterns exist in Scotland, the style is not Scots. There is thus only Ireland left as a possible source of the art. It has often been argued that the art in Britain cannot have been "refertilised" from Ireland because in that country the art was considered to have been inferior, and because there was little that could be regarded as a parallel to the British development. Such conclusions were premature, because we are now beginning to discover that an exactly similar art, in no way inferior, did actually exist in Ireland at exactly the same period, and it followed almost precisely the same line of development. This at once suggests intimate interconnections. It even seems that the art may have been more at home in Ireland than in Britain, since in the former country we have it applied to a variety of objects. But, unfortunately, Irish hanging-bowls are conspicuous by their absence. This does not mean that it is unlikely that any will be found in the future. When so fine a thing as the Ballinderry lamp can reward an excavator for his skilful investigations in recent years, it is quite possible that someone may yet discover a bowl or two belonging to the period in question, especially since a disc bearing upon it a pattern rather like that of the Chesterton-on-Fossway escutcheons was recently found by Dr Hencken in the Lagore crannog.<sup>1</sup> This disc might have been the work of the bowl-makers themselves. Then, as we saw, we had a similar pattern to that upon the Hitchin disc reflected in the work of a late sixth-century copyist, who was responsible for the penannular brooch bearing this crude imitation. Spirals like those on the Oxford disc made their appearance on an early sixth-century Irish penannular brooch. In fact, the art of both England and Ireland at this time appears to be so similar that we might almost regard both countries as having formed a single art province but for the awkward fact that yellow enamel appears to be unknown in Ireland—or at least it was not used—at this time.<sup>2</sup> It is true that one of the Irish penannular brooches referred to has been enamelled in more than one colour, but we look in vain for yellow enamel. On the other

<sup>1</sup> Particulars kindly supplied by Dr Hencken.

<sup>2</sup> Yellow enamel was in fairly common use in the eighth century in Ireland.

BRITISH HANGING-BOWLS.  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

PERIOD.	GROUP I.		GROUP II.		GROUP III.	
	KITE-SHAPED ESCUTCHEONS.	CIRCULAR ESCUTCHEONS.	KITE-SHAPED ESCUTCHEONS.	CIRCULAR ESCUTCHEONS.	KITE-SHAPED ESCUTCHEONS.	CIRCULAR ESCUTCHEONS.
2ND CENTRY.	NEWSTEAD					
3RD CENTRY.	TRAPRAIN FINNINGLEY					
4TH CENTRY.	SLEAFORD CHESEL DOWN		FAVERSHAM NEEDHAM MARKET			BARLSTON
5TH CENTRY.	BASINGSTOKE (?)	FAVERSHAM		BAGINTON CASTLE TIORAM TUMMEL BRIDGE KINGSTON		DOVER FAVERSHAM KINGSTON
6TH CENTRY.		WILTON		STOKE GOLDING CAMERTON OXFORD MIDDLETON MOOR GREENWICH HITCHIN		MORDEN MILDENHALL (?) NORTHUMBERLAND
7TH CENTRY.	HAWNBY			CHESTERTON OVING WINCHESTER BARRINGTON LOWBURY		LULLINGSTONE CAPHEATON BASINGSTOKE

hand, the Oxford, Benniworth, and Hitchin escutcheons had fillings of both red and yellow enamel, whilst the Barrington disc is enamelled entirely in yellow.

What, then, can we say about the distribution of the later bowls and discs of Group II.? We can only say that, as Roman power waned in the west, and indeed throughout Britain, the Celtic enamellers (members perhaps of the North British school) began to return to those districts which had recently been evacuated by the Romans, and in these same districts they began to make their bowls. These artificers may have been on good terms with the Irish. There was certainly a cultural relationship with Ireland in the early third century, but beyond that we can say little, except that it is obvious that this revival of Celtic art in England was due to its recent re-introduction into that country by Celts who had been living in parts where Rome had never ruled.

It is not surprising to find the latest bowls in Wessex, for we know that the West Saxon penetration of that part of England did not take place before the mid-sixth century, and unstable nomadic conditions must have prevailed for some time after that date. It seems that, as the Saxons penetrated into the west country, they pushed the native smiths farther and farther into the mountain fastnesses, and as they drove them out they managed to loot some of their work. The extent of the use to which the Ickniel Way was put at this time may be judged from the fact that most of the latest bowls of Group II. were actually found at sites on, or very near to, that road, and we are not left in any doubt as to how the Barrington disc reached its find-spot.

In conclusion I have to express my indebtedness to Dr Graham Callander and to Dr Alex. Curle for facilities and permission to examine and draw the Tummel Bridge and Castle Tioram bowls; and to Mr Leeds for permission to reproduce his illustrations of the Baginton bowl. Thanks are also due to the Curator of the Highland Museum, Fort William, for having forwarded the Castle Tioram bowl for inspection.