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63

GERMANIC ANIMAL ART

OF SALIN'S STYLE I
IN FINLAND

BY

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TOIMITTAJA – REDAKTÖR
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PREFACE

This book is a report on a study of the Finnish archaeological material of the so-called Style I in Germanic art. A more detailed account of the object of the study is given in the introductory chapter.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my academic instructor, Professor Ella Kivikoski, who suggested the subject to me, for her invaluable guidance and her never-failing interest and encouragement in the course of the work, which has taken a long time to complete. I am also grateful to Professor Lars Pettersson, Professor of Fine Arts in the University of Helsinki, who read the book in typescript and gave me plenty of useful advice. I am further indebted to the Finnish Antiquities Society for the printing of this work in their series. For valuable technical advice and constructive criticism in the course of my work I am indebted to Professor Holger Arbman (Lund), Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, Dr Wilhelm Holmqvist (Stockholm), Professor Joachim Werner (Munich), and Dr D. M. Wilson (London). My sincere thanks are due also to Dr Nils Cleve, Dr C. A. Nordman and Professor Aarne Äyräpää for their benevolent attitude toward this study. Without separately mentioning names I thank the keepers and other staff members of numerous museums and institutes who kindly gave me the opportunity to take photographs and make sketches of their holdings and to use their libraries during my visits to West Germany, Great Britain and Holland in the years 1958—1959.

I am most grateful to Mrs Impi Haulio, M. A. (Helsinki), for translating the book into English.

My debt is particularly heavy to Dr Hilda R. Ellis Davidson (Welwyn Garden City), who kindly undertook to revise the translation and whose expert knowledge of the field has been an invaluable help to me in finding the proper linguistic expressions for my observations and opinions. My thanks are also due to Professor Tauno F. Mustanoja for his kind assistance at the final stage of the work.

I also gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the Young Research Worker's Fund (Nuorten tieteenharjoittajien apurahat), the Student Corporation of the Viipuri District, the Finnish Culture Foundation, and the Emil Aaltonen Foundation.

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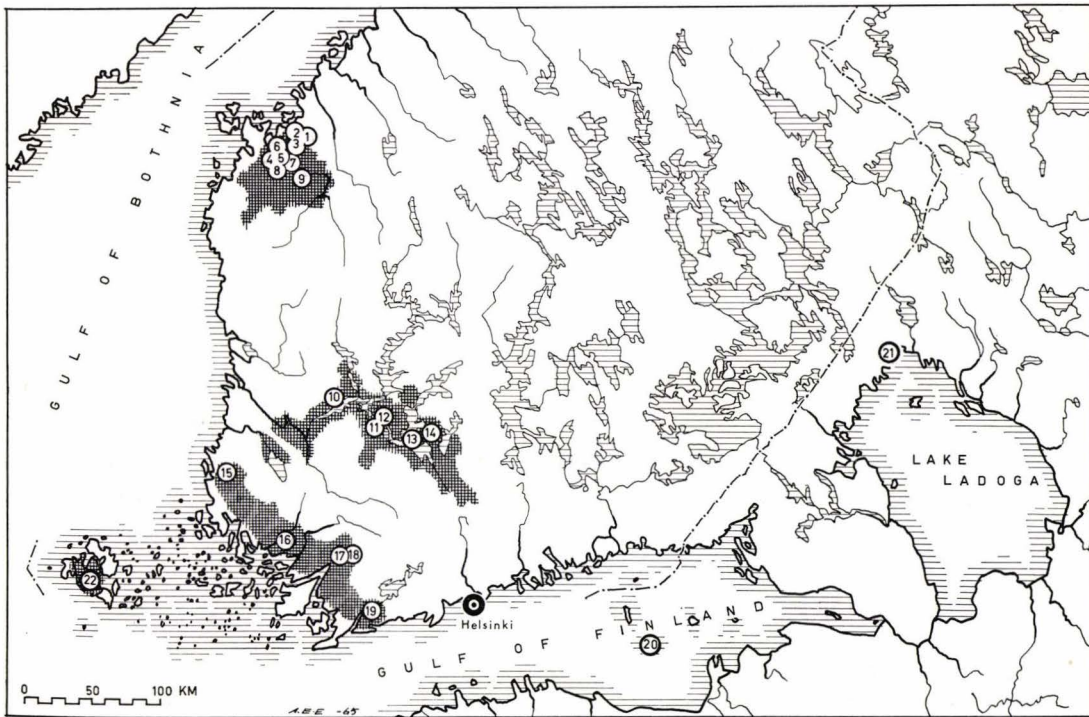


Fig. 1. Sites of finds treated in this book. Shaded areas represent settled areas of Finland during the 5th—6th centuries A.D.

KEY TO MAP OF SITES

Ostrobothnia

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| (1) Tunis | in Vöyri |
| (2) Gullydynt | in Vöyri |
| (3) Lågpelt | in Vöyri |
| (4) Vallinmäki | in Vähäkyrö |
| (5) Kirstinmäki | in Vähäkyrö |
| (6) (7) Mahlaistentönkkä | in Vähäkyrö |
| (8) Koppelonmäki | in Vähäkyrö |
| (9) Kakunmäki | in Ylistaro |

Satakunta and Häme

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| (10) Tuomisto | in Karkku |
| (11) Hiidennokka | in Vesilahti |
| (12) Kirjakka | in Lempäälä |
| (13) Kiillä | in Sääksmäki |
| (14) Lentolankärki | in Hauho |

Southwest Coast of Finland

- | | |
|----------------------|------------|
| (15) Kalmumäki | in Kalanti |
| (16) Vanhalinna | in Lieto |
| (17) Ketohaka | in Salo |
| (18) Palomäki | in Salo |
| (19) Hönsäkerskullen | in Karjaa |

Karelia

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (20) Tytärsaari | in the Gulf of Finland |
| (21) Nukuttalahti | on the shore of Lake Ladoga |

The Ahvenanmaa Islands*

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| (22) Gölby | in Jomala |
|------------|-----------|

* The Swedish name of Ahvenanmaa is *Åland*.

INTRODUCTION

The present investigation is concerned with the phase of ornamental art which Bernhard Salin first called 'Style I' in his work *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik* published in 1904. This phase is the first of Salin's three stylistic groups. He surmised that they represented ornament of Germanic origin in the period which began at the end of the fifth century and ended about 800 A.D. and he regarded the phases as following one another in chronological order.

Salin's work has received much attention and lasting recognition. His classification of styles has persistently retained its position in spite of the fact that several attempts were made, during a period of sixty years when the find material continuously increased and investigation was greatly activated, to criticize his theories of distribution, chronology and origin. Particularly 'Style I' as an archaeological term is firmly established, and its content has not, as far as the material itself is concerned, undergone any noteworthy change since it was defined by Salin. It is true that some proposals were made to change the name: for instance by Haakon Shetelig (*volkevandringsstil*)¹, and A. W. Brøgger (*Nordsjøstil*)², as well as by Sir Thomas Kendrick (*Helmet Style*)³. However, one has to revert, time and again, to the exceedingly practical term of Salin. Thus 'Style I' has secured a place on the title page of the present investigation to describe the material under investigation.

Style I finds occur chiefly in Scandinavia and Southern England, as well as on the Continent, in the areas inhabited by the ancient Franks, Alemanni, Langobards and Gepidi. — Thus the material found in Finland represents the north-eastern periphery and the purpose of the present investigation is to shed light on the essentials of Style I from the point of view of the archaeology of this distant region. The Style I material of Finland forms an integral part of the international distribution as a whole, and thus we must for comparison refer continually to foreign material and to work done abroad up to the present time.

The material treated below is by no means new or undiscussed by scholars. The bulk of the material has been in the possession of museums for decades and much has been written about it. The general trend was to date the finds with the aid of the so-called 'Germanic style' objects which were associated with Scandinavian material, since this in many respects, had richer and greater possibilities for dating. It is this very material that has usually been resorted to when attempting to outline the composition, trade connections, and even the system of government of the ancient people of Finland.

Owing to the influence of Montelius and his contemporaries, Alfred Hackman introduced a way of thinking with his meritorious and fundamental study published in 1905,⁴ according to which the 'German style' objects of the late Iron Age found in our country

¹) SHETELIG 1920.

²) BRØGGER 1925.

³) KENDRICK 1938.

⁴) HACKMAN 1905.

indicate Scandinavian and above all, Swedish cultural influence. In the case of objects decorated in Style I he has, in general, unhesitatingly assumed that they were made in Scandinavia and consequently believed that a mixed East-Baltic and Scandinavian culture prevailed in the richest area of discovery in Finland, in Ostrobothnia.¹

In the archaeology of our country Hackman's opinions were still prevalent nearly half a century after the appearance of this publication, although some criticisms of his theory of the Scandinavian origin of Germanic ornament had already been published. — C. A. Nordman in particular has trusted unflinchingly in the Scandinavian theory. He considers it an established fact that the best Finnish finds decorated in Style I were imported from Sweden.² In one of his articles published in 1944 Nordman stresses the idea of a "strong Swedish expansion" in the direction of Finland as early as the sixth century, i.e. during the supremacy of Style I, which became still stronger in the following century. With eager eloquence he tends to treat our Germanic style finds almost as if they were anthropologically recognized remnants of ancient Swedes. In Nordman's opinion there is no doubt about the fact that one could, on the basis of these objects, draw the conclusion that there were Swedish chieftains in Finland ruling over the Finnish inhabitants.³ — It seems, however, that Nordman's attitude is based on a certain indifference towards logical and fundamental evidence. Not even in our day do the cultural boundaries run in accordance with the national ones, and it is evident that this was still less so in early times. This side of the matter is so apparent that it does not require proof. It is equally apparent that the goods which came from abroad by way of trade and, in particular, the ones now in question do not by any means furnish proof of an invasion by a ruling class. Moreover, the material in question may not prove in the end any more Swedish than Finnish.

The attitude of Finnish scholars towards the question of the origin of Germanic ornament has naturally been largely dependent on the viewpoints of foreign specialists, and it may be admitted that as far as Style I is concerned everything has seemed to argue for a Scandinavian origin. — Opposition has chiefly been directed against the phases thought to precede or succeed Style I. — From the standpoint of the present investigation the theories concerned with the earlier phases are of sufficient interest to justify a short preliminary statement.

Salin, in his extensive investigation covering all Europe, had come to the conclusion that the ornament of the first part of the fifth century (preceding the art of his Style I) was in its techniques and its motifs permeated by Roman influence. He believed that the reason why classical influences spread to Scandinavia lay in the powerful cultural tendencies coming from south-eastern Europe, which when they weakened and finally broke off altogether, left the way open for an independent art development in the northern countries. In the opinion of Salin this development had in the sixth century — and thus, according to his own chronology, at the time of Style I — caused the northern countries, which had previously been the recipients, to become a source of influence on Central Europe, to an ever increasing degree.⁴

As to the factors which brought about the origin of Style I Nils Åberg has, in general,

¹) HACKMAN 1905, p. 349. See also e. g. HACKMAN 1910, p. 55.

²) See e. g. NORDMAN 1937, pp. 493—494 and figs. 9—10.

³) NORDMAN 1944, p. 318 "... Det är intet tvivel om, att här funnits svenska hövdingadömen. Det är

ju också en tid av expansion framom andra i det tidiga Sveaväldets historia: Om ej förr, så fatta svenskarna nu för en tid fäste i Österbottens rika bygd, och i svearnas följe uppträda gutarna här som annorstädes."

⁴) SALIN 1904, see esp. pp. 359—360.

been of the same opinion as Salin. He, however, laid greater stress on the importance of Gothic cultural influence. Like Salin, he held Style I to be a northern phenomenon, but he differed in linking the central region of the style with the North Sea rather than restricting it to Scandinavia alone. It may be noted that Åberg did not consider the northern countries, in comparison with Central Europe, to be as important a source for the art of Style I as did Salin.¹

In his investigations on this subject Sune Lindqvist argued that the impulses came from south to north and not in the opposite direction. He approved of Salin's theories of the preliminary phases of Germanic ornament, but not those concerning the northern activity of Style I. Lindqvist has, however, considered the Style I objects found in Scandinavia to have been made there, and he has unhesitatingly pronounced the brooches ornamented in relief found on Öland and Gotland to be of northern manufacture. Salin expressed the belief that these were imitations of Hungarian brooches, while Åberg believed them to have been brought from northern France. — Likewise, it is worth noting that Lindqvist placed his chronology at a considerably earlier period than Salin and Åberg. He believed that Style I appeared in the early years of the 5th century, while Salin and Åberg had concluded that it originated at the earliest at the end of this century.²

J. E. Forssander was of the opinion that clear traces of provincial Roman influence were visible in the phases that preceded Style I. To his mind the northern Europeans were, at the end of the 4th century, in close contact with the leading Germanic peoples on the Continent both in the East and West. The explanation of the 'Sösdala style', which found its way into Denmark and southern Scandinavia about A. D. 400, and at the same time of the development of animal ornamentation, should be looked for farther west, in cultural relationships with neighbouring peoples in the Rhine area. In Forssander's opinion the 'Sjörup-style', which represented the beginning of Salin's Style I, was already purely Scandinavian, and he dates its beginning to the middle of the 5th century, that is, approximately half way between the datings of Salin and Lindqvist.³

Johannes Brøndsted has outlined a theory of the factors causing the genesis of Germanic ornament which essentially differs from those mentioned above. In his opinion the entire Germanic style development is due to a wave of oriental influence. Brøndsted himself is absolutely convinced of the fact that the contact of the Goths with the semi-classical civilizations of South-East Europe resulted in the penetration of ornamental animals and animal heads into Germanic art. He believes that even such distant factors as the Siberian and Sarmatian animal figures would have had an important influence through late Scythian art. As to the objects decorated in Salin's Style I, Brøndsted, like the above-mentioned investigators, believes them to have been made in the northern countries just as were the later productions of Germanic art. In his opinion, however, Style I did not come into fashion until in the 6th century, that is, in a still later period than Salin and others thought.⁴

In addition to Brøndsted, Herbert Kühn and Gregor Paulsson are among the few investigators who, up to the present time, have earnestly declared that the cultural tendency carried by the Goths from the regions north of the Black Sea to Scandinavia

1) ÅBERG 1924, —1926 and —1953.

2) LINDQVIST 1926, see esp. pp. 12 and 27 fig. 10.

3) FORSSANDER 1937.

4) BRÖNDSTED 1931 and —1940; —1960, see e. g. pp. 309—310.

was the primary cause for the genesis of Germanic ornament. In their opinion Germanic art is made up of elements that come from the Urals, India, Persia, and even China. Among these may be noted both technique and use of raw material such as gold and jewels and, in addition, favourite motifs such as the head of a bird of prey with a strongly curved beak. As to the actual style groups of Salin, both Kühn and Paulsson are, however, ready to recognise also provincial Roman influence and, in accordance with the opinion of archaeologists, they presume that objects decorated in Styles I—III were made near the richest sites; this means primarily in Scandinavia and England and as far as Style II is concerned on the Continent also.¹

Shetelig again has vehemently opposed the theory adopted by these scholars that Germanic ornament in the Migration Period resulted from oriental impulses. He regards this as erroneous and at the same time considers the English scholar Ellis Minns (*Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1913) the instigator and scapegoat for the whole nonsensical theory.² In the opinion of Shetelig the significance of Roman provincial civilization was decisive for Germanic ornamental art in the Migration Period in the 4th and 5th centuries, but by the 6th century the North had already attained complete independence. He particularly stressed the fact that Scandinavia had a national decorative art of its own and that it is possible to distinguish local production from the different parts of the area. Shetelig is absolutely sure that the Migration style of the 6th century (that is, Salin's Style I) was created in the northern countries, and that the southern Germans as well as the Franks, Alemanni, and Langobards copied this Scandinavian style particularly in brooches decorated in relief. In Anglo-Saxon England, too, the Scandinavian style was copied, even though Shetelig humbly admits that the helmets (the Helmet Style) were an original Anglo-Saxon addition to art.³

Like Shetelig Wilhelm Holmqvist showed indifference towards the Oriental theory and expressed his opinion as follows: "The primary home of Germanic animal ornament was, after all, southern Scandinavia and the North Sea basin, and as it was developed there, it has little or nothing in common with Scythian, Sarmatian or Oriental art."⁴ — Holmqvist is of the opinion that the most important impulses originally came from a Roman environment. — With regard to Style I, he again repeats that the Anglo-Saxon Style I ornamentation developed through Scandinavian influence. Having established that the animal ornamentation of Style I appears on the Continent also among the Alemanni, Langobards, Franks, and other Germanic peoples, he is absolutely sure of the fact that a Scandinavian influence lies at the back of all this. Whether the influence came direct from Scandinavian craftsmen or whether it reached the Continent by way of England is the only point on which Holmqvist is not clear.⁵

Kendrick⁶ is of a different opinion, and has distinguished an English variant in Style I which he regards not so much an animal style as an imperial style that is inherited from Roman cult art. After having shown in this style many examples of *gestus*, that is, positions characteristic of an imperial cult, and attributes that are essentially connected with them, of which the most important is the helmet, he draws the following conclusions: — The Germanic animal style after having come with the Jutes onto British soil melted into the local artistic handicraft tradition which was inspired by Roman influence and was of an exceedingly high standard. This tradition acted at this time as an influential

¹) See e. g. KÜHN 1954, pp. 169—205 with notes.

PAULSSON 1944, pp. 135—146.

²) SHETELIG 1949, esp. pp. 32 and 43.

³) SHETELIG 1949, e. g. pp. 53—56 and 82—83.

⁴) HOLMQVIST 1955, pp. 9—27, esp. p. 16.

⁵) HOLMQVIST 1955, see esp. pp. 24—27.

⁶) KENDRICK 1938.

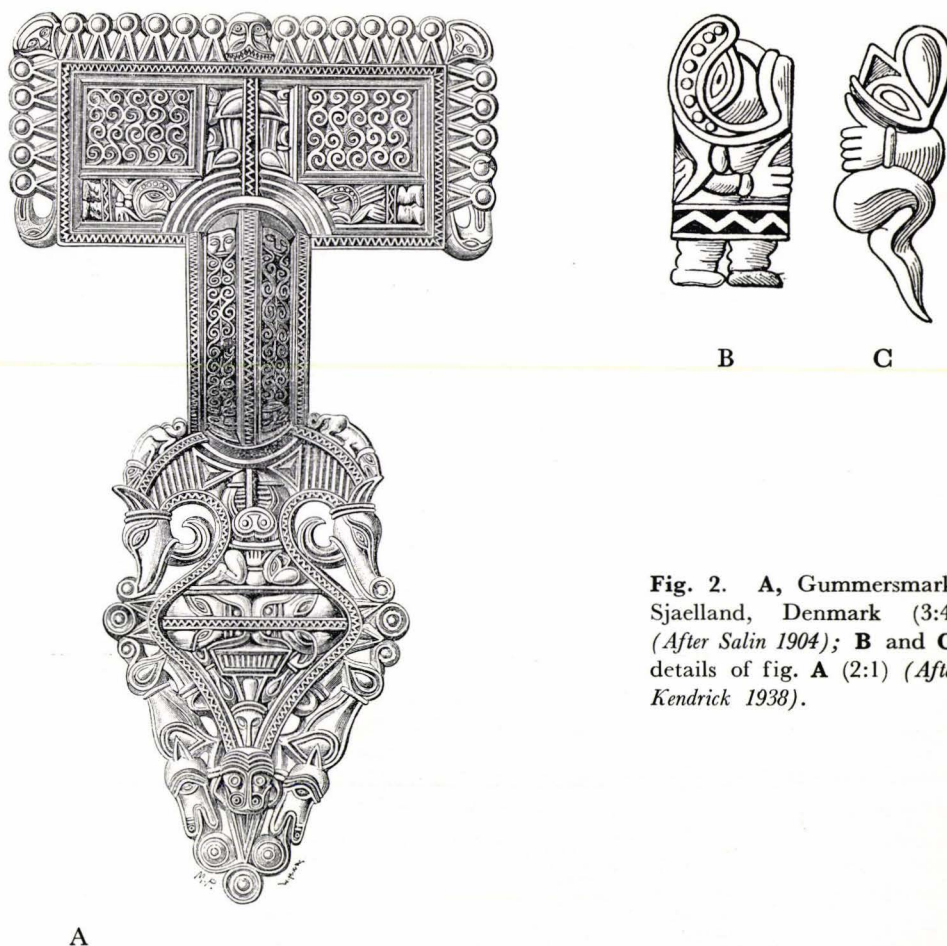


Fig. 2. A, Gummersmark, Sjaelland, Denmark (3:4) (After Salin 1904); B and C, details of fig. A (2:1) (After Kendrick 1938).

factor particularly in eastern Kent with Canterbury as the centre. — In this area, where prosperity prevailed, connections were maintained with the Continent and even with the eastern Mediterranean in spite of the restlessness of the Migration Age. Thus the Kentish goldsmiths had a sufficient amount of raw-material for fine gold-cloisonné objects, for instance, garnets, lapis lazuli and glass pastes. They were able to develop undisturbed their artistic handicraft which was enriched first by Celtic and later by Roman techniques and motifs.

In other words, Kendrick was of the opinion that an exceptionally strong local tradition brought about the formation of Style I. In this connection he does not consider there is reason even to mention the name of Scandinavia. Thus he has irritated the Scandinavian investigators and made them repeat their traditional claim all the more fanatically. Holmqvist's opinion about the Scandinavian origin of Style I has been presented above but we may here also discuss the ideas of Egil Bakka, who hastened to support Holmqvist.

Bakka¹ is absolutely certain of the fact that the northern version of Style I originated in Scandinavia. As to Style I in England he opposes the opinions of Salin, Åberg, and

¹) BAKKA 1958.



Fig. 3. Bifrons 41, Kent, England (2:3). A (After Brown 1915), B (After Bakka 1958).

Leeds according to which the phenomenon came to Britain from the Rhineland and Gaul. To his mind the movement took place in quite the opposite direction, in fact from England to the Continent. In order to solve the question of how Style I reached England Bakka mentions several alternatives: either the style developed independently in England, or it came from Scandinavia, or it developed simultaneously with contacts between the two. — Faced by these possibilities Bakka has, inspired by Holmqvist,¹ undertaken to torpedo Kendrick's theory; and he claims that Kendrick has greatly exaggerated the part played by the anthropomorphic idea in Anglo-Saxon art.² Finally Bakka assumes that some of the objects decorated in Style I were made by the same Kentish master. He presumes that the master came directly from Scandinavia by ship, most likely from Denmark. He has even been able to reconstruct the harbour at which the ship arrived in addition to its time-table: "He sailed up to Richborough or into the Watchum Channel c. 500 A. D."³

We could almost endlessly refer to investigations on Style I, as the topic has for a long time been an object of great interest, particularly in Scandinavia. The main outlines of the investigations have been presented above. The opinions of various scholars differ from each other in their theories of chronology and the source of the cultural tendencies, but a feature common to nearly all is an ardent conviction that the Style I phase of Germanic ornament is a deep-rooted Scandinavian phenomenon. This conviction has

¹) HOLMQVIST 1951.

²) BAKKA 1958, p. 15.

³) BAKKA 1958, pp. 28—60.

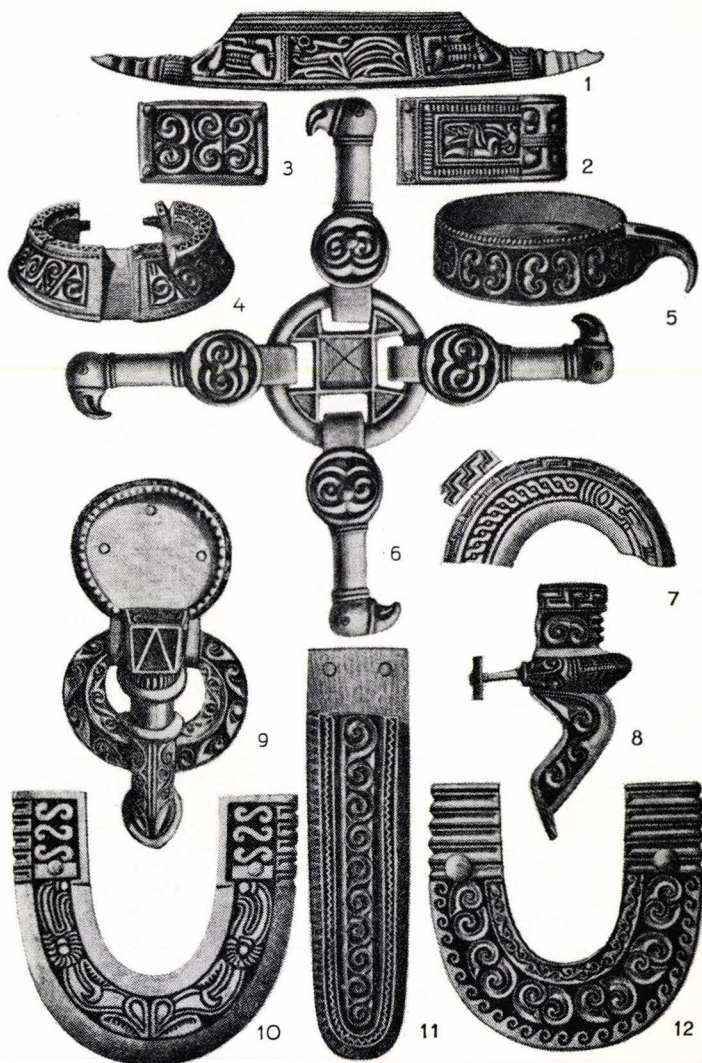


Fig. 4. Sjörup, Skåne, Sweden (3:4), [After Forssander 1937 (Salin 1904)].

now, for almost a century, been repeated in practically every publication on the subject not only in Scandinavia but also in Britain and on the Continent. Kendrick is in this respect one of the very rare exceptions.

The belief in the Scandinavian origin of Style I is, in my opinion, not the result of investigation but rather — as was stated above — a kind of belief or prejudice. It has been regarded as axiom. It springs forth in the texts of various writers as a basic principle assumed in the terminology, and then as a generalisation which was accepted everywhere. This has been the case until recently.¹

It is not advisable to report results before the actual survey of the evidence but in the present case this must at least partially be done. The subject in question is a sphere of research that is so fettered by prejudice that it will be easier for the reader to understand if he, from the very beginning, is acquainted with the conclusions reached by the writer. Thus, it may be said at once that the present writer is not at all convinced of the Scandi-

¹) See e. g. ARWIDSSON 1962, p. 117 " . . . smyckades med utpräglad nordisk ornamentik."

SJØVOLD 1963, p. 60 "Den kontinentale form av stil I er imidlertid ikke særlig imponerende hva kvalitet

angår, og det er da også alminnelig enighet om at stilen primaert er en nordeuropeisk skapelse og at den fra Norden har spredt seg til Kontinent og England."



Fig. 5. Taplow, Bucks., England (1:1), (After Holmqvist 1955).

navian origin of Style I. The publications packed with assumptions of Scandinavian origins have been of less advantage to the present investigation than might be expected from thousands of pages of text and about a century of research. All in all, the theory of the part played by Scandinavia in Germanic ornament has seriously hindered and retarded archaeological research.

MATERIAL AND COMPARISON

As we begin to deal with the material of Germanic animal ornament in Style I found in Finland, it may be justifiable once more to stress the fact that the finds in question were found within the peripheral area of Style I. It is worth noting that the objects decorated with Style I animal figures do not seem to have been found in any specific area in Finland but to have spread to practically all the areas then inhabited. This style of ornament appears as a clearly recognizable foreign element linked with the native Finnish material, which still was under the influence of a strong eastern Baltic design tradition (see map fig. 1).

Consequently our material is not sufficiently extensive — there are only 54 objects — to allow classification according to style. In a case like this there is still less reason to group the material on the basis of topography or types of object. — The present writer has chosen to work by finding analogies outside Finland, on the basis of special ornamental features. In addition to the features common to all Style I material, it is possible to establish specific personal features and to distinguish the productions of different workshops, schools and even individual masters. If a variety of objects is encountered within these groups, as is sometimes the case, the 'frontier' for comparison naturally becomes longer, richer in nuances, and, from the point of view of the present investigation, richer in yield. — In other words the group of objects of different types, which we are able to build up on the basis of similarity in ornamental detail and perhaps also in technique if they are creations of the same hand, acts as a comparable whole much more effectively than one object alone. It is also much more effective than a group of finds in which all the objects may be of one general type but are creations of different masters.

The material is, on the basis of style features, divided into two main groups: (A) the *Gummersmark—Bifrons 41—Sjörup* style phase and (B) the *Taplow* style phase. The names are those of places where characteristic objects of certain style phases were found. The objects in question are well known and have often been used as examples of characteristic styles (Figs. 2—5). — The names of the subgroups (the *spiral line*, the *T line*, the *lean family*, the *fat family* and the *face motif*) are derived from the special ornamental characteristics of the group.

The analysis of the shape and ornament of the objects appears in the chapters on the style phase under discussion. Each group will first be analyzed (in small type) and will be dealt with in the same order when comparisons are made. The numbering of the finds will follow the same order both in the text and in the plates I-XXX. The Arabic numerals (Nos. 1-54) represent the code number of the finds and in the cases of the finds, which have animal ornamentation, the heads have been considered to represent the entire animal even though the other parts may be incompletely visible. Capital letters stand for the signs of the animals beginning, with each object, from *A* and continuing in alphabetical order as is necessary.

For the purpose of this investigation the anatomic definition of the ornamental animal

The Spiral Line

MATERIAL

No. 1 (KM 10849: 37), plates I and XV—XVI.

An ornamental button of gilded bronze from barrow 49b at *Vallinmäki* in Vähäkylä. — The object has a shallow cylindrical section and the surface of the disk is decorated with a chip-carved animal head facing to the left and coiled into a ball, with the spirally curled beak (*b*) in the middle of the figure. The lower part is encircled by a wide, convex ring, on both sides of which there are narrow relief lines.

Nos. 2—3 (KM 10849: 38a—b), plate I.

Two ornamental buttons of gilded bronze from barrow 49b at *Vallinmäki* in Vähäkylä. — The objects are exact duplicates of each other and are in the shape of a truncated cone. The surface is decorated with a triskele figure, the ends of the arms of which are twisted into spirals to the right. There are small, triangular nodules between the arms. The lower part, rising to form a frame for the face is decorated in the middle with convex rings.

No. 4 (KM 9099: 16), plate I.

An ornamental button of gilded bronze inlaid with niello from barrow I at *Hiidennokka* in Vesilahti. — The object is like a truncated cone in section and its annular surface is decorated with a chip-carving figure whose motif is a six-armed whirligig or running spiral garland around a nielloed centre stud. The end of each arm is twisted to the left. — The lower part whose nielloed upper part forms a frame to the relief figure on the disk is ribbed with one wide and bulbous ring between two sets of three narrow ribs.

No. 5. (KM 9099: 85), plate I.

An ornamental button like the preceding one from the same barrow.

No. 6 (KM 6370: 30), plates I and XV—XVI.

An ornamental button of bronze from a cremation cemetery at *Kiiliä* in Sääksmäki. — The face is occupied by a human mask turned to the left and seen in profile. In the centre of the relief pattern, which follows the shape of the frame-border, there is a small nodule (*a*) representing the eye and next to it there is a thin bow and then a triangular plate (*e*), the portion under the eye and the cheek. The other figures represent the other parts of the head i.e. the bulbous, rounded shape (*b*) is the mouth, the long slanting and widening shape (*c*) the nose, and the parallel curved lines (*d*) the hair. These curved lines present at the same time the eyebrow, which is common in this style and which in general involves the forehead, the top of the head and the neck, as is the case here. — The lower part of the button is cone-shaped and ribbed with a bulbous ring between sets of three narrow rings. — The upper part is nielloed and rises above the flat surface to form a conical frame around the relief.

No. 7 (KM 2030: 2), plates I and XV—XVI.

A small equal-armed bronze brooch from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — The head- and foot-plates comprise almost identical full-face animal heads. Each head has a rounded skull-cap (forehead & head combination) whose lower edge forms the eyebrows and runs cleanly into the nasal ridge. There is a double line below each circular eye and this is separated from the stud-like nostrils by two or three transverse ridges (whiskers). — The junctions between the bow and the arms are covered by transverse bars which project beyond the edges of the brooch. The bow is convex in section and divided into three longitudinal panels by bands of plain relief. The median panel is covered by a classical spiral garland and the lateral panels by pairs of transverse bars. In other

words the lateral panels lie in groups of double *pleats*.

No. 8 (KM 2052), plate I.

A small-sized ornamental button of bronze with an enamel (?) filling from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — An equal-armed cross, which has circular studs in the centre and between the arms, forms the basis of the ornamental composition. Owing to its relatively large size the studs, however, dominate the ornamental surface of the object so that the cross motif, which is formed by radially set bars, remains in the background. The skull-cap (upper part) of the button, which is filled by the cross and stud decoration, is separated from the conical edge (lower part) of the object by a ring in the form of a double relief ridge. The edge resembles a classical egg-and-tongue motif with wide ridges set between pairs of narrow ridges. The gouged points of the studs may have been filled with enamel or some other substance.

No. 9 (KM 2996: 93), plate I.

A small ornamental button of bronze with an enamel (?) filling from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — In its size, shape and design the button corresponds to the preceding one.

No. 10 (KM 5868: 56), plate II.

An equal-armed brooch of bronze from *Tuomisto* in Karkku. — The object is broken off at the centre and otherwise in very poor condition. Its bow is convex in section and it had apparently been smooth-surfaced all over and slightly enlarged in the middle. Both arms are decorated with semiplastic animal-heads. The figure on the head plate (A) is better preserved. It has a calottelike forehead & head combination. The snout which continues to both sides of the face, is continuous with this, and with the nasal ridge joining them, without a break. The flat cheeks are situated in the section between the curved snout and the edge of the forehead which acts as an eyebrow. The boss-like eyes as well as the 'whiskers', formed of four transverse ridges, are in the same section. A bulbous ring acts as a neck band of the animal at the junction of the bow. The animal head (B), which acts as the

foot-plate, is, judging from its surviving parts, similar to the figure on the head-plate, but possibly slightly narrower.

No. 11 (KM 4604: 24), plates II and XV—XVI.

A strap buckle of bronze with a hinged plate from barrow 151 at *Kirstinmäki* in Vähäkyrö. — The object, apart from the fragile riveting lobes, is of a particularly strong cast and carefully chased. The fastening plate is decorated with a semi-plastic animal head in which the triangular forehead plate, a wide nasal ridge and a rounded snout are joined to each other without a break. The nostrils are formed by spirals which belong to the snout and almond-shaped eyes have been grooved into the sloping edged bosses. — The hole in the centre of the snout has possibly been made later for the fastening rivet after the original terminal lobe with its riveting hole was broken.

No. 12 (KM 7589: 31), plate II.

A small-sized nielloed ornamental button of gilded bronze from barrow 2 at *Lågpelet* in Vöyri. — The surface of the button is decorated with a chip-carved triskele the arms of which are spirals twisted to the left. Sloping, supplementary plates are seen between the arms. — In the centre of the lower part there is a ring formed of a triple relief line and the edges are widened into a conical shape so that the upper one with its nielloed grooves acts as a frame to the relief decoration of the face. It is worth noting that the object in question is extraordinarily well-shaped with thin walls and carefully chased surfaces.

No. 13 (KM 4279: 15d), plate II.

An ornamental nielloed bronze button from barrow 140 at *Mahlaistentönkkä* in Vähäkyrö. — The object is slightly bigger but otherwise of the same type as button *No. 12* except that the ends of the triskele arms are twisted, into a spiral to the right i.e. clockwise.

No. 14 (KM 9066: 35), plate II.

A small equal-armed brooch of bronze from barrow 118 at *Koppelonmäki* in Vähäkyrö.

— Both arms of the brooch are decorated with similar semiplastic animal head figures. They have a collar band in the form of a transverse groove on the junction of the bow, a rounded head & forehead combination with eyebrows grooved on its lower edge, and a rather long combined cheek and nasal

ridge, slightly dented in the middle. The heads have small ring-shaped depressions for eyes as well as a snout or beak furnished with a frill or rib, decorated by a row of small stamps. The bow, convex in section and slightly swollen in the middle, is crossed by bulbous curved ridges of varying widths.

COMPARISON

The ornamental buttons *Nos. 1-3* from Vallinmäki, *Nos. 4-5* from Hiidennokka, and *No. 6* from Kiiliä are very similar to one another in spite of the different motifs on their surfaces. The similarity is due to the shape and ring ornamentation of their sides, features, indicating a characteristic style of workmanship. Especially do the rings on the Hiidennokka and Kiiliä buttons arranged in sets consisting of 2-3 lines of thin relief correspond exactly to the linear ornament found on the bodies of the animal figures of the Galsted brooch (fig. 6) as well as to the transverse bars on the bow of the Grönby square-headed brooch with divided foot, (fig. 8) and to the median lines on the bow of the Engers brooch (fig. 7). It cannot be by mere chance that these particular objects, often taken as classic examples of the so-called Sjørup-Gummersmark style phase, have further analogies with the decoration of the buttons, such as spiral coils or human masks. Thus the figures with long hair and plate-like noses on the lateral lobes of the foot-plate of the Grönby brooch as well as the human heads on the head-plate of the Hardenberg brooch (fig. 10) offer parallels to the human mask of the Kiiliä button. The intimate relationship between the masks on the Galsted and Engers brooches is also shown by the chubbiness of the cheeks which seem to reflect well-being. Likewise we may note the straightness of the nose plate and the continuous extension of this by a rounded right angle to the eyebrow & hair combinations on the animal heads of the Galsted and Engers brooches; these are features shared by the face on the Kiiliä button.

The material available for comparison consists of objects all of which appear to have been made in Kent or, at least, which have very close ornamental analogies in England. With regard to the spirals also there is reason to underline the significance of the Anglo-Saxon parallels. In particular the spiral ornament on the face of the Hiidennokka button with its centre stud is in the details of design and technique a counterpart of that appearing on Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches, and the face motif appears frequently in association with these, if not actually on the brooches themselves (figs. 11-12).¹

Further, the animal relief on the face of the Vallinmäki button *No. 1* has definite links with this comparative material, for the forehead (nose) & eyebrow combination (*c-d*) of this animal head, which is arranged in a semicircle, and the spirally curled beak (*b*) pressed in to its own neck, a very popular feature on Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches, may be closely paralleled with the corresponding details of animal figures like those on the Bifrons 41 (fig. 3), Vedstrup and Chessel Down brooches.²

¹) See also: BROWN 1915, pl. 59: 1-3, 6 (Alfriston, Suff., Eng.) see running spirals, pl. 59: 4-5 (Alfriston, Suff., Eng.) see human masks.

LEEDS 1912, fig. 7: 1-2, 4-5 (Chatham, Kent, Eng.) see human masks, fig. 7: 3 (Brighthampton, Oxon.,

Eng.) see human masks, pl. 25: 7 (Frilford, Berks., Eng.) see running spirals, pl. 28: 2 (Woodstone, Hunts., Eng.) see running spirals.

²) BAKKA 1958, fig. 36 (Vedstrup, Sjaelland, Denmark), fig. 37 (Chessel Down, Isle of Wight, Eng.).



Fig. 6. Galsted, Jutland, Denmark (1:1), (After Oxenstierna 1957).



Fig. 7. Engers, Hessen-Nassau, Germany (2:3), (Photo R. G. K.).

The buttons from Vallinmäki, Hiidennokka and Kiiliä dealt with here certainly belong to the style phase mentioned in the title. On the basis of the sharpness of the relief, both Vallinmäki buttons may have been made by the same craftsman. — Likewise the Hiidennokka buttons *Nos. 4-5* and the Kiiliä button *No. 6* may be a creation of the same master, since their flanks are practically identical with each other. The Hiidennokka relief, although only a mere line decoration, is characterised by the same full-blown look, brought out by a somewhat protuberant chip-carving technique, as the Kiiliä mask.

It is possible to establish that the small equal-armed brooch *No. 7* and the ornamental buttons *Nos. 8-9* are works of the same master. One of the indications of this is the unusually thick-walled structure of the objects, as well as their high bulbous shape. The pleat-like geometrical ornament formed of pairs of transverse bars is another important indication. This ornament, repeated in the same way on the lateral panels of the bow of brooch *No. 7*, as well as on the cross-figures and the edges of buttons *Nos. 8* and *9* clearly argues for a common maker. — May we now take look at this group, beginning with the brooch:

The small equal-armed brooch *No. 7* of Gullydynt is, in general, an odd apparition among these Iron Age objects. It is indeed unique. One of its most marked features is the transverse bars placed at the junction of the bow, the details of which are not to be found in any of the otherwise corresponding equal-armed brooches with animal heads (e.g. *Nos. 10* and *14*). At first sight these points call to mind the so-called East-Baltic branched-brooches¹ which, as far is known, have nothing to do with the objects decorated with the Germanic animal ornament. However, this similarity is only apparent and is misleading. We shall do better by searching for points of comparison from the material already familiar within the limits of this study. Then we may notice analogies, such as

¹) See e. g. KIVIKOSKI 1947, nos. 86 and 87.



Fig. 8. Grönby, Skåne, Sweden (9:10),
(After Strömberg 1961).



Fig. 9. Grönby, Skåne, Sweden (9:10), (After Strömberg 1961).

the rigidly square structural parts on the junctions of the bow of the Galsted brooch (fig. 6). — Here we are dealing with an object which plays an essential role in the Style I phase, and the brooch from Gullydynt is undoubtedly related to it, on account of the spiral decoration in the central panel of the bow. Further, the object shape of the Galsted brooch like that of our Gullydynt brooch is unparalleled. The most important reason for this, as in the case of the Gullydynt brooch, is the junction of the bow, which deviates from the generally curved shape, to form a straight horizontal bar.

In my opinion these bars of the Gullydynt brooch are distinct signs of the same tradition as that behind the so-called Saxon equal-armed brooches, which were made some decades earlier, some of them in the 5th century. They were peculiar objects which were found in territories in the north-western part of Germany assumed to have been inhabited by the Saxons, and in the earliest Saxon graves in Britain (fig. 13).¹ In these objects the straight-edged terminals are comparable with the transverse bars of our brooch even though they, with their animal decoration, are considerably larger in size. They have in addition much chip-carving with spiral motifs which are paralleled by the central panel of the bow on the Gullydynt brooch.

However, it is not yet justifiable to consider the Gullydynt brooch to be a production of north-western Germany rather than Anglo-Saxon England on the basis of analogies

¹ See also: SALIN 1904, fig. 175 (distr. Wehden, Hannover, Germany).

ÅBERG 1953, fig. 8:1 (Galgenberg, Cuxhaven, Germany), fig. 8:2 (distr. Stade (?), Hannover, Germany), fig. 8:3 (Riensförde, Hannover, Germany),

fig. 9:1 (Dösemoor, Hannover, Germany), fig. 9:2 (Nesse, Hannover, Germany).

BROWN 1915, pl. 37:7 (Kempston, Beds., Eng.).
BAKKA 1958, fig. 1 (Little Wilbraham, Cambs., Eng.)

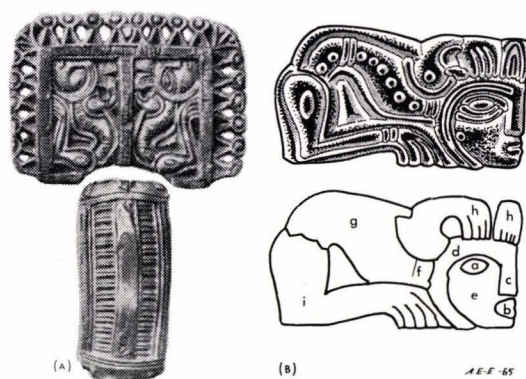


Fig. 10. Hardenberg, Lolland, Denmark. **A** (2:3), (After Voss 1954); **B**, a detail of fig. **A** (3:2).

with the said 'Saxon' brooches. The origin of these objects of comparison is not indubitably bound to these areas in spite of the fact that their distribution points to it. It is an undeniable fact that the spiral ornamentation as well as most of the marginal ornamental motifs and even the animal figures on these brooches which have been assumed to be of Saxon origin, are to a great extent similar to Roman decorative work in chip-carving and they have been found in abundance both in the provinces and in Italy.¹ The shape of the 'Saxon' equal-armed brooch itself is also well known in the cemeteries containing purely Roman goods, such as Vermand (fig. 14). Thus it seems that in the history of the development of the 'Saxon' equal-armed brooches, the part played by Roman craftsmanship, or, since we are considering a Roman province, the craftsmanship of northern Gaul, based on the Roman models, is very important. — As to the Gullydynt brooch itself, after viewing it against the cultural background it does not seem surprising that an object parallel in basic shape and structure to this one was also found in northern Gaul, in the cemetery of Abbeville in Aisne (fig. 15) which is about contemporary with the Vermand cemetery. The object in question is a small enamel-filled and equal-armed bow brooch which has fine counterparts of transverse bars at the junction of the bow, which seemed so singular on the Gullydynt brooch.

After dealing with the question of the shape of the object we shall proceed to examine the ornamentation of the small equal-armed brooch of Gullydynt, commencing with the animal heads.

Although these heads with their powerful forehead & head-crown combinations are, in general appearance, well in accord with the usual decorative patterns of their time, used over a wide area and during a long period, they have some special features that place them in a more restricted group. Above all there are the rounded nose with stud-like nostrils and two or three transverse ridges filling the space between the nostrils and eyes. They are details which have greatly been stressed by Bakka in treating the relationship between Anglo-Saxon and southern Scandinavian ornament in the so-called Gummersmark style phase.² In this connection it is important to note that similar transverse ridges occur in the Bifrons 41, Engers, Vedstrup, Gummersmark, Over-Hornbaek, Grønby, Finglesham, and Tveitane brooches mentioned by Bakka, but there is no reason to suppose that they first appeared within such restricted boundaries in southern Scandinavia as Bakka claims. Very likely these details are among the many features of whose original distribution the material, which survives for investigation, gives a scanty and, even, a disproportionate picture.

¹) See e. g. FORSSANDER 1937, figs. 19—22.

²) BAKKA 1958, see esp. p. 39.



Fig. 11. Linton Heath 76, Cambs., England (1:1), (Cambridge Museum).

Fig. 12. Longbridge, War., England (1:1), (B. M.).

In order to deal now with the snouts with transverse ridges and stud-like nostrils, we must at the outset add to Bakka's list a bow brooch with semicircular radiated head found in Daumen in East Prussia (fig. 16). In shape this object is comparable with some brooches of the so-called Sjørup-style found in Öland and Gotland, which have animal heads ending in snouts with transverse ridges but spiral nostrils.¹ — Before we undertake to examine the part played by the Daumen brooch in this study we may recall the problems connected with the above-mentioned parallels from the Baltic islands: — Both Salin and Åberg have established that these objects differ considerably from the other Scandinavian finds. However, Salin, after first presenting fairly convincing parallels in types of objects from northern France² in his final solution paid more attention to ornamental details such as bird heads with spirally curled beaks, and came to the conclusion that these finds from Gotland and Öland have been strongly influenced from the direction of Hungary.³ Åberg again used for comparison the material from northern France mentioned by Salin, and he paid attention not only to the animal heads but also to the composition of the ornamental surface and shape of the brooches themselves. On the basis of the analogies from this area Åberg has supported the theory of western influence: northern France in the first place and then 'the North Sea circle' in general.⁴

As to the Daumen-brooch, which is the object under discussion, it was indeed found far outside the distribution area of the material we are now studying. The area from which it came, east of the river Vistula, is, however, interesting because of the recent find from Niewiadoma⁵ (in the district of Sokotów, Podlaquie). This comprises an abundance of objects some of which are held to be purely East Prussian or Baltic in character, and others which are recognised as ornamental objects of Roman origin. This material is of the type typical of cemeteries in the garrisons in Roman provinces, or of the population within their immediate sphere of influence, including that from the two disputed regions considered by Salin and Åberg: Hungary and northern France.⁶ — Since the

¹) SALIN 1904, fig. 118 (Gotland, Sweden), fig. 119 (Ösby, Öland, Sweden), fig. 482 (Gotland, Sweden), fig. 483 (När, Gotland, Sweden).

²) SALIN 1904, fig. 120 (Douvrend, dept Seine inférieure, Fr.).

³) SALIN 1904, pp. 199—200.

⁴) ÅBERG 1924, pp. 47—50; —1953, pp. 28—29.

⁵) NOSEK 1960.

⁶) NOSEK 1960.

Finds from Niewiadoma, Poland:

Fig. 11, cp. to PILLOY 1895, pl. II: 25 ('a brooch of Childeric'), and to PILLOY 1886, pl. V: 14 (Abbeville, Aisne, Fr.).

Fig. 12, cp. to FORSSANDER 1937, fig. 23: 1. (Kent, Eng.), fig. 23: 2 (Herbergen, Kloppenburg, Germany), fig. 24: 1 (Sedan, Fr.), fig. 24: 2 (Hungary), fig. 25: 2 (Aquila, Italy).

Fig. 14, cp. to PILLOY 1895, pl. 1: 8 (Lucy-Ribemont, Fr.).

Fig. 15, cp. to PILLOY 1895, pl. 16: 27 (Vermand, dept. Aisne, Fr.).

Fig. 17, cp. to PILLOY 1895, pl. 21: 1a (Vermand, dept. Aisne, Fr.), and to FORSSANDER 1937, fig. 19:2d (Dunapentele, Hungary).



Fig. 13. Haslingfield, Cambs., England (2:3),
(After Holmquist 1955).

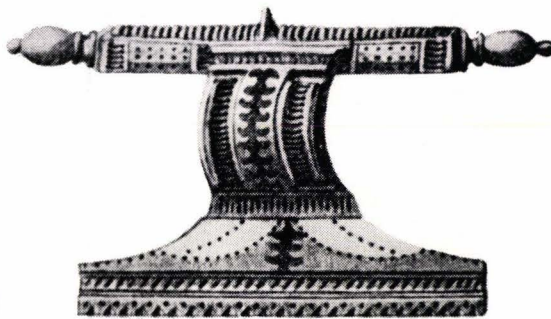


Fig. 14. Vermand, Aisne, France (c. 2:3),
(After Pilloy 1895).

Daumen brooch is an object found in an area having strong connections with Rome or at least with the Roman provinces, we certainly are not justified to assume it is East Prussian or Masurian,¹ although it may widely deviate in shape from the objects found on the more western routes. This point is important, for, just as the Niewiadomen find shows the influence of known objects from northern France and other Roman provinces, the Daumen brooch, too, has Roman features. Thus the question is not only of objects having general resemblance to the Daumen brooch, found in quantities, for instance, in the Hungarian cemeteries of the Gepid² but also such objects as the equal-armed brooch from Abbeville in Aisne (fig. 15), compared earlier with the Gullydynt brooch on account of the transverse bars at the junction points of the bow. The ornaments with a triangular motif on the arms of this Abbeville brooch offer, in fact, extraordinarily fine parallels to the corresponding parts of the Daumen brooch.

Besides general resemblances in shape, we have connected with the general cultural background also the animal heads of the Gullydynt brooch. Since this is a unique object, we have had to refer to material perhaps as much as a century earlier in date than the brooch itself, thus extending the field of comparison considerably in our attempt to solve questions of origin. — When we now direct our attention to the ornament on the bow of the brooch, we must look for comparative material as far as possible from the same areas as before. However, as we are now dealing with a purely ornamental surface, which more likely reflects momentary trends in style and is less bound to the established tradition than is the shape; we may expect results that lead us to a more limited zone in time and space.

When establishing the probability that the ornamental buttons Nos. 8-9 were made by the same craftsman as the brooch, it was noted that the pleat ornaments on the lateral panels are significant as well as the spiral garland on the bow of the brooch. — The equal-armed brooches from Gillberga in Sweden³ and Szentes-Nagyhegy in Hungary (among others) bear a corresponding pleat ornamentation of transverse bars set side by side along with the spiral motif (fig. 17). However, as the brooches represent a style phase more likely to follow on that of the Gullydynt brooch than to precede it, we may leave these for the present.

But the cheeks of the animal figures decorated with transverse lines on the square-headed brooches from Bifrons 41 (fig. 3) and Finglesham,⁴ (which were mentioned above as resembling our brooch) may well represent both in date and location the place

¹) See ÅBERG 1953, pp. 90—95.

²) As e. g. CSALLÁNY 1961, pl. 270.

³) SALIN 1904, fig. 178 (Gillberga, Närke, Sweden).

⁴) LEEDS 1949, no. 1 (Finglesham D 3, Kent, Eng.).

of origin of the small equal-armed brooch of Gullydynt or its maker. These objects have, also, pleat ornamentation formed by pairs of transverse ridges. In Bifrons 41 brooch this ornament appears on the border of the head-plate and in the Finglesham brooch on the middle panel of the head-plate. — A pleat ornamentation of this type is in fact characteristic of objects dated to the early part of the 6th century or to the last years of the 5th century and which are, in all probability, of Kentish origin. The brooches from Bifrons 41 and Finglesham belong to this group. One of the earliest objects in the group is the silver square-headed brooch of Hardenberg (fig. 10), and on this besides the head-plate with human masks in Style I we have also pleat-ornament on the bow. — Over the northern countries and the continent, pleat-ornament is, however, rare in comparison with its occurrence in the Kentish and Anglo-Saxon sites in general (figs. 3, 18-25). Here it appears on various types of mounts, on square-headed brooches, and particularly on the so-called saucer-brooches¹ many of which combine spirals with pleat-ornaments, and thus correspond to the Gullydynt brooch.

Everything established about the relationship between the Kentish-Anglo-Saxon material and the Gullydynt brooch *No.* 7 holds good also for the buttons *Nos.* 8 and 9, since these objects from Gullydynt presumably are all of the same make. — What then of the origin of the buttons from Hjulbacka in Sweden,² which have skull-caps as well as conical edges with transverse bars closely resembling those of the Gullydynt buttons? — Åberg has presumed that the Hjulbacka buttons were made in northern Sweden and certainly not in southern Scandinavia or even less probably in Kent. — In addition to the features they have in common with the Gullydynt buttons the Hjulbacka buttons have spirals which may be compared with the ornament on the median panel of the bow of brooch *No.* 7. Thus the most important details of the Hjulbacka buttons as well as the shape itself indicate that a strong genealogical connection prevails between them and the objects *Nos.* 7, 8 and 9 found on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia, in fact, at Gullydynt.

In my opinion the Hjulbacka buttons are of anything rather than of northern Swedish make. Their borders with transverse bars belong to the motif stock of the Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup style phase just as do the pleat-ornaments of Gullydynt, and such is the case also with their triangle, which acts as the centre framework of the decoration. This is shown by the brooches from Tveitane and Richborough,³ amongst others, as

¹ **Square-headed brooches e.g.:**

In this book, fig. 3 (Bifrons 41, Kent, Eng.) pleat on the border of the head, *fig. 18* (Lakenheath, Suff., Eng.) pleat on the lateral borders of the head, *fig. 19* (Market Overton, Rut., Eng.) pleat on the panel of the bow, *fig. 20* (Kenninghall, Norf., Eng.) pleat on the inner border of the head, *fig. 21* (Nassington, Northants., Eng.) pleat on the inner border of the head, *fig. 22* (Barrington B9, Cambs., Eng.) pleat on the inner border of the terminal lobe, *fig. 23* (Alveston 5, War., Eng.) pleat on the border of the terminal lobe, *fig. 25* (Howletts, Kent., Eng.) pleat on the border of the head.

LEEDS 1949, no. 1. (Finglesham D3, Kent, Eng.) pleat on the panel of the head, no. 5 (Richborough, Kent, Eng.) pleat on the lower border of the head, no. 12 (Rothley Temple, Leics., Eng.) pleat on the terminal border of the foot, no. 15A (Lackford, Suff., Eng.) pleat on the lateral border of the head, no. 27 (Barrington A, Cambs., Eng.) pleat on the lobes of

the bow, no. 54 (Lakenheath, Suff., Eng.) pleat on the panel of the head, no. 57 (Ipswich, Suff., Eng.) pleat on the panel of the head, no. 66 (Alfriston 28, Sussex, Eng.) pleat on the panels of the bow, no. 112 (Little Wilbraham 28, Cambs., Eng.) pleat on the biting heads of the foot plate and in the panel of the head, no. 143 (Holdenby, Northants., Eng.) pleat on the panel of the head.

Mounts e.g.:

In this book, fig. 24 (Howletts 21, Kent, Eng.) pleat on the border of the triangle.

Saucer brooches e.g.:

In this book, fig. 11 (Linton Heath 76, Cambs., Eng.) pleat on the framing band, *fig. 26* (Longbridge, War., Eng.) pleat on the inner band.

² See ÅBERG 1953, figs. 48-49 and pp. 50-51 (Hjulbacka, Dalarna, Sweden).

³ BAKKA 1958, fig. 41 (Tveitane, Vestfold, Norway), fig. 42 (Richborough, Kent, Eng.).

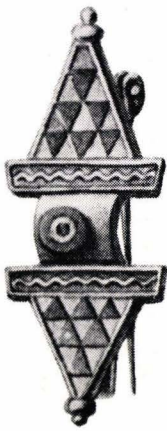


Fig. 15. Abbeville (Homblières), Aisne, France (c. 5:6), (After Pilloy 1886).

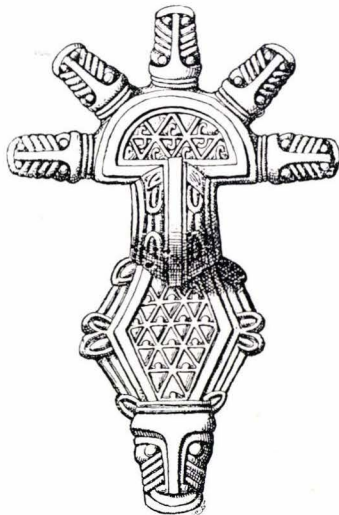


Fig. 16. Daumen, Olsztyn, Poland (c. 1:1), (After Salin 1904).



Fig. 17. Szentes-Nagyhegy 84, Hungary (c. 3:4), (After Csallány 1941).

the former has not only spiral ornaments but also zones of transverse bars and triangles. The latter has triangles encircled by bars on the lateral lobes of the foot-plate. — In other words the Hjulbacka buttons as well as the objects from Gullydynt follow the same Anglo-Saxon style trend. The finds are chiefly from southern Scandinavia but some of them have found their way to the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia by long-distance trade.

The style phase under consideration has, according to some opinions,¹ prevailed during the first half of the 6th century, while the earliest examples were dated at the end of the preceding century. The Gullydynt objects in question belong perhaps to the beginning of this period rather than to the end, judging from the features on the transverse bars at the junction points between the arms and bow of brooch *No. 7*. The features are archaic in style as was indicated above.

The small equal-armed brooch *No. 10* of Tuomisto resembles in general appearance and particularly in form of the bow a brooch from a cemetery at Junkarsbränna in Maa-lahti.² The shallowness of the bow and the strong neck ridges of the animals at the junction points of the bow, and above all the cheeks of the animal heads decorated with transverse ridges, however, point more closely to Gullydynt's brooch *No. 7*. The Tuomisto brooch appears to be a less ambitious attempt at the same type, both in shape and ornament.

In the animal head on the strap buckle *No. 11* from Kirstinmäki, which is very skilfully made, the nostrils are formed by spiral coils in the same way as in the Gotland and Öland

¹) See e. g. VOSS 1954 and BAKKA 1958, p. 62 and fig. 49.

²) HACKMAN 1905, pl. 5: 4 (Junkarsbränna, Ostrobothnia, Finland).

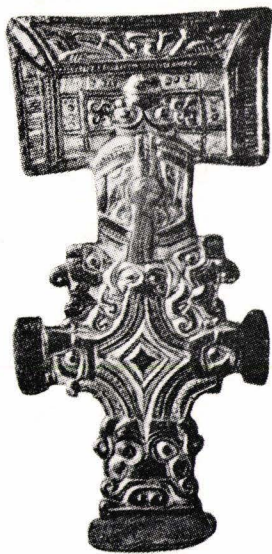


Fig. 18. Lakenheath, Suffolk, England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).



Fig. 19. Market Overton, Rut., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

'Sjörup'-style brooches¹, whose origin is enigmatic, and the problems of which were discussed in connection with the Gullydynt brooch *No.* 7. — Parallels even closer to the Kirstinmäki head than to animal heads of these brooches are presented by the heads with spiral nostrils of the equal-armed brooches from Måsta and Gillberga.² Corresponding figures appear on the Hungarian Szentes-Nagyhegy brooch (fig. 17) too, which may be viewed as a close parallel of the Gillberga brooch. Further, the animal head on a brooch found at Keszthely³ must be mentioned. It is true that this animal from Keszthely has no spiral nostrils, but its profile, due to the high frontal bone and the straight line continuing from it to the snout, resembles the profile of our animal head found at Kirstinmäki to a surprising extent.

As for the animal species of the figure on the Kirstinmäki buckle we may, on the basis of the nostrils and the shape of the whole snout, arrive at the conclusion that this is an ox on greater grounds of certainty than was the case with the creature on the Gullydynt brooch *No.* 7. Another point of contrast to the Gullydynt animal heads, is that parallels to this animal seem to be altogether missing from the Kentish and Anglo-Saxon material treated by Bakka to which we referred in the discussion on the Gullydynt brooch. Heads with spiral nostrils were certainly not unknown in the decorative art of Britain. On the contrary, they occur frequently but only on objects belonging to a slightly later period than the brooches mentioned by Bakka, such as for example the square-headed brooch of Linton Heath and Alfriston.⁴ Thus this material belongs to the middle or later half of the 6th century, and the brooches of Gillberga and Szentes Nagyhegy probably belong to the same period.

Button *No.* 12 from the Lågpelt barrow *No.* 2 as well as the Mahlaistentönkkä button *No.* 13 are, because of their spiral decoration, closely related to the same style phase. This view is supported by the fact that the sides on both these buttons are similar.

¹) SALIN 1904, fig. 118 (Gotland, Sweden), fig. 119 (Gräsgård, Öland, Sweden), fig. 482 (Gotland, Sweden), fig. 483 (När, Gotland, Sweden).

²) ÅBERG 1924, fig. 120 (Måsta, Hälsingland, Sweden), fig. 121 (Gillberga, Närke, Sweden).

³) HAMPEL, 1905 (Vol. I), fig. 811 (Keszthely, Hungary).

⁴) LEEDS 1949, no. 9 (Linton Heath 9, Cambs.) a row of masks with spiral nostrils bordering the head-plate of the brooch; no. 66 (Alfriston 28, Sussex, Eng.).

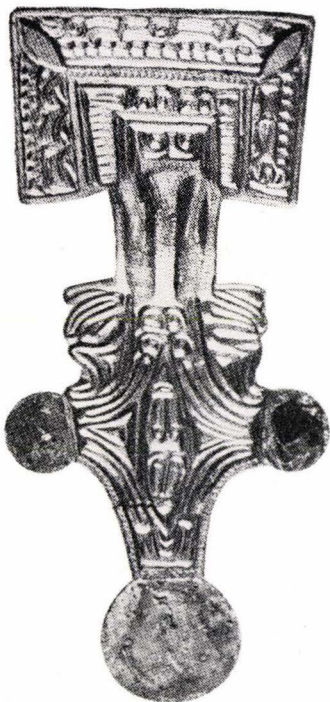


Fig. 20. Kenninghall, Norf., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).



Fig. 21. Nassington, Northants., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

They are surrounded by a circle formed by three lines in thin relief. This ornament also appears round the edges of the Hiidennokka and Kiiliä buttons Nos. 4-6. We also meet this use of three lines on the afore-mentioned Finglesham brooch.¹

As a summary of the facts presented above, we may say, that the material which presents the most striking analogies, is associated with relief brooches from Kent, or with objects found in southern Scandinavia whose origin is, in my opinion, Kentish. The question is one of a characteristic style which according to Voss and others is exemplified by objects from Gummersmark and Vedstrup and which is dated approximately within the years 475-575.² In addition, we must include the spiral-decorated saucer brooches which according to Åberg belong to the Saxon area, and which it is customary to date to a period extending from about the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century.³ — Without contributing further to the polemics delivered on the subject of the dating of the 'Gummersmark-Vedstrup' phase, we shall only state that within the limits of our comparison material the datings of Voss and Åberg are in agreement. — How then do the objects of this study fit into this period which is a little over a century long?

In the equal-armed brooch No. 7 of Gullydynt we find certain archaic characteristics associated with material from northern France belonging to the first half of the 5th century or indeed to the opening years of the century. This is an argument for a date in the early part of the period, and buttons Nos. 8 and 9 would also fit into this period.

Archaic features are distinguishable in the ribbing on the sides of buttons Nos. 4-6. Parallel phenomena were encountered elsewhere, for instance in the Galsted brooch

¹) LEEDS 1949, no. 1 (Finglesham D³, Kent, Eng.) the inner panel of the head-plate.

²) VOSS 1954, p. 182. — See also BAKKA 1958, pp. 60—.

³) ÅBERG 1926, p. 18.



Fig. 22. Barrington B9, Cambs., England (2:3), (Photo Cambridge Museum).



Fig. 23. Alveston 5, War., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

(fig. 6), which, without doubt, is one of the earliest examples of this style. The Vermand material also contains instances of this style of ribbing.¹ As regards the Tuomisto brooch *No. 10* it may be said that it is not among the noble pioneers of the style but shows signs of decadence. We may date it therefore about the year 500 with a wide margin. The same holds true with the strap buckle *No. 11* from Kirstinmäki. — As for the buttons *Nos. 12* and *13* we may consider the dating of the Finglesham brooch, the most important comparative object, which is, on very good grounds accepted as close to the year 500.

Brooch *No. 14* of Koppelonmäki is decorated on both arms with semi-plastic animal heads, so that it may offer a parallel to the Gullydynt and Tuomisto brooches. In addition to its general shape this object has features in common with the material of the Style I group, as for example the bulbous transverse lines decorating the bow, since they represent the same ribbed method of ornament to which we drew attention on the sides of the buttons *Nos. 1-6*. An example of a brooch on which the bow is decorated with the same ribbed ornament is the square-headed brooch of Grönby in Skåne (fig. 8), one of the best known classic examples of this style. — The thin frills which surround the snouts of the animals on the Koppelonmäki brooch are pertinent in this connection for they are, in fact, variants of the corresponding details of the Gullydynt brooch *No. 7*. However,

¹) PILLOY 1895, pl. 16: 1a, 2a, 21b and 22b.

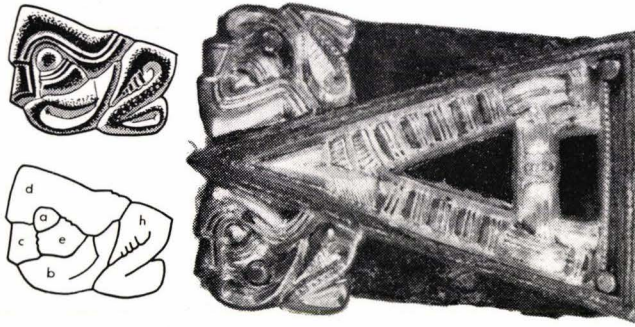


Fig. 24. Howletts 21, Kent, England (4:3), (B. M.).



Fig. 25. Howletts, Kent, England (2:3), (B. M.).

in spite of all these similarities it is worth while to examine this object outside the Engers —Gummersmark—Sjörup group. The frills bordering the snouts justify our doing this.

Because of their small annular stamps these frills on the Koppelonmäki brooch make it necessary to take into consideration some later comparison material than one would expect from the shape alone. Corresponding details of an unusual kind are found on several radiate brooches of northern Italy, for instance those from Herbrechtingen, which may belong to Werner's group IV (i.e. to the period between 600-650¹. — This, however, is counterbalanced by the fact that such frills decorated with small annular stamps are also met with in Britain. Such a frill appears, in the first place, on the animal which decorates the ornamental grip in gilt-bronze on the back of the Sutton Hoo shield.² As to date this object approaches the Herbrechtingen brooches. On the other hand we also see such a frill on the square-headed brooch of Barrington B9 (fig. 22), which both in date and style is close to our Spiral line variant: It has some pleat-ornaments and also spiral garlands, both of which correspond to the bow ornament on the Gullydynt brooch *No.* 7.

What status has the Koppelonmäki brooch among these objects with analogical features which are apparently distributed over a period of about two centuries, and which seem to belong both to the continent and to the British Isles? — On attempting to find a solution to this problem we may further stress the significance of the ribbing of the bow of the brooch. The Grönby brooch (fig. 8), which was used for comparison, is only one example of this style of ornament. On the other hand may it be established that ribs of this type do not especially belong to the Sutton Hoo material or to that of Herbrechtingen. — Thus both the afore-mentioned, the Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooch from Barrington B9 and the Grönby brooch, supply us with a fixed point for dating and a guidance to origin. In other words we arrive at an object of around the year 500 or early 6th century, which in style belongs to the Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup group.

¹) FUCHS & WERNER 1950, pl. 3: A 18 (Cividale, prov. Udine, Italy), pl. 5: A28 and A29 (Cividale, prov. Udine, Italy), pl. 6: A32 and A33 (Cividale, prov. Udine, Italy), pl. 7: A40 (Nocera Umbra 4, Italy), pl. 11: A 59/60 (Cividale, Udine, Italy), pl. 17: A 76 (Nocera Umbra 158, Italy), pl. 22: A 90 (near Lucca, Italy).

WERNER 1935, pl. 10: 1—2 (Herbrechtingen, Württemberg, Germany).

²) BRUCE-MITTFORD 1947, pl. 5:a (Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, Eng.).

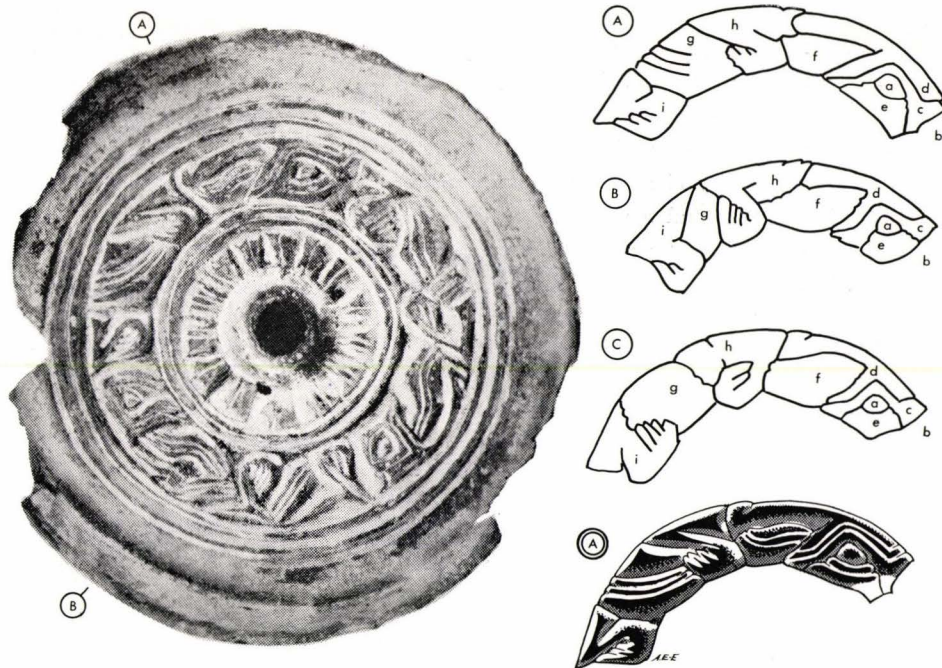


Fig. 26. Longbridge, War., England (4:3), (B. M.).

The T Line

MATERIAL

No. 15 (Stockh. Mus. 7504 and KM 2536: 363 a-d), plates III-IV and XV-XVIII.

Fragments of a great gilt silver square-headed brooch with undivided foot from *Kakunmäki* in Ylistaro. — The brooch was cast in three separate pieces, which were then put together by riveting (see section in plate IV). The pieces are: (i) a square head-plate the greatest part of which is preserved, (ii) a bow which, with the exception of its riveting-plates on the back of the brooch, is destroyed and the shape of which is therefore unknown and (iii) a rhomboid foot-plate of which a good half is preserved. — The ornamentation of the object consists of ridges with niello decoration and figures in relief which are for the most part animal motifs extraordinarily complicated and detailed. However, all of these animals are composed according to a uniform scheme and once we are acquainted with their heads and legs we find a complete solution to the mass of ornament. — Thus we may begin:

Heads (plates XV and XVI)

The full face mask *A* is the most distinct and at the same time the most complete mask of the animal heads of the brooch. — A long organ (b^2), divided into five parts by grooves, pushes itself through the nielloed jaws (b^1) of the gaping mouth. Besides the tongue the organ also comprises a number of powerful teeth. The nasal ridge (c) is a bar with niello filling, beginning immediately at the mouth and continuing as a straight bar as far as the neck. The longitudinal double line located on either side of the nasal ridge may belong to the nose as a nose plate, since this is a detail which in certain variants of Style I seems to be of great significance and to which we shall return later on. — The eyebrows are also nielloed bars (d^1) and set quite accurately at right angles with the nose, and also serving as a forehead. Flat plates (d^2), which perhaps represent ears or crests, are discernible at the outer edges of the eyebrows. — The panels which are restricted by eyebrows,

nose and mouth comprise, besides the knoblike eyes (*a*), the cheeks (*e*) with their many details. Nearest to the eye and below it one can see the actual cheek muscle (*e*²). In front of the muscle there is a multiple element (*e*³) in which a knoblike nostril surrounded by a double bow and a wider 'muscle' is set into the corner between the lip and the nose. We may also include in this nostril element the transverse double line, the whiskers, which touches the side of the nasal plate, separating the cheek muscle from the frame figure of the nostril. A part of the beard (*e*⁴) is dimly visible at the back of the cheek muscle.

There is reason next to examine the head of animal *F* because this, in structure and detail storage, more closely corresponds to the head *A* than do the other animals. The only difference lies in the fact that the head *F* is shown in profile. — In common with the head *A* a long organ (*b*²), divided into five parts comprising a tongue and teeth, thrusts itself forward between the jaws of the gaping mouth (*b*¹). — The nasal ridge is not visible, as is usual in profile figures of this type, but it is included, in the straight line formed by the upper parts of the head between the lips and the forehead. The nasal plate (*c*) is clearly discernible at the middle part of this line. — In its sturdy structure, straightness and above all its position at right-angles to the nasal line the basic part of the eyebrow (*d*¹) corresponds accurately to the formula of the head *A*. It may be that the transverse bars of the band (*d*⁶) at the back of the eyebrow represent a crest or mane and perhaps indicate the ears also. The cheek panel (*e*) of head *F*, which is rich in detail, is convincing evidence of the fact that here we have a profile variant of head *A*. In head *F* we find the series comprising the portion under the eye (*e*¹) as well as the cheek muscle (*e*²) the nostril element (*e*³) with its whiskers and appendages and, of course, the beard (*e*⁴) which now, by means of the relief technique, can be presented all the more impressively in profile.

The head of animal *G* is fully comparable with the other two in impressiveness and its exactitude and is built up similarly. I crest (*d*²⁻³) seems to be loftier than that of animal *F*, but the beard is lacking.

Head *D* is a simplified variant of head *A* as is revealed by our schematic drawing. Such

is the case in principle with the other heads of our brooch. It may indeed be that the defects are due to some other reason than simplification. Possibly the figures represent different animal species. The nostril element is completely missing in heads *E* and *I* although the nose plate is distinctly visible. It seems that in heads *B*, *C* and *K* and probably in heads *J* and *L* the nose plate is joined to one of the relief lines that represent the jaws, and from this one could conclude that the animals are beaked.

Legs (fig. 27)

All the legs in our brooch are complete and contain the following details:

(1) The *foot* is in all cases cloven with the exception in fig. *i/F*, which perhaps accidentally is unsplit.

(2) The *wrist/ankle* is decorated with a double ring ornament except in fig. *h/M* which has a single ring.

(3) The *forearm/shank* is, in general, rather long and flexible and has occasionally in the middle shields or ring ornaments (*h/E*, *h/H*, *i/H* and *h/F*).

(4) The *elbow/knee* is, with the exceptions of figures *h/I* and *h/J*, always provided with a double ring ornament or shield which is usually large and sometimes filled with a double crest (*i/E*, *i/H*, *h/L*, *i/L* and *i/G*).

(5) The *upper arm/thigh* is freely shaped and invariably plain, set between details 4 and 6.

(6) The *shoulder/hip* is in general the sturdiest part of the legs formed by double (or multiple) relief lines to which a tuft or winglike addition may be attached (*h/G*, *i/F*, *h/I*, *h/J* and *h/M*). Sometimes it is impossible to decide whether these tufts belong to the shoulder or the elbow (e.g. *h/L* and *i/L*).

Bodies and Necks

Compared with the heads and legs, which are rich in detail, the bodies and necks of the animals of the Kakunmäki brooch remain simple. They are represented by monotonous bands one half of which is ornamented by transverse bars and the other formed by two longitudinal lines of relief. The bodies and necks of the animals in our brooch do not differ from each other in outer appearance or size and since, in addition, the positions of the animals are constrained and often utterly unnatural, in

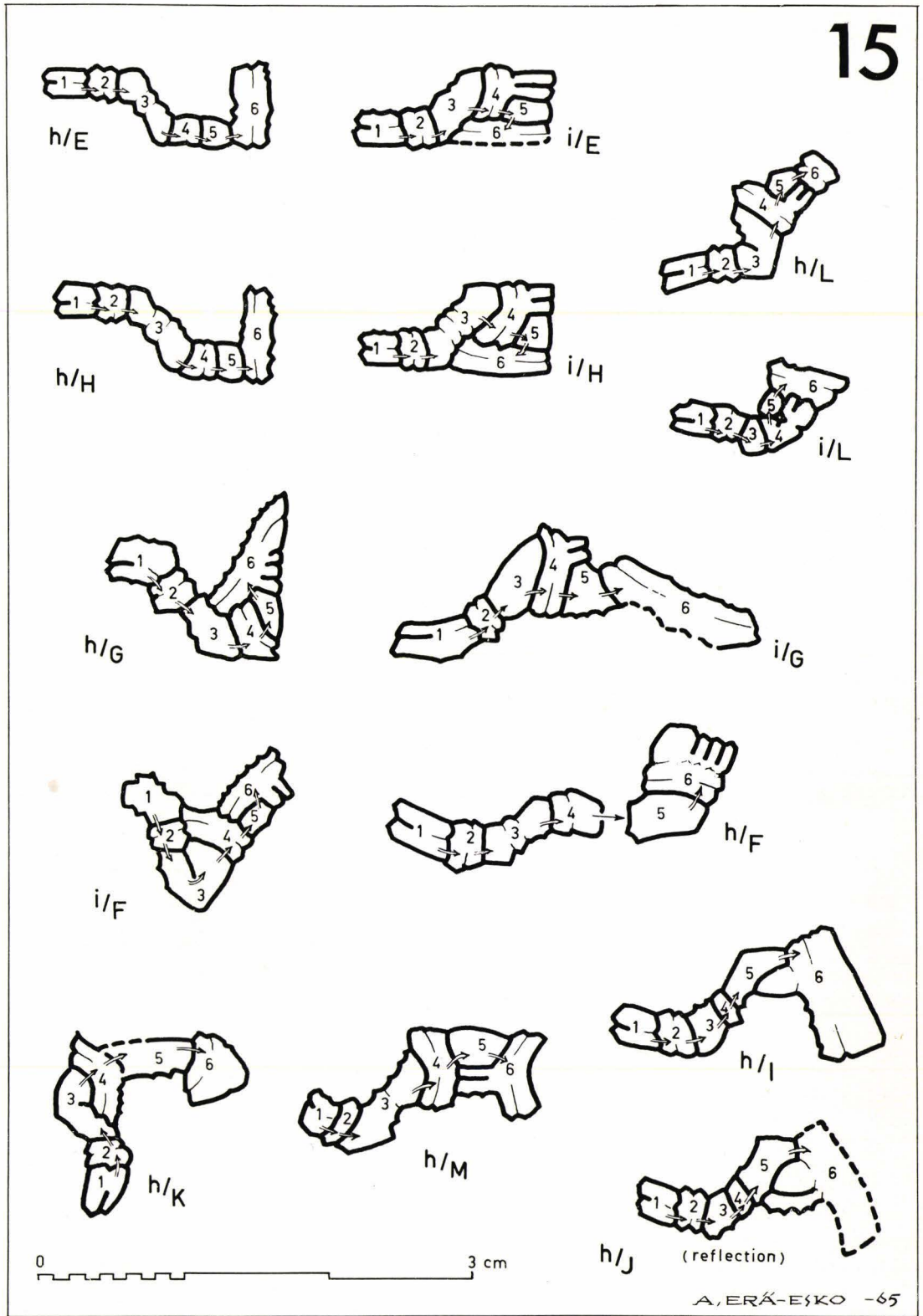


Fig. 27. Leg motifs from the Kakunmäki brooch (No. 15).

the way which is characteristic of Style I, it is occasionally difficult to distinguish the exact part of the body depicted. However, we have no reason to suspect that the logic of the creator of the Kakunmäki brooch has gone astray in such cases since he has dealt

unerringly with the complicated heads and legs. — Thus we may be sure that all the details not included in the heads and bodies, but appearing in the same group with them, must represent the missing necks (*f*), bodies (*g*) and sometimes also the tails

(x). The animal figures may be interpreted in the following way:

Animal figures (plates XV—XVIII)

(A-D) The big full face mask *A*, which acts as the left lateral lobe of the foot-plate, and the biting heads *B* and *C* on each side of the upper part of the foot-plate represent an animal without any other parts of the body. — An animal consisting only of a head forms the full face mask *D* which belongs as one to a row of similar masks facing inwards on the border of the head-plate.

(E) Figure *E* which is located on the left side panel of the inner border of the head-plate shows a variant of the Kakunmäki brooch animal in a distinct and easily comprehensible position. It is an animal facing to the left and lying on its belly with its foreleg raised so that the paw is level with the forehead while the hindleg is bent over the body in a preposterous position so that the paw is pressed to the podium.

(F) The median triangle divides the inner panel of the head-plate into two parts, of which the left one is occupied by animal *F*. This creature has a big head turned to the right i.e. towards the vertical centre line of the brooch. The creature is supported by the thigh and hip of the hindleg with its foot raised. A detached part of the foreleg is in its open mouth.

(G) The right-hand side of the inner panel of the head-plate is occupied by animal *G* which is also a creature with a large head turned to the right, but in this case placed so that the snout points towards the foot-plate in a parallel direction to the vertical axis of the brooch. This animal is lying on its belly looking backwards so that its mouth reaches far enough to bite its tail (x). The hind leg (*i*) is bent over the body (*g*) and the paw is below the neck (*f*). The elbow of the foreleg (*h*) is raised while the paw, which is located at the joining point of the head and neck, points forwards.

(H) An animal similar to figure *E*. It fills the left panel of the inner border of the head-plate, which is symmetrically opposite to the space containing animal *E*. The head is broken off but it appears that the foreleg points to the left like that of animal *E*.

(I) The front half of an animal in a reclining posture, turned to the left so that the snout faces towards the head of animal *A*. — Animal *I* has the left half of the tie-band

between the biting heads *B* and *C* as its shoulder. The bearded jaw, lower part of neck and foot touch the framing band of the lozenge at the middle of the foot-plate.

(J) The front part of an animal in a reclining posture and facing right so that the snout points to the right half of the tie-band between the heads *B* and *C* while the lower parts of the head and the front paw are pressed against the upper edges of the foot-plate.

(K) An animal in an upright posture situated in the right-hand top panel of the foot-plate. This animal faces right and its mouth points at the eye of the biting head *C*. The eyebrow (*d*) forms the upper edge of the foot-plate. Presumably the long, single leg (*h*) of this beaked animal represents a wing.

(L) An animal consisting of a big head and two legs. It is located at the left-hand top panel of the foot-plate so that its mouth points at the tie-band between the heads *B* and *C*. The legs make up a figure in the form of a whirligig.

(M) A fragment of an animal in a reclining (or running) posture, facing right. It is situated at the left panel border of the foot-plate between the lower edge and the lozenge.

No. 16 (KM 9550: 19), plates V and XV—XVI.

A fragment of silver decorated in relief from *Tunis* in Vöyri: apparently the terminal lobe of the foot-plate of a large square-headed brooch. — The centre of the fragment is a human face executed in high relief (*A*). Three ridges rise from the head crown in the shape of a fan. They are presumably the lower edges and the median bar of the foot-plate, and are decorated with zig-zag niello ornament. — The face is flanked by animal motifs seen in profile which fill the narrow borders. On the right a complete animal (*B*) climbs up the side of the face *A* in the wake of another animal (*C*). The ornament on the left is badly worn, but the fragmentary pattern suggests that the ornament on this side was the same.

No. 17 (KM 6668: 16), plates V and XV.

A button of bronze with niello ornament from *Ketohaka* in Salo (Uskela). — The

circular disk-panel of the object is decorated with a pattern in relief around centre stud set with niello. The pattern is interrupted at three points by double ridges radiating from the centre. The spaces between the ridges are each filled with a leg motif, with trifurcate foot turned to the left and pressed

against the border of the panel. At the centre of the side there is a thick convex ring between two thinner but convex rings. On either sides of the ribbed zone there are conical projections. The upper one is ornamented with niello and it acts as a funnel-like frame for the face of the button.

COMPARISON

It is rarely that a find of antiquity which must be reckoned as a splendid work of art is subjected twice over to so thorough a misunderstanding as was the Kakunmäki brooch *No. 15* discovered in 1883. — As to ornament Salin in an otherwise praiseworthy analysis considers it completely degenerate.¹ He dares not attempt to identify any animal or individual limb. He only recognises the masks on the frieze that frame the square head-plate and the biting heads at the top of the foot-plate. — Hackman² agrees with Salin and so have practically all the more recent investigators.

However, the ornaments on the Kakunmäki brooch are distinct and logical, and the whole can be analyzed in detail as was disclosed above. All in all the brooch represents a logical and independent style variant of which only a few insignificant remains survive in Scandinavia or elsewhere. For this reason, it is not easy to establish parallels to the ornamental details although the figures in relief follow, in many respects, the same laws of composition as the decorations on the square-headed brooches of the same shape and from the same period.

Technically the Kakunmäki brooch is closely comparable with the Norwegian Dalum (fig. 28) and Falkum brooches,³ which are similarly formed of three cast elements riveted together as Hackman has remarked. In addition, the borders of the head-plates of these brooches have square full-face masks in common with the Kakunmäki brooch, while transverse bars are used freely. Further, the large faces on the lateral lobes of the foot of the Dalum brooch have triangular tongues as is the case with the Kakunmäki brooch. In the Danish Vedstrup brooch,⁴ which was also treated by Hackman, there are additional important similarities such as bars on the limbs of the animals.

Searching for comparison with the animal figures on our brooch we may begin with the biting heads *B* and *C*. They are situated at the top of the foot-plate, the usual place for decoration on the great relief brooches. Åberg has treated these highly stylized animal heads with a wide-open jaw in his type series.⁵ Here the head *C* of the Kakunmäki brooch is compared with some animal heads which closely resemble it. These are found in objects with other points of similarity like the Norwegian brooches mentioned above, square-headed brooches from Aagedal, Fristad and Rivjeland. — More relatives of the

¹) SALIN 1904, p. 234, " . . . Da ist nichts, von dem ich zu sagen wage, hier haben wir eine Auge, hier einen Fuss; das einzige, was sich möglicherweise bestimmen liesse, sind gewisse Theile, die dem Rumpf von Thierkörpern gleichen."

²) HACKMAN 1906, pp. 25—33.

³) See e. g. HOUGEN 1936, no. 20 (Falkum, Telemark, Norway).

⁴) See e. g. LEEDS 1949, no. S 6 (Vedstrup, Sjaelland, Denmark).

⁵) ÅBERG 1924, fig. 99: 4 (Kakunmäki, Ostrobothnia, Finland), fig. 99: 5 (Aagedal, Mandal, Norway), fig. 99: 6 (Fristad, Jäderen, Norway), fig. 99: 7 (Rivjeland, Aardal, Norway).



Fig. 28. Dalum, Nord Trøndelag, Norway (c. 2:3), (After Hougen 1936).

open-jawed marginal animals of the Kakunmäki brooch are presented in the type series published by Bakka.¹ He gives details from the Vedstrup brooch as well as from the Gummersmark, Grönby and Galsted brooches. The first figure in Bakka's series, which is from the square-headed brooch of Bifrons 41, is the most important.

The marginal animal heads depicted in profile on the Bifrons brooch,² which is put together from three cast elements by riveting like the Kakunmäki brooch, are of the same open-jawed type of which we already have given several examples, and whose simplified and highly stylized characteristics resemble those of the heads *B* and *C* on the Kakunmäki brooch. A large group of heads of this type, designed in greater detail and showing close parallels to the Bifrons 41 heads, are assembled on the surface of the Kakunmäki brooch. Five of such animals namely 15: *E*, *F*, *G*, *I* and *J* are still preserved. Presumably animal *H* had a head of this type too.

The shape of the open mouths of the profile animals on the Bifrons 41 brooch is the

¹) BAKKA 1958, figs 26–34.

²) See BAKKA 1958, figs. 15 and 25.

same as that of the profile animals *E, F, G, I, J* and *L* on the Kakunmäki brooch. Likewise the eyebrows of the animals on both of these brooches, resembling an ornamental collar and situating at a right angle with the nose, are similar. The eyebrow of animal *15: F* is also transversely barred like that of the Bifrons animals on the border of the head-plate (fig. 3). — The Kakunmäki heads have a line thrust out of the mouth, corresponding to the tongues of the Bifrons animals.¹ The tongue, built up in detail by the additions of lines and transverse lines, rather gives the impression of a great tooth. Likewise the Kakunmäki heads, particularly the head of animal *F*, have transverse line decorations (whiskers) on the cheek, as well as a round stud representing a nostril, which Bakka considers important distinctive points of style on the Bifrons heads. — In addition the rectangular shape of the animal heads on the Kakunmäki and Bifrons brooches serves to point out the close relationship between these two objects.

In order to add new items to the list of similar basic characteristics we may draw attention to a fact underlined by Bakka, that in this style variant as well as in the so-called Germanic ornament in general, the full-face figures are formed by two heads in profile. Thus is the case in the Bifrons brooch and the same holds good in the full-face heads of the Kakunmäki brooch, which appear in the row of masks (*D*) on the square head-plate and on the head *A* of the surviving left lobe, on both flanks of which there are profile heads which are symmetrical on either side of the central (nasal) line. — When profile heads of this said type with the eyebrow at right angles to the nose are joined, a distinct T-shaped division frame is formed at the centre of the full-face. A frame of this type is discernible on the full-face heads of the Bifrons brooch, although the bow of the eyebrow which acted as the upper lappet of the T was partially retained. The *T line* was boldly realized on the faces of the Kakunmäki brooch and this shows T style in its purest form.

T line faces are by no means common on Scandinavian objects. It is true that they appear, as on the side lappets of the Rivjeland brooch and on the borders of the head-plates of the Dalum brooch (fig. 28), as well as on a brooch from Rogaland.² The great faces on the bronze clasps decorated in relief from Grumpaland in western Götaland³ may also be considered to belong to this class. We may note that faces of this type are also found not only on the Finnish Kakunmäki brooch but also on the Tunis fragment *No. 16* and on the Vanhalinna brooch *No. 47* which will be discussed below.

The T line of the face seems to belong particularly to objects from England, where eyebrows which are set at a right angle to the nose or are square in shape are common. The masks with the T line are found on Anglo-Saxon relief brooches (see e.g. figs. 23 and 29), button brooches, saucer brooches and various types of mounts (e.g. fig. 30)⁴ — The double face figure *A* on the Kakunmäki brooch is also found among English

¹) BAKKA 1958 (p. 36) when treating these heads wanted to interpret the line thrust out of the heads of the Bifrons, Vedstrup and Galsted brooches (figs. 26, 28 and 33) as a lower jaw and not as a tongue. — In my opinion it is certainly the tongue or sometimes a detail representing teeth. E. g. in the case of the biting heads of the brooch from Langlo in Norway (Salin 1904, fig. 518) the question may be of a lower jaw, but the biting heads on the Grönby brooch (fig. 9 in this book) and on the Fonnås brooch (fig. 32 in this book) clearly disclose that the line cannot be anything else but a tongue thrust out of an open jaw. In the biting heads of the Fonnås brooch only

the tongue is attached to the head while the upper and lower jaws have, in a stylized composition, drifted away from their natural position.

²) HOUGEN 1936, no. 36 (Jaeren, Rogaland, Norway).

³) FORNVÄNNEN 1911, p. 243 (Grumpaland, Western Götaland, Sweden).

⁴) See also e. g. SALIN 1904, fig. 205 (Kempston, Beds., Eng.).

LEEDS 1949, no. 8 (Chessel Down, I. of W., Eng.), no. 70 (Guildown 46, Surrey, Eng.).

LEEDS 1912, fig. 7 (Chatham, Kent, Eng.), fig. 7 (Brighthampton, Oxon., Eng.).



Fig. 29. Hornton, Oxon., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

motifs. We shall treat this type of face figure more fully in connection with the Vanhalinna brooch No. 47.

What then is the significance of the part played by these animal figures? — The animal situated on the inner left border of the head-plate is the most distinct and best preserved of all the animals. The details of this animal 15: E were analyzed above (p. 36 and plates XVI-XVIII). It has a number of features common to the border animals on the square head of the Bifrons brooch (fig. 3) mentioned above. — We have already treated the head with its eyebrows, presented by a straight transverse band, its jaws and out-thrust tongue or tooth. Common features are also the ornamental rings in pairs at the ankles and wrists which belong to the distinguishing characteristics of the style represented by the Gummersmark (fig. 2), Engers (fig. 7), Finglesham¹, and Bifrons (fig. 3) brooches. The rectangular shape of the animal itself and the hindleg bent over the back is surprisingly close to the features of the topmost animals on the Bifrons brooch.

Besides these special characteristics of its animal figures the Kakunmäki brooch has a number of other interesting details and points of composition which among Scandinavian finds are rarities, and to which there is now reason to draw special attention. We shall, at this point, discuss :(i) The *tie-band* between the upper edges of the foot-plate, (ii) the *lozenge* in the middle of the foot, (iii) the head-plate with *lenticular corner-pieces*² and (iv) the *row of masks* on the border of the head-plate.

Leeds has pointed out that among some Anglo-Saxon brooches the character of the framing band becomes particularly evident in the clever use made of *tie-bands* to pull together the two biting heads at the top of the foot-plate. The tie-band in the said function occurs as a characteristic detail in the Leeds group A2 (Chessel Down type).³ This group is quite small: only three brooches are known by Leeds.⁴ — The tie-band detail occurs

¹) See also BAKKA 1958, figs. 23–25 (Zoöomorphic design on the Engers, Einglesham and Bifrons 41 brooches).

²) A term used by LEEDS 1949, p. 68 (lenticular = lens-shaped).

³) LEEDS 1949, pp. 11–16.

⁴) LEEDS 1949, no. 8 (Chessel Down, I. of W., Eng.), no. 9 (Linton Heath 9, Cambs., Eng.), no. 10 (Tuddenham, Suffolk., Eng.).

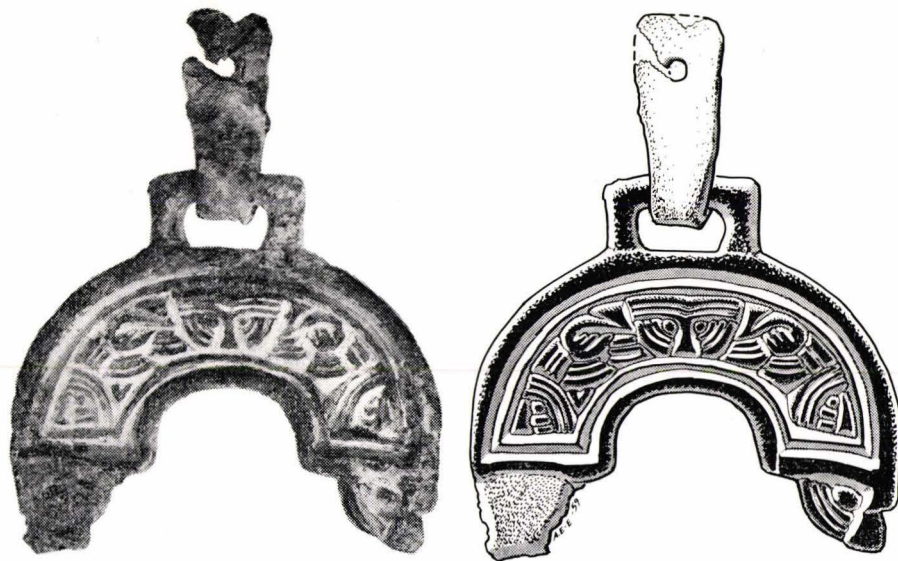


Fig. 30. Droxford, Hauts., England (4:3), (B. M.).

in certain Scandinavian brooches too¹ but it seems that among the rich material of Norway and Sweden brooches with tie-bands are rather rarities than common phenomena. Let us still add the list of objects of this kind by mentioning that one tie-band is to be seen on a Nocera Umbra brooch² which gives an impression of Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

The *lozenge* detail is like the tie-band rare but of surprisingly wide distribution. However, if we pick out the lozenge figures as distinct elements, situated at the centre of the footplate as on the Kakunmäki brooch, we find they are limited to one district only. Neither northern Italy nor Scandinavia is well represented but only Anglo-Saxon material (e.g. figs. 3, 7, 18 and 19)³. All these cases were included in Class A of Leeds (1949) (brooches with undivided foot) which incidentally also include all the Anglo-Saxon instances of the tie-band.

The *lentoid corner-pieces* also are details of whose use there seems to exist a certain knowledge within the entire area of so-called Germanic animal ornament, provided that the straight and equally thick variants are included. The corner pieces of the Kakunmäki brooch have, however, distinctly convex edges and a pointed tip. In other words they are in a particular lentoid shape which is a characteristic trait of Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches (figs. 18, 20, 22 and 23).⁴

The *row of masks* on the present brooch is, in spite of its explicit shape, an enigmatic group if we consider the distribution of analogies. — As with the ornamental motifs discussed above, this row of masks occurs more frequently in an Anglo-Saxon milieu than anywhere else. We see these rows of masks on the borders of the square head-plates

¹) HOUGEN 1936, no. 55 (Amalienborg, Sør Trøndelag, Norway), no. 56 (Lancset, Troms, Norway), no. 57 (Engeløen, Nordland, Norway).

ÅBERG 1953, fig. 24 (Brunflo, Jämtland, Sweden), fig. 30 (Hällan, Hälsingland, Sweden), fig. 31 (Hällan, Hälsingland, Sweden).

²) FUCHS & WERNER 1950, pl. 31: A 105 (Nocera Umbra, Italy).

³) E. g. LEEDS 1949, Nos. 1, 11, 13, 15—19, 21—25, 29, 31, S3, S4 (Anglo-Saxon brooches).

HOUGEN 1936, no. 26 (Trøgslund, Vest-Agder, Norway), no. 48 (Sandal, Sogn og Fjordene, Norway).

⁴) LEEDS 1949, see e. g. groups A3, B1, B3, B4, B5, B7 and B8; nos. 15, 17, 31, 61, 62, 76, 90—92, 107, 109 (and in this book figs. 18, 20, 22, 23 and 51).



Fig. 31. Skrautvål, Opland, Norway (c. 1:1), (After Hougen 1936).

of dozens of Anglo-Saxon brooches (e.g. figs. 21-23 and 29)¹. One must, however, be cautious here, since the masks in the Anglo-Saxon brooches almost always face outwards, in a direction opposite to the ones in the Kakunmäki brooch. It may be that this fact is not due to chance and it must be noted that in Scandinavia (see fig. 28) and on the Continent the row of masks are in many cases directed inwards as on the Kakunmäki brooch.² Thus is the case in a surprisingly large number of radiated brooches found in Langobardic graves in Italy.³

Let us now revert to Anglo-Saxon material and take into consideration one of the rare square-headed brooches which has a row of masks facing inwards. This is a somewhat

¹ **From England e.g.:**

LEEDS 1949, nos. 9, 10, 66, 68-70, 78-80, 89-92, 94-98, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 118 and 121 (Anglo-Saxon brooches);

From the Continent e.g.:

FUCHS & WERNER 1950, pl. 28: A 106 (Nocera Umbra, Italy), pl. 29: A 107/108 (Cividale, Italy), pl. 29: A 111 (Cividale, Italy), pl. 30: A 109 (Cividale, Italy), pl. 30: A 110 (Cividale, Italy).

From Scandinavia e.g.:

HOUGEN 1936, no. 20 (Falkum, Telemark, Norway),

no. 21 (Søtvet, Telemark, Norway), no. 36 (Jaeren, Rogaland, Norway).

ÅBERG 1953, fig. 24 (Brunflo, Jämtland, Sweden).

² SALIN 1904, fig. 90 (Nordendorf, Bayern, Germany), fig. 135 (Oberlahnstein, Nassau, Germany).

WERNER 1951, pl. 5: 6 (Caranda, dept. Aisne, Fr.).

³ FUCHS & WERNER 1950, pl. 15: A 73 (Castel Trosino J, Italy), pl. 17: A 76 (Nocera Umbra 158, Italy), pl. 17: A 77 (Nocera Umbra 29, Italy), pl. 19: A 78 (Chiusi 3, Italy), pl. 23: A 81/82 (Nocera Umbra 37, Italy).

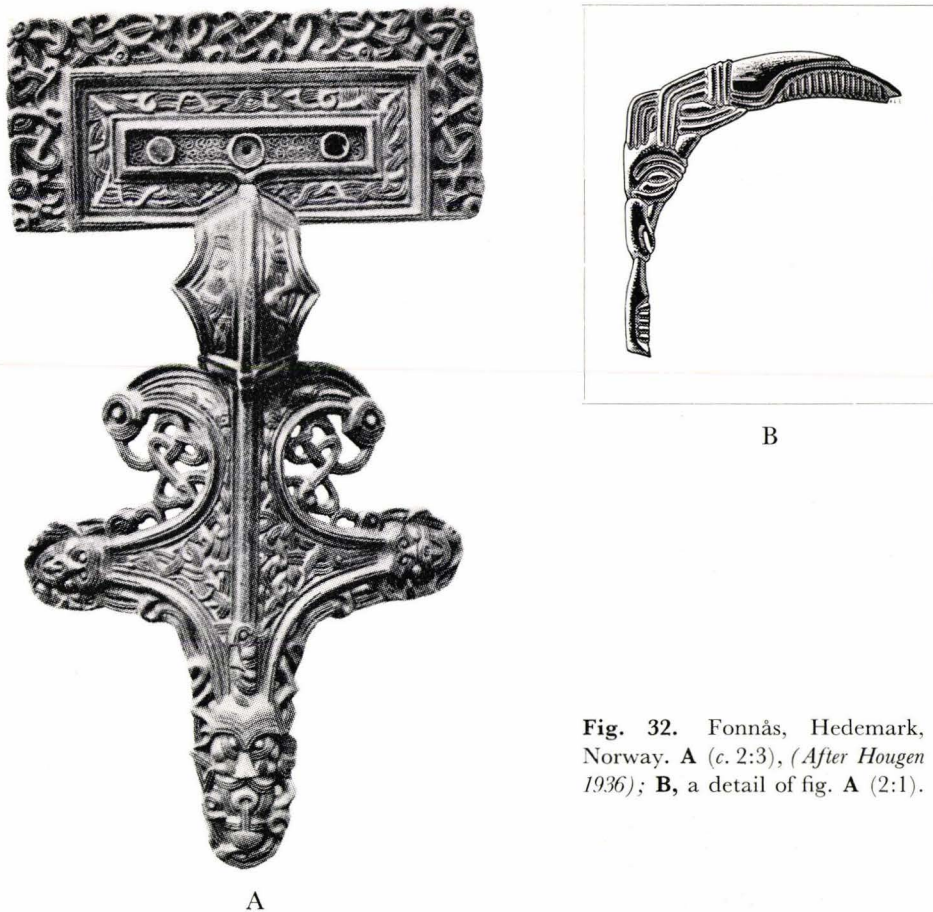


Fig. 32. Fonnås, Hedemark, Norway. **A** (c. 2:3), (After Hougen 1936); **B**, a detail of fig. **A** (2:1).

extraordinary but indisputably Anglo-Saxon brooch of Alveston 5 from (Fig. 23) the Leeds Class B8. The face frieze on the said brooch is formed in two parts so that on the inside of the border of the square head-plate there is a row of masks facing outwards and on the outside a row facing inwards. This double set of masks facing in opposite directions may lead us to assume that both possibilities are on a par and also that the row of masks facing inwards is established among the motifs of Anglo-Saxon brooches. We have here what seems to be two parallel series of face frames characteristic of such typical Anglo-Saxon objects as the saucer-brooches, whose masks are directed both inwards and outwards. — With regard to the rest of the ornament of the brooch of Alveston 5 we have an ornamental group which underlines the close relationship between this object and the Kakunmäki brooch. Among these ornaments we may mention the lentoid corner-pieces and the vertical bar which divides the inner panel of the head-plate in two. Equally worthy of mention are the biting heads at the top of the foot-plate, which besides both in function and in detail are similar to the heads *B* and *C* occurring in a corresponding position on the Kakunmäki brooch. In these heads of the Alveston brooch the cheek muscle separating the mouth from the portion under the eye is presented as an unusually prolonged element just as in the heads of the Kakunmäki brooch. This similarity together with the biting heads of the Vedstrup brooch,¹ is the nearest parallel which the writer has found to the head types *B* and *C* of the present brooch.

¹) LEEDS 1949, no. S 6 (Vedstrup, Sjaelland, Denmark).



Fig. 33. Hornsea, Yorks., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).



Fig. 34. Rothley Temple, Leics., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

Clearly the creator of the Kakunmäki brooch has used ornamental designs in his work which are somewhat uncommon in Germanic animal art, but on the other hand, have spread over a comparatively wide area. This could point to the theory that the brooch or its craftsman came from an area with good connections with both northern Italy and England, but where for some reason or other little object material has been found for investigation. By this we mean an area where the archaeological material gives no adequate idea of the original number of objects decorated in Style I in comparison with the wealth of objects from Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian graves. — In the first place, the regions of northern France and Belgium might be considered. Objects from these regions¹ possess both T line masks and style of ornament close to the Kakunmäki brooch. This may be the case, but as we in the present investigation are working on preserved material it must be admitted that analogies to the Kakunmäki brooch occur by far most frequently in the Anglo-Saxon material. Such objects as the Bifrons 41 brooch with its animal figures, and the lozenge in the middle of the foot, as well as the brooch of Alveston 5 with its row of masks facing inwards, its lentoid corner-pieces and its biting heads at the top of the foot-plate, are the significant objects to take as a guide to origin.

There is not much left of the silver fragment *No. 16* from Tunis but enough, however, to lead to the conclusion that it originally formed part of an object like the large square-headed brooches from Skrautvål (fig. 31) and Fonnås (fig. 32). This is clearly indicated by the full-face mask and by three nielloed relief ridges rising from the top of the head. — This head is raised in high relief and is a rather powerful figure amidst the frail-looking marginal animals which have been set on a flat level. In this respect our fragment resembles the terminal lobe of the Skrautvål brooch, and the chubby cheeks of the man stand comparison with the Fonnås brooch as well as with the Grönby brooch from Skåne (fig. 9) whose faces also present round healthy-looking cheeks.

From the point of view of the present investigation the roundness of the cheeks of the Tunis mask is not of interest because it reflects well-being. The fact that this feature is

¹) See e. g. BREUER & ROSENS 1957, pl. 10: 1–4.

characteristic of a certain ornamental style is of much greater significance. Before proceeding to a more thorough discussion, however, we must continue the analysis of the Tunis mask (see plates XV and XVI):

On the basis of the details known to us hitherto in Style I and particularly in the details of the mask of figure 15: *A* of the Kakunmäki brooch, we can easily conclude that the mighty double bow situated under the moustache (e^3) and the puffed cheeks (e^2) of the Tunis mask do not represent a beard as might seem probable at first sight. Within the logic of Style I it could serve as nostrils but since the obligatory nostril studs are lacking we can also leave out this alternative. Evidently the said double bow represents the mouth and in particular the lips (b^1) of a gaping mouth. — Because of the sturdiness of their structure, their double line and location these lips present an extraordinarily good parallel to the lips of the Kakunmäki animals 15: *E*, *I*, *J* and *L*. The numerous flourishes situated below cannot represent a beard, since they quite obviously gush out from the mouth of the Tunis mask. They (b^2) are in fact ornamental parallels to the shapes issuing from the mouths of the Kakunmäki animals which we have interpreted as a tongue and probably teeth. In the Tunis case, however, the question is not of teeth or a tongue but of a colossal 'fire-breathing mouth' with powerful features. The violent breathing of fire explains the puffing of the cheeks, which was discussed previously.

It certainly is not necessary to base this interpretation of fire on the isolated case of the Tunis fragment, though its fire is undeniably one of the best of its kind which the writer has succeeded in finding in the sphere of Style I. — We can make a list of corresponding masks with puffed cheeks and fire-discharging mouths on the lobes of the footplate of the Fonnås brooch (fig. 32), and again on many Anglo-Saxon brooches (figs. 18, 19 and 33)¹ The mouths of the terminal masks of certain Anglo-Saxon brooches appear to have been depicted so that they strongly suggest a blazing grate (fig. 34).

As regards this material the question is hardly that of a dragon with a fire-spitting mouth representing the devil, with solid traditions in pagan art, nor does the present writer wish to maintain that all the fire-spitting beings in Style I stand for the Holy Ghost bringing a baptism with fire for humanity (see St. Luke 3: 16 and 12: 49) even though this explanation may not be far from the truth.² The motif may be a reflection from Christian art and containing among other things the depiction of the "Wonder of Easter" with the fire-tongued Holy Ghost. According to Künstle this artistic presentation originated in Syrian miniature art in the 6th century from whence it spread rapidly into Europe through illustrated manuscripts of the Bible.³

An important motif from the earliest part of the Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup -style phase consists of the full-face masks with rounded cheeks, while their variants, presented in high relief and provided with an exceedingly decorative 'tongue of fire', make their entrance in a somewhat later period. Examples of this newer tendency are not only the masks on the Tunis and Fonnås brooches but the full-faces in exceptionally high relief on the bronze mount of the greater Taplow drinking horn (fig. 5).

The frail marginal animals in the Tunis fragment, of which the ones on the right side are the better preserved, are rich in details, too. — They have for instance double ankle rings, as do practically all the relief animals on the Kakunmäki brooch and on

¹ E. g. LEEDS 1949, no. 11 (Holywell Row 11, Suffolk, Eng.), no. 15 (Haslingfield, Cambs., Eng.), no. 21 (Barrington A 11, Cambs., Eng.), no. 23 (Linton Heath 40, Cambs., Eng.), no. 113 (Little Wilbraham 3, Cambs., Eng.), no. 114 (Little Wil-

braham 40, Cambs., Eng.), no. 141 (Kempston, Beds., Eng.), no. 143 (Holdenby, Northants., Eng.).

² See e. g. FORSTNER 1961, p. 103.

³ KÜNSTLE 1928, pp. 517—.

the Engers, Finglesham and Bifrons 41 brooches. However, both on some silver buckle-plates from Kent and also on the silver lower guards from Sjøröd in Skåne,¹ we come upon creatures of better shape, which are thus more closely comparable to the marginal animals of the Tunis brooch. These Kentish finds, including a find from Fairford, are dated, according to Leeds, to the first part of the 6th century but Salin has considered them examples of late Style I and thus from the latter part of the century. The Sjøröd find again is one of the classic examples of the so-called Sjørup -style dating from about the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries.

On the basis of its rather meagre ornaments, it seems that the Tunis brooch fragment belongs, in the first place, to the Anglo-Saxon type, which is closely related to the Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjørup -group, but in which the spiral ornament of the Galsted brooch has disappeared. Thus the relative chronology points towards the period of the Taplow drinking horn, of which some significant analogies have already been presented. In other words we must direct our attention not to the earlier phases of the Sjørup style but to the middle and second half of the 6th century, a time which fits very well together with the dating of the 'tongues of fire' presented above.

As was stated the Tunis fragment *No. 16* may originate from the so-called square-headed brooch of which the Kakunmäki brooch *No. 15* is an example. It is not the similarity in shape, however, which is the reason for treating these finds under the same heading. Compared with the impressive full-face head, which makes a very vital impression, and with the feather-light marginal animals of the Tunis fragment the animals on the Kakunmäki brooch are stiff and formal, so there is no similarity in manner of decoration. — The basis for comparison is the T line used on both objects. Such a line is definitely apparent in the mask of the Tunis brooch. The appearance of this feature, which the present writer considers one of the basic ornamental characteristics of the style on both square-headed brooches, up to now only the ones found in our country, is perhaps not due to chance.

In spite of style variation in the objects of our survey, which apparently belong to different periods and aim at different goals, the T line points to the direction of origin. In the first place this appears to be England. It may be that the objects were passed along a route through Trondheim and Jämtland to the Gulf of Bothnia and finally to Finland.

As to the dating of the Tunis fragment the opinion of the author has already been stated. The Kakunmäki brooch could be of the same period as the aforementioned magnificent relief brooch of Bifrons grave 41. In other words the dating falls to the first part of the 6th or to the last years of the 5th century.

The Ketohaka ornamental button *No. 17* differs from other ornamental buttons in our country both in the ribbing on the flank and in the figure on the face. In spite of the scarcity of details, it possesses several features connected with the characteristic T line. — In the first place, the three-fold ring on the side of the Ketohaka button is comparable with the beautiful ridges in relief flanked by thin marginal lines which appear as contour and divisional bars on the Dalum, Fonnås and Kakunmäki brooches and presumably on the Tunis brooch also. Like the relief on the Ketohaka button the relief on these larger objects is framed by a thicker ridge in niello, and by a thin, sharp-ridged

¹ LEEDS 1936, pl. 20: b (Fairford, Glos., Eng.) and p. 69.

SMITH 1923, fig. 67 (Barn Elms, on the Thames, Eng.).

SALIN 1904, fig. 701 (Kent, Eng.), see also p. 324; fig. 534 (Sjøröd, Skåne, Sweden); see also BAKKA 1958, p. 44.



Fig. 35. Sleaford 194, Lincs., England (4:3), (B. M.).

relief line round the figure. On the button there are only three leg figures as signs of an animal motif but the hips, which are presented as an open loop, and the long-fingered paws as well as the shape of the legs, reveal the same graceful lines as were met with in the marginal animals on the Tunis brooch *No. 16*. The pair of lines which separate the legs from one another brings to mind the pair of transverse lines which plays an important role in the face-frieze of the Kakunmäki brooch as well as in the division of some of the animal figures.

Hence, it is evident that the Ketohaka button *No. 17* belongs to the same style as is represented by the Kakunmäki and Tunis relief brooches, in spite of the fact that no characteristic T line face is visible. Thus it seems that both the composition and motif of this button bear comparison with the Anglo-Saxon objects. As examples of circular compositions designed around a centre stud and thus corresponding to the surface ornament of our button where the figure is divided by transverse lines into three equal zones, we may mention two saucer brooches from Fairford¹ and Sleaford (fig. 35). A still more interesting object of comparison is a saucer brooch from Kempston², as here we have legs which run round the circle and which as to motif and composition correspond to the figures on the Ketohaka button. In addition to these legs the brooch also has four T line faces which thus fill the gap in our evidence and supports our argument that the Ketohaka button belongs to the same style.

(B) THE TAPLOW STYLE PHASE.

We have already come into contact with the Taplow material but it is scarcely justifiable to place the Tunis and Kakunmäki finds (*Nos. 16 and 15*) under the heading derived from the name of this famous Anglo-Saxon burial on the same grounds as the objects to be mentioned below. It is true that most of the ornamental animals on the Kakunmäki

¹) LEEDS 1912, pl. 26: 4 (Fairford, Glos., Eng.).

²) SALIN 1904, fig. 205 (Kempston, Beds., Eng.).



Fig. 36. Barrington B21, Cambs., England (1:1),
(Cambridge Museum).

brooch are stiffened into a position particularly characteristic of the creatures on the mounts of the Taplow drinking horns (figs. 5, 46 and 54), and show the raising of the hand in a position of salutation (*gestus*) inherited from Roman art and resembling the custom still prevalent in national armies.¹ — Animals 15: *E, G, H*, as well as perhaps *I* and *J* on the Kakunmäki brooch are in such a position. The ornamental creatures now to be investigated differ, however, from those on the Kakunmäki brooch in that nearly all have their mouths tightly shut in contrast to the wide open jaws of the Kakunmäki animals. In addition, these creatures show details indicating a soldier's armour or occasional parts of this, such parts as a helmet, or neck armour, or shields for shoulder or hip.

Within the compass of this style so many variants exist for the separate points that comparison must of necessity play an even more important role than hitherto. However, these richly diversified creatures may be classified into three main groups. — The animals in the first group to be taken into consideration are in general *lean*. They sometimes give the impression of being nervous, and they belong to a herd with disjointed limbs. The creatures in this group do not seem to respect the frames reserved for them but, on the contrary, have at times forced part of themselves over the margin. A characteristic feature of these animals is the fact that the details of the skull such as the eyebrow (*d*) and the nose plate (*c*), are in many cases joined to each other and are modest in size in relation to the head. The cheek (*e*), however, which occurs as the portion under the eye is exaggerated, and it is its relatively large size which emphasizes the creatures melancholy and helpless appearance. — The animals in the second group are contrasts to those in the first since they are, in general, *fat* and give the impression that they are well satisfied with themselves. The different details of the heads are especially worth analyzing. The cheeks are small or only slightly visible, but the frontal plates protecting the head and the forehead and the top, which have been produced by enlarging the eyebrow, are in some cases relatively powerful in comparison with the size of the animals themselves. Whether this is due to harmonious or to relationships, it seems that the custom of this group is to borrow one's neighbour's limbs. These animals have in fact bodies, legs, cheeks and so on in common with their neighbours. — The beings in the third group are presented by their faces only, but since there are a large number of numerous faces they are given the name of the *face* type.

¹) See KENDRICK 1938, esp. pp. 73—81.

MATERIAL

No. 18 (KM 1971: 1), plates VI and XIX—XX.

A large equal-armed silver brooch from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. It is complete except for the surface of the relief ornament which seems to have been originally decorated in niello but has lost many of its details owing to fire and, perhaps, weathering. The arms of the brooch are cruciform and bordered by bands of relief. These arms as well as the bow, which is both divided and bordered by bands decorated in relief, are filled with animal ornamentation, viz:

(A) A full-face animal head at the terminal of the head plate. The snout is represented by a triangular plate inside of which there is an animal (D) seen in profile.

(B and C) A full-face animal head occurs on the lateral lobes of the head-plate. Each head has free-standing ears, which emerge from the eyebrows, and a triangular snout.

(D) The triangle-shaped mouth of animal A is occupied by an animal seen from the side. It has a large head with a sharp beak (b) turned to the right. A small transverse bar (f) represents the neck and body which are joined together by a large leg (h) the elbow of which is at the vertex of the triangle. Its S-shaped paw acts as a pillow for the cheek (e) and the beak.

(E) A quadruped which fills the panel of the head-plate and partly escapes from the frame. It is seen partly from the side and partly from above. Its U-shaped beak faces the terminal triangle i.e. toward the neck of animal A, while the other parts of the body have in places been dismembered or exaggerated in size. However, the ornament makes sense, for we see an eye (a), an eyebrow (d), a nose plate (c), a cheek (e), a neck (f), a body (g), and legs (h^1 , h^2 , i^1 and i^2) with two or three toes. Some of the legs even appear to be equipped with a shield on the thigh or shoulders.

(F) One of the four biting heads outside the nielloed frame of the brooch. It is firmly drawn with an extraordinarily powerful, curved beak and a very fat portion under the eye.

(G) The limbs of an animal in the upper

right side panel of the bow. Presumably these parts belong to an animal of which we know the head F.

(H & I) A repetition of the combination F & G.

(J) Similar to fig. A

(K) Similar to fig. B

(L) Similar to fig. B

(M) Similar to fig. D

(N) Similar to fig. E

(O & P) Decoration corresponding to the combination F & G on the right side.

(Q & R) A repetition of the combination O & P.

No. 19 (KM 1971: 2), plates V and XXI-XXII

A nielloed, small, square-headed gilt-bronze brooch with divided foot from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — A continuous median bar between the head-plate and the neck of the terminal mask divides both the bow and the foot-plate in two. In addition to the animal figures mentioned below attention is drawn to the grooved bow, to the chip-carved triangular panels and to the stumps of the circular lateral lobes on either side of the foot-plate. The animal figures are as follows:

(A) A full-face animal head on the terminal lobe of the foot-plate. Its snout is a triangular plate and a transverse bar in niello, a collar, separates it from the foot-plate proper.

(B and C) The biting heads at the top of the foot-plate are in the form of simple hook-shaped figures.

(D) (pl. XXI-XXII) The panel of the rectangular head-plate is occupied by an animal executed in chip-carving technique. Its head with an eye (a), a broad beak (b), a curved eyebrow & nose plate combination (c-d) and a cheek (e) is turned to the left and fills half the field while a bent leg (h) fills the other half.

No. 20 (KM 13336: 8), plates VII and XXI-XXII

A large ornamental button of bronze with niello filling and perhaps also glass filling, from a barrow at *Kirjakka* in Lempäälä. — The object is a hemisphere and the relief decoration which covers its surface is divided by relief lines ridged with niello so that a

triangular panel with concave curving sides is formed in the centre of the button. This panel was apparently filled with glass or some other substance. The points of the triangle extend to the rim of the button through a pair of transversely set lines. The curved lines with niello (*y*), surrounding the triangular panel are also in high relief. The rest of the areas is filled with a decoration with animal motifs on a surface in a relief lower than that of the niello ridges. The decoration is similar in all three segments.

Each segment is filled with a profile animal (*A*, *B* and *C*) turned to the right and twisted around the curved line (*y*) so that the head is on the right, and the eye (*a*) and eyebrow & nose plate combination (*c-d*) are pressed against the rim. Hence, the head is downwards and the curved cheek (*e*) with the portion under the eye is situated above the eye itself, while the beak (*b*), presented as two short lines in relief points towards the left. A small lentoid figure placed below the curved line (*y*) and the two parallel thin bow lines join with the rim of the button to denote a rudimentary foreleg (*h*) with shoulder and paw. — A double ridge in relief (*g*), resting on the curved line (*y*), represents the body of the creature. It is joined to the drooping head on the right by a neck (*f*) formed by two transverse lines and to the hindleg (*i*) on the left by two more transverse lines. The hindleg with its hip and shank in the left corner of the segment is one of the most distinct details in the figure. A double ankle-ring and a loop-shaped cloven hoof whose point acts as a pillow beneath the beak are discernible, and pressed against the rim of the button.

Nos. 21-22 (KM 10849: 24-25), plates VII and XXI-XXII.

Two ornamental buttons of gilded bronze with niello filling from barrow 49^b at *Vallinmäki* in Vähäkylä. — They are accurate duplicates of each other, but one is better preserved and thus has been used for the analysis. The face of the button is decorated with a circular figure in relief in the form of a long-beaked animal curled up into a ball and facing to the right, so that the head (*a-e*) fills one half of the circle and a neck & body combination (*f-g*) with two legs (*h-i*), detached from their joints, the other half. The upper and lower parts of the edge are bent outwards to give the shape of

a cone and the central part is formed by a wide convex ring. The upper section has a groove of niello and this acts as a frame to the relief panel.

No. 23 a (KM 2030: 3 c) and

No. 23 b (KM 2996: 89); plate VII.

Two ornamental buttons of bronze from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — The surface of the objects is damaged and rough but, judging from the preserved parts, they are in shape and decoration of the same type as button *No. 22*.

No. 24 (KM 6370: 31), plate VII.

An ornamental button of bronze with niello filling from the cemetery of *Kiiliä* in Sääksmäki. — In shape and decorations the object is similar to the *Vallinmäki* button *No. 22* except that it has no trace of gilding.

Nos. 25-27 (KM 14264: 56, 61 and 85), plates VII and XXI (N:o 25).

Ornamental buttons of the same type as the *Vallinmäki* button *No. 22* but without gilding, from the cemetery at *Lentolankärki* in Hauho.

No. 28 (KM 8942: 4a), plates VIII and XXI-XXII.

A great ornamental button of bronze with niello filling, from barrow 4 at *Gölby* in Jomala. — The object is shaped like a truncated cone and the border of its surface panel as well as the upper part of the conically shaped sides are separately provided with bands of relief work whose ridges are decorated with niello inlaid with silver. — In the centre of the panel is a niello-pointed stud and at the lower part of the sides a narrow conical ridge forming a rim. The sides are divided into four equal panels by transverse bars of relief. The face and side panels are occupied by animal ornament as follows:

(A) An animal turned to the left and twined around the centre stud, occupying $\frac{2}{3}$ of the area of the button face. It has a lentoid eye (*a*) within the triangular frame formed by the nose plate (*c*), an eyebrow (*d*) and a cheek (*e*). The creature has its broken beak (*b*) in its lap next to the centre pin of the figure. The foreleg (*h*) provided with a large tuft on the shoulder is placed with the forearm arched over the neck (*f*) extending along the marginal frame of the panel towards the head, while the U-shaped paw touches the upper part of the

eyebrow. — The body (*g*), decorated with two longitudinal lines, is behind the tuft on the foreleg. It is so fat that it completely fills the section between the centre stud and the marginal frame of the panel. The hindleg (*i*), separated from the body by a transverse line, is shaped like the letter C and may perhaps be interpreted as a tail bent into a hook.

(*B*) An animal deficient in limbs which is turned to the right and twined around the centre stud, occupying one third of the panel. Unlike the preceding animal, it has its back turned towards the centre stud, but again the beak (*b*) is detached, and it holds this organ with a nose plate (*c*) attached to its lap and under its arm. Probably this part is a substitute for the missing neck (*f*). In addition to an eye (*a*), an eyebrow (*d*) and a cheek (*e*) this animal also has a three-toed foot (*h*) which rests against the border of the disk panel. The other parts of the animal (body and hindleg) are lacking.

(*C*) A four-legged animal dispersed into two panels of the sides. — One panel (*I*) has the head of the animal with a large cheek (*e*), of a different shape from the heads of the preceding animals and with the beak (*b*) in the right place, turned to the left. In the same panel as the head is a three-toed leg (*h*¹) with the beak forming the shoulder shield. The shape on the left bar also represents a leg (*h*²) with a hip-shield of its own, decorated with grooves, but the toes of the foot have not been separated. The other panel (*II*) has two legs. The leg with two toes (*i*¹) has its joint set into a corner while a double thigh shield is found in the correct position. The three-toed foot (*i*²), which is

pressed against the upper part of the frame, has lost this addition but it is to be found at the centre of the lower part of the frame, not far away. In this section are the armoured neck (*f*) and the body (*g*) of animal *C*.

(*D*) A four-legged animal, which is dispersed through the third and fourth panels (*III-IV*) of the sides of the button. — Its armoured head is situated in the centre of the fourth section (*IV*) so that the protective plate decorated with a groove covering the mouth and nose (*b-c*) is set against the upper frame of the panel. To the right of the plate the eye (*a*) is marked by a pair of transverse bars and the C-shaped eyebrow (*d*) extends from the protective plate to the lower frame of the panel. The cheek (*e*) remains in a rather odd position, although close to the head. — The forelegs are located on both sides of the head. The leg on the left (*h*¹) has a two-toed foot, as well as a shoulder-shield decorated with grooves, while the leg on the right (*h*²) has a three-toed paw and a simple shoulder-shield. In the third panel (*III*) the composition of the legs (*i*¹ and *i*²) is practically the same as in the previous section except for a three-stranded neck line (*f*) in the centre and a hooked body (*g*) which has joined on to the hip shield of the other leg.

Nos. 29—31 (KM 8942: 4b-d), plates VIII and XXI.

Three large ornamental buttons from barrow 4 at *Gölby* which, in shape and ornamentation, are almost similar to button *No. 28*. These four buttons have been found at a distance of only a few centimetres from one another.

COMPARISON

The heads of animals *F*, *H*, *O* and *Q* on the magnificent equal-armed brooch *No. 18* of *Gulldynt*, which remain recognizable in shape, have cheeks (*e*) set below the eyes, which are one of the most emphasized details. On some similarly shaped heads on the *Bjällsta* brooch from Central Sweden¹ the beaks are altogether missing but the portion under the eye is given exceptional prominence and this is characteristic of these melancholy creatures. — Hackman has presumed that Central or North Sweden was the original

¹) SALIN 1904, fig. 137 (*Bjällsta*, Medelpad, Sweden).



Fig. 37. Hamburg Mus., Inv. No. 1919,305 (c. 1:1), (Photo R. G. K.).

home of the Gullydynt brooch. Kivikoski, too, believes it to be a Swedish product.¹ — Without doubt the animal figures on the Bjällsta brooch are close parallels to the fauna we are at present investigating, while the contour lines of the triangles on the lobes with their transverse grooves and the shape of the bow itself are almost identical.

The Bjällsta brooch is not, however, an outstanding instance of Germanic ornamentation any more than is the Gullydynt brooch. Both brooches are simple variants of certain peculiar luxury articles which are densely distributed in Trøndelag. Above all the production of the so-called Dalum master must be taken into consideration. — Not only the shape of the bow but also the thorns thrust outside the frame borders are found both on the Dalum square-headed brooch (fig. 28) and on the one we are studying.² Likewise, the great animal heads on the square head-plate of the Dalum brooch are provided with heavy cheeks under the eyes in a manner which is characteristic of this style.

It is obvious that in treating the Gullydynt relief brooch one cannot overlook such objects as the Bjällsta and Dalum brooches. Objects of comparison could be added to the list but we may only mention the Häste relief brooch from Jämtland, also provided with projecting thorns, which has been thought to represent Norwegian influence.³ — In spite of their thorns these parallels are, however, insignificant when an attempt is made to solve the origin of the Gullydynt brooch. The protruding thorns of the Bjällsta, Dalum and Häste brooches alike represent baroque phenomena which develop at the close of each style phase as what may be called nonsensical elements. They no longer have a connection with the structure of the object itself and still less with the composition of the limbs of the animal ornament. However, this is not the case in the Gullydynt relief brooch and it was made evident in the analysis that each thorn which projects from the contour lines of the brooch is a direct extension to some limb of the relief animals 18: *E* and *N* on the centre zones. They are extensions of the nose plates (*c*), the eyebrows (*d*), and the cheeks (*e*) and are formed by triple ridges similar to them. — It may thus be justifiable to hold the Gullydynt brooch as older, because earlier in style than the Scandinavian finds.

¹) HACKMAN 1922, p. 129.

KIVIKOSKI 1947, no. 209.

²) See also e. g. SALIN 1904, fig. 473 (a silver mount from Dalum).

³) BJÖRNSTAD 1962, pl. 2 (Häste, Jämtland, Sweden).

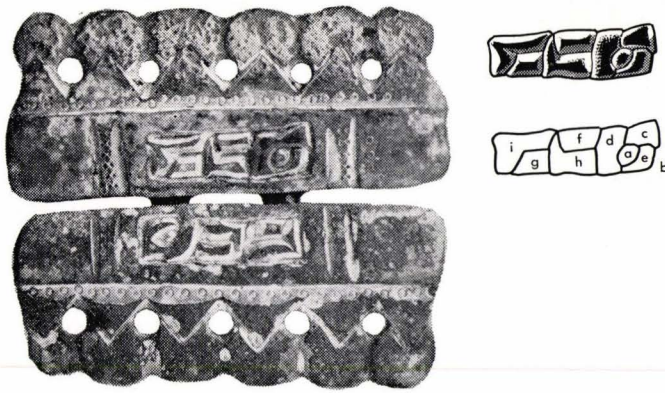


Fig. 38. Sleaford 227, Lincs., England (4:3), (B. M.).

Before continuing the discussion of the origin of the brooch we may consider the small equal-armed relief brooch *No. 7* which was found on the same mound in Gullydynt and was treated above (p. 19). There is reason to do this on account of the projections on the animal heads *18: B, C, K* and *L* alone situated on the lateral lobes of the magnificent relief brooch, which may be interpreted as horns or ears and related to the transverse bars on the same parts of the animals on brooch *No. 7* which have caused much controversy. More noteworthy may, however, be the fact that at certain points on the great animal — (for instance in the "hindleg" (*i*²) of animal *18: E*) the same type of pleat ornament in pairs is found as on the lateral panels of the bow of brooch *No. 7*. — On the basis of these similarities in detail one might presume that the Gullydynt brooches *Nos. 18* and *7* are made by the same master, or at least in workshops following the same traditions, even though they have features of different styles. Thus brooch *No. 18* would seem to represent a later, more 'modern' production, but to this point we shall return later.

The pleat-decorations of brooch *No. 7* led us irresistably to Anglo-Saxon material. If we start out to seek for parallels to the animal heads *18: F, H, O* and *Q*, its most characteristic features, the case is the same. Their exceptionally thick beaks (*b*) which are tightly coiled and their thick curved shields (*c*) give the animals a unique expression of self satisfaction. Heads of this type are characteristic above all of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches considered by Åberg to represent a final phase of development of type V and which he, like Leeds later on, dated mainly to the latter part of the 6th century.¹

In our analysis sketch (plate XX) the detail surrounding the skull which we above called a shield is indicated by the letter *c* which, in general, signifies the so-called nose plate. In fact, the question here is of a protective piece or helmet which covers the whole head and is joined to the original nose plate. In other words we are dealing with an animal equipped with armour, a type so common in Anglo-Saxon decorative art of Style I that the entire style group has been given a name from this characteristic detail: the *Helmet Style*.² — After so good a start we cannot avoid finding additional armour on these animals. Thus we can easily establish protective plates on the shoulders or thighs on the limbs (*18: G, I, P* and *R*), attached to the aforementioned heads. These details may fully be compared with the protective plates on the shoulders of the armoured 'warriors' on the large drinking horns from Taplow (fig. 54). Naturally, the creatures on the great Gullydynt brooch have rings on wrists, ankles and neck (*18: D, M* and *N*) similar

¹) ÅBERG 1926, pp. 50—56 and figs. 83—91.

LEEDS 1936, pl. 22, pl. 23 and p. 82.

²) KENDRICK 1938, pp. 73—81.

to those on the Taplow 'warriors' and some of them (*18: D* and *M*) have also forced their bent limbs into the narrowest angles of the corresponding triangles, another point of resemblance.

The small square-headed brooch *No. 19* from Gullydynt is in many respects unique. It was designed by a steady hand and as a technical performance with nielloed grooves, gilt, and a beautiful surface executed in chip-carving it is flawless. But as simple and clear as it appears to be it is difficult to find parallels to it in the northern countries. — Hackman has without presenting further arguments assumed that the place of origin of this brooch is in Sweden¹, but it would be difficult for him to defend his statement.

A closer examination of the Gullydynt brooch clearly reveals that all its details are simplified examples of the complicated parts of the great relief brooches, rich in nuances. For example, in the Dalum brooch (fig. 28), treated above, the outlines of the triangular panels at the foot and the triangle-shaped snout-plate of the full-face head in the terminal lobe are clearly visible. One might also say that the multilined border of the head-plate, the hooklike biting heads, and the simple lateral lobes are modest counterparts of corresponding details on the Dalum brooch.

However, we must now consider objects of comparison simpler and more modest than the Dalum brooch. — We come upon parallels to the simple hooks which act as biting heads as well as the smooth lateral lobes not only on Norwegian brooches but on some Danish ones also.² In addition, we find the triangular division of the foot-plate in a form which accurately corresponds to the Gullydynt brooch in Norway, on a brooch found near Narvik at Hundstad. However, as a counterbalance to this northern find, we may call attention to the fact that a pattern of this type was not unknown in the South, as may be concluded from a brooch from Testona in Italy.³ — Nevertheless, the foot-plates on our brooch divided into triangle panels by a median bar are, without doubt, most numerous among the Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches of the Leeds Class B1,⁴ where simple biting heads and smooth lateral lobes are common. Also the groove ornaments on the bow of brooch *No. 19* as well as the miniature size of the object appear to point clearly to the so-called small square-headed brooches of the Kentish type (figs. 36-37), dated by Leeds to the first half of the 6th century.⁵ Again the vertical median bar of the Gullydynt brooch which continues from the border of the head-plate to the neck of the full-face mask at the foot, is a detail not common in brooches of this shape. The bar found on the Norwegian and Italian brooches appears first on Anglo-Saxon brooches from Kent.⁶ Furthermore, very small animal figures like *19: D* are typical motifs above all among the Anglo-Saxon Style I material (see e.g. figs. 25 and 38).

In the brooch (*No. 19*) the animal ornamentation is scanty but sufficient to enable us to establish that it is the creation of the maker of the equal-armed brooch *No. 18* from the same find. — The portion under the eye of the animal on the square head-plate of brooch *No. 19* is of a size to emphasize the melancholy look just as do the corresponding parts of the animals *18: F, H, D, M, O* and *Q*. This animal also has details characteristic of the decorator of brooch *No. 18*, like the fat lumpy nose (*b*) and the beaked lentoid eye (*a*) which may be compared with those of the animals *18: F, H, P* and *Q*. The fact that the animal has only a head and a leg joined to it is also a characteristic feature of the

¹) HACKMAN 1922, p. 29.

²) ÅBERG 1924, fig. 95 (Hauge, Voss, Norway), fig. 97 (Nörre Trander, Aalborg co., Denmark).

³) SJÖVOLD 1962, pl. 38: c (Hundstad, Kvaefjord, Norway).

FUCHS & WERNER 1950, pl. 31: A 104 (Testona, prov. Turin, Italy).

⁴) LEEDS 1949, see e. g. nos. 41—58.

⁵) Cp. e. g. LEEDS 1936, pl. 15 and p. 32.

⁶) Cp. BROWN 1915, pl. 34: 3. (Bifrons, Kent, Eng.).

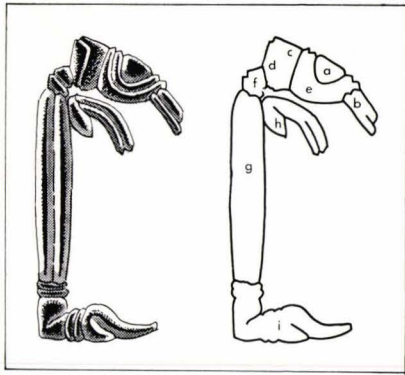


Fig. 39. Animal *A* of the Kirjakka button No. 20 when lifted up.

brooch No. 18 (*D* and *M*). Likewise, the full-face mask on the footplate of the present small brooch is, owing to the triangular disk on the nose and the almond-shaped eyes, a close parallel to the animal heads 18: *A*, *B*, *C*, *J*, *K* and *L*. Especially the shape of the forehead & head-crown combination and the slight asymmetry of the whole figure of animal 18:*L* strongly suggest a common origin with the terminal head of the small brooch No. 19. In the same way the triangles executed in chip-carving, which the master has placed symmetrically on both sides of the vertical median bar of the small brooch No. 19 and on the forehead & head-crown combinations of animals *B*, *C* and *K* on the magnificent brooch No. 18 are details pointing to a common origin. — Is not this confirmed, moreover, by the nielloed relief lines of these brooches — a single line on the border or contour line and graceful double lines on the lengthwise ridges?

The empty-bellied animals on the great ornamental button No. 20 of Kirjakka seem to have been overcome by deep depression, and with their soulless eyes wide-open they crouch down in the segments reserved for them on the panels of the button. In spite of this lamentable state they are thoroughbred representatives of their family. The swollen portions (*e*) under the eyes makes them recognizable as creatures of the same style, even though when lifted up (fig. 39) they still look like a pitifully apathetic herd with forward thrust lower lips and tragicomical oversized hindleg paws.

Apart from the features characteristic of the style they represent the Kirjakka button closely resembles the Gullydynt objects Nos. 18 and 19. The hindleg (*i*) in particular is a detail which stresses this for owing to its strangely swollen and roundish shape, it may be compared with the thick beaks of animal heads *F*, *H*, *O* and *Q* as well as with the legs of animals *D* and *M* of the equal-armed brooch No. 18 of Gullydynt. The transverse ringed wrists of the Kirjakka animals to which parallels are found in animals 18: *A*, *M* and *N* also point to a relationship. After such thorough attention to detail we may also note the almond-shaped figure under the bellies of the Kirjakka animals which has been interpreted as the shoulder blade of the foreleg (*h*). Its shape is hardly due to the natural imitation of the shoulder or any other part, but rather to the characteristic manner of the decorator who has left traces of himself in the shape of the eyes on both the Gullydynt brooches dealt with above. The same can be said of the great triangle in the centre of the Kirjakka button and also indeed of its nielloed relief ridges to whose details we drew attention in the treatment of the Gullydynt brooches.

All in all, on the basis of the facts presented above it seems most probable that the Kirjakka button No. 20 is made by the same craftsman as the Gullydynt brooches Nos. 18 and 19. — Thus it is not surprising to find additional parallels to its special features in the same spheres to which we turned in connection with the Gullydynt brooches. We

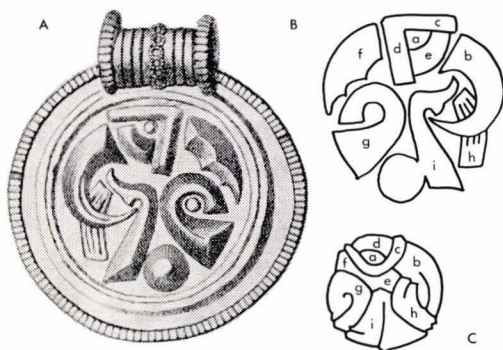


Fig. 40. A, a gold bracteate from Øvre Tøien, Akershus, Norway (c. 4:3), (After Montelius 1869); B, reflection of the animal figure on the Øvre Tøien bracteate with analysis signs; C, animal figure of the Vallinmäki button No. 22 with analysis signs.

must again mention the small relief brooches of Kent dated to the beginning of the sixth century.¹ In them the main ornamental stress is on ridges of relief as well as on enamel and jewel fillings, while the animal figures take a secondary place as on the Kirjakka button. As one example, a certain Kentish brooch (fig. 37) may be mentioned which has reached the Museum of Hamburg. Besides square inlays and nielloed relief lines, which correspond to the centre triangle with its borders on the Kirjakka button, it also has animal ornamentation surprisingly similar to the animals on our button. Its animals have straight beaks and legs with their cloven hoofs ringed by double ridges in two places, like the animals on the Kirjakka button.

The animal on the Vallinmäki ornamental button No. 22 must, as a borderline case, belong to the 'lean family'. A reason for uncertainty is its nose plate (*c*) since the portion under the eyes is of the same rare shape as that of animal 35: *D*, a characteristic representative of the 'fat family' to be treated below. — However, it is obvious that even though the Vallinmäki button animal tries its best to imitate the peaceful posture characteristic of the 'fat family' the legs (*h* and *i*), make an impression of leanness, while above all their unnatural position reveals that the animal in fact belongs to a different group. Thus the cheek (*e*) of this animal is, in proportion to the rest of the head, so large that the eye (*a*) and the eyebrow (*d*) which disclose the humble dimensions of the skull seem to be buried in it as with animals 18: *F*, *H*, *O* and *Q*. In this respect the Vallinmäki button animal is characteristic of the 'lean family'.

Animal figures with detached limbs vaguely put together, and in whose design we see a resemblance to the oblique walls of chip-carving, appear on the D bracteates. In the investigation published by Åberg as early as in 1924 the author convincingly showed the connection of this type of animal to the decoration on the relief brooches dated by him to the latter part of the 6th century.² His observation concerns the Style I decorations on the ornamental button, too. So at least is the case with the ornament on the Vallinmäki button which is practically a reflection of the animal figures on the D bracteates of Øvre Tøien. They (fig. 40) are in exactly the same posture and order as the animals on the Vallinmäki button, with a long beak (*b*) pressed against the marginal frame, a nose plate (*c*), an eyebrow (*d*), a cheek which acts as the portion under the eye (*e*), a neck (*f*) which in the Vallinmäki animal is completely merged in a shell-like body (*g*), a grooved foreleg (*h*) in an upright posture under the beak, and a hindleg with a hip (*i*) between the foreleg and the shell-like body.

¹) As. e. g. LEEDS 1936, pl. 15 and pl. 16: a—b; see also p. 52.

²) ÅBERG 1924, pp. 60—61.



Fig. 41. Sheffield, Beds., England (4:3), (Cambridge Museum).

In Øvre Tøien alone as many as 13 bracteates provided with this type of figure have been discovered.¹ Among the finds from Finland the great number of buttons provided with such figures also indicates production on a large scale. At least eight perfect variants are known, which, taking into consideration the conditions in our country, is a high figure. — The existence of the same animal on so many objects is rare in Germanic ornament, where there is continual striving towards variation. Thus it seems that this type of animal composition was a favourite motif of the simple craftsmen who specialized in serial production, and that it generally gained predominance towards the end of this stylistic phase.

The D bracteates, the greatest part of which were found in Jutland, belong to the 3rd period of Mackeprang, but they may have originated at the turn of the second and third periods, or about the year 600. The Øvre Tøien bracteates, which play an important role in the dating of the Vallinmäki button (and indeed in the dating of the entire 'lean family'), were considered 'very late bracteates' by Mackeprang.² They evidently belong to the last years of the 6th century.

The great ornamental button *No. 28* from Gölby, which in its place of discovery has as many as four copies (*Nos. 28-31*) is because of its size and its four panels round the sides comparable to the Gullydynt button *No. 48*. The relief ornament on these two objects with animal motifs do not differ much from each other but they may be placed into different 'families' according to our classification. In the Gölby button the cheeks which act as the portions under the eyes (*e*) are almost invariably larger than the eyebrows (*d*) and the possible nose plates taken together (*c* & *d*), a feature typical of the 'lean family'. However, in the Gullydynt button the case is quite the opposite.

On the flank of animal *28:A* the large tufts of bristles or possibly feathers on the foreleg (*h*) and limbs which end in hooks (*i*), as well as the circular composition on the face around a central stud appear to point to Anglo-Saxon connections. We find counterparts for instance on some Sheffield saucer brooches (figs. 41-42) and on a Barton Seagrave mount (fig. 43). Likewise, nearly all the leg figures on the sides, which belong to animals *28:C* and *D*, have skilfully designed shields on the shoulders or hips in the same manner as the 'warriors' of the Taplow drinking horn (fig. 54) mentioned above. The head of animal *D*, however, gives the clearest impression of the completeness of the armour. It is situated

¹) MACKEPFRANG 1952, p. 140.

²) MACKEPFRANG 1952, p. 79.



Fig. 42. Sheffield, Beds., England (4:3), (Cambridge Museum).

between the legs provided with protective shields in the centre of panel IV on the side of the button. The mouth and nose of this animal are completely covered by a square plate (*b-c*), which is decorated with grooves perfectly corresponding to the front part of the helmet of the Taplow 'warrior'. Behind this plate the eye (*a*) is hidden by transverse line decorations which also have counterparts on the helmet of the Taplow 'warrior'. — On the head of animal *D* there is a large-sized flourish (*d*) which wholly covers the eyebrow and to which the forehead and head crown are joined. This flourish corresponds perfectly to the curved part of the helmet of the Taplow 'warrior' and has the same groove on it. In regard to the helmet in particular we find numerous parallels to the Gölby 'warrior', which, appears from its leg to be an animal, upon other English objects beside the drinking horn. The Helmet Style is of course full of instances of figures of human beings not distinguishable from those of animals.¹ We can establish also that the longitudinally grooved detail (*f*) in panel III of animal *D* and the flourish (*g*) beside it which may denote the body and neck have counterparts in the centre parts of the Taplow 'warrior'.

In order to avoid tautology we may in the meantime draw attention to Scandinavian material and discuss the magnificent relief brooch of Fonnås (fig. 32, A) which as the writer supposes is an import from the British Isles. This article of luxury has a number of details comparable with the most interesting characteristics of the Gölby button. — First of all, the biting heads of the Fonnås brooch drop their jaws in exactly the same manner as the Gölby animals 28: *A* and *B*. The pattern is identical on both objects in spite of the fact that the Gölby animals have their jaws pushed under their arms while the Fonnås creatures try to grip the parts they have dropped with their tentacle-like tongues. Another detail of the Gölby brooch is the foreleg of animal *A*, which is stretched so that it is abnormally long and with which it tries to reach its own head beyond the marginal frames of the figure in order to get into the obligatory position of salutation. The Fonnås brooch has several of these outstretched hands and forelegs but we shall only mention the paw which is stretched downwards and belongs to the creature (fig. 32, B) on the upper part of the foot-plate at the right side of the median bar, on the neck of the biting head. This creature is the one situated within the contour lines of the right-hand side biting head mentioned above. — This beast chosen for scrutiny is an important

¹) KENDRICK 1938, figs. 15 and 16.



Fig. 43. Barton Seagrave, Northants., England (5:3), (B. M.).

individual, first because of its long foreleg, and secondly because of the long shield that covers its body and the broad tuft or feather decoration attached to it. This shield with its border grooves corresponds, as to shape and location, with the detail that touches the neck (*f*) of animal 28: *A* while the tuft ornament corresponds to the tufts attached to the foreleg or wing (?) of the same animal.

In the light of the above comparison the Kentish origin of the 'lean family' thus seems apparent. As to the dating, one of the most important fixed points is the Fonnås brooch discussed above. This object is obviously made by the same master as the Grönby square-headed brooch with undivided foot (fig. 9) which belongs to the group treated under the heading the 'Gummersnark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup' group. — The inclusion of this style is, of course, not surprising, for when treating object *No. 18* we had to take into consideration the possibility that it was made by the same master as brooch *No. 7* and belonged thus to the 'Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup' group.

Even though the members of the 'lean family' may be made by the same masters or workshops as the round-cheeked face figures of the Grönby (fig. 9), Fonnås (fig. 32) and other brooches which brim over with well-being, they evidently represent a 'more modern' and later phase. This is disclosed by the fact that among the members of the 'lean family' spiral ornamentation seems to have become outmoded.

In connection with the dating of the 'Gummersmark-Bifrons 41-Sjörup' style, it was mentioned that the period falls between the years 475—575, while the most important objects of comparison are dated close to the year 500 A.D. The lifetime of the 'lean family' does not fall far short of these limits but it may with more certainty be dated within the 6th century. The features that point to the small square-headed brooches of the Kentish group, the earlier Taplow objects and the saucer brooches without spiral ornaments favour encouraging dating of the 'lean family' to the beginning of the 6th century. The similarities between the Vallinmäki button *No. 22* and the late D bracteates may, however, disclose the fact that echoes of this style can be discerned in the decorative art of the end of the century.

MATERIAL

No. 32 (KM 8515), plates IX and XXI–XXII.

A quoit buckle of bronze from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — The object is formed by a wide, circular ring with a hole for the hinges of the tongue. On the outside there is a wide loop for the fastening of the belt. The joining points of the loop and the surface of the ring which is edged by low relief ridges are decorated with animal motifs in relief as follows (plates XXI–XXII):

(A and B) Straight beaked animal heads seen in profile at the joining points of the fastening link so that they face away from the longitudinal centre line. These animal heads are symmetrical. The eyebrows (*d*) are formed by triple ridges in relief and the centre part of the link acts as a common neck (*f*) for both heads.

(C) A crouching animal facing left which fills about a third of the relief surface of the ring. The end of its mouth (*b*), which is broken by a straight line, reaches the grooved transverse band on the vertical centre line of the buckle. The lower jaw, elbow and the lower part of the chest or belly are pressed against the inner frame of the ring while the upper part of the animal touches the outer frame. In addition to the mouth, cheek, and eye the shoulder of the foreleg with its strong shield is easily recognizable. It may be that the elbow and forearm are discernible, too, but the group of three lines, covering the head along its whole length, can be interpreted in a different way: — One possibility is that they belong to the eyebrow as is the case with the similar group of lines in animals A, B and D. Another possibility is that the group of lines represents long fingers for which analogies will be found later. The corresponding detail in animal E which is symmetrical with this animal gives reason to consider a third possibility where the two upper lines would be a combination of nose plate and eyebrow (*c-d*) while the lowest line would belong to a toe which branches off from the hook-shaped paw. — In order to proceed with the examination of the creature we may note that the grooved zone behind

the shoulder represents the neck (*f*) and the bulbous shape beside it is the body of the animal (*g*). Behind the animal there is a group of details (*i* and *x*) which may be interpreted either as a tail, or equally well as a hindleg. In any case they do not belong to animal D which is the following one in the row.

(D) A crouching animal figure facing left which fills up about a third of the surface of the ring next to the belt loop. In the row of animals it follows immediately after animal C thrusting its sharp pointed beak (*b*) into the rounded hindquarters of its predecessor. Owing to the sharpness of the beak the head is essentially of a different shape from that of animal C but the foreleg (*h*) with its shoulder shield and hook-shaped paw palm is, in spite of its different position and more limited space, very similar to that of animal C. There is also a group of lines near the paw which may be interpreted as a toe or possibly as an eyebrow, and the latter interpretation seems to be the most logical one. — Above and behind the foreleg there is a rather large grooved zone which, without doubt, belongs to the neck (*f*) but the details next to it are damaged in the middle and may be interpreted in many ways. A part of the body (*g*), a wing (*i*), and a feathered tail (*x*) are possibilities.

(E) A crouching animal figure facing right which fills the remaining third of the relief surface of the ring and which with the exception of the hindleg (*i*) and tail (*x*), is symmetrical with animal C on the other side of the longitudinal axis of the object. The hindleg and tail are of a very clear design and seem to be turned to rest on the hindquarters while the sharp tip points backwards toward the neck.

No. 33 (KM 8705 A: 2), plates IX and XXIII–XXIV.

A fragment of bronze decorated in relief which is probably from the end of a magnificent equal-armed brooch, from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — The edges consist of smooth-surfaced raised ridges and are a frame for

the relief zone. At the break can be seen the ends of two raised ridges, which must have continued in the same direction as the edges but among the relief figures. The centre part is filled by a full-face mask (*A*) presented as a convex relief, with knoblike eyes (*a*), cheeks which act as the portion under the eye (*e*), a calotte-like head with a forehead, nose plates (*c*) and eye-brows (*d*) all in one piece. Below it a second figure which is the same reversed is joined at the nose-tip, and acts as the snout or lower part of the head. The figure may also be interpreted as a double full-face motif in which two faces touch one another at the nostrils and lips while the knoblike eyes stare in ecstasy toward the heavens. Alternative interpretations will be given below. A mere analysis of the figure is not sufficient since one of these requires taking the comparison material into consideration. — The borders between the edges and the full-face mask are filled with animal motifs (*B-E*) in low relief.

No. 34 (KM 4746: 3), plates IX and XXIII—XXIV.

An ornamental button of gilded bronze from barrow 143 at *Mahlaistentönkkä* in Vähäkylä. — The decoration in low relief on the slightly convex face of the button is partially damaged, but a curled up animal figure, facing right, is clearly discernible. In addition to a small eye (*a*) a hooklike beak or snout (*b*), a strong nose plate (*c*), a still stronger eyebrow with a barred forehead and a wide head (*d*), as well as a cheek (*e*) in the form of a segment of a sphere, which acts as the portion under the eye, belong to the head of the creature. The neck (*f*) and the body (*g*) as a curve follow the direction of the circumference and are formed by 2-5 parallel relief ridges. The shoulder of the foreleg (*h*) is formed by three parallel curved ridges and lies across the junction of the body and neck while a paw consisting of two small lines points towards the head in the same direction as the neck. The double curve (*i*), which represents the hindleg, has thrust itself between the beak and the cheek. The sides are ribbed so as to give the button the shape of a double cone and at the same time to match three V-shaped figures placed

inside one another. The upper part of the sides form a conical frame to the round face.

No. 35 (KM 3382: 1), plates X and XXV—XXVIII.

A magnificent equal-armed brooch of silver gilt with niello fillings, from the island *Tytärsaari* in the Gulf of Finland. — The object is complete although it was broken at one terminal part while in use and clumsily repaired by riveting. Its facade with relief ornament is in excellent condition so that it is possible to analyse the ornament in detail.

Both sections of the brooch, i.e. the head-plate and the foot-plate, are blunted and are wider near the junction points of the bow and they lack extensions. The bow is divided by a median bar into two panels and is wider in the middle. — The nielloed relief ridges, which divide the ornamental surface, join the contour lines at the bow. At the ends they approach the longitudinal centre line of the brooch and divide the group of animals in relief into two definite categories: those of the central zone animals and the margin. As many as 22/24 animals are seen either in full-face or profile. In some cases the animal is represented solely by a head, but in most cases some parts of the body are also visible. The figures are as follows:

(*A*) A full-face mask which is in higher relief than the other parts of the foot-plate and placed on the longitudinal centre line of the object so that the mouth is directed towards the terminal and the neck towards the bow of the brooch. — The eyes (*a*) are almond-shaped and oblique. The mouth (*b*¹) is covered by a series of longitudinal ridges (*b*²) and in front of it there is a triangle which is bordered by a nielloed ridge with zig-zag motif (*b*³). The nose plate (*c*) is presented as a square stud in the centre of which there is a square nielloed groove. The eyebrows form part of the calotte-like forehead & head-crown combination (*d*) on top of which there are two round ear lobes. Simple transverse bars on both sides of the nose plate (i.e. whiskers) belong to the cheeks (*e*) in addition to the rounded portions under the eyes bordered by groove lines. The hemispherical swelling (*f*) on top of the head and behind the ears may belong to

the strong neck of the creature. The nielloed ridges in the centre zone of the foot-plate are attached to this and can presumably be interpreted as the contour lines of the body of animal *A*.

(*B*) The triangle in front of the full-face animal which may belong to its mouth is occupied by a being in human shape. Its head is at the left base angle of the triangle turned to the left so that the mouth (*b*) is located horizontally against the base and the nose plate (*c*), shaped like an ellipse, lies against the left side of the triangle. The eye (*a*), streaked cheek (*e*) as well as an eyebrow (*d*) which reaches from the forehead to the mouth are in their due places.

— Recognition of the other parts is difficult since this rascal has taken up a posture demanding more than the usual amount of skill and litheness. In short, it is standing on its head with the paw of the hindleg at the vertex of the triangle: The neck (*f*), presented as a triple line, is situated at the right base angle of the triangle while the foreleg is bent between the neck and the eyebrow. The body (*g*) represented by a relief curve is visible above the foreleg and presses against the right side of the triangle. The rest of the figure constitutes the hindleg (*i*) whose hip with its shield and bent knee, decorated with a ring, is supported by the top of the head. The paw under which is a double-ringed ankle, pushes its sharp point into the top of the triangle.

(*C*) The animal belonging to the central zone of the foot-plate and which is turned to the right and crouched on the left nielloed ridge is in such a position that the eye (*a*) is approximately on the vertical centre line halfway between the round stud (*y*) covered with a nielloed equal-armed cross and the neck of animal *A*. The tip of its sharp beak (*b*) is directed towards the centre of the neck of animal *A* and the base of the beak is decorated with a double curve. The short but thick nose plate (*c*), straight eyebrow (*d*) with curved forehead and wide neck tuft (*f*) or crest as well as triple lines forming a cheek (*e*) or portion under the eye are in their due places on the head. — A bulbous detail (*f-g*) represents the neck & body combination with a grooved border. The leg (*h*) consists of a fat hip and a two-toed paw.

(*D*) An animal which fits in with the first animal around the stud (*y*) in the centre. It is turned to the left and lies over the round

stud so that the beak (*b*) and the cheek (*e*) touch the body of animal *C* while its own hindquarters rest on the wide neck tuft of animal *C*. — This creature has a short but strong-looking beak (*b*) which, like that of the preceding animal, is decorated at the base with a double curve. The nose plate (*c*) looks even stronger. It covers the whole face above the beak and reaches over the forehead as a shield. It seems that an extension falls over the cheek to act as the portion below the eye. — The eyebrow (*d*) consisting of a short curved line is the simplest part of the head, but the neck (*f*) again is unusually thicker and longer and, in addition, furnished with as many as four curved ridges. A bulbous shape (*g*) which represents the body is visible and the foreleg (*h*) is lifted up so that the two-toed foot comes below the neck and parallel with the curved ornament. The hindleg (*i*), decorated with a double ridge at the ankle and the lower part of the thigh is in a highly unnatural position since the knee or hock points at its own shoulders and the two-toed foot touches to the central stud (*y*).

(*E*) A marginal animal turned to the left and located on the left side of animal *A* creeping towards the terminal of the foot-plate. A ribbon-like body (*g*) with limbs (*h* and *i*) that are bent into cramped positions is formed by triple lines in relief and is joined by its collared neck (*f*) to the fine shaped head (*a-d*) which is provided with a strong nose plate (*c*), a straight eyebrow (*d*) and closed beak (*b*).

(*F*) The head of a marginal animal behind animal *E* and turned to the right. It has a powerful U-shaped mouth (*b*) and lower jaw decorated by two transverse lines. The nose plate (*c*) as well as the eye (*a*), represented by a small vertical streak, is included in the extension of the eyebrow (*d*) which covers the upper part of the head like eaves.

The band with transverse bars which is vaguely distinguishable between the eyebrow and the hindleg of animal *E* may be the neck (*f*) of the creature *F* but its body (*g*) as well as both legs (*h* and *i*) are loaned from animal *E*.

(*G*) A marginal animal in front of animal *F*, which is also turned to the right and which touches the junction point of the bow with its long beak (*b*). The nose plate (*c*) is incorporated in the upper part of the beak rather than in the C-shaped eyebrow

(*d*). A neck (*f*) and body (*g*) formed by three-stranded bands are joined to the head in the natural way. The legs (*h* and *i*), on the contrary, which are roughly designed, give the impression of being turned upside down.

(*H*) The right-hand marginal animal on the foot-plate is, as regards the head and neck, a reflected image of animal *E* but the body and especially the legs are presented with less accuracy.

(*I*) A general reflection of animal *F* except for the fact that the transverse lines on the lower jaw are missing.

(*J*) General reflection of animal *G*.

(*K*) The decoration on the left side of the bow whose motif is formed by two animal heads placed neck to neck and seen in profile. Their beaks, with double ridges, of the same shape as the beak of animal *D*, lie along the vertical centre line of the object. One beak is directed towards the foot-plate and the other towards the head-plate. — The figure may also be interpreted as one full-face mask in which the relief line, which before was interpreted as the junction point of the necks, represents the nasal ridge (*c*) while the eyes are seen straight from the front. In this case the beaks of the profile animals appear as extensions of the eyebrow (*d*) and are either ears or horns. The edge of the bow acts as the mouth (*b*).

(*L*) A full-face mask of the head plate which is the reflection of animal *A*.

(*M*) An animal or human figure in profile settled in the triangular mouth of animal *L*. The huge-lipped (*b*) head fills the upper part of the triangle while the upper lip is thrust into the vertex of the triangle and the nose plate (*c*) is pushed against the right side. The foreleg (*h*) is especially worthy of mention. It is provided with a multiple shoulder shield and a double bracelet. The elbow is situated in the left base angle of the triangle and the shoulder is in the middle of the base while the paw or palm is seen approximately in the middle of the triangle below the cheek (*e*).

(*N*) A figure in a position roughly symmetrical to animal *D* in relation to the centre of the brooch. It is also an animal in profile, turned to the left. This animal has many features in common with animal *D*, in particular the eyebrow (*d*), cheek (*e*) and perhaps the position of the foreleg. The mouth, on the contrary, is transformed into

a thick-structured organ in which the lips with their impressive joints demand more space than all the other parts of the head together.

(*O*) An animal which arranged with the preceding one around the circular stud (*z*) in the centre zone of the head-plate, and thus in a position corresponding to that of animal *C*. It is seen in profile and turned to the right and has the same type of head as its thick-lipped companion above. It appears to be in a sitting posture scratching the back of its ear with a great, three-fingered paw (*h*) and wearing a double bracelet. The body (*g*) and neck (*f*), which are partly visible on both sides of the foreleg, consist of a three-stranded band. A hindleg (*i*) is joined to the body in a normal way and decorated with a double bracelet.

(*P*) Corresponding to animal *E*.

(*Q*) The animal in the centre of the left side of the head-plate should correspond to animals *F* or *I* on the footplate, but is not wholly symmetrical. — Creeping towards the terminal of the head-plate it faces unexpectedly in the opposite direction. The shape of the head corresponds with animals *F* and *I* and, in fact, it is more complete than they having a well shaped body and the legs with a complete shoulder and hip as well as three-toed paws. Its mouth with its strong chin has no transverse lines on the lower lip.

(*R*) A reflection of the head and body of animal *G* which can be interpreted either as a separate animal or as the tail of animal *Q* shaped like an animal head. If it is a separate animal it must have a forked hind-leg or tail (*i*) in addition to the straight body (*g*) which is actually the eyebrow of animal *Q*.

(*S*) Corresponding to animal *P*, *H* and *E*.

(*T*) Corresponding to animal *Q* with a complete body and leg. The lower jaw of this creature is decorated with as many as four transverse lines.

(*U*) Corresponding to animal *R* and at the same time matching the tail of creature *T* shaped like an animal head.

(*V*) Corresponding to figure *K*.

No. 36 (KM 8703: 1), plates IX and XXIII—XXIV, fig. 55.

A two-hinged strip-mount of bronze from the island *Tyltärsaari* in the Gulf of Finland. — The object consists of a centre piece with

a square stud and two fastening plates which are joined to it at either end. The plates are decorated with similar partially moulded figures resembling a human face. The eyebrows, which are separated by grooves from the calotte-like forehead & head combination join with the nasal ridge in the shape of a Y. The upper edges of the convex cheeks serve also as ridged portions under the oblique eyes. The mouth under the nasal ridge is formed by transverse cuts with edges slightly raised above the face level to produce the illusion of lips. A round-surfaced frame surrounds the chin and cheeks and apparently represents a beard. At the centre of the frame below the chin there is a round lobe for riveting.

No. 37 (KM 8703: 2—3), plate IX and fig. 55.

A fragment of a bronze strap mount from the island *Tytärsaari*. — When undamaged this object was presumably of the same type as the preceding one but hingeless. It consists of two square studs, with the terminals decorated with partially modelled animal heads, one markedly well preserved. It is approximately of the same shape as the human mask in mount *No. 36* but the eyebrows are not separated from the forehead by grooves and the nasal ridge continues unbroken over the mouth to join with the swelling around the chin and cheek. On this head instead of a human beard the impression is of a wide animal snout.

No. 38 (KM 8703: 4), plate IX.

A terminal fragment of bronze from *Tytärsaari* of approximately the same type as the preceding mount.

No. 39 (KM 8703: 6), plates IX and XXIII—XXIV.

A strap buckle of bronze from *Tytärsaari*. — The hoop is decorated with a partially modelled human mask, of the same size and similar in appearance to the heads on object *No. 36* but possibly of even finer quality.

No. 40 (KM 2051), plates XI and XXIII—XXIV.

A large ornamental button of bronze decorated with niello filling from *Gulldynt* in *Vöyri*. — The button is in the shape of

a double cone or cylinder. Its circular face has a centre stud filled with niello or possibly glass and animal figures in relief. The upper part of the sides is nielloed and acts as a conical frame to the face. There are also animal figures in relief on the sides. Together with six niello-ended studs they occupy the central zone of the side between two rings formed by ridges in relief. — The animal figures may be analyzed as follows: (A) An animal facing to the right and seen in profile. It covers one half of the surface of the face. Its slightly curved beak (b) is decorated at the base with a thick double curve. The nose plate (c), pressed against the circular frame of the panel, is unusually long and a strong eyebrow (d) occupies a markedly large space while in contrast the cheek with the portion under the eye (e) is scarcely visible. On the left side of the head or behind it there are a couple of short flourishes which may represent a bent foreleg (h), while the hook pressed against the upper part of the eyebrow is a paw.

(B) An animal figure facing to the right and seen from the side. It covers the other half of the relief surface of the disk-panel. Its rather large-sized head is almost the same shape as the head of the preceding animal but the cheek is altogether merged in the eyebrow (d). The figures behind the head resemble the flourishes which have been interpreted as a leg of animal A. They have, however, one section which is pressed into the centre stud and is undoubtedly a leg (h) with a pear-shaped shoulder and paw with three toes. Thus the small relief line above the shoulder is a shoulder shield. The hooked line (g) may be the body and the small transverse line behind the upper part of the eyebrow may represent the neck (f).

(C) An animal facing to the right and seen in profile. This figure fills about a third of the central zone of the side. Its beak and front leg are covered by circular studs but the other parts are fully visible. Out of these the hindleg (i), which turns up towards the back (g) and the neck (f), decorated with a triple ring, deserve mention.

(D) An animal in the row behind animal C. This also fills one third of the central zone on the side. Only the foreleg (h) is covered with a stud while the other parts are visible. The transverse beak (b) and the head with its high nose plate (c) together

with the ridged neck (*f*) fill one section between the studs while the body (*g*) together with the hindleg (*i*) pressed against the base, fills the other section.

(*E*) The creature in front of animal *D*. Its beak (*b*) and foreleg (*h*) are covered by studs in the central zone. The nose plate (*c*) of this animal seems to be joined onto the cheek (*e*) and the edge of the eyebrow to form one piece. The body (*g*) with all its details rests against the base whereas the hindleg (*i*) is placed in the upper part of the figure.

**No. 41 (KM 10770: 3), plates XI and XXIII—
XXIV.**

A great nielloed ornamental button of bronze from a barrow at *Nukuttalahti* on the shore of Lake Ladoga. — The circular face of the object is decorated with three approximately similar animal heads *A*, *B* and *C* in relief. They are turned to the left i.e. counterclockwise, and arranged around the niello-ended centre stud. In these heads the eye (*a*) is formed by a small triangular or square nodule. The eyebrow and nose plate form an unbroken curve (*c-d*) which is pressed against the conical frame of the figure. A short, radial, double-ridged bar (*e*) acts as the cheek and the portion under the eye. The beak (*b*) is another double-ridged bar set sideways to the head as is the beak of animal *N* on the equal-armed brooch *No. 35* of *Tytärsaari*.

The surface of the *Nukuttalahti* button may also be interpreted by supposing the animal heads to be overlapping or sharing parts in common so that they are larger in size. Thus the eyebrow of the preceding animal can act as the mouth (*b*) of this great head and the part which was taken as the beak acts as the nose plate or as a ring (*c*) which belong to the base of the beak. The great head has an eyebrow (*d*), an eye (*a*), and a cheek (*e*) of its own and its neck (*f*) was the part taken as the beak of the little head. — The middle zone of the side is decorated with a concave ring. Below this there is a conical raised ring separated by a double ridge and above it a corresponding but smaller raised ring separated by a single ridge. The upper ring with a nielloed ridge serves at the same time as the funnel-like frame of the face.

**No. 42 (KM 6370: 116), plates XI and XXIII
—XXIV.**

A large ornamental bronze button with niello-filling from the cremation cemetery of *Kiiliä* in *Sääksmäki*. — At the side the object is shaped like a double cone and its face is occupied by an animal curled into a ball. It is turned to the left while the beak is thrust towards the centre of the figure where the foreleg is also located. — To commence the analysis of the creature we may begin at the small triangular eye (*a*) below which there is a larger also triangular cheek (*e*) with a hooklike beak (*b*). Above the eye there is a nose plate (*c*) pressed against the border frame and to the right we come upon an eyebrow (*d*) represented by a double line which also contains the forehead and the head-crown. Then comes a long neck (*f*) formed by a triple band of relief, set against the circular frame and finally a shieldlike body (*g*) and a hindleg, (*i*). The last-mentioned detail is a multiple organ. Close to the body a pair of transverse lines represents the hip. Then there is a combination of the thigh, knee and shank represented by a double band, which runs in the same direction as the border frame, a ringed ankle and finally a cloven hoof touching the face. The foreleg (*h*) is bent in the middle of the figure and lies at the same time below the cheek and beak. Round the side, half way down runs a wide V-shaped groove, and the shape widens to a cone above and below. The upper cone has a groove filled with either niello or resin and acts as a funnel-shaped frame for the face.

No. 43 (KM 6370: 24), plate XII.

An ornamental button of bronze with its border filled with niello or some other substance from *Kiiliä* in *Sääksmäki*. — The object is shaped like a double cone and its face is decorated with a figure in relief, which is damaged by fire but is obviously the same motif as that on button *No. 44*. Halfway down the side runs a V-shaped groove and the side widens to the shape of a cone above and below this, the upper edge with its nielloed ridge providing conical frame for the face.

**No. 44 (KM 6370: 25), plates XII and XXIII
—XXIV.**

An ornamental nielloed button of bronze from *Kiiliä* in Sääksmäki. — The face is decorated with relief ornament, representing an animal twined clockwise around a nielloed centre stud. The figure is so stylized that any analysis depends on comparison with other material (see below, p. 82). — A concave ring with the side widening in the shape of a cone above and below it, runs round the side halfway down. The lower extension is considerably wider and thicker than the upper one, and the latter has a grooved ridge apparently filled with resin or some other soft substance. It forms a funnel-shaped frame to the face.

No. 45 (KM 6370: 94), plate XII.

An ornamental button from *Kiiliä* in Sääksmäki similar to *No. 44*.

**No. 46 (KM 5580: 41), plates XII and XXIII
—XXIV.**

An ornamental button of bronze with niello filling from a cemetery at *Palomäki* in Salo (Uskela). — The object is badly damaged but both the shape and decorations are recognizable to some extent. — The face is decorated with a figure in relief apparently representing a crouched animal turned to the right. A leg (*h*), pressed against the frame, with a spiral-hip is just discernible in the centre. Proceeding clockwise from the leg along the rim we come upon a shield-like body & neck combination (*g-f*), then we see the eyebrow (*d*) represented by double transverse lines, and finally the rest of the head of which only a couple of vague nodules remain. Halfway down the side there is a ridge with a V-shaped grooved ridge, and above and below the side widens to the shape of a cone as usual. The upper ridge seems to have been filled with niello or some other substance and it provided a funnel-shaped frame for the face.

**No. 47 (KM 14644: 94), plates XII and XXIX
—XXX.**

A gilt bronze relief brooch from the hill fort of *Vanhalinna* in Turku (Lieto). — The head and bow are hollowed out, and the hollow gradually narrows towards the foot-

plate. The pin is set on the concave reverse side of the head & bow combination while the axis of the hinge is pushed through the edges of the hollowed out portion near the top of the brooch. The convex obverse and reverse and both sides of the hollow rounded foot are decorated with animal figures in relief. The catch for the pin is decorated to match the front of the foot so that the rounded lower end of the brooch is of double thickness.

On the relief ornament eight animals altogether are depicted. Four animals are seen from above and four from the side and they are as follows:

O b v e r s e

(*A*) The centre part of the foot and part of the hollowed-out part are occupied by a four-legged animal seen from above. Its head is larger than the body and legs put together. The hindquarters are turned towards the head of the brooch. This animal has a long nasal ridge (*c*), which is continuous with the cross-piece at either end. The lower part, curved into a bow, represents the powerful upper part of a mouth or snout (*b*) while the upper part, which is a straight transverse bar (*d*) represents the eyebrow, forehead and crown of the head. The bow-shaped portions under the eyes, the pairs of transverse lines, which may represent whiskers, and the ball-like nostrils enclosed by the snout belong to the cheeks (*e*). The neck (*f*) of the creature is in its right place, flanked by transverse lines and the body (*g*) is an extension of this. The spine meets the longitudinal centre line of the brooch as a thick ridge in relief, while the flanks with transverse bars can be seen on either side. All four legs and shoulders, hips, paws and feet are complete and lie in their natural places on either side of the body.

(*B*) A four-legged animal in the centre section of the bow above the animal described above. It thrusts its wide snout, provided with spiral-like nostrils (*c*), towards the hindquarters of animal *A*. Possibly the back of animal *A* may act as the tongue (*b*²) of this creature. As with the preceding animal the snout (*b*¹) is continuous with the nasal ridge (*c*) and the eyebrows (*d*). The eyes on either side of the nasal ridge are slightly elongated and of the cheeks (*e*) only the portions under the eyes are represented by lines of double relief. The

neck (*f*) of animal *B* is, compared with that of animal *A*, considerably stronger and beautifully decorated with transverse grooves. The body (*g*) is approximately the same as that of animal *A* but considerably extended. The legs (*h* and *i*) are also similar in shape but there is now an extra toe (four) on each foot.

(*C*) Animal *C* is the third one in the row, and only part of its head can be seen. In fact, it impudently takes advantage of part of animal *B* so that the back of animal *B* acts as its nose (*c*) and the neck as its mouth (*b*). The legs of animal *B* may serve as decorations on its cheeks. The tail-like extension of the body of animal *B* serves as its eyebrows and forehead. Thus only its almond-shaped eyes (*a*) and the portions under them (*e*) are really its own.

(*D*) A large-headed animal on the left side of the foot-plate(case), which like the preceding animal avails itself of parts of its companion. It has also borrowed, but more moderately, from animal *A*, taking only the curved portion under the eye. This bow makes a good mouth (*b*) with which the animal can chew at its neighbour's eye! The round eye of this gourmet is sheltered by the swollen cheek under it. The nasal ridge (*c*) and the eyebrow (*d*) joined to it are formed by the strong frame of the brooch. The neck (*f*) and body (*g*) are also included in the frame taking up half the curve of the foot-plate. Only one leg (*h*) of this animal is visible located between its own body and the snout of animal *A*. Otherwise it is the same as animals *A* and *B*—but instead of paws it has pincers.

(*E*) Animal *E* is symmetrically placed on the opposite side of the longitudinal centre line to animal *D*.

R e v e r s e

The decoration on the back of the catch is practically the same as on the face. The head of animal *A* corresponds to animal *F* whose head alone is depicted. Animals *G* and *H* correspond to animals *D* and *E* except that instead of pincers they have normal paws with toes.

No. 48 (KM 2030: 3^a), plates XIII and XXIX —XXX.

A large decorative button of bronze ornamented with niello and perhaps glass from *Gulldynt* in Vöyri. — Both the face and side

of the conical button are separately framed with strips in sharp relief. The hollowed grooves suggest that the ridges have been decorated with either niello filling or silver threads. The side is divided into four square panels (I-IV) while the centre of the round face has an equilateral triangle. The ornamental surfaces have the following animal motifs in relief (plates XXIX and XXX):

(*A*) A complete animal facing left and seen in profile covers about two-thirds of the circular face. The strikingly long neck of the creature (*f*) is decorated with a double ring at the base of the neck. Another special feature, the powerful paw of the foreleg (*h*) equipped with a bow-shaped appendage may also be mentioned.

(*B*) An animal facing left and seen from the side which covers about a third of the relief surface of the disk-panel. In addition to a head with a big hooked beak it has a long neck and an angular leg whose shoulder shield acts as the beak of animal *A*.

(*C*) An animal whose head at least faces left, seen in profile and placed on the panels of the side so as to fill one panel (I) completely and part of the next (II). Its rather large beak (*b*) and nose plate (*c*) are pressed against the lower edge of panel (I) and the rectangular eyebrow-ridge (*d*) is pressed against the perpendicular dividing bar. The rest of this panel (I) as well as the corner of the next one (II) are filled with parts of an animal body (*g*) and limbs (*i*) in an unnatural position. The paw of the foreleg (*h*) of this animal has the same bow shaped base as animal *A* and acts at the same time as the paw of the hindleg of animal *D*.

(*D*) An animal facing left and seen in profile, whose different parts, detached from their natural joints, are placed so that the combination of body and neck (*f-g*), together with the hindleg (*i*), fill the remaining part of panel II into which some parts of animal *C* have thrust themselves. The head (*a-d*) and foreleg (*h*) together fill the following panel (III) completely. As was previously mentioned the hindleg of this animal is shared with animal *C*.

(*E*) An animal with some limbs lacking which fills up side panel IV. On the right is a head provided with a beak (*b*) and covered with a nose plate (*c*) and the eyebrow (*d*) set at right angles to it. In the centre there is a neck (*f*) composed of a

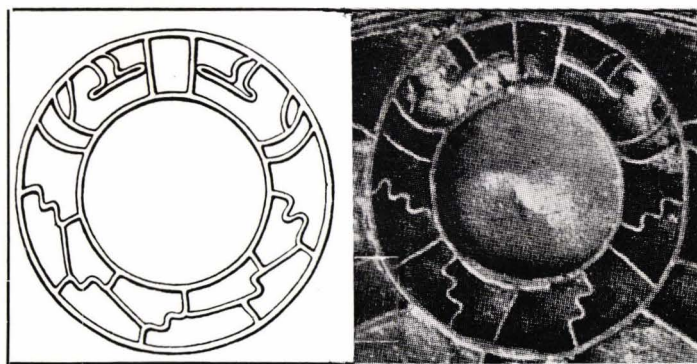


Fig. 44. Faversham, Kent, England (c. 2:1). — Details from a composite cloisonné brooch showing affronted boars' heads, (After Bruce-Mitford 1949).

three-stranded line in relief, and on the left a leg (*h*), to which a three-stranded shoulder shield, a hooked paw and three-stranded forearm also belong.

No. 49 (KM 2030: 3^b), plate XIII.

An exact duplicate of the preceding object from *Gulldynt* in *Vöyri*.

No. 50 (KM 4279: 15^c), plates XIII and XXIX —XXX.

An ornamental nielloed button of bronze from barrow 140 at *Mahlaistentönkkä* in *Vähäkyrö*. — The disk-panel is decorated with a figure of a hook-beaked animal

in relief, turned to the right and curled up. Its large head fills a good half of the entire disk while a narrow triple-stranded neck (*f*), a shield-shaped body (*g*) and the remains of a leg (*h*) under the beak (*b*) fill the rest of the space. In the centre of the side there is a concave figure running round the object and the edges widen in the shape of a cone with a nielloed groove at the top which acts as a conical frame to the face. — The button is of particularly fine craftsmanship, and, owing to its thin walls, of an extraordinarily light structure.

Nos. 51—52 (KM 4279: 15 a-b), plate XIII.

Exact parallels to the previous object, from barrow 140 at *Mahlaistentönkkä* in *Vähäkyrö*.

COMPARISON

With its powerful-limbed ornamental animals the quoit buckle *No. 32* of *Gulldynt* is a characteristic representative of the 'fat family'. — Nordman, without giving further grounds, has supposed this object to be of Norwegian origin.¹ — It is true that a fairly close parallel in type and ornament was found on the western shore of the Gulf of Bothnia i.e. at *Måsta* in *Helsingland*.² In view of the position of *Gulldynt*, it is significant that *Måsta* is situated close to the route leading to *Trondheim*. However, it must be borne in mind that the animal heads of the *Måsta* buckle are not impressive examples of their kind in spite of the fact that their strong jaws may be compared to those of the *Gulldynt* animals *32: C* and *E*. They form an enervated group with hanging lips and aimlessly wandering eyes. The *Gulldynt* animals *32: C* and *E* are of a quite different stock as their blunt snouts look as if they had been cut with a saw. — Whether the purpose of this special feature was to characterize an animal with a blunt snout, such as a swine or wild

¹) NORDMAN 1931, p. 182.

²) ÅBERG 1953, fig. 61 (*Måsta*, *Helsingland*, Sweden).

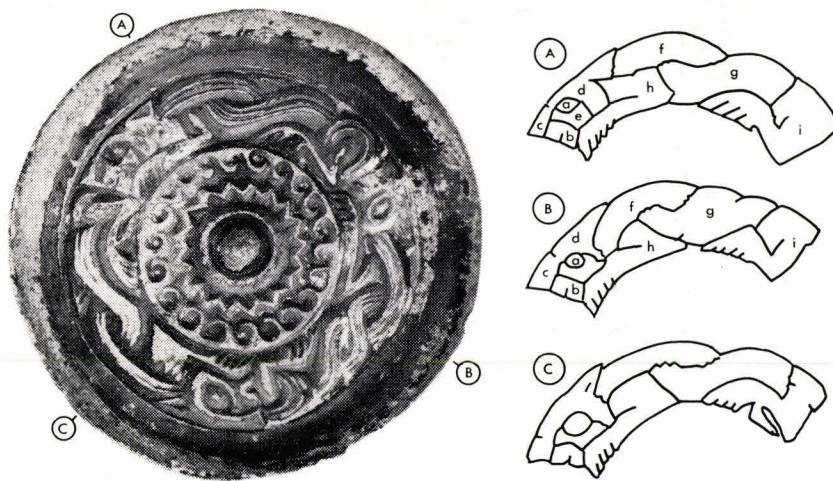


Fig. 45. Long Wittenham, Berks., England (4:3), (B. M.).

boar, is impossible to determine. In any case the artist by carrying out this 'operation' on the jaw was able to symbolize the great power hidden in it far more effectively than on the Måsta buckle. — The same sense of power is emphasized by the eyes of the Gullydynt beasts which gaze upwards like the prominent eyes of a menacing bull.

The Tytärsaari brooch to be treated below has at least four beasts (35: *F*, *I*, *Q* and *T*) with extraordinarily strong jaws resembling the animals 32: *C* and *E*, and they are of a type found elsewhere in Germanic ornament. We come upon two of these creatures on a buckle which in ornamental composition closely resembles our object. The buckle has been held to be Hungarian (Avarian) and Fettich has justifiably compared it to the Måsta buckle.¹ We find beasts with the same blunt snouts together with similar artistic treatment in Kent also where they appear in miniature as a detail of the magnificent cloisonné brooch of Faversham (fig. 44). Noteworthy also are relatives of our blunt-snouted animals within a circular frame on the saucer brooch of Long Wittenham (fig. 45).

In the examination of object *No. 28* we became acquainted with raised paws and shoulder blades provided with shields, characteristic of the Helmet Style. As far as such heraldic features are concerned, the Gullydynt animals are not outdone by the 'warriors' of the Taplow drinking horn (fig. 54) but possess equally magnificent shoulder protectors of their own, while their paws are also raised in the relevant manner.

We may ask which parts of the animal 32: *C* and *E* may finally be said to belong to the paws? — This problem remained partly unsolved in our analysis in spite of the fact that in the sketch (plate XXII) the problem was solved by assuming that the lines immediately above the animal heads were fingers. In other words they were assumed to be joined to the hooks at the ends of the forearms (*h*) which without doubt represent a type of palm. — In comparing these Gullydynt animals with the said Taplow 'warriors' (fig. 54) it is clear that the nose plate of the helmet touches the very point which on the Gullydynt animals corresponds to the group of lines placed above the head. Thus, this group of lines may be interpreted as part of the nose plate or perhaps a nose plate & eyebrow combination. — On the other hand there are other figure groups on the Taplow drinking horn offering close parallels to the present buckle, which show paws with exceedingly long fingers. The figures on the rim have paws of this kind (see e.g. *h*¹ in fig. 46).

¹) FETTICH 1926, pl. 7: 7 (Oföldeak, Döbörscsök-hill, Hungary) = CSALLÁNY 1961, pl. 99: 8.

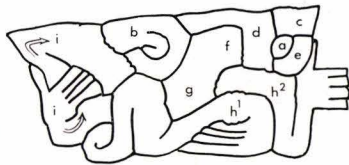


Fig. 46. Taplow, Bucks., England (4:3), (B. M.).²

Having established that the thick line ornament on animals *C* and *E*, which are interpreted as necks (*f*), have ornamental counterparts on the neck and shoulders of the Taplow 'warrior' and that the tails with pointed ends belong to the customary motif stock of the Helmet Style (cp. fig. 2, C) it seems that the structural characteristics of the creatures and their relationship to a background covering the whole of Europe has been sufficiently expounded. — On the circular relief frieze animal *D*, the fantastic beast supported by its stream-lined wings (*i*) and multi-feathered tail (*x*) is flying with its peculiar beak voraciously pushed forward. It presses a hook-shaped paw to its heart in an apologetic manner. The dandy may indeed have some reason to apologise for its pomposity is revealed by the ten rings worn round its neck (*f*)!

Especially the Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches are objects decorated with animals whose shapes are related to animal 32: *D*. In particular the multi-grooved and obtuse-angled eyebrow & nose plate combinations of the Longbridge saucer brooch (fig. 26) are exact parallels to the corresponding parts (*c-d*) of animal *D*. — The relief ornament of the Longbridge brooch with its circular composition made up of three animals is closely comparable with the figure group 32: *C-D-E*. Indeed in the Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches we find additional creatures whose general appearance resembles animal *D* and which have circular compositions of three animals similar to the one we are studying. Some have already been mentioned but we may add to the list one saucer brooch from Sleaford (fig. 35), one brooch from Fairford (fig. 47), and one from Holdenby (fig. 49). If we turn for a moment to animal *D* alone, we find the explanation of the multiple lines of its neck decoration in the Anglo-Saxon Helmet Style where similar neck lines are the standard equipment of an ornamental animal (cp. figs. 41, 42, 46 and 54).¹

Strangely shaped animals from the same family as animal 32: *D* also appear on the magnificent relief brooch of Fonnås which was recently discussed in connection with animal *A* on the Gölby ornamental button No. 28 (p. 57). This animal is the same beast (fig. 32, B) to which we drew attention because of its outstretched paw and shieldlike body covering bordered with fringes or feathers. — This animal and 32: *D* have undoubtedly something in common in the somewhat ominous and dramatic manner in which they are portrayed. The hands or paws of these creatures are shaped differently and are

¹) Cp. also KENDRICK 1938, figs. 16: i, iv, v, ix, xii.

²) In fig. 46 the hand (*h*²) covers the mouth. It may be that the mouth is in its natural place but that it just is invisible behind the hand. This, however, is only one alternative among several other alternatives: The being might just as well be without a mouth (cp. figs. 26, 30 and 38) representing a so-called 'half-face' (p. 00) type in profile. The mouth may also be detached from its original place, and located in another

place as the case is e. g. in the animals *A* and *B* of the Gölby button No. 28. Thus the flourish on the back of the animal in the analysis sketch in fig. 46 is interpreted as a beak (*b*) as it, as regards its shape exactly, corresponds to the mouth details of certain Anglo-Saxon ornamental beings (cp. figs. 41 and 42). The interpretation of a flourish detail of this type as a body (cp. figs. 40 and 54) or as a wing attached to the neck (cp. fig. 6) is also fully justified on the basis of the material of comparison.

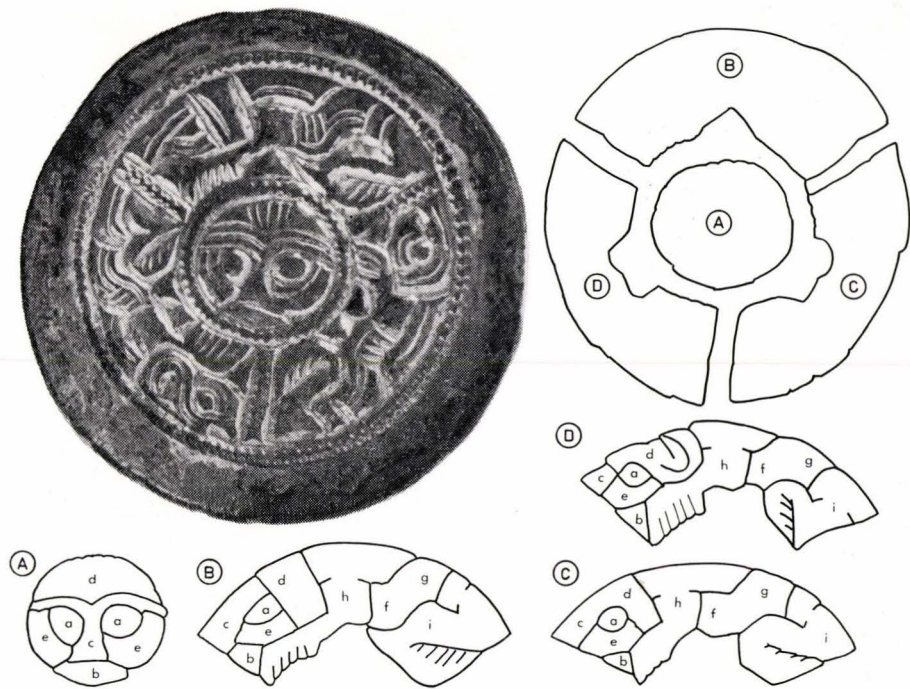


Fig. 47. Fairford, Gloss., England (4:3), (Oxford Museum).



Fig. 48. Hauxton, Cambs., England (1:1), (After Leeds 1912).



Fig. 49. Holdenby, Northants., England (1:1), (After Leeds 1912).

in different positions, but there is a vivid expressiveness about them both. They 'tell' more than is usual in Germanic ornamentation. — As for the multi-feathered tail of animal 32: *D* or the extension of the wing (*x*), this must be closely linked with the row of fringes on the Fonnås animal. Finally, we may mention that the head of the Fonnås animal as well as some other heads on the same brooch (fig. 32, *A*) are the same shape as the heads of animals 32: *A* and *B* on the fastener of our buckle. The similarity is not only due to the three-stranded eyebrows but also to the portion between beak and eye which is much narrower and yet more powerfully rounded than would be expected from its position.

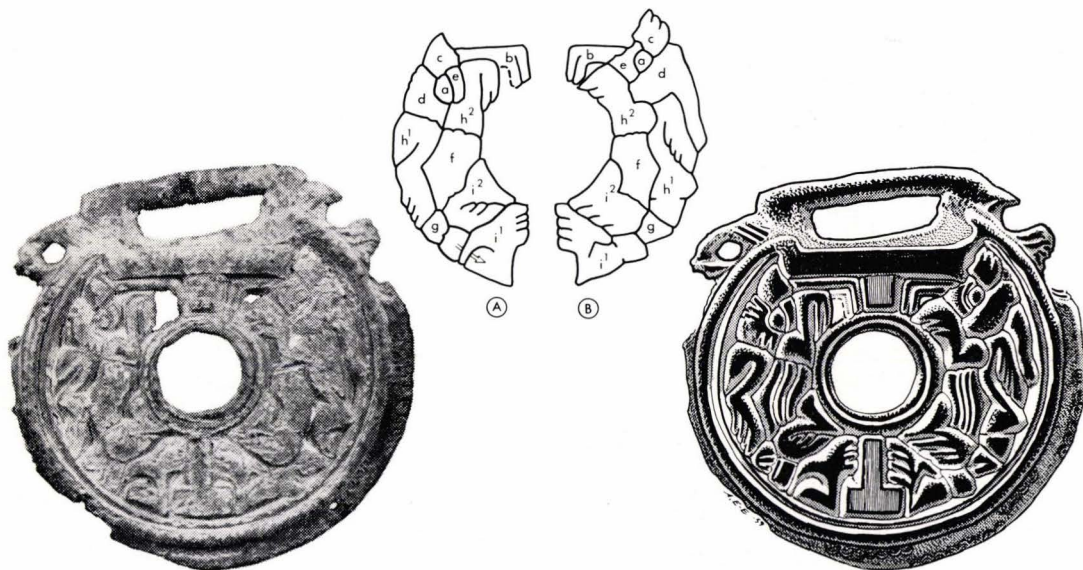


Fig. 50. Cemetery near Cambridge, Cambs., England (4:3), (Cambridge Museum).

After finding so many analogies in decorations and composition to this buckle in the Anglo-Saxon sphere it is hardly surprising that there are resemblances also in shape. — For instance, a semi-circular mount from Droxford (fig. 30) resembles a part of object No. 32. The common origin of these objects is revealed not only by their general appearance but also by the similarity of the marginal frames, and resemblance in size and shape. Likewise, the three-stranded eyebrow set into the corners of the relief zone of the Droxford mount differs little from the corresponding details (*d*) of animals 32: *A* and *B*. Among objects with marginal frames similar to the Gullydynt buckle we may also mention a buckle (fig. 50) discovered near Cambridge which in type fully corresponds to buckle No. 32, and whose design shows a resemblance to the animal heads 32: *A* and *B*, too.

On the evidence of ornament, composition, motifs, and shape it seems therefore established that the Gullydynt buckle No. 32 is an Anglo-Saxon object.

The roundness of its frame and the nature of its design suggest that the Gullydynt fragment No. 33 was made by the same craftsman who produced buckle No. 32. This idea is strengthened when we compare the open-mouthed head of the marginal animal 33: *B* on the right side of the face with the animal head 32: *C* on the quoit buckle. On both heads the section between the cheek (*e*) and the lip (*b*) is indicated in a very characteristic style by a lightly defined depression. Likewise, there is similarity in technique to be seen in the beaks (*b*) of animals 32: *D* and 33: *C*, the hook-shaped paws of animals 32: *C* and *E*, and the hooked eyebrows (*d*) of animals 33: *D* and *E*. These examples should suffice to prove that the objects No. 32 and 33 are made by the same master.

The Double Faces. As we continue to find comparisons with object No. 33 we may note the striking motif of the great full-face 33: *A* and its cultural background. — This figure with its calotte-like head & eyebrow combination and with nose joined to this follows the same basic lines as the heads of Style I with which we became acquainted in discussing object No. 7 (pp. 22 —). This is a special variant of the type in which the ornament is used to create a figure explicable in two different ways: — The mouth is practically symmetrical with the head & eyebrow combination, so that the round nostrils correspond to eyes and the broad snout to the crown of the head. Thus a double face, which looks



Fig. 51. Ragley Park, War., England (2:3), (After Leeds 1949).

the same from above or below, has been produced, and the Gullydynt head is a fine example of this.

Whether this doubling is due to the combination of two opposing faces or to a humorous development of the snout is hard to say. — The former alternative is supported by a design of human figures in a position of salutation on the famous scabbard chape of Nydam.¹ Here the round-topped helmets of the 'warriors' and the nose plates imitating natural shapes give the impression that this Nydam figure seen in profile presents a motif similar to the one seen on our fragment from above. The figures in some Anglo-Saxon relief brooches also suggest a combination of two faces. For example there is the vertical ornament on the relief brooch from Ragley Park (fig. 51) which Leeds has dated to the 7th century and possibly to the end of it.² However, according to Chadwick it should be from around the year 600 at latest.³ — This ornament comprises the upper parts of two faces which are some distance apart, but connected by a continuous relief strip that covers the mouth and chin of both faces. — The second alternative which accounts for the double face by a transformation of the snout is supported by the Vanhalinna brooch *No. 47* to be treated below (p. 84). Here the heads of the animals *47: A* and *F* have sufficient material to form double faces but in principle they keep to the shape of the normal single face. (For the double faces as a symbol of the creation, see Chapter III).

Whatever the history of the double faces may be in Anglo-Saxon ornament there is reason to emphasize the popularity of faces set opposite one other. It is evidently not by

¹) See e. g. KENDRICK 1938, fig. 14: iv (Nydam, Jutland, Denmark).

²) LEEDS 1936, p. 90.

³) CHADWICK 1961, p. 71.



Fig. 52. Kullerstad, Östergötland, Sweden. — A, Equal-armed brooch (c. 2:3), (After Montelius 1905); B, Analysis of details in the Kullerstad brooch (4:3) corresponding to animal figures B–E in the Gullydynt fragment No. 33 (see plate XXVIII).

chance that such figures are characteristic of the feet of brooches (see figs. 22 and 51), which by the roundness of their contour lines closely resemble the Gullydynt fragment No. 33.¹ Above all the Ragley Park brooch which in its rounded shape closely resembles the Gullydynt fragment has animal figures possessing many of the special features of the marginal animals 33: B–E which surround the combined faces. They have eyebrows ending in scrolls, a shape common to animals D and E and also ornamental parts corresponding to the pointed lip and beak and other details of animals B and C. It is true that such details also appear on the round-ended equal-armed brooch of Szentcs-Nagyhegy (fig. 17) which is surrounded by a smooth contour line. This, however, lacks the double faces with which we are dealing.

¹ See e. g. LEEDS 1949, no. 66 (Alfriston 28, Sussex, Eng.), no. 71 (Bidford-on-Avon, War., Eng.), no. 72 (Offchurch, War., Eng.), no. 80 (Fairford,

Glos., Eng.), no. 83 (Herpes, Charente, Fr.), no. 85 (Duston, Northants., Eng.), no. 119 (Fridaythorpe, E. R., Yorks., Eng.).

Several magnificent equal-armed relief brooches whose ends are rounded in shape like the Gullydynt fragment are known from the Scandinavian countries.¹ In spite of the fact that at the point corresponding to figure 33: *A* they have a full-face mask in high relief the double face motif is in general lacking. In the same way the marginal animals are of a different type from the animals 33: *B-E*. — An exception to this is the equal-armed brooch found in Kullerstad in Östergötland (fig. 52, *A*) which in spite of the triangles on the terminals is a really close counterpart to fragment *No. 33*. The borders framed by a relief line, the marginal animals provided with scroll-ended eyebrows, and above all the double faces (fig. 52, *B*) resemble the corresponding details of the Gullydynt fragment so closely that there is reason to suppose that both objects are creations of the same master. This is supported by the similarity in the double faces, and it is considerably strengthened by comparison of the rare marginal animals 33: *B* and *E* with the decorations on the corresponding parts of the Kullerstad brooch. Among them we come upon a flourish corresponding to the scroll-ended eyebrow (*d*) of animal *E* and also counterparts to the eye (*a*) and cheek (*e*) set so that the small triangle below the double face becomes the beak of the animal just as does the beak (*b*) of animal *E*. The figure corresponding to animal *B* has an almost identical twin on the Kullerstad brooch. It (animal *B* in fig. 52) has the same long mouth (*b*), C-shaped cheek (*e*), very small eyebrow (*d*), and the same backward turned foreleg (*h*) with cloven hoof. Its neck (*f*), dimly visible as a segment above the foreleg, as well as its stout body (*g*) behind the leg seem to be identical copies. Here are all the figures on the Gullydynt brooch so that we could reconstruct the missing parts of our object without difficulty on the basis of the complete Kullerstad brooch. — The only detail in animal 33: *B* to which no parallel can be found on the Kullerstad brooch is the ring (*c*) in the middle of the upper lip. The Kullerstad animal has a 'magic ball' in its place. However, even though the figures on the Gullydynt fragment are partly damaged and difficult to analyze, it seems that in animals *B* and *C* a ring surrounding the upper lip is more reasonable than a ball. Although this detail is unusual it does not lack analogies. — Particularly in the Helmet Style the ornamental creatures have rings, as we have seen, in many different places.² They are found on the wrists, ankles, necks, waists, nose plates, and around their beaks (cp. 32: *D*). Regarding animals 33: *B* and *C* an interpretation might be that the beak or nose plate is provided with a ring and a solution may be found in the Norwegian Skrautvål brooch the lips of some animals of which are equipped with transverse lines that may be interpreted as rings rather than tusks (fig. 31. See animals inside the necks of the biting heads below the bow).

On button *No. 34* which is encircled by a V-based hoop and was found in barrow 143 at Mahlaistentönnkä we meet an animal which chiefly on account of its wide eyebrow (*d*) is a genuine representative of the 'fat family'. If it differs from the members of the family we have met, it possesses certain characteristics even closer to the Anglo-Saxon material and particularly to the Helmet Style than to the characteristics already dealt with. Among the most striking characteristics are the unusual width of the eyebrow (*d*), the wrinkled forehead, and the outline of the nose plate (*c*) which do not give the impression of a natural creature (cp. figs. 24, 35, 41, 42, 50, 53). All these characteristics underline the fact that what is represented is part of a helmet.³ In particular, in the Kentish

¹) Cp. e. g. ÅBERG 1924, fig. 120 (Måsta, Hälsingland, Sweden), fig. 121 (Gillberga, Närke, Sweden), fig. 124 (Ekeby, Uppland, Sweden).

²) Cp. e. g. KENDRICK 1938, figs. 15 and 16.

³) See also e. g. KENDRICK 1938, figs. 15: i-v and 16: i, v.

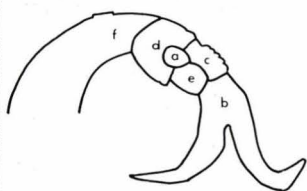
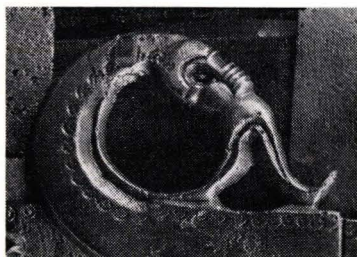


Fig. 53. Little Wilbraham 81, Cambs., England (3:2), (Cambridge Museum).

variant of the Helmet Style the same type of vague, sinuous beak structures is found as on the animal of the button.¹

In fact, this Mahlaistentönkkä animal has many characteristics in common with animal 32: *D* of the quoit buckle of Gullydynt. We find for example the multiple line eyebrow which resembles a wrinkled forehead and the unusual treatment of the beak. In addition, the bodies of both animals are vague and decorated with many transverse and longitudinal lines. — On account of these similarities in details and personal tricks of style it seems likely that the objects *No. 32* and *34*, both examples of circular composition, came from the hands of a common maker. This is strongly supported by the use of unusually low relief in both cases. This holds true in fragment *No. 33* as well as in the relief brooch from Kullerstad in Östergötland.

From the material under investigation, the magnificent equal-armed brooch *No. 35* from Tytärsaari is to be considered the richest representative of the 'fat family'. As in a typical family protrait almost all of the variations of animal style of creatures are encountered there: — In one corner animal *C* is thrusting its sharp-ended beak into the powerful neck of creature *A*. In another, animal *O*, decorated with wrist and ankle rings, looks like a rascal scratching the back of its neck with a comically large-sized web-foot, while animal *E*, like some of its companions lying comfortably on the border, has thrust its hindleg over its own back. All have plump limbs, and obviously live in harmony with one another, settled side by side within and around the symmetrical frame of the brooch.

Before we begin to compare details we may recall the fact that among the magnificent equal-armed brooches held to be Scandinavian types, of which *No. 35* is a brilliant example, at least one brooch was discovered in Hungary in a grave of the Gepids (fig. 17).² The origin of this Szentes-Nagyhegy brooch is disputable. Arberman has considered it proof of the fact that objects passed out in great numbers from the northern countries to the continent at this time, and of a connection between Sweden and the Danube areas.³ — At this stage it is not yet necessary to consider whether the Szentes-Nagyhegy brooch has come from Scandinavia or whether the equal-armed brooches of the northern countries derive their origin from the Danube regions. But we may note that there are many similarities in shape and composition between this Hungarian find and the Tytärsaari brooch. In fact the heads of some of the marginal animals with long lips are of the same shape (*35: G, J, R* and *U = Fettich 1951, pl. XXIX: 2^a, 2^b and 5*).

Among the Scandinavian finds the magnificent equal-armed brooch of Hade⁴ is one of the closest parallels to the Tytärsaari brooch. Its magnificent full-faces with high ear lobes and wide-open mouths resembling pincers and ending in transverse lines are practically the same as the heads of figures *35: A* and *L* on the Tytärsaari brooch. The relief studs decorated with crosses at the widest point of the arms as well as the shape

¹) KENDRICK 1938, fig. 16: i, iv, v.

²) See CSALLÁNY 1961, pp. 59–64.

³) ARBMAN 1945, p. 99.

⁴) ÅBERG 1924, fig. 123 (Hade, Gästrikland, Sweden).

BIÖRNSTAD 1962, pl. 2 (Häste, Jämtland, Sweden).

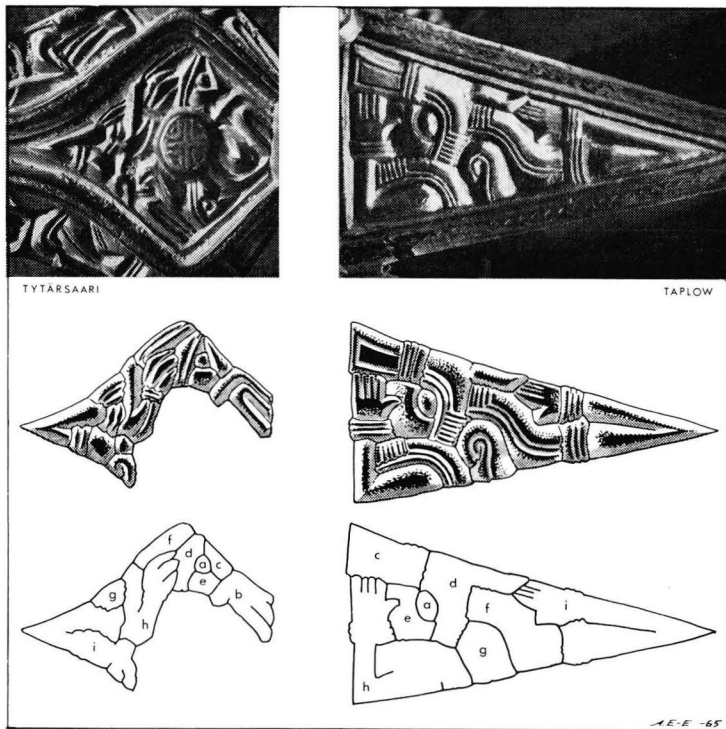


Fig. 54. Animal figure 35:O of relief brooch from Tytärsaari, Gulf of Finland, and one of the warrior figures of the drinking-horn mount from Taplow, England. (c. 5:4).¹

of the brooch itself with bows expanded at the middle and ends terminating in triangles are features in common with the Tytärsaari brooch. — Nor is it without significance that a detail as unique as the square stud (*c*) resting on the noses of figure 35: *A* and *L* is repeated in some objects of the Scandinavian Style I, such as the magnificent Norwegian brooch from Dalum (fig. 28), a brooch from Rödö in Jämtland, and a brooch found in Öland.² However, it may be noted that the brooch from Öland in particular appears strange in a northern environment and Åberg has considered it to come from northern France, whereas Salin thinks it to be of Hungarian origin (Cp. p. 25).

We have already established that some of the features of the Tytärsaari brooch have spread over a wide area: to Norway, Sweden and Hungary and perhaps also to France. Thus it is not surprising that some features are also found on the British Isles, the direction in which other objects decorated with members of the 'fat family' have already pointed. The Tytärsaari brooch also is of significance in this respect.

Some creatures on it may be compared to certain members of the 'fat family' dealt with above and with objects mentioned in connection with them. — On the basis of the blunt-ended snouts and exceedingly strong jaws as well as of the nose-plate & eyebrow combinations, animals 35: *F*, *I*, *Q*, and *T* can be recognized as analogies of animals 32: *C* and *E* on the quoit buckle of Gullydynt which has so many connections with the Anglo-Saxon material. — The Tytärsaari brooch has at least two creatures identical

¹) — According to KENDRICK's interpretation the 'warrior' of the drinking horn of Taplow (1938, fig. 14: viii and p. 77) is a direct variant of the 'emperor art' figures in which both raised limbs are hands. It is true that concluding from the fingers and the thumb of the figure the limb on the right side gives the impression of being a hand rather than a foot, as does the limb on the left. However, it may be that

the figure was originally meant to be ambiguous like so many other figures in Style I. Another possibility which corresponds better to the animal figures in this investigation and which is followed here is the fact that the Taplow 'warrior' is shown lying on his stomach while the figure on the right side represents a hindleg bent over the back part of the body.

²) ÅBERG 1953, fig. 117 (Öland (?), Sweden).

with animal 32: *D* on the Gullydynt buckle, namely, animals 35: *C* and *D*. Animal 35: *C* in particular, forcing its sharp beak into the skin of its companion from behind, behaves in the same way and just as insolently as animal 32: *D*. Features common to both animals besides the sharpness of the beak, are a double ring at the base of the nose, an eyebrow formed by multiple straight lines as well as a feather ornamentation made of about ten strands exactly corresponding to the tail of animal 32: *D* with its ten 'feathers'. The other being, animal 35: *D*, possesses such special characteristics of animal 32: *D* as a multiple neck ring (*f*), a nasal ridge (*c*) provided with an extension and, of course, a double ring at the base of the beak.

We may, however, begin the discussion of the primary material without mentioning the Gullydynt ornaments. — We can start from figure 35: *B* which we in the analysis found to represent a human being with an inclination to gymnastics. This particular being is a 'warrior' in armour who not only on account of his special characteristics but also on account of his triangular frame with a nielloed zig-zag outline may be compared with the 'warrior' on the Taplow drinking horn (fig. 54) mentioned many times before. Only the postures differ essentially and in the Tytärsaari figure counterparts are to be found to the raised hand (*h*), the nose plate (*c*) of the helmet, the head shield (*d*), as well as the grooved neck (*f*) and the curved body (*g*) in the middle. Counterparts may also be found to the numerous ring ornaments of the Taplow 'warrior'. The Tytärsaari figure seems to have at least one ring around the knee and a couple around the ankle. — On the other hand, there is reason to stress the fact that figure 35: *B* has certain features pointing to a more archaic ornament than that represented by the Taplow mounts. This is suggested by the mouth (*b*) of the 'warrior', which has a strange flattened shape that conforms to the shape of its base. In this respect it fully corresponds to the details of the Gummersmark brooch (fig. 2, B) which also belongs to the Helmet Style but which may be about half a century older than the Taplow mounts. The same holds true for the eyebrow (= helmet) detail (*d*) of the Tytärsaari figure which gives the impression of long hair and which also has counterparts in the faces in profile both on the Gummersmark, Grönby (figs. 8 and 9) and Hardenberg (fig. 10) brooches. Thus it may not seem unjustifiable to interpret the position of the 'warrior' and particularly the sharp-pointed shape of his raised foot (*i*) by means of the human figures on the Gummersmark brooch (fig. 2, C).

It is perhaps animal 35: *O* that most clearly reveals the close relationship between the drinking horn of Taplow and the Tytärsaari brooch. He is not merely an ape-faced rascal whose sole purpose is to amuse the onlooker, but, on the contrary, an animal-shaped creature in a heraldic posture which has gallantly raised its paw in salutation (*gestus*). — From its exceptional position, its measurements and details of style it is a strikingly accurate counterpart of the armoured 'warriors' on the Taplow triangular mounts (fig. 54). In both these objects the 'saluting' creatures have pushed their knees or elbows into the narrow corners of their frames while, as a festal garb or perhaps as insignia of rank, they both have two or three-fold ring ornaments at the ankles and wrists.

Animal 35: *O* is by no means the only one saluting on the Tytärsaari brooch since practically every creature has raised its front paw in salutation if it has been able to do so without losing balance. In addition to animal *O*, animals *B*, *D*, *M*, *N*, *R* and *U* have raised paws. Possibly many others too, like animal *F*, tried to accomplish the *gestus*-position but the fingers slipped into the wrong direction as the stiff limb was raised. The blinking eyes and sneering teeth imply that the animal has really tried its best.

It is perhaps worth mentioning the nielloed relief studs (*y* and *z*) on both arms of the

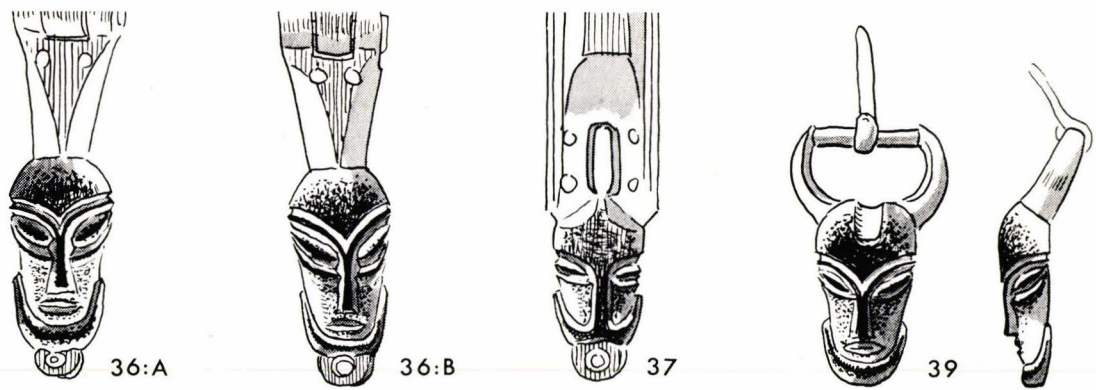


Fig. 55. Tytärsaari, Gulf of Finland (c. 3:2), (KM).

Tytärsaari brooch as a feature which is a link with the Taplow drinking horn. They are ornamented far more richly than is generally the case in objects of this type.¹ Perhaps it is due to this that the ornaments in question form effective points corresponding to the rosettes on the rim mount of the Taplow horn (see figs. 5 and 46). — And we may finally establish that even without the animal figures the close relationship between the Taplow mounts and the Tytärsaari brooch would be disclosed by the striking similarity in the triangles bordered with a nielloed zig-zag line. The Taplow ornament has an abundance of triangles on the lower border of the rim mount whereas on the Tytärsaari brooch the triangles are found at the terminals. To crown all, the relief fillings of these triangles carry the same motif both on the Taplow mount and in the Tytärsaari brooch even though on the latter they are presented with less detail due perhaps to a smaller space. — The common motif, a being in a position of salutation, is presented in the same manner in both objects. The only difference lies in the fact that in one ornament the armoured 'warriors' resemble human beings and in the other they are animals. Each detail, however, reveals that the drinking horn of the Taplow mount and the Tytärsaari brooch must have been made in the same workshop if not by the same master.

In his article on the semi-plastic figures of the Tytärsaari strap mounts and buckles *Nos. 36-39* (fig. 55 and pl. IX) Nordman emphasized their elegant shape and considered it justifiable to speak of 'classical beauty'. He put forward the opinion that they were of northern make but did not mention any Scandinavian parallels.² — A close parallel to these exceptionally well shaped heads is the human head on the Style I silver buckle of Ojaveski in Virumaa published by Kivikoski.³ Topographically also the buckle is very close but all the same there is good reason to look for the origin of the Tytärsaari mounts in regions farther to the south.

In spite of features in common with the more usual semi-plastic heads with round foreheads on the northern finds decorated in Style I the Tytärsaari and Ojaveski heads are exceptional among our Finnish antiquities. Their shape, which is unusually narrow and long, recalls a type of face greatly favoured in Anglo-Saxon decorative art. As an example we may mention the faces on the rim of the same Taplow drinking horn

¹) Cp. e. g. ÅBERG 1924, figs. 121—123.

²) NORDMAN 1931, p. 183.

³) KIVIKOSKI 1940, fig. 9.

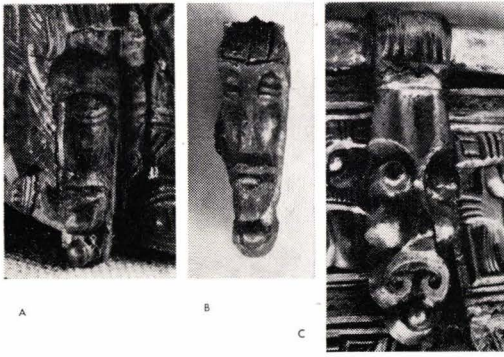


Fig. 56. Masks of Anglo-Saxon drinking-horn mounts (3:2). — A and B, Faversham, Kent, England, (B. M.); C, Taplow, Bucks., England, (B. M.).

(figs. 5 and 56, C) on which we have already found such decisive analogies to the ornaments of the equal-armed Tytärsaari brooches. — Moreover, we find similar long narrow faces on the mounts of the Faversham drinking horn (figs. 56, A and B) which, it may be noted, have riveting lobes in the middle of the beard in exactly the same way as the Tytärsaari mounts *Nos.* 36-37.

In the light of this comparison it seems evident that the Tytärsaari mounts with their skilfully designed decorations resembling human heads are creations of the same Kentish-Anglo-Saxon master who made the equal-armed brooch *No.* 35. — Both artistically and technically all these objects represent the highest level of their age and style. — In the first place, the design of the square studs in the centre of mounts *No.* 36 and 37 points to a common master. The design corresponds precisely with the contour lines at the centre of the bow of the relief brooch *No.* 35. In addition, the almond-shaped oblique eyes in the human heads as well as the round forehead and accentuation of the eyebrows by a thin grooved line (*Nos.* 36 and 39) are features in common with the full-face figures of the relief brooch (35: *A* and *L*).

The ornamental button *No.* 40 of Gullydynt in the shape of a ring decorated with studs is paralleled by several Swedish finds.¹ In all these the studs in relief are presumably signs of 'baroque phases' which recur at various times in early art when certain details originally intended to remain at the background become the part of the ornamental surface to attract most attention. Some examples of such a development are seen in the Kentish circular jewelled brooches (Class I of Leeds)² where animal reliefs alternate in the circle with equidistant jewel fillings or studs. In style these objects are directly comparable to our buttons and belong either to Salin's Style I, then going out of fashion, or to Style II, whose vague features were just appearing. — The over-emphasis characteristic of the closing phase of various styles has left traces also on the animal decorations of button *No.* 40, where the size of the neck as well as the snout rings have been much enlarged (40: *A*, *B* and *C*). At the same time there is a certain impression of maturity given by these animals, particularly in the amply designed frontal plate (*c*) and eyebrows (*d*) of animals *A* and *B* and the hips and bodies of animals *C* and *D*, which in spite of their small size give an impression of richness. All the details show that the maker of button *No.* 40 was fully conscious of the way each detail in this style must be presented to give an effect of generosity and fullness as in the Tytärsaari brooch *No.* 35.

In searching for analogies to button *No.* 40 we can, of course, pay attention to the

¹) See e. g. ÅBERG 1953, figs. 37-39 (Prästharn, Hälsingland, Sweden), figs. 41-42 (Västerhästbo, Gästrikland, Sweden).

²) LEEDS 1936, pl. 32 and p. 115.

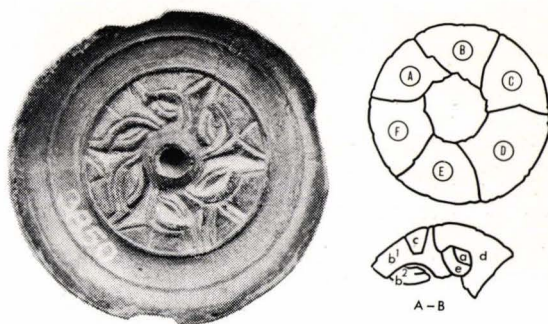


Fig. 57. Kempston, Beds., England (4:3), (Bedford Mus.).

circular composition on Kentish and Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches and mounts (cp. e.g. figs. 26, 35, 41-43, 45, 47, 49-50 and 57) already used in comparison with the Gölby button *No. 28* (p. 57). We see that animals *A* and *B* at least have raised their hands in solemn salutation, and that concluding on the strength of the mighty nose plates (*c*), they seem to be armoured. At the back of the shielded shoulder of animal *B* we see a hook of the same type as that found at the corresponding point of the armoured 'warrior' on the Taplow drinking horn. — Nothing can be said about animals *C*, *D* and *E* as their front paws are obscured by the relief studs. Judging from their thigh shields and firmly drawn head crowns they are armoured, too.

However the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35* under investigation is also a more fruitful object of comparison than many foreign finds. — The double rings between the beaks and cheeks of animals *40: A* and *B* have their counterparts on the Tytärsaari figures *35: C, D, K* and *V*. In the animals *40: A* and *B* also the powerful nose plates with grooved borders (*c*) as well as the restrained curved beaks (*b*), exceedingly thick at the base and slightly open at the end, have counterparts in animals *35: E, H, P* and *S* on the Tytärsaari brooch. Likewise, variants of the three-toed foot of animal *B* on our button are seen in the Tytärsaari animals *35: E* and *Q* while animal *40: C* has swung its hind leg over its back in just the same manner as animal *35: E*. — These two last features are indeed a product of a standard pattern and no conclusions as to style or school can yet be drawn from them. Instead, the similarities in the transverse beak (*b*) of animal *40: D*, which has some parrot-like features which correspond to the details of the Tytärsaari animal *35: D* and *N*, as well as the similarities in the multi-hooped neck ornament (*f*) of animals *40: C* and *35: D* are in an altogether different class. If we add these points to the observations made above on the richness of the design of the relief surface, we have good reason to conclude that the Gullydnt button *No. 40* and the Tytärsaari relief brooch *No. 35* have derived their origin from the same workshop if not from the hands of the same master.

The animal figures on the magnificent ornamental button *No. 41* (plates XI and XXIII — XXIV) of Nukuttalahti may undoubtedly be joined to the 'fat family' because of their imposing shapes. — The round relief surface, symmetrically arranged round a centre point, is formed by three animal heads. These, with their plump eyebrow & nose plate combinations emphasized by a groove (*c-d* or *d*) as well as their minute cheeks (*e*) stand comparison with the decorations of the Gullydnt button *No. 40* and the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35* dealt with above. The powerful beaks (*b*) placed cross-wise are of the same 'parrot-like' shape to which we drew attention in connection with animals *40: D*, and *35: D* and *N*.

This motif, which may be compared to the pattern on the Nukuttalahti button also arranged round a centre point is found again on a button from Uppland¹ whose side is also decorated with studs like *No. 40*, strengthens the supposition that object *No. 41* belongs to the same style variant as the Gullydynt button *No. 40* and the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35*. Thus this type of circular motif, although familiar in Scandinavia, is far more common on Anglo-Saxon objects. On a Kempston saucer brooch (fig. 57) as many as six heads which conform to the type of the 'fat family' are crammed into the same figure. The beaks of these Kempston heads are transversely set in exactly the same way as are the beaks on the Nukuttalahti button. As this saucer brooch also has two frame rims, which are concave at the base and which in size and shape of section correspond to those of button *No. 41*, the possibility of an Anglo-Saxon origin of our object may be considered sufficiently clear. Taking the evidence as a whole, it seems indisputable that the Nukuttalahti button *No. 41* derives its origin from the same workshop as objects *Nos. 35* and *40* that are characterized by so many features of Anglo-Saxon style.

The relief ornament on the magnificent Kiiliä button *No. 42* (plates XI and XXIII—XXIV) is in the peace and clarity of the animal figure equal to the best representatives of Style I. — In fact, this creature is not resting, rolled into a contented ball, but on the contrary, is in a position of heraldic *gestus*. The poor animal is so eager to salute that it has raised both fore and hindlegs. Such an attitude, however, is not unique, since the armoured animal *No. 34* on the Mahlaistentönkkä button does the same, but is not so clearly visible. This same ceremonial pose is adopted by the Taplow 'warrior' (fig. 54). He, has many features in common with the Kiiliä animal, but he also raises his two legs like hands in salutation. — Thus just as in the case of the 'saluter' of the Tytärsaari brooch, we can find details in the Taplow 'warrior' corresponding to those of our animal: — The nose plate (*c*) with its border grooves corresponds to the frontpiece of the helmet of the Taplow 'warrior'. The eyebrow (*d*) corresponds to the crown of the helmet, while the long neck (*f*) decorated at the centre with grooves is almost identical with the neck of the Taplow 'warrior'. The shieldlike detail (*g*) of the Kiiliä figure represents the body more clearly than the hook below the neck of the Taplow 'warrior' but the hindlegs (*i*) again correspond to one other. The dissimilarities in the foreleg (*h*) of the Kiiliä creature as well as the beak of the figure are, of course, due to the fact that here we have an animal while the Taplow figure represents a human being. Thus it is not surprising that the Kiiliä creature closely resembles the 'salutator' of the Tytärsaari brooch (*35: O*), which is another colleague of the Taplow 'warrior', in animal form. — The triple-stranded neck, the straight eyebrow provided with a centre groove, the nose plate and triangular cheek, the hook-shaped hoof of the hind leg, the enlarged bulbous ankle or fetlock as well as the general richness of design are features that reveal a common maker for these Tytärsaari and Kiiliä animals. When one detail does not correspond to another, as with the beak of the Kiiliä animal, it is easy to find a parallel in some other animals on the Tytärsaari brooch, in this case in the animals *35: E, H, P* and *S*.

No. 43 (plate XII). — This ornamental button which is also from Kiiliä is with its V-shaped encircling border and shape so similar to the preceding button that it is probably from the same workshop. The surface of the disk-relief is badly worn but the figure has apparently been similar to the one on the button now to be treated below.

No. 44 (plates XII and XXIII—XXIV), another Kiiliä button. — If this button had

¹) ALENSTAM 1949, fig. 19: 12 (Tuna, Uppland, Sweden).



Fig. 58. Logsjö, Närke, Sweden (3:2), (After Åberg 1924).

not been found in the same cemetery as object *No. 42*, it would be very daring to draw any conclusions from its highly stylized relief ornament. However, the design is so well preserved and distinct as to leave no disturbing or misleading factors. On this basis we may presume that the ornaments on buttons *No. 44* and *42* are the creation of the same artist. This opinion is also supported by analogies, for here we come upon direct variants of the shieldlike body (*g*) of the animal on button *No. 42*, as well as of the neck (*f*) decorated with triple longitudinal lines which cover about a third of the circle. The beak (*b*) also seems to have many counterparts even though this, set close by the border of the figure, has become the extension of the neck. Other parts of the head and the limbs have apparently disappeared but an answer to this problem may be obtained by comparison with other material:

In a square-headed brooch from Hällan in Hälsingland¹ the downward-biting animal heads between bow and foot are so highly stylized that we can interpret them as animal motifs only on the basis that the figures situated in these places are generally of this type. It is pertinent to the matter that these animals have complete heads as well as most of the neck. It is further possible to interpret the transverse lines at the centre of the hook-shaped arms of the Swedish brooch as eyes, and the sharp tips as beaks. — The highly stylized downward-biting animal heads between bow and foot of the Hällan brooch closely resemble the relief figure of our button *No. 44* so that we may conclude that here we have an animal motif in which the transverse line denotes the region around the eye.

We come upon a corresponding figure in the button discovered at Logsjö in Närke (fig. 58) where the eye is more easily discernible. However, in the Logsjö button the body of the animal is, at least according to the illustration, presented in a much shallower manner than the body in the Kiiliä button. — Consequently the stylized Kiiliä figure can perhaps be interpreted as follows: — First there is a long beak (*b*) similar to the corresponding detail of the Logsjö button, then there are transverse lines, one presenting a combination of the eye and the portion under the eye (*a* & *e*) and the other a combined nose plate and eyebrow (*c* & *d*). These interpretations are based on analogies with the corresponding parts of the Hällan brooch, and also on the fact that in the Kentish variant of the Helmet Style it is customary to stylize the eyes and the portions under the eyes until they are only minute lines.² — Then comes the neck (*f*) and the shieldlike body (*g*) which are comparable with corresponding parts of several other animals in this style group. The hitherto unmentioned pair of transverse lines (*i*) in the figure has parallels

¹) ÅBERG 1924, figs. 94 and 99: 30 (Hällan, Hälsingland, Sweden).

²) See e. g. KENDRICK 1938, figs. 16: viii—xii.

in the ring ornaments of the limbs, and perhaps in the thigh shields also are characteristic of the style, but in any case such transverse lines frequently occur as decorations of limbs and their substitutes on Anglo-Saxon objects of Style I.¹

The shape of the Palomäki button *No. 46* (plates XII and XXIII—XXIV), which is encircled by a ridge with a V-shaped base, is the same as that of the Kiiliä buttons *Nos. 42* and *43*. The relief on the face is badly worn but it seems that the decoration resembles that of button *No. 42* and represents a long-necked curled-up animal. Probably the button was made in the same workshop as the Kiiliä buttons *Nos. 42—44*.

In the last stages of the present investigation we have for a second time mentioned the encircling ridge with V-shaped section. Naturally, these ridges do not in themselves connect the ornamental button with any definite style variant, but in some cases, they are significant. — All buttons of the series under investigation with a V-shaped ridge have now been treated and we have found them to be variants of the 'fat family' type. In addition to this it seems that the buttons encircled by a ridge with V-shaped section probably originate from one workshop.

Some ornamental buttons with V-based ridges are known in Sweden but their occurrence is not common there. Åberg has in his last investigation on this field dealt with one button with a ridge of the same shape as the Kiiliä and Palomäki buttons. He has separated it from the northern Swedish group and called it purely Norwegian.² This button, which was found in the village of Gomaj in Medelpad, could, on the basis of Åberg's classification, just as well be Finnish. The most important thing is that the Gomaj button differs in general from the buttons found in Sweden. — To explain this on the basis of style we can see that the ornament here is an animal head of an extraordinary shape which has several parallels in Norwegian finds. The decoration consists of a circular composition formed by one animal head only. One half of the composition is filled with a large eye with eyebrow and portion under the eye, and the other half by a curled-up beak.³ There is no reason why this type of ornament should be the possession of Norwegian rather than of Finnish craftsmen since it is found in both upper corners of a square-headed brooch from Ipswich (Suffolk) as well as in the downward-biting animal heads between the bow and foot of a square-headed brooch from Market Overton,⁴ to mention only two examples of typical Anglo-Saxon material.

Brooch *No. 47* (plates XII and XXIX—XXX) of Vanhalinna which has relief ornament on both sides is, in its shape and decoration, a rare phenomenon, but on the basis of its style it can without much difficulty be established as a variant of the 'fat family'.

The eight beings in animal shape are, in the first place, comparable with the rich fauna on the equal-armed brooch *No. 35* of Tytärsaari, although, in spite of some bold touches, they do not stand comparison in effectiveness of design. — Among the animals with similar features we have first animal *47: B*. Its mouth, in pincer shape, has counterparts on figures *35: A* and *L* of the Tytärsaari brooch and one counterpart to the thick neck with its broad grooved ring on figure *35: D*. The transverse lines between the portions under the eye and the nostrils in animals *47: A* and *F*, the grooved parts under the eyes in animals *47: B, C, D, E, G* and *H* and the three-toed paws are details which exist on the Tytärsaari brooch and its close relatives. Likewise, the 'borrowing' of details by which

¹) Cp. KENDRICK 1938, figs. 15: viii—x and 16: v.

²) ÅBERG 1953, fig. 36 and p. 49 (Gomaj, Medelpad, Sweden).

³) Cp. e. g. ÅBERG 1924, fig. 135 (Dalum, Nord Trøndelag, Norway), fig. 136 (Rivjeland, Aardal,

Norway), fig. 138 (Vold, Jäderen, Norway), fig. 140 (Giskegjerde, Romsdal, Norway).

⁴) LEEDS 1949, no. 34 (Market Overton, Rutland, Eng.), no. 57 (Ipswich, Suffolk, Eng.).

limbs are interchanged (47: *D-A-E*, *A-B-C* and *G-F-H*) is a solution characteristic of the Tytärsaari manner (Cp. 35: *E-F-G*, *S-T-U* as well as 41: *A-B-C* etc.). The same may be said of the size of the animal-heads which are above normal.

The animals *D* and *E* on the front of the Vanhalinna brooch as well as creatures *G* and *H* on the back are significant, and they are situated in the most conspicuous parts of the object. In fact they occupy a large area of the ornamental surface. — In attitude and character they are undoubted parallels to the creatures of the Galsted brooch from southern Jutland (fig. 6) since they are similarly situated symmetrically along the edges and thus able to lick the full-face head in their midst. A close relationship is also evident from the colossal size of the heads of the creatures compared with their curved bodies and the minute size of their limbs. — In spite of this there is an essential difference between the style of these objects and in that of the Galsted brooch which represents a much earlier phase.

In shape the Vanhalinna brooch is, as far as I know, unique. — Both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon material includes brooches which terminate in a circular plate and which, in this respect, would correspond to our brooch (cp. figs. 8, 20, 21, 25 and 29).¹ In general, the great square-headed brooches are examples of this but the Vanhalinna brooch is hardly of this type.

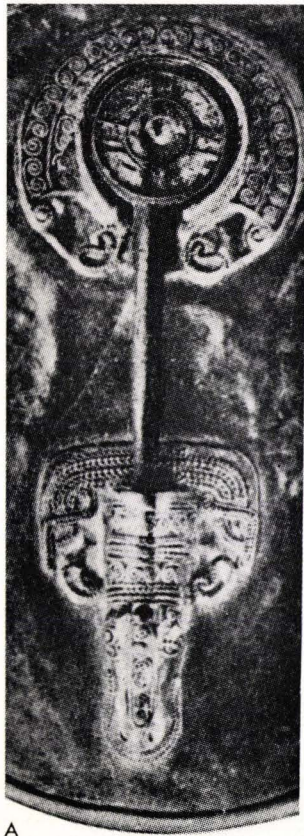
Some parts have indeed been broken off at the back of the neck of animal 47: *C*, that is, at the same end as the spring-coil. — This is denoted by the abrupt straight edge behind the neck, which seems strange in an object which otherwise favours round shapes. The entire animal composition is broken off at this point and it may be noted that the hinge of the pin has damaged the animal relief by the awkward fastening of its axle. The original hinge, a necessary structural detail, must have fallen off with the broken part and been clumsily replaced by the present one. — Besides it is not at all sure that this object has originally been expressly a brooch. Particularly the symmetry of the cross section (see pl. XII) leads to the supposition that the object is transformed from some kind of a caselike mount as e.g. a chape of a scabbard. May we, however, still call this Vanhalinna find a brooch. The conclusions will in every case be drawn on the basis of ornamentation and not object shape.

The proportions of the fragment allow for reconstruction based on partial resemblance to the equal-armed brooches of Tytärsaari (*No. 35*) and Gillberga.² In this case, the neck of animal 47: *C* would touch the bend of the bow between bow and foot. — The large-headed animals (47: *D*, *E*, *G* and *H*) which have been compared with the animals of the Galsted brooch (fig. 6), however, indicate by their shape and position that the Vanhalinna brooch should be kept separate from equal-armed brooches of this type. In the same way other details, particularly the decoration on the back of the catch with ornament similar to that on the front, are noteworthy and cause us to take into consideration objects markedly different from the equal-armed brooches. Among these are the circular jewelled brooches of Kingston and Sarre in Kent.

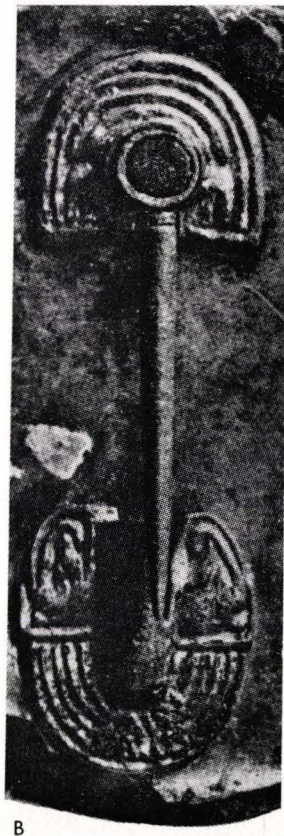
The animal figures 47: *D* and *E* as well as *G* and *H* have, when joined together, formed part of a circular composition so that the bodies and necks make up a half-circle which acts as border to the surface, while the heads form part of the rim but project beyond it. This solution fits in well with the spirit of the 'fat family' since the tendency is to place

¹) Cp. also e. g. ÅBERG 1924, figs. 92–97 and 102–112 (Square-headed brooches from Scandinavia); LEEDS 1949, nos. 8–10, 27, 32–59, 61–63 and 122 (Square-headed brooches from England).

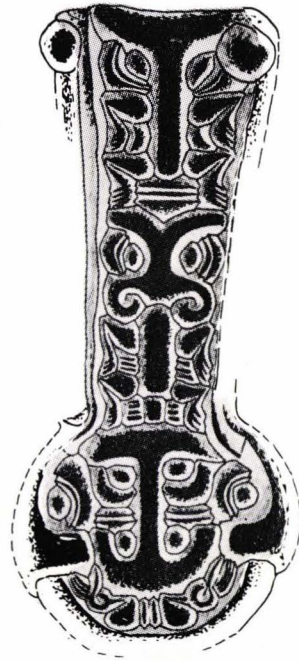
²) ÅBERG 1924, fig. 121 (Gillberga, Närke, Sweden)



A



B



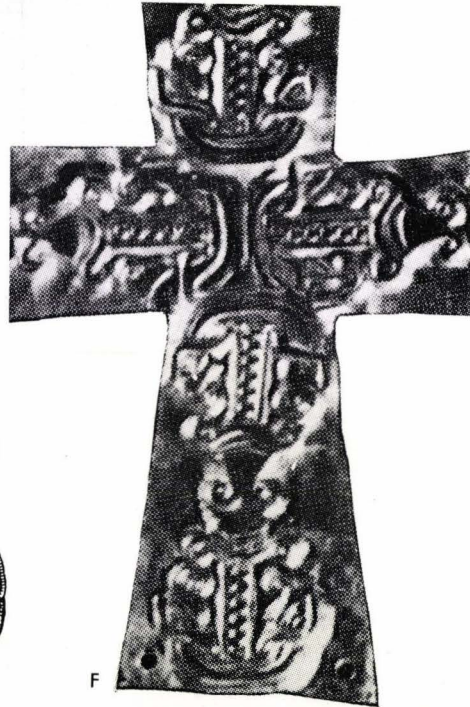
C



D



E



F

Fig. 59. A, back side decorations (4:3) of a circular jewelled brooch from Kingston, Kent, England (After Kendrick 1938); B, back side decorations (7:4) of a circular jewelled brooch from Sarre, Kent, England (After Kendrick 1938); C, relief brooch (4:3) from Vanhalinna, Finland (No. 47); E, gold buckle (4:3) from Faversham, Kent, England (After Salin 1904); D and F, details (5:3) of gold foil crosses from Cividale, Italy (After Mutinelli 1961).

the animals to form a circle as on the Gullydynt objects *Nos. 32 and 33* and the annular ornamental buttons. — In this case the factor which determines the shape is not only a familiar trait of the style, but the reasons lie deeper. Corresponding animal compositions appear in other connections and in a shape much closer to the ornaments of the Vanhalinna brooch. Besides the above mentioned brooches of Kingston and Sarre (fig. 59, A and B) they are found in many other finds in the British Isles. These finds include a gold buckle from Faversham (fig. 59, E), a brooch from Barrington A (Cambs.) as well as silver plates from Kingston.¹ And are not the animal ornaments on the Sutton Hoo shield² in the shape of a half-circle a development of the same theme?

We come upon this type of animal composition also on a couple of gold crosses recently excavated in Cividale in northern Italy (fig. 59, D and F). The place has, according to tradition, been given the fine name of 'Cimitero di Attila'. — In these cross pendants the animal heads at the terminals of the half-circle have rectangular eyebrow & nose plate combinations like most of the afore-mentioned English counterparts and the animals on the Vanhalinna brooch. In addition, they have ornamental details corresponding to the straight rodlike nasal ridges of the animal heads 47: A, C and F as well as symmetrical scrolls corresponding to the pincer-shaped mouth of animal 47: B. On the basis of these similarities which are spread over the entire group it seems that the ornaments on the arms of the gold crosses found in 'Attila's cemetery' make use of the same theme as the Vanhalinna brooch. — In order to return again to the decoration on the back of our brooch we may note that the habit to provide the back and particularly the catch with animal ornament as on the Vanhalinna, Kingston, and Sarre brooches appears, though rarely, on some other brooches too. It seems that this custom continued at least into the Viking Age but was most common in the period of the Vanhalinna brooch.³

Among the continental objects decorated on the back we may mention the great brooch with a knobbed rectangular head found in the Soest grave 106 in Westfalen.⁴ Another continental object which in its style and context is much richer than the Soest brooch is the object found some time ago in the grave of Queen Arnegunde of the Franks in the basilica of Saint-Denis.⁵ — This is a circular plate brooch whose pin-catch is in the shape of an animal head. In spite of its simplified shape this detail has features in common with the Vanhalinna brooch. Attention may be drawn to the T-shaped figure formed by the eyebrows and the nasal ridge which have a definite connection with a certain characteristic of this style (Cp. p. 39) and which above all is characteristic of the animal heads 47: A and F on the Vanhalinna brooch. Since at the same time the heads with right-angled eyebrows are profile figures of the T lined full-face heads (p. 34, F) we can, without the least difficulty, establish a connection between the head on Arnegunde's brooch and the ornaments from Kingston, Sarre, Sutton Hoo, and Cividale mentioned above.

The appearance of Sutton Hoo objects in the comparison material ushers onto the stage that phase of Germanic ornamentation which Salin in his classification called Style II. Likewise the animal ornament on the Soest brooch belongs to Style II. The

¹) LEEDS 1936, pl. 17: a (Barrington A, Cambs., Eng.), pl. 18: b (Kingston, Cambs., Eng.).

²) BRUCE-MITTFORD 1947, pl. 5: a (Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, Eng.).

³) See e. g. PETERSEN 1955, no. 25 (tortoise brooch from Nygård in Frosta, Nord Trøndelag); SMITH 1923, fig. 220 (Scandinavian box-brooch); KENDRICK

1938, fig. 19 (jewelled brooch from Faversham, Kent, Eng.).

⁴) WERNER 1935, pl. 17: 1 (Soest 106, Westfalen, Germany).

⁵) FRANCE-LANORD & FLEURY 1962, pl. 33: 6b and 7b (Saint-Denis, Fr.).

same also holds true of the ornaments on the gold crosses of 'Cimitero di Attila' since most of the figures on several corresponding Langobardic crosses belong to the sphere of Style II.

A significant change in the object material is marked by the fact that more analogies are now found among the continental objects. We could continue this list of continental material by mentioning certain brooches that are common in Central Europe and particularly in North Italy.¹ These brooches have as a favourite ornament a composition which corresponds to the animal groups *D-A-E* and *G-F-H* on the Vanhalinna brooch. This consists of a large full-face mask in front of which there is a half-circle with an animal head on either end, often introduced as decoration for the terminal lobe. A group of objects whose backs are decorated with animal or human figures may also be mentioned and are equally important analogies. Further, the T line is found in the ornaments of several brooches of the said list. — The T line is a direct result of the right-angle shape of the eyebrows.

One of the most interesting representatives of the Langobardic material is a radiated bow-brooch found with its identical replica in the cemetery of Lingotto near Turin (fig. 60). — The most striking motif on this brooch is the great full-face mask on the terminal-lobe of the foot-plate which both as in placing and function corresponds to the head



Fig. 60. Lingotto, near Turin, Italy (c. 2:3), (After Fuchs & Werner 1950).

¹ Continental brooches with details and features as follows:

(A) The great full-face mask in front of which there is a half-circle with an animal head on either end, (B) the back decorated with figures of animals or human beings, (C) the mask with the *T line* and (D) the mask with cheeks covered by leg figures. See e. g.:

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
FUCHS & WERNER 1950,				
pl. 12: A 66				
[close to Perugia (?)]		x		
pl. 18: A 79				
(Nocera Umbra 104)	x	x	x	
pl. 19: A 80				
(Nocera Umbra 100)	x			x
pl. 20: A 83				
(Nocera Umbra 162)	x			x
pl. 20: A 84				
(from Toscana)	x			x
pl. 21: A 86				
(Lingotto) [fig. 60. in this				
book]	x	x		x
pl. 22: A 87				
(Lingotto)	x	?		x
pl. 23: A 81/82				
(Nocera Umbra 37)	x			x
pl. 25: A 85				
(Cividale)	x			x
pl. 53: III				
(Schretzheim, Bayer.-				
Schwaben)	x			x
pl. 55: IV				
(Hungary)	x			x
pl. A: A 68/69				
(Nocera Umbra 2)			x	
pl. A: C 6				
(Castel Trosino 168)			x	
pl. A: C 34				
(Castel Trosino H)			x	

of animal *A* on the Vanhalinna brooch. In front of the mouth of this mask there is a half-circle ending in animal head corresponding to the animal combination *D-E* of the Vanhalinna brooch. To crown all, the Lingotto-brooch also has ornament on the back: a human mask on the spring-coil. — In a closer examination of the Lingotto brooch we find more analogies to the special features of the Vanhalinna brooch. The animals on it have the eyebrow and nasal ridge joined together to form one strong element just as on the Vanhalinna brooch and glimpses of multi-toed and multi-fingered limbs exactly similar to those of animals 47: *A* and *B* are surprisingly frequent. Thus it cannot be mere chance that we find parallels to the leg figures upon the cheeks of animal *C* upon the cheeks of the great mask of the Lingotto brooch.

It is not the purpose of the present investigation to throw light on the disputed question of the relationship of the Langobardic and Anglo-Saxon ornament. It is sufficient to establish that these widely separate branches of Germanic art have many features in common, particularly at the transition phase between Salin's Styles I and II and that these common features are found in great number on the Vanhalinna brooch which differs greatly from the other northern objects.

The continental material used for comparison represents a mixture of Salin's Styles I and II which does not mean that we are dealing with a definite and easily defined intermediate period. It has gradually become established that these style phases differ from each other not so much for reasons of chronology as for those of areas of distribution. With regard to the Vanhalinna brooch this denotes that the material used for comparison extends in date over a vast period. That is to say, we have been able to find analogies to its Style I features in material which may have belonged to the 7th century, as with that from Sutton Hoo and Soest. In the extreme case the same may hold true for the circular jewelled brooches of Kingston and Sarre. — On the other hand the material used for comparison includes objects which because of their interlacing are considered to belong to Style II but which may be dated with some degree of certainty to the middle of the 6th century. This is the case for objects from Nocera Umbra and, in my opinion, also for the Lingotto brooch.

In the case of the Lingotto brooch it is significant that its ornament, in spite of the interlacing, bears comparison with those on the Taplow drinking horn which has been mentioned more than once. Thus a variant of the Helmet Style with its multi-toed feet, its shoulder and hip shields, its ring ornaments and other attributes is evidently represented. The significance of the design on the cheeks of the full-face mask of Lingotto is also considerable: The decoration of the cheeks consists of hands which with their rectangular elbows, sticklike fingers and upright thumbs, are characteristic of the Helmet Style.

It is evident that an object like the Vanhalinna brooch could not have been made earlier than the mounts of the Taplow horn which according to our chronology is dated to approximately the middle of the 6th century. — The 'Cimitero di Attila' of Cividale gives a clear limit to the period during which this style was prevalent. The cemetery, as Mutinelli has remarked, must date from the early period of the Langobardic settlement in Cividale (about 568—610 A.D.) i.e. before the town was destroyed by the Avars.¹ — However, we find a more exact dating, in the date for Arnegunde's birth, between 520 and 525, and her death, between 565 and 570.² That is to say, the circular plate brooch

¹) MUTINELLI 1961, p. 145.

²) FRANCE-LANORD & FLEURY 1962, pp. 358—.

found in her grave may accurately represent the style prevalent at the middle of the century or in its third quarter.

Thus the chronological background of the Vanhalinna brooch harmonizes with the chronology of the 'fat family'. The brooch is decorated in exactly the same Style I manner as the Tytärsaari brooch but its motifs, composition and the ornamentation on the back point to a trend prevalent rather later than the middle of the century. Consequently, the Vanhalinna brooch is a combination of two different cultural traditions. These are first, that of Anglo-Saxon Style I and, secondly, that which appeared in the initial phase of Style II in the continental and in particular the Langobardic arts.

On the basis of the facts which have emerged in the comparisons worked out above, we have established without major difficulties, that the ornament of objects 36-42 is related in style to the equal-armed brooch *No. 35* from Tytärsaari, and have also arrived at the conclusion that all these objects are creations of the same master or at least have originated in the same workshop.

We might also add the Vanhalinna brooch to this group were it not that the creatures on its surface are so stiff and destitute of fantasy. In my opinion the Vanhalinna brooch is the creation of a craftsman who belongs to the same school as that represented by the Tytärsaari brooch but who is merely an imitator. As regards the fundamental laws of Style I there is not a single error or slip in his work. He is well educated as to the letter of the said style and a good craftsman besides. But he has not been able to achieve the rich, spontaneous humour of the animal figures on such objects as the Tytärsaari brooch or to express the same joy of creation.

The great ornamental button *No. 48* (plates XIII and XXIX—XXX) of Gullydynt has a side ornament very like the Gölby button *No. 28* which we treated above when studying 'lean family' variant (p. 57). In this case, however, there is no reason to attribute too much significance to the general appearance of the object and its ridges in relief which create a strong immediate impression. — Among the buttons which in shape are fully comparable to our button *No. 48*, there may be great differences in the style of ornament. Variations in style are also common among the equal-armed or square-headed brooches, which resemble each other in general appearance but have decoration in different styles. — Thus we may set the relief ridges and panel-shapes aside in order to be able to concentrate on the relief animals which more sensitively reflect the prevalent fashion.

In particular the imposing shapes of the heads of animals 48: *A* and *B* on the face of the button disclose that they too are members of the 'fat family' and we can present as a parallel to them the animal on the Kiiliä button *No. 42*. The curled beak (*b*), the funnel-shaped cheek (*e*), the nose plate resembling an eye shade (*c*), the long grooved neck (*f*), and the foreleg (*h*) raised in salutation of the animal in the Kiiliä button *No. 42* are seen again in animal 48: *B* and to some extent this seems to be a superior version. The shield-like body (*g*), as well as the hindleg (*i*) resting on the circular frame of the Kiiliä relief, easily find counterparts in the Gullydynt animal 48: *A*. — Parallels to the three-stranded necks, which recur many times on this button and also to some of the bodies and parallels to the heads of animals *A* and *B* are found on the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35*.

It may be admitted that the animal figures on the button are, to some extent, more 'elegant' than the Tytärsaari brooch animals. In fact it seems that the maker of the Gullydynt button actually is performing a 'tour de force'. With the aid of his brilliant elongations, curves, expansions and contractions he conjured up in solid metal the impression

of a miraculous rotating motion which never ceases. 'Style and motion' mean everything to the creator of this pattern but what is that jumble of limbs packed together into the panels round the side?

The manner in which animals 48: *C*, *D* and *E* are set into their angular panels by forcing the limbs into unnatural angles which exactly conform to the geometrical border space is a feature found also in some mounts from Barrington.¹ Just as on our button these also have animals resembling robots formed out of boards. The purpose seems to be to fill up the panels with angular elements. This trend was observed to some extent on the mounts of the Taplow drinking horn but here it is clearer than on the Barrington mounts. It is justifiable to mention the equal-armed brooch of Ekeby in Uppland,² also in the Helmet Style, even though it is different from the Barrington mounts or our button. — This vogue which has fascinated the minds of the masters of different schools and workshops could perhaps be characterized as *t h e c o m p a c t e d m a n n e r*. As if spellbound by this method our master of style, who kept abreast of his time, constructed animals *C*, *D* and *E* so that it was easy to put them together in the shape of bricks, filling up the panels on the side of the button.

The Mahlaistentönkkä button *No. 50* (plates XIII and XXIX—XXX), encircled by a raised ring with a concave base, is one of the best representatives of the 'fat family' in which the cautiously designed animal with plump limbs is contentedly curled up to produce a peaceful whole. Like the animal on the Kiiliä button *No. 42*, several animals on the Tytärsaari brooch (35: *C*, *D* and *O*) as well as animal *A* on the Gullydynt button *No. 48*, this animal has only a small shield-like detail (*g*) — to represent the body while the neck is long (*f*) and beautifully decorated with grooves. Because of the enormous size of its nose plate (*c*) and the luxuriant design of the different parts of the head, this creature particularly resembles animal *B* on the Gullydynt button *No. 48*. — It is very likely that the Mahlaistentönkkä button *No. 50* is a creation of the 'master of the compacted manner' even though the design of the animal does not reveal the same delicate finesse of style as object *No. 48*.

The motif of the 'fat family' discussed above is richly represented in great variety in the antiquities of Finland. Among the objects, close on twenty in number, we were by comparison able to establish differences in treatment so as to point to five or six artists. This number may, however, include the attempts of a single artist at different stages of development. — Whatever the case may be, we have in the treatment of the various types of 'fat family' a closer relationship with AngloSaxon material than is usual. — In the course of our comparison the Taplow burial has proved of special significance. It is a famous burial that in any case is noteworthy for the investigation of Germanic ornament, since its material reflects the different tendencies in art which developed at the transition point of Salin's Styles I and II. The Taplow material includes ornament from both schools while the mounts of the drinking horn have been mentioned many times as an example of Style I.

If we agree with the general opinion that the Taplow burial took place in the last half of the 6th century,³ we may assume that the drinking horn and its mounts were made about in the middle of the century. When compared with the Tytärsaari brooch

¹) SALIN 1904, fig. 705 (Barrington B 75, Cambs., Eng.).

²) HOLMQVIST 1955, figs. 12—14 (Ekeby, Uppland, Sweden).

³) Cp. LEEDS 1936, pp. 75—77.

No. 35 these mounts, in spite of the analogies presented above, distinct differences in character in the treatment of the relief ornament. But this need only mean that such differences in treatment are due to the individual approach of different artists or perhaps to the demands of public taste. — Thus we may date most of the style variants to the same period as the larger Taplow horn which according to accepted chronology will be about 550 A. D. or a little later. The study of the Vanhalinna brooch also supports this dating.

The Face Motif

MATERIAL

No. 53 (KM 8242: 51), plate XIV.

An ornamental bronze mount of an iron pin from the flat cremation cemetery at Kalmumäki in Kalanti. — The object is rounded and tapers towards the ends while the top is formed of a lozenge-shaped plate pierced with a hole. The convex relief lines, which are placed in groups at equal distances apart, encircle the object like barrel hoops. Four fullface heads each facing a different way are placed in each of the two zones. The heads have a rounded crown, moulded to form eyebrows at the edge, a sharp nose ridge and concave cheeks on either side of the nose. All the heads are identical and are without mouth or chin.

No. 54 (KM 11138: 453), plate XIV.

A four-armed bronze mount set on an iron

pin from a cremation burial (charcoal pit) at Hönsåkerskullen in Karjaa. — The mount has three parts one of which is cruciform. This fits on to a square centre piece, and above is a globular knob.

The four arms of the cruciformed mount are decorated with four identical faces. The eyes look outwards while the necks turn towards the central axis (the iron pin) of the mount. The heads are shaped so that the eyebrows outlined at the lower edge of the rounded head crown combination join the sharp vertical line of the face, i.e. the nasal ridge, which is hollowed out for the eyes. The eyes are formed by very small circles with dots forming the centres. Below the nose the lower parts of the face are lacking.

COMPARISON

Monotonously repeated full-face masks occur as the chief ornamental motif on objects Nos. 53 and 54. The groups of four masks are arranged into rings facing outwards.

The Polish investigator G. Leńczyk recently discussed a stone slab which was found in Światowid on the shore of the Zbrucz at the middle of the last century and is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Cracow.¹ — In its pillar-like shape, composition and motifs use of ornamental it forms a gigantic parallel to the Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen face mounts. On the Światowid stone there are rings of four full-face masks set to face four different directions. The rings of masks are placed one above the other just as in our mounts. — In his article Leńczyk has searched for parallels to

¹) LENCZYK 1964.

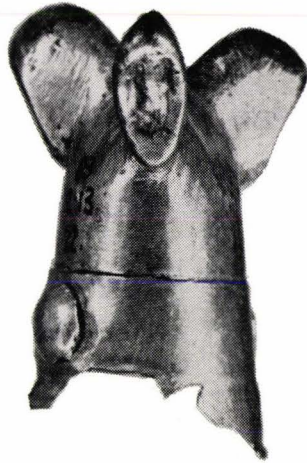


Fig. 61. Taplow, Bucks., England (2:1), (B. M.).



Fig. 62. Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, England (2:3), (After Bruce-Mitford 1947).

the Światowid stone in pictures of the multi-faced Greek goddess Hecate and the ancient Roman deity Janus, and also in the multi-faced gods on the Gallehus horn. In addition he presents many multi-faced figures from Central Europe and Russia and as many again from the steppes of Siberia and the Far-East.

A common feature to all these multi-faced beings mentioned by Leńczyk is the fact that they are apparently idols of heathen worship and represent deities. At the same time we can also establish that these representations, mostly in a plastic shape, are part of a widespread motif, distributed over a vast territory, and over a considerable period. — Thus it is due to good fortune that the masks of the Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen mounts show, in spite of their small and simple shapes, certain characteristic features on the basis of which they may be distinguished stylistically from the vast group of pictures with the same motif presented by Leńczyk.

The details which represent the forehead and the crown of the head of the faces on the Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen mounts are rounded like a calotte as are the human heads on the belt mounts from Tytärsaari (*Nos. 36-39*). As a characteristic feature of these heads one must mention the sharp nasal ridge that continues downwards from the forehead and which is dented at the point between the eyes. Perhaps, however, the most striking common characteristic is the fact that the lower parts of the faces are missing, so that they are half-faces.

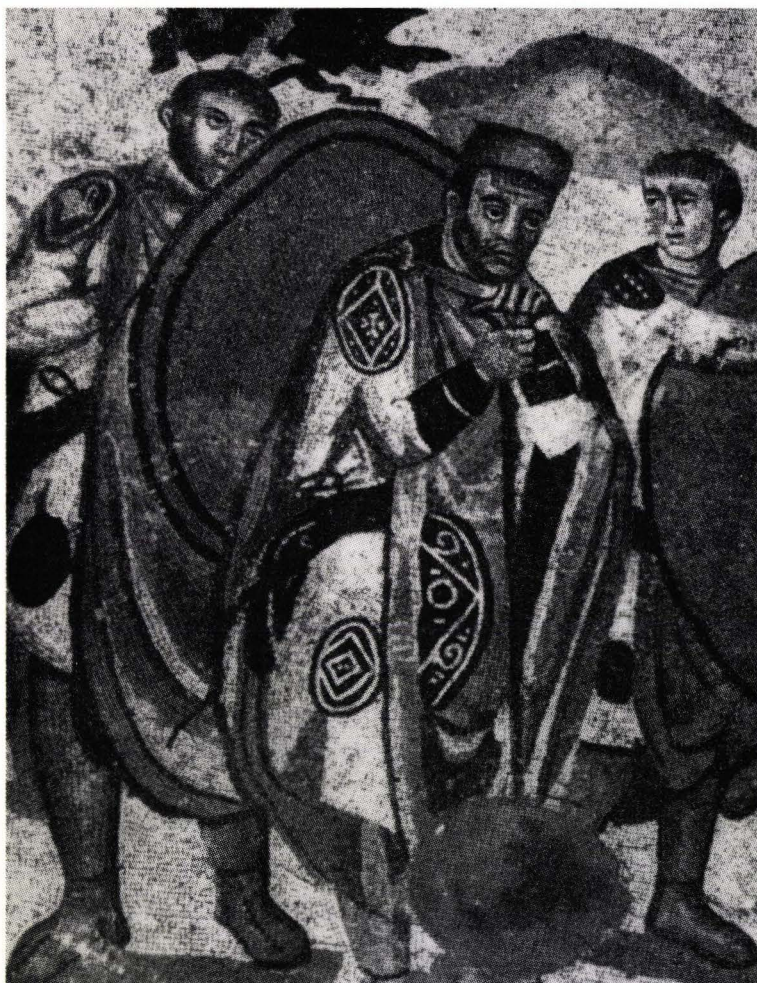


Fig. 63. Detail of mosaic representing 'The great Hunt' in Piazza Armerina, Sicily, Italy, (After *L'Orange 1963*).

In Scandinavian, as well Continental and Anglo-Saxon finds, small full-face masks are fairly common throughout the phases of style treated above.¹ They form an essential part of the motif stock of Salin's Style I and in dating or locality they cannot be held to belong exclusively to any school or tendency. However, insofar as we are dealing with 'half-face' variants like those from Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen, we must admit that the distribution is largely concentrated in the Anglo-Saxon cultural milieu. Peeping faces of this type of which only the upper part is visible, and which generally appear in groups, are found on the Continent also. Among these finds we may mention first the chased silver plates found in Grave 4 at Warnikam in East Prussia,² on which there are human figures with hands raised in the 'gestus' with the thumbs upright, just as in the Helmet Style, and who resemble the 'armoured warriors' on the Taplow drinking horn and those on the mounts of Söderby-Karl of Sweden.³ The Warnikam mounts, of which there only fragments are left, show the very type of small masks now under consideration. In

¹) Cp. ÅBERG 1926, p. 28.

²) TISCHLER 1902, pl. 13:1 (Warnikam 4, near Mamonovo in Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.).

³) HOLMQVIST 1951, fig. 5 (Söderby-Karl, Uppland, Sweden).

all they have about 60 faces placed side by side, a third of which are 'half-faces'. Some objects decorated with a number of small 'half-faces' have been found also in the Lango-bardic cemeteries of Hungary and Northern Italy.¹ However, in this case they are in shape and ornament very similar to certain Anglo-Saxon objects and so also are the Warnikam mounts.

In England the 'half-faces' have gained a hold on objects which we are apt to regard as purely Anglo-Saxon. They occur throughout the entire Anglo-Saxon material in the style phases treated in the present investigation, and there is a great abundance of these masks. Especially the saucer brooches and the square headed brooches are favourite abodes of the 'half-faces' (figs. 20-23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 47 and 51).² — As for the composition of the Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen mounts there is also reason to point out that these rings of full-face masks facing outwards seem also to have been favourites with the Anglo-Saxons. The same motif and arrangement often occurs on the mounts of drinking horns as well as on saucer brooches (figs. 5 and 48).³

The ornament of the material under discussion appears to be firmly linked with the Anglo-Saxon milieu. — Thus it is not surprising to discover a find in the same quarter which, in motif and composition and also technical design and smallness of size, offers a very close parallel to the Hönsåkerskullen mount. This find is a fragment of the terminal mount of a drinking horn from Taplow (fig. 61). The Taplow fragment has a ring of three masks (Hecate ?) which are 7-8 mm in height, that is, of exactly the same size as the Hönsåkerskullen masks. A most important point which helps to give similarity in appearance is the fact that the Taplow masks are presented in exceedingly high relief as are those of the Hönsåkerskullen mount.

The Hönsåkerskullen mount has, besides the part decorated with masks, two other parts: a square intermediary section and a knob which evidently represented the top of the object. Both these parts have a smooth surface with no reliefs but their shape and

¹ E. g. WERNER 1962, pl. 33: 2 (Hegykö, Heiligenstein, Hungary) (14 masks), cp. to LEEDS 1949, no. 17 (Market Overton), no. 59 (Londesborough);

pl. 33: 3 (Perchtoldsdorf, Wien) (4 masks), cp. to LEEDS 1949, no. 6 (Chessel Down);

pl. 34: 3 (Cividale, Udine prov., Italy) (19 masks).

² **Anglo-Saxon mounts and saucer brooches with 'half-face' ornamentation**, see e. g.:

ÅBERG 1926, fig. 21 (Fairford, Gloss.) 1 mask, fig. 24 (Horton Kirby, Kent.) 4 masks, fig. 28 (Fairford, Gloss.) 6 masks, *In this book*, fig. 47 (Fairford, Gloss.) 1 mask.

Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches with 'half-face' ornamentation, see e. g.:

In this book, fig. 20 (Kenninghall, Norfolk.) 6 masks, fig. 21 (Nassington, Northants.) 7 masks, fig. 22 (Barrington B9, Cambs.) 17 masks, fig. 23 (Alveston 5, War.) (13) masks, fig. 29 (Hornton, Oxon.) 8 masks, fig. 33 (Hornsea, Yorks.) 4 masks, fig. 51 (Ragley Park, War.) 4 masks,

LEEDS 1949, no. 17 (Market Overton, Rutland) 2 (3) masks, no. 23 (Linton Heath 40, Cambs.) 1 (2) mask, no. 25 (Tuddenham, Suffolk.) 2 masks, no. 26 (Little Wilbraham 6, Cambs.) 3 masks, no. 27 (Barrington A, Cambs.) 12 (13) masks, no. 66 (Alfriston 28, Sussex) 12 masks, no. 68 (Alfriston 43, Sussex) 9 masks, no. 69 (Alfriston 43, Sussex) 9 masks, no. 76 (Brighthampton 51, Oxon.) c. 11 masks, no. 77 (St. Andrew's Northampton, Northants.) c. 9 masks,

no. 78 (Stapleford, Leics.) c. 9 masks, no. 79 (Chessel Down, I. of W.) 11 masks, no. 80 (Fairford, Gloss.) 11 (12) masks, no. 83 (Herpes, Charente, Fr.) 3 masks, no. 85 (Duston, Northants.) 5 masks, no. 89 (Tuxford, Notts.) 7 masks, no. 90 (Norton, Northants.) 4 (10) masks, no. 91 (Linton Heath 32, Cambs.) 4 masks, no. 95 (Luton, Beds.) 16 masks, no. 96 (Market Overton, Rutland) 17 (18) masks, no. 97 (Fairford, Gloss.) 18 masks, no. 98 (Harlton, Haslingfield, Cambs.) 15 masks, no. 103 (Coleshill, Berks.) 11 (12) masks, no. 104 (Little Wilbraham, Cambs.) 14 (24) masks, no. 107 (Nassington 5, Northants.) 10 masks, no. 109 (Myton, War.) (13) masks, nos. 112—114 (Little Wilbraham 28, 3 and 40) (5) masks, no. 118 (Barrington A, Cambs.) 11 masks, no. 119 (Fridaythorpe, E. R., Yorks.) 11 masks, no. 130 (Kenninghall, Norfolk.) 6 masks, no. 131 (Staxton, Yorks.) 4 masks, no. 133 (Driffield, Yorks.) 4 masks, nos. 134—135 (Darlington, Durham.) 4 masks, no. 136 (Wigston Magna, Leics.) 4 masks, no. 137 (Whitehill Point, Northumb.) 4 masks, no. 141 (Kempston, Beds.) 8 masks, no. 142 (Little Wilbraham, Cambs.) (8) masks, no. 143 (Holdenby, Northants.) 8 masks.

³ Cp. in addition to fig. 47 and ÅBERG 1926 figs. 21 and 28 mentioned immediately above e. g.:

ÅBERG 1926, fig. 29 (Kempston, Beds., Eng.), LEEDS 1936, pl. 21: d (Taplow, Bucks., Eng.), SMITH 1923, fig. 43 (Faversham, Kent, Eng.).



Fig. 64. ROME (VATIC.) Reg. lat. 316, SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM. Detail of fol. 131b (c. 1:2), (After Zimmermann 1916).

location above the four masks provide grounds for a very interesting comparison: — The composition of the Hönsåkerskullen mount is similar to the one we know to exist on the ends of the 'great ceremonial whetstone' of Sutton Hoo (fig. 62). Both of the objects have a globe above a circle of four masks facing outwards.

We have now reached the point at which we must, in discussing the material of Salin's Style I, avail ourselves of the material from Sutton Hoo, which has become known as a brilliant example of Style II, and it is necessary to point out that a comparison is nevertheless fully possible. There is no disparity in chronology between the find of Hönsåkerskullen and the Sutton Hoo treasure, even though we should agree with the accepted idea that the typically East-Baltic and Finnish character of the former would justify a date at the latest to the period around 500 A.D.¹ — Finds of this period also belong to the Sutton Hoo burial deposit. We may mention the Byzantine silver dish which bears the control stamps of Emperor Anastasius (491-518). — As to the dating of the Sutton Hoo whetstone, it may be admitted that it is one of the most difficult problems connected with this burial. According to the generally accepted opinion the stone should be dated to about the year 600 A.D.² The dating of the object to a later period can be

¹) AF HÄLLSTRÖM 1945.

²) Cp. WILSON 1960, pl. 10 and pp. 45—53.



Figs. 65—66. ST. GALL GOSPEL 51, pages 267 and 266 (c. 1:3), (After Zimmermann 1916).

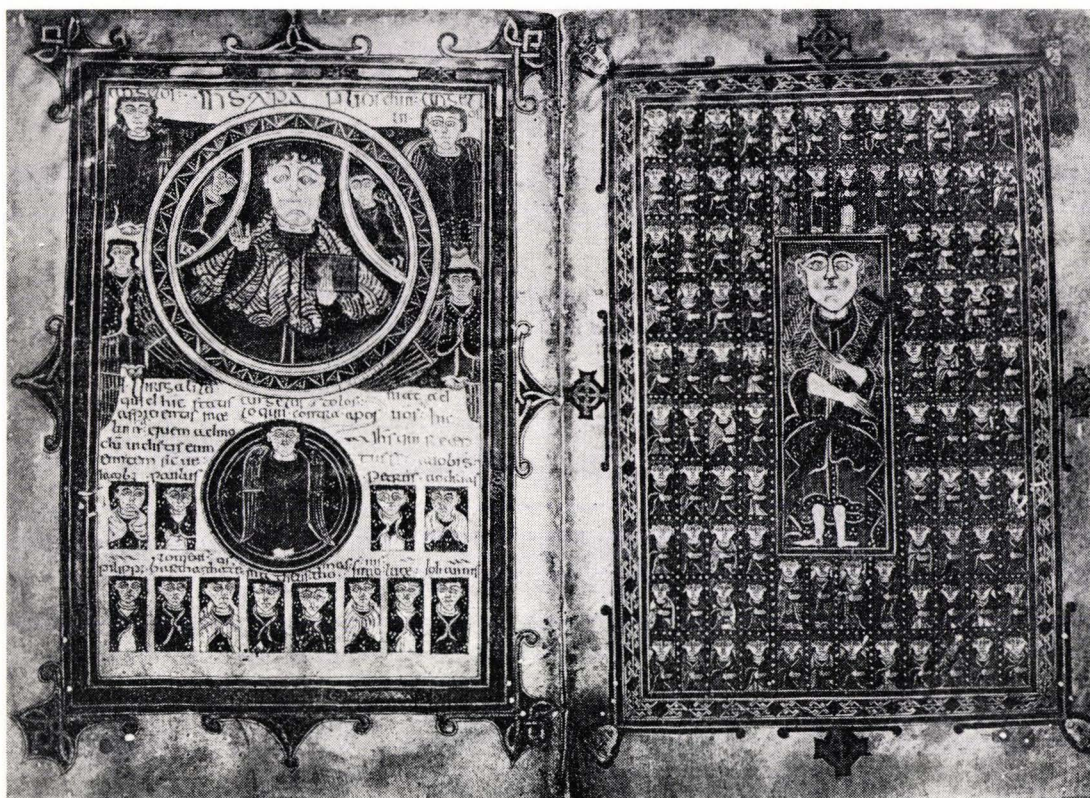
defended, however, by the fact that the masks on the stone with their pointed beards and well-dressed hair closely resemble the ornaments with a mask motif on the hip of the bird of the Sutton Hoo shield.¹ In other words the ornament of the 'whetstone' has common features with the very effective details of an object which belong to Salin's Style II. On the other hand the masks are clearly related to objects belonging to the sphere of Style I, which may be dated to the middle of the 6th century or to a still earlier period. We find beings of this type with their hair done in the same fashion as the masks on the Sutton Hoo whetstone on a square-headed brooch from Fairford² to which we have referred in the discussion of 'half-faces'. The old men's masks with pointed beards which decorate the lobes of the foot-plate of this brooch are relevant at this point. In the characteristic way of the full face masks of Style I they take on a semiplastic shape as they rise above the surrounding relief. It is for this very reason that the masks of the Fairford brooch are closer to the masks of the Sutton Hoo whetstone than to the masks of Style II, which generally remain on the same level as their surroundings.

Whatever the case, it seems that other objects from the Hönsåkerskullen burial are not of a very different date from that of the mount with the mask ornamentation and the material compared with it. We have had to become used to such a difference in dating when considering the Kirjakka button No. 20, for this also was discovered in a find combination the essential part of which was composed of East Baltic and Finnish objects dated close to the year 500 A.D. and these objects are comparable with the ones from the Hönsåkerskullen grave.

Various opinions have been put forward about the significance of the Sutton Hoo

¹) Cp. BRUCE-MITFORD 1947, pl. 4: a.

²) Cp. ÅBERG 1926, fig. 104 (= LEEDS 1949, no. 80)..



Figs. 67—68. TURIN (BIBL.NAZ.) O.IV.20, SINGLE FOLIO, (c. 1:2), (After Zimmermann 1916).

whetstone. The investigators, however, agree that it could not have been used as a tool for sharpening. — The Sutton Hoo 'whetstone' has generally been regarded as an emblem of the royal office.¹ It may be a so-called stone of victory, of a kind known to belong to the armour of some rulers, or possibly a magic staff corresponding to the staff of the Duke of Tassilo when he returned his Dukedom to Charles the Great.² The conclusion has been reached that the Sutton Hoo stone signified, at the time of the burial, a sceptre of exceptional power. The primary reason for this interpretation is provided by the masks and above all the 'magic globe' situated above them and these are the very attributes analogous to the Hönsåkerskullen mount.

Thus there is reason to presume that the Hönsåkerskullen find of the mount *No. 54* was a magic tool like the Sutton Hoo stone. In size it does not correspond to the Sutton Hoo stone which is probably an outstanding example of its kind but it does seem to correspond to the staffs found in Frankish and Germanic graves, whose length is slightly over 20 cm, to which the Sutton Hoo stone has been compared.³ The object may indeed be a miniature copy, corresponding in function to the Sutton Hoo stone. It was perhaps intended to be placed in the grave as a substitute.

Finds which in general appearance are comparable with the hiltlike Kalmumäki

¹) BRUCE-MITFORD 1947, p. 16. — 1949, pp. 8—9. WILSON 1960, pp. 51—52.

²) Cp. SALIN É 1959, pp. 90—94.

³) Cp. SALIN É 1959, p. 90—: (i) a 215 mm long rod of 'black amber' from a Frankish grave in Tonger,

(ii) a 220 mm long rod of amber from the grave of a Germanic prince in Pomerania. (iii) See also SMITH 1923, fig. 163 (Portsoy, Banffshire), an approximately 150 mm long engraved stone.



Fig. 69. LONDON (B. M.) Cotton Nero D. IV, THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS. Detail of fol. 93b (c. 3:4), (After Zimmermann 1916).

mount No. 53 have been found in Birka and in different parts of Central Europe.¹ They were presumed to be the hilts of certain kinds of pins or stilettos. In addition to their silhouette resembling a hooped barrel these pin-hilts have in some cases a pierced terminal in lozenge shape. Consequently, they have many common features with our mount. They have, however, no masks, and this decreases the value of the comparison. We must therefore regard these pin-hilts as of secondary importance on attempting to seek for counterparts for the Kalmumäki mount.

Although there is no globe above the masks of the Kalmumäki mount as in the Hönsåkerskullen mount, there is instead a rhombus- or lozenge-shaped section with a hole through it. The characteristics of these mask ornaments are unusually close to each other. Therefore, one may assume that in its day the Kalmumäki mount also was a cult object. It seems very probable that it formed the top one of the sceptre staffs mentioned above. The grouping and number of its masks (4+4) is precisely the same as that of the Sutton Hoo 'ceremonial whetstone'. It may be that a group of masks was associated with certain deity and that the number had symbolic significance. The same number was used centuries earlier on the outer rim of the Gundestrup bowl (where 4

¹) Cp. ARBMAN 1940, pl. 170: 1 and 3 (Birka, Mälaren, Sweden).

LINDENSCHMIT 1870, Book V, pl. 6: 2 (from a Frankish grave near Armader Hofe, Rheingau, Germany).

WERNER 1935, pl. 12: B-6 (Niederselters (?), Germany).

men + 4 women are shown as full-face reliefs),¹ while the frequent 4 and 8 stubbornly repeated on the old Greek calendars is another instance of its use.

Whatever the case may be as regards the symbolism of the Hönsåkerskullen and Kalmumäki mounts, the determining of their origin and date is the prime aim of the present investigation. It must, however, be observed that, symbolism even though it cannot always be fully interpreted, can be of great assistance, provided that we can establish it as fashion in ornament characteristic of a certain period and region.

We may reasonably presume that the masks on both the Kalmumäki and Hönsåkerskullen mounts are the result of the great popularity of masks as ornaments because these were emblems possessing symbolical significance. The same is the case with the 'half-faces'. — For this reason we can gain evidence for the origin and dating of these objects from the list which was given above of analogies to this motif (see p. 95, note 1). In other words the finds *Nos. 53* and *54* represent general ornamental trends of Anglo-Saxon material of the 6th century. As regards more accurate dating, we are not merely making a rough estimate in selecting about the middle of the century. A good reason for this date is also supported by the fact that the climax of this kind of artistic treatment is found in the period to which the multi-masked Taplow drinking horns belong.²

¹) Cp. e. g. BRÖNDSTED 1960, pp. 77–78. — There are only three large female relief figures on the flank of the Gundestrup kettle but concluding from the occurrence of the other ornaments in even numbers

the lost plate has had a female being on it. Four of the eight plates on the flank (i. e. half) are provided with male figures.

²) Cp. LEEDS 1936, pl. 21: d (Taplow, Bucks., Eng.).

ON SYMBOLISM

Early art abounds with cases which tempt the investigator to draw attention to possible symbolism in figures. The abundance of symbolism does not by any means decrease when the influence of historical cultures is felt, but rather the contrary. Within the sphere of our present investigation we may unreservedly say that the Germanic animal art appears to be saturated with symbolism. It is very likely that Salin's Style I has adopted impressions not only from the Roman imperial cult but also from the mysticism of the East, which was received most favourably in the western countries at the times of the destruction of the Roman Empire. Particularly in the Roman provincial areas the combination of the native German and Celtic religions, with various Oriental heathen religions which arrived later, as well as the influence of Christianity, created a mysticism which in its versatility and richness is unequalled in the European past. The climax of a phase of development of this kind occurs in the preliminary and initial phases of Salin's Style I.

Taking into consideration this cultural background it is easy to comprehend why an attempt was made to avoid symbolism so far in this investigation, while dealing with the characteristics of style. — An explanation of the symbolical significance of figures and patterns would have led us into regions of knowledge not usually included in archaeology. From our point of view it would be even worse if individual cases of symbolism brought into the discussion factors which often lack any chronological structure. In such cases it is impossible to make precise topographical definitions such as would meet even the minimum demands of archaeological investigation.

We have omitted the discussion of the symbolism in the lozenge figure on the Kakunmäki brooch *No. 15* even though we had good evidence for it from the strong emphasis on the figure as a symbol in the Roman imperial art and miniatures found in Christian manuscripts of the Migration Period (figs. 63 and 64).¹ Instead we have only mentioned a group of parallels from the material related to the Kakunmäki brooch. An attempt was made to follow a similar course of procedure throughout this investigation. — Only in certain cases where the subject demanded it, as in the definition of the significance of the coils which gush out of the mouth of the full-face mask of the Tunis fragment *No. 16*, have we been forced to touch upon questions pertaining to the sphere of symbolism.

Mouth Attributes

The details of other mask figures which correspond to the symbol of the flames gushing out from the mouth of the Tunis mask belong to the rare group which must be discussed from the viewpoint of significance. — A fairly large outpouring comes also from the

¹) See clothes of people provided with lozenge figures, e. g.:

L'ORANGE 1963, figs. pp. 202—203, 206—209, 212 (Piazza Armerina, Sicily, Italy).



Fig. 70. DUBLIN TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY A. 1. 6, BOOK OF KELLS. Detail of fol. 29a (1:1), (After Zimmermann 1916).

mouth of animal 15: *A* on the Kakunmäki brooch. This is also the case with the Gullydynt animals 18: *A*, *B*, *C*, *J*, *K* and *L* too, although owing to a cursory manner of design it is hardly possible to establish the fact that the element comes in fact from the mouth. On the other hand the triangles situated in front of animals 35: *A* and *L* on the Tytärsaari brooch seem to have a distinct connection with the jaw.

This group, including the Tunis mask, discloses clearly that all these faces are located at the most effective points on the objects: at the terminals and over certain diagonal axes which emphasize strict symmetry. The significance of these masks is further emphasized by moulding them in higher relief and by making them larger than the surrounding figures. — A similar procedure is repeated in numerous objects of this kind throughout the entire region of Germanic animal art, particularly in Style I. If one, in a case like this, ignored the fact that Style I produced its effect by means which resemble the fundamental system of the Roman imperial art and in particular, the system adopted and developed to a climax by the Byzantine ecclesiastic art at the same period as Style I, it would be most misleading. The factor which determines placing and emphasis in the Style I masks is a hierarchal representation by which those of higher rank are depicted larger than the rest. It is that if these masks do not represent an emperor and his closest followers, they may depict the Father, Son and Holy Ghost (cp. hierarchal system in the size and symmetric placing of persons in Christian manuscripts, figs. 65-68). — In connection with the interpretation of the flame in the Tunis mask, a reference was made to the 'breath' of the Holy Spirit; and we may now go on discussing in greater detail the connections which the elements issuing from the mouths of these masks have with the sphere of ecclesiastical art:

In the first place we may glance at a lion in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fig. 69) which cannot represent the devil as it is provided with a nimbus and is clearly the lion of St. Mark. It is interesting to note that an element, far larger than any natural tongue, issues



Fig. 71. **A**, PARIS (BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE) nouv. acq. lat. 1598 (HOMILIES). Detail of fol. 13^a. **B**, GREGOR OF MILAN B. 159. sup.. Detail of fol. 184^b. **C**, GREGOR OF MILAN B. 159. sup.. Detail of fol. 63^b. (c. 1:1), (After Zimmermann 1916).

from the mouth. This element ends in a straight line and is markedly wider than the base so that we have something corresponding to the triangular elements on our masks of Style I. — In a folio of the Book of Kells (fig. 70) the colossal initial letter of the text and indeed the entire figure group on the page seems to have issued from the gaping jaws of a lion. — One could give an almost endless list of examples like this particularly in manuscript painting, and in the treatment of the Tunis mask a reference was made to Künstle with a suggestion that the original roots of figure representations like these may lie in the Syrian miniature art of the 6th century. Mention may also be made of some figures in the miniatures of the Homilies of Paris and of the Gregor of Milan in which the point of the tongue element thrust out of the wide-open mouth of a creature takes the shape of a flourish and an animal head (fig. 71). From our viewpoint it is interesting to note that the cross figure of the miniature manuscript of St. Augustine of Paris (fig. 72) which fills the centre of a folio is composed of triangles which both in shape and measurements correspond to the triangular elements of the animal heads *A* and *L* on the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35*. The triangles of this miniature are filled with animal motifs corresponding to the Tytärsaari ones, and, most important, two of the folio lions are closely connected with one of these triangles through their tongues. This peculiar motif corresponds very accurately to the combinations *A* & *B* as well *L* & *M* of the Tytärsaari brooch.

With regard to the coils which issue from the mouth of the mask on the Tunis fragment *No. 16*, the suggestion was previously made that the coils represent fire. If we examine closely the corresponding details of the Tytärsaari brooch which are in the shape of a triangle, it seems that the interpretation of fire is possible here too. The triangular shape itself supports this interpretation since, from ancient times it has been the symbol of light

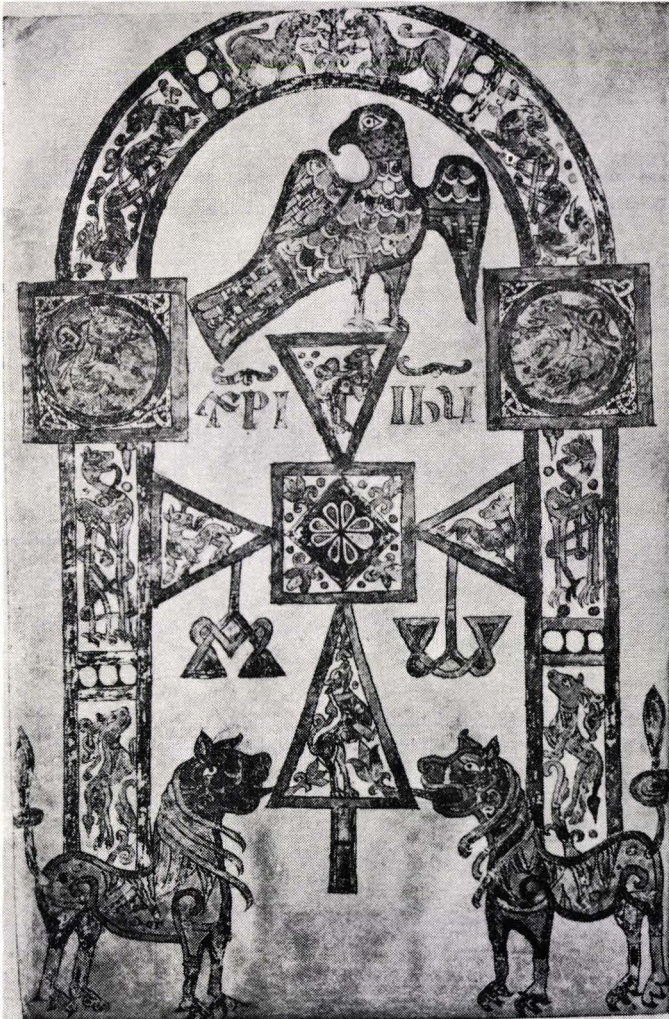


Fig. 72. PARIS BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE lat. 12168, AUGUSTINE, fol. Cb (c. 1:2), (After Zimmermann 1916).

and fire.¹ Likewise, the zig-zag line, which in the Tytärsaari brooch serves only to decorate the frames of the triangles, is an old symbol of the fire element.²

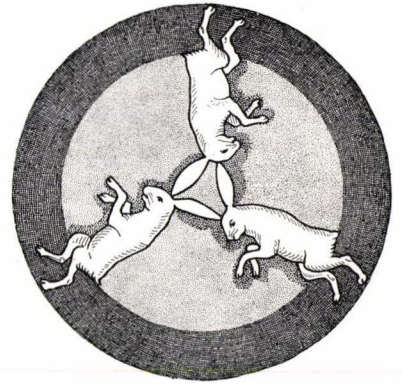
Placed thus in the sections which are emphasized by manifold symbols of fire, the Tytärsaari 'warriors' 35: *B* and *M* as well as their numerous parallels in Style I have a more than usual 'fiery' and spirited significance. Probably it is the 'spirit of fire' which has been presented in human shape, or rather the Holy Ghost which Christ literally 'breathed on' his disciples (see St. John 20: 22). The angel of the Lord who descended from heaven to roll back the stone from the door of the tomb where Christ was and whose countenance was 'like lightning' (see St. Matthew 28: 2-3), or in other words symbolized by fire, may similarly be considered.

Let us return again to the figure in the miniature book of the Gregor of Milan mentioned previously, in which the tongue element which issues from the mouth has a point in the shape of an animal head. On comparing these creatures with the examples of two masks connected to one another by a longish ridge or tongue, which were mentioned in the discussion on 'double faces' as frequently occurring in Anglo-Saxon material, one is forced to draw the following conclusion: the creatures in book miniatures provided with pointed tongues ending in faces correspond to these Anglo-Saxon figures as well as to the 'double faces' of Style I, and appear to be symbolical presentations.

¹) FORSTNER 1961, pp. 83-84.

²) CIRLOT 1962, p. 234.

Fig. 73. Sculpture from Muotatal Monastery, Switzerland, (After *Künstele* 1928).



A symbolic description of the 'breath' of the Holy Ghost is apparently in question again and evidently the great full-face masks (*A* and *F*) on the Vanhalinna brooch with their animal combinations (*D-E* and *G-H*) set in front of the mouths can be explained by the same phenomenon.

There is hardly reason to search for resemblances to these faces in the figures of Egyptian hieroglyphs which have a mouth with a solar disk inside, or in any other non-Christian sphere. Although Christian figure symbolism may have adopted much material from heathen traditions there is special reason here to emphasize the following:

The elements decorated with coils, triangles, triangles filled with animal or human motifs, and points with animal head motifs, all of which thrust themselves out of the jaws of the great full-face masks of Style I, have many parallels in the Christian manuscript painting art of the Migration Age.

Symbolic Numbers

In several objects under investigation the number of animal figures appears to agree with the general symbolic practise in Christian art. — The same number of animal figures as Jesus had disciples, that is, twelve, apparently appeared on the relief surfaces of the centre zones of the Kakunmäki brooch *No. 15* [*E, F, G, H, (Q), (R)* and *I, J, K, L, M, (N)*] whereas the full-face masks on the lobes of the foot-plate [*A, (O), (P)*] would correspond to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost and the biting animals [*B, C*] to the angels of the Lord (cp. figs. 65—67). — The twenty faces on the friezes of the border of the head-plate may represent e.g. the congregation or heavenly people (cp. fig. 68). The righteous of the Book of Revelation, too, are possibilities here (Rev. 4: 2-4).

In the Gullydynt great equal-armed brooch *No. 18* the full face masks (*A, J*) on the terminal lobes serve to represent the Father and Son while the other creatures symbolize the disciples (*B, C, D, E, F-G, H-I* and *K, L, M, N, O-P, Q-R*). The four full-face masks (*B, C, K, L*) on the lateral lobes may, on the basis of their number and more conspicuous place, be evangelists.

In the great relief brooch of Tytärsaari *No. 35* we have registered alternatively 24 or 22 different beings. The number could also be 26, as the figures *K* and *V* on the bow are ambiguous ($K + V + K^1 + K^2 + V^1 + V^2$). According to the method of calculation by which 26 was obtained, we can again interpret the great full-face masks *A* and *L* as the Father and Son. Thus a group of animals corresponding to twice the number

of the disciples is arrived at as is the case in the ornamental reliefs of several relic shrines.¹ In the case of the Tytärsaari brooch it may be mentioned that in the object closest to it, in the drinking horn from Taplow, a corresponding number symbolism is also demonstrable. There are as many as twelve triangles filled with 'warriors' hanging on the rim mount of the drinking horn (fig. 5).

One can naturally presume all the triangles, trifurcates, and groups of three figures, found in abundance in our material, to be symbols of the Holy Trinity. Particularly the relief figure on the great button from Nukuttalahti (*No. 41*) is worthy of mention. Already in our analysis we established it as ambiguous, insofar as the heads could be interpreted either as separate small heads or as three great heads. This phenomenon would be held as a symbol for the Holy Trinity and in the monastery of Muotatal in Switzerland there is a similar ambiguity in the treatment of the ears of three hares (fig. 73). There are, in fact, only three ears in the picture, but one gets the impression that there are three hares each with two ears.

The Ketohaka button *No. 17* and certainly the ornaments on the great button *No. 20* of Kirjakka may be compared with this symbol of the Trinity in the Muotatal monastery.

Further, the figure group on the disk-panel of the great Gullydynt button *No. 48* seems to be a symbol of Trinity which was worked out with a steady hand and a conscious intelligence. Presumably the animal figures *A* and *B* symbolize the Father and Son while the triangle in the centre of them, which is framed more elaborately than usual and must originally have been filled with jewels or glass, stands for the presence of the Holy Ghost. — As for the four square panels on the side of the button which are located in the close vicinity of the symbol of Trinity, we have reason to suggest the cross motif and also to remember the rectangular columns in the canonical tables of the mediaeval manuscripts which were reserved for four gospels (cp. figs. 74 and 75).² In these canons the gospel columns form, in general, a group of four panels which are bordered and divided by pilasters which are comparable to the panel flanks of our button divided by strong bars.

We could continue the examination of our material in the same way by pointing to a combination of the Trinity symbol and the gospel or cross panels in the Gölby button *No. 28* comparable to the one just described. It may be that on buckle *No. 32* the Trinity symbol is hidden in the circular relief formed by three creatures (*C-D-E*) while the heads *A* and *B* located on both sides of the fastening links represent angles of the Lord also (cp. fig. 66). We could be equally successful searching for animal motifs which are not part of the European fauna and who have, as far as is known, arrived from Asia Minor along with the painted manuscripts. As an example of this type may we mention the Mahlaistentönkkä button *No. 34*, where we have an animal figure which possesses features belonging to an elephant. However, this short glance may suffice as an addition to the comparison based on purely ornamental features in the various phases of style.

¹) Cp. e. g. KENDRICK 1938, pl. 70 (the Gandersheim shrine).

²) Cp. e. g. PAULSSON 1944, figs. p. 124 (Evangelia-

rium Aachen) (Vatikanen Bibl. Apostolica Vat.lat. 3806).

SALIN'S STYLE I AS A MEANS OF INTERPRETATION OF THE CULTURAL RELATIONS OF ANCIENT FINLAND

The main theories defending the idea that Salin's Style I originated in Scandinavia were mentioned in the introduction. In so far as these theories are valid it seems strange that the 'helmet' motif and the '*gestus*' position hold a central position among Finnish finds in this style. In other words the very characteristics which are held to distinguish the Anglo-Saxon Style I from the Scandinavian variant are found to be common to both the Finnish and Anglo-Saxon examples of Style I.

It seems equally strange that Salin's Style I ornament previously assumed almost unanimously to be purely Scandinavian, seems, as far as the Finnish finds are concerned, to be strongly affected by Christian symbolism. Many of the Finnish objects decorated in Style I, such as the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35* and the Gullydynt button *No. 48*, are both in use of motif and also in quality analogous to the illustrations of the finest Bible manuscripts. Evidently the same holds true of the Scandinavian Style I material.

Against the background presented above, and remembering that we are dealing with a period as early as the 5th and 6th centuries, the present writer finds himself unable to understand the opinions put forward by several investigators arguing for a Scandinavian origin for Style I in Britain and on the Continent. — It is true that in those days there were lively contacts between the different nations, and archaeological finds show that people both in Scandinavia and Finland lived in a time of material and cultural wealth. However, in spite of this it is hardly possible that any type of cultural expansion could spread southwards from the Northern countries. This holds good in particular when a vogue such as Style I, based on Christian symbolism, developed out of the traditions of imperial cult art to a large extent. Art of this kind could be practised only in cloisters or in their immediate sphere of influence. One possibility is that of the Christian population in Britain, which had remained in partial isolation after the departure of the Roman rulers.

Let us allow our eyes to rest for a moment on the fine relief patterns of the Tytärsaari brooch *No. 35*. — They reveal the satiric humour of a person blessed with the enviable gifts of a splendid artist. He must have been especially well acquainted with the themes of the Bible and able to present them symbolically. In his work this artist of genius has succeeded in pouring out something of his joy in creation which may have been considered inappropriate in the illustration of the Bible manuscripts. Slightly later, indeed, a corresponding trend was expressed in the reliefs and wall paintings of the churches. In the early stage of analysis we became acquainted with animal *C* on this brooch. We can only imagine the inmost enjoyment of the artist as he caused this rascally character to sit happily on its wide buttocks. It forces its wretchedly sharp beak into the thick neck muscle of the great being *35: A* at the very moment that this dignified figure has concentrated on the important work of 'breathing' out the Holy Spirit, and this treatment



Fig. 74. TRIER (DOMSCHATZ) 61 (olim. 134), A GOSPEL BOOK, fol. 10a (c. 1:3), (After Zimmermann 1916).

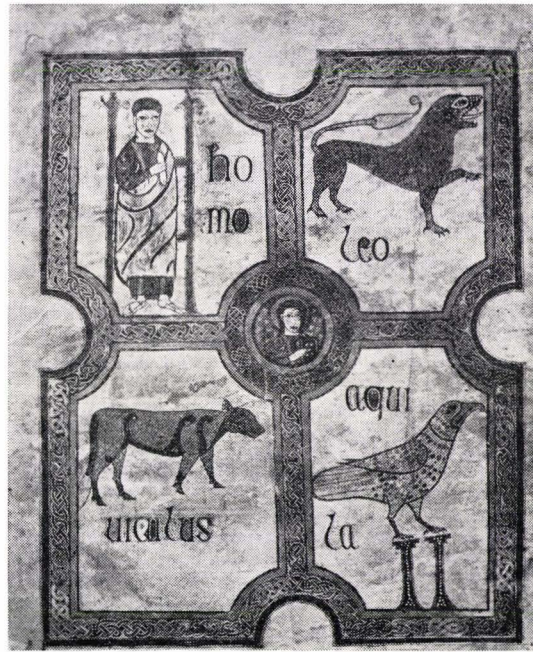


Fig. 75. TRIER (DOMSCHATZ) 61 (olim 134), A GOSPEL BOOK, fol. 1b (c. 1:3), (After Zimmermann 1916).

reveals the same. genius. In every case, however, the creator of the Tytärsaari brooch has, as we learn from the examination of symbolism, succeeded within the compass of the accepted formula in creating this composition for the 'Glory of God'. It seems that everything in this formation of 26 members goes exactly according to ritual.

Regarding Germanic animal ornament this investigation has with the help of comparison based chiefly on style analysis and partly on the symbolism of figures and figure groups, reached conclusions opposed to those which have prevailed for almost a century. The ornament which was thought to be a national possession issuing from the ancient heathen traditions of the North has proved to be a ritual art which holds a deep Christian symbolism. Scandinavia, which was previously considered the centre of this art, has to yield its position to more southern regions. The factors which were revealed in the examination of the decorative details appear definitely to point to the fact that the roots of the different schools and workshops are to be first looked for in Britain, in a direction which has been held by many scholars to be on the periphery of Style I.

These important results are of great significance for Finnish archaeology. In the light of this evidence the Finnish Style I material cannot be accounted for by Scandinavian influence but must be regarded as a parallel phenomenon, which together with the Scandinavian material, represents the periphery of Style I. The relationship is, thus, not a subordinate but a coordinated one, and this is indeed the case with other archaeological material of this period. — One feature of our investigation must be mentioned here. It was not sufficiently stressed while we were searching for similarities, but, it must prove to be a decisive factor in reaching the final conclusion. The fact is that the Finnish and Scandinavian figures of Style I are in reality essentially different even though they may give the general impression of being closely linked. We have drawn attention to this fact only in the discussion of the details of the great Gullydynt brooch *No. 18*, but the phenomenon is in actual fact far more extensive. — For this reason the present writer

encountered serious difficulties when he attempted to link the material of the present study, analyzed by him, with the material of Scandinavian Style I. It took some time for him to establish that to confine himself merely to the Scandinavian comparative material would simply mean comparing two branches of the cultural phenomenon of Style I. The heterogenous nature of the material of the northern Style I and the lack of any coherent line to denote the central region became more and more evident. — General similarities, and detailed links which may be established between the Gullydynt fragment *No. 33* and the equal-armed brooch from Kullerstad in Sweden, are exceptional. In so far as they do occur one can always be sure that corresponding similarities will be found abundantly in the Anglo-Saxon Style I material.

The observations made in the course of this investigation have caused rejection of the prevalent theories regarding Salin's Style I. This does not, however, mean that the related problems will be solved in full. We may rather say that now a new group of problems all the more difficult of solution have come into our range of vision. In fact we have reached a very complicated question:

While the ornamental features of the objects convincingly indicate an English origin their shapes suggest something very different. In fact, only the quoit buckle *No. 32* of Gullydynt is, in general appearance, so purely Anglo-Saxon in type that a copy of it could without causing confusion be discovered in English soil. Perhaps we could say the same of the small Gullydynt brooch *No. 19* but our other objects would undeniably cause a certain archaeological sensation if found in the island kingdom since they are so unlike the objects found in that country.

As an explanation of the disparity between the general features and the ornamental surfaces of these objects, it would be absurd to presume that under the conditions then prevalent people wandered from the northern countries to England to learn ornamentation and then returned to apply their skill to objects of Scandinavian and Finnish type. From the history of our country it does not seem likely that study tours of this kind were been made in the Middle Ages or even in later times. On the other hand there are an abundance of examples of articles of value ordered from distant places and imported to Finland. Let us in this connection only consider the altar cabinets made for Finland in Lübeck, and the cenotaph of St. Henry from Flanders in the 15th century. It is also known that several foreign craftsmen and merchants settled in Finland in the later Middle Age and at the beginning of the modern period. Their names imply that they came from northern Germany, Flanders and Holland.¹ There is also reason to mention the silversmiths of Stockholm who in the Baroque Age made objects for the Lapps using medieval motifs.

Taking all this into consideration it would seem that in the days of Style I expert craftsmen came from Anglo-Saxon workshops to the northern countries and to Finland, and carried on their noble trade here, using their outstanding skill to decorate objects of native type. — Another possibility is that objects were exported to the northern countries, and these were made according to the taste of the customer but decorated in the characteristic Anglo-Saxon Style.

Which ever of these two possibilities is favoured makes no difference in the end. In either case we have a significant and refreshing cultural phenomenon in early Finland. Style I has been used to decorate luxury goods which came from the same source to the

¹) See e. g. LUUKKO 1954: *Holsti* (Holstein) at Rauma 1566 and at Vehmaa 1568, *Tysk* (German)

at Tyrnävä 1580, *Flander* at Kalajoki 1568, *Hollandi* at Haukipudas 1547, etc.

court, such as the splendid treasures of the kings and queens of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks. In archaeological investigation this means that there is a possibility of finding a direct connection between the early historic environment and written history. We can establish chronologically precise connections between the grave of Queen Arnegunde in the Saint-Denis basilica on one hand and on the other, say, Vanhalinna in Lieto. In addition to this we have through a thorough analysis of Style I been able to enrich the cultural picture of early Finland by distinguishing some actual people some of whom have been able to send small consignments of their work to different parts of the country and in whose creations evidence of their taste and even intimations of their character and intelligence are clearly discernible.

Particularly in the ornaments of the 'TAPLOW' style phase the personal characteristics of the individual makers differed distinctly from one other. Whoever these persons may have been, they still keep their secret although they have helped to throw much light on the culture of their day. We may, however, be able to make some progress by collecting the observations made in the course of the present investigation and by giving these masters signatures or at least code letters from the alphabet.

MASTER A, a creator of the 'lean family' style. He was trained in England, evidently in the same workshop or circle where slightly earlier objects provided with spiral ornament were made (as e.g. the small equal-armed brooch No. 7 and the ornamental buttons Nos. 8 and 9 of Gullydynt, the Vallinmäki buttons Nos. 1-3, the Kiiliä button No. 6, and the Hiidennokka buttons Nos. 4 and 5). Among his own works are the great relief brooch No. 18 and the small relief brooch No. 19 of Gullydynt, the great ornamental button No. 20 of Kirjakka, and probably the great ornamental buttons Nos. 28-31 of Göldbý. It is possible that the identical buttons Nos. 21-28 found at Vallinmäki, Gullydynt, Kiiliä and Lentolankärki, also came from his workshop.

MASTER B, one of the pioneers of the 'fat family' style, whose creations were spread over Sweden and Finland. He was trained for a long period in England, helping in the mass production of Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches and other objects characteristic of the region. Among his works are the great equal-armed relief brooch of *Kullerstad* (Sweden), the quoit buckle of Gullydynt No. 32 a fragment of the great equal-armed brooch No. 33, and the ornamental button No. 34 with an animal motif from Mahlaistentönkkä.

MASTER C, a humorous representative of the 'fat family' style and a really creative individual. A vital personality who obviously was a personal friend of the greatest masters of Germanic ornamentation of his own time. His circle of customers was composed of people who took part in the early expeditions to the East and who were buried at Nukuttalahti on Lake Ladoga and on Tytärsaari in the Gulf of Finland. This craftsman was evidently trained in Kent, probably, in the same workshop where the mounts of the greater drinking horn of Taplow were made. Among the creations of Master C are the great ornamental button No. 40 of Gullydynt, the great equal-armed relief brooch No. 35, and the belt mounts Nos. 36-39 of Tytärsaari as well as the great ornamental button No. 41 of Nukuttalahti.

MASTER D, the creator of the most peaceful compositions in the sphere of the 'fat family' style. He received the same training as the previous master. Among his works are the ornamental buttons Nos. 42-45 of Kiiliä as well as the Palomäki button No. 46.

MASTER E, an expert of Style I who belongs to the exponents of the 'fat family' style. While similar to the manner of masters C and D his style, too, is rather close to the 'Taplow school', but when compared with his colleagues he must be regarded as an imitator who lags behind. The Vanhalinna brooch No. 47, which is his work, is provided with relief

ornaments on both sides which unconditionally comply with the laws of symmetry even to the minute details of the figures, a fact which is a proof of the stiff 'academic' stand of this 'artist of court circles'.

MASTER F, a virtuoso who produced audacious variations in the 'fat family' style, and who in practising fluctuations of style experimented with the 'compacted manner'. The great Gullydynt buttons *Nos. 48-49*, as well as the ornamental buttons *Nos. 50-52* of Mahlaistentönkkä, are his creations.

In the above list of the works of the artists belonging to the 'Taplow' style phase the name Gullydynt as a place of discovery is repeated more often than the others. Only on the part of masters D and E did it remain unmentioned but the reasons for this are evidently purely incidental ones. Generally speaking the creations of these artists who, in the opinion of the present writer, were Kentish and Anglo-Saxon men, seem to have spread especially to Gullydynt and its neighbourhood, in fact to the Ostrobothnia regions which were inhabited during the Migration Period. One must not, however, draw the superficial conclusion that the workshops of these masters must have been situated in the regions near Gullydynt. Where luxury objects of this kind are in question one must avoid the assumption that the regions of production are the same as those where the archaeological objects are most frequently discovered. In many cases, as far as is known, the production centres of market goods were far distant from their destinations, and this has been so from the beginning of civilization.

If, however, we wish to assume that these masters worked in Finland or in the northern countries in general, it is very reasonable to believe that their workshops situated in South Ostrobothnia. In my opinion there is no reason why any Anglo-Saxon trading post or settlement located between Ostrobothnia and Britain should have acted as the production centre of the Style I objects found in Finland. No such place or places have left any traces in the archaeological material, providing evidence which could bear comparison with the productions of our masters, which forms so exceptionally harmonious a stylistic group.

The number of objects which make up the material of the present investigation is rather small, and in measurement of time it must represent a very short phase covering a period of perhaps a century only. However, even though only Salin's Style I has been under consideration, we have succeeded in establishing in it at least four style variants or different trends which represent the production of about ten individual masters or schools. None of these variants is an organic development from the earlier artistic tradition of our country. Nor do they give the impression of developing out of one another, with the possible exception of some objects of the 'spiral line' and the 'lean family' variants. On the contrary it seems that the masters or schools were, on their part, well aware of the momentary whims of fashion in design, composition, and motif which occurred in the Anglo-Saxon ornamental art. The entire situation is summed up by the production of the individual artists A - F of the 'Taplow' style phase, which reveals how strange the position is. The productions of these artists present extraneous phenomenon in Finnish archaeology even if we assume that these persons must have settled down in our country.

Each of them has brought into Finland new style trends, but in a way these were brought to unfertile soil. The workshop (or workshops) of these masters did not further the development of Anglo-Saxon art tradition. Finland acted solely as a reception area, so that the new ideas came into the country with the artists, flourished with them and vanished with them. The chronological continuity which is distinctly discernible in the creations of their workshop is thus not the result of any personal organic development

but a result of the immigration of Anglo-Saxon artists. — It may be that it is only a result of continuous imports of the objects alone.

An impressive proof of the isolation of the Style I artists from other artists in Finland who were working on an East Baltic cultural basis is the fact that after they left and even after their successors left, the niello and gilding techniques and other instances of fine craftsmanship remained unattainable wonders for native Finnish metal work. The trade secrets were apparently guarded most carefully. If contact was possible between the native domestic handicraft traditions and the masters of Style I, clear traces of it should be visible. With good reason one could expect to find a trace of gold and niello at least in some objects of purely Finnish and East Baltic origin, like the brooches with a star-shaped foot-plate and brooches with a foot in the shape of a spade.¹ However, traces of this kind are not visible.

Consequently the true nature of the artists of the Style I objects found in Finland still remains obscure. On the one hand there is reason to presume the object material of our country as well as that of Scandinavia to be the production of purely commercial activity directed here from the south. On the other hand there is apparently some reason to see Style I as reflecting the first steps of Christian missionary work in the northern countries which was directed towards Finland as early as in the 6th century. — Could the artists listed above have been monks who had learned the art of illuminating manuscripts in their monasteries, monks in fact who were sent to the northern countries to convert the people? Were these artists men of independent enterprise or the servants of great men? It is by no means easy to answer these questions.

In every case it seems evident that behind the Style I masters of Finland there was a vast Anglo-Saxon organization whose long-range plans were directed towards this country. It would seem natural that an organization of this type would be a commercial organization, but this is not certain. There is among our objects the mount *No. 54* of Hönsåkerskullen which may have belonged to a sceptre or to a magic wand which one would not expect to have been a purely commercial article. The reason for the coming of an object like this to Finland may indicate a far more intimate relationship; for an object like this is more likely to have belonged as an inherited object to one family or to have been a gift to symbolize a particularly strong friendship and esteem.

¹) Cp. e. g. KIVIKOSKI 1947, (I), nos. 203—204.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DISCOVERY PLACES
AND INDEX LIST OF THE OBJECTS
DISCUSSED IN THIS PUBLICATION

OSTROBOTHNIA

Tunis in the village of Miemoinen in Vöyri. — Before any excavations in 1932 were carried out the whole surface, which had evidently been a flat cremation cemetery, was turned over. Parallels to the objects occur in northern and western Europe as well as in Central Russia. (KM 9384, 9522, 9550: 1–61).

KM 9550: 19, fragment of a (square-headed) brooch = **No. 16** [*T line*].

Gulldynt in the village of Bergby in Vöyri. — This hill of mixed sand and stone, where prehistoric objects have been found since 1849, is one of the richest archaeological areas in Finland. The objects have, however, mostly been found by persons who have not understood their value and the area has been so destroyed that it is not possible to ascertain the form of burials. Indications of cremation barrows have been found on the stony top but most of the finds come from the southern side of the hill where there apparently were no ancient features on the earth surface. From Hackman's excavations of 1893 a flat cremation cemetery with some burial holes filled with soil and charcoal may be in question. Among the finds from Gulldynt there are three Byzantine gold coins [VALENTIANUS III (423–455), ZENO (474–491) and THEODOSIUS (408–450)] and the so-called great 'Esthonian' quoit-brooch (see *Hackman 1938*, pl. 11) as well as numerous objects decorated in Salin's Style II. (KM 68, 1911, 1971: 1–15, 2030: 1–29, 2051, 2052: 1–16, 2096: 1–2, 2996: 1–97, 7577, 7731: 15, 7744: 80, 8077: 1–208,

8515, 8562: 1–8, 8598: 13–32, 8705 A: 1–16, 8777: 1–65, 8843, 10175: 1–32, 10439: 1–74, 10659: 1–177).

KM 1971: 1, large equal-armed brooch = **No. 18** [*lean family*].

KM 1971: 2, small square-headed brooch = **No. 19** [*lean family*].

KM 2030: 2, small equal-armed brooch = **No. 7** [*spiral line*].

KM 2030: 3a–b, large ornamental buttons = **Nos. 48–49** [*fat family*].

KM 2030: 3c, ornamental button = **No. 23 a** [*lean family*].

KM 2051, large ornamental button = **No. 40** [*fat family*].

KM 2052: 2, small ornamental button = **No. 8** [*spiral line*].

KM 2996: 93, small ornamental button = **No. 9** [*spiral line*].

KM 2996: 89, ornamental button = **No. 23 b** [*lean family*].

KM 8515, quoit buckle = **No. 32** [*fat family*].

KM 8705 A: 2, fragment of a large (equal-armed) brooch = **No. 33** [*fat family*].

Lågfeld barrow 2, in the village of Koskeby in Vöyri. — Of the three barrows in the cemetery this is the middle one. Its diameter was *c.* 10 m and it was made of stones which were piled into 6–7 layers. Object **No. 12** was found at the southern end of the barrow in a projecting square pile of stones together with cremated bones and among other grave goods the so-called bronze pin with

a bird shaped head may be mentioned. (KM 7589: 31–47). — See *Hackman 1921*.

KM 7589: 31, small ornamental button = **No. 12**, [*spiral line*].

Vallinmäki barrow 49b* in the outskirts of the village of Selkämäki in Vähäkyrö (c. 3 km west of the church). — This barrow belongs to a group of nine large-sized barrows distributed widely over the Vallinmäki hill. It is c. 10 m in diameter and was made of small stones which were gathered around a big centre stone without any special border stones. In the excavations performed in 1938 it was established that there were two individual groups of finds. One was to the north-west of the centre stone and contained cremated bones while the other was situated to the south-east of the stone with an inhumation burial. The finds treated herein come from the latter group and four amber beads were also found with them in the same place. (KM 10849: 10–42).

KM 10849: 24, ornamental button = **No. 21** [*lean family*].

KM 10849: 25, ornamental button = **No. 22** [*lean family*].

KM 10849: 37, ornamental button = **No. 1** [*spiral line*].

KM 10849: 38, small ornamental buttons = **Nos. 2–3** [*spiral line*].

Kirstinmäki barrow 151* in the village of Perkiö in Vähäkyrö. — The remains of a tumulus was situated in the immediate vicinity of four other barrows of a soil and stone mixture but it had been dug down to the bottom stones even before U. T. Sirelius excavated in 1903 and 1905. Besides the objects mentioned below six golden rings or finger rings, three gilded bronze vessels, various types of brooches (some fragmentary) as well as some beads of green glass and bronze were also found in the barrow. (KM 4279: 33–49, 4449: 1–6, 4604: 1–52).

KM 4604: 24, strap buckle = **No. 11** [*spiral line*].

Mahlaistentönkkä barrow 140* in the village of Perkiö in Vähäkyrö. — The monument belongs to a cemetery comprising 8 barrows and a flat cremation grave. This barrow c. 15 m in diameter was badly damaged prior to the excavation performed by U. T. Sirelius in 1903.

In addition to cremated bones and the objects treated in this investigation there were also a golden currency ring, a silver spiral ornament, different kinds of bronze rings as well as strap mounts and buckles among the finds. (KM 4279: 9–27). — See *Hackman 1905*, find No. 59.

KM 4279: 15 a–c, ornamental buttons = **Nos. 50–52** [*fat family*].

KM 4279: 15 d, small ornamental button = **No. 13** [*spiral line*].

Mahlaistentönkkä barrow 143* in the village of Perkiö in Vähäkyrö. — This barrow, which was excavated by Sirelius in 1906, belonged to the above-mentioned group of eight barrows at Mahlaistentönkkä hill. It was low and built on solid rock around a big central stone. (KM 4746: 1–16).

KM 4746: 3, ornamental button = **No. 34** [*fat family*].

Koppelonmäki barrow 118* in the village of Tervajoki in Vähäkyrö. — This barrow together with the two other barrows nearest to it belongs to the densest barrow group known at present in Ostrobothnia, where there are at least 88 barrows in an area of c. one km. This barrow with cremation burial, excavated in 1929, is 10–20 m in diameter. (KM 9066: 25–48).

KM 9066: 35, small equal-armed brooch = **No. 14** [*spiral line*].

Kakunmäki in the village of Isokylä in Ylistaro. — The place where object *No. 15* was found was destroyed when clearing land for a field in 1883. In the same place fragments of the object and a cross-ended bronze brooch as well as an iron knife were later reported to have been found. According to the finder he had come upon stones and decayed bones, which obviously had been brought from somewhere else, and this led to the conclusion that there must have been a grave in the place. — Brooch *No. 15* was smuggled into Sweden almost immediately after it was discovered, against the law of Finland, and was there bought into the collections of the Swedish government. — See *Hackman 1906*.

Stockh. Mus. 7504 + KM 2536: 363a--c, great square-headed brooch with undivided foot = **No. 15** [*T line*].

* J. R. Aspelin's inventory No.

SATAKUNTA AND HÄME

Tuomisto in the village of Palviala in Karkku. — A flat cremation cemetery where stones were piled into as many as three underground layers. The finds are distributed over a period covering several centuries and particularly for its Viking Age material the cemetery is one of the richest in our country. Object *No. 10* represents the earliest phases of the cemetery. Among the other finds the so-called Permian ornaments may be mentioned. Several of them have been found in the Tuomisto cemetery. The excavations were carried out by Hackman in the years 1908–1909 and 1911–1914. (KM 5203: 1–318, 5352: 249–338, 5853: 1–172, 5868: 1–154, 6671: 1–72). — See *Hackman 1913*.

KM 5868: 56, equal-armed brooch = **No. 10** [*spiral line*].

Hiidennokka barrow 1, in the village of Narva in Vesilahti. — A large-sized cemetery of a mixture of soil and stones which together with three other barrows of approximately the same type is located on a peninsula between Haapalahti and Hiidenlahti. In his excavations carried out in 1929 N. Cleve found besides the buttons *Nos. 4–5* the bridle of a horse as well as a shield-boss of the type common in Finland and some weapons which were characteristic of the turning point of the Migration Age and the Merovingian Age. (KM 8986: 1–17, 9099: 1–83, 11168). — See *Salmo 1934*, p. 39.

KM 9099: 16, small ornamental button = **No. 4** [*spiral line*].

KM 9099: 34, small ornamental button = **No. 5** [*spiral line*].

Kirjakka in the village of Haurala in Lempää. — A cremation grave barrow of a mixture of soil and stones *c.* 6–7 m in diameter which belongs to a group of smaller mounds in a district renowned for its antiquities since the last century. This barrow, which Kivikoski excavated in 1953, presumably contained the grave goods of one person. In addition to object *No. 20* a

brooch which has a foot-plate shaped like the scoop of a shovel and a pin decorated with a bird ornament may be mentioned. (KM 13336: 1–83). — See *Mäkelä 1954*.

KM 13336: 8, large ornamental button = **No. 20** [*lean family*].

Kiiliä in the village of Huittula in Sääksmäki. — A flat cremation cemetery which was constructed of 1–4 layers of skull-sized stones only a little above ground level. Concluding from the objects found in the excavations performed by Hackman in 1913 and J. Voionmaa in 1935 this cemetery had been in use at least for a period of about five centuries. At the same place there were inhumation burials from the 11th century A. D.. — All the ornamental buttons analyzed in this publication are from the early graves in the cemetery. In addition to the buttons we may mention a bird-headed pin. (KM 5682: 1–2, 6370: 1–209, 6875: 1, 10201: 1–21). — See *Hackman 1915*, pp. 25–28.

KM 6370: 24, ornamental button = **No. 43** [*fat family*].

KM 6370: 25, ornamental button = **No. 44** [*fat family*].

KM 6370: 30, ornamental button = **No. 6** [*spiral line*].

KM 6370: 31, ornamental button = **No. 24** [*lean family*].

KM 6370: 94, ornamental button = **No. 45** [*fat family*].

KM 6370: 116, large ornamental button = **No. 42** [*fat family*].

Lentolankärki in the village of Ilmoila in Hauho. — A flat cremation cemetery (C) in the vicinity of some barrows which obviously was in continuous use from the end of the Roman Iron Age to about the year 1 000 A. D.. Objects *Nos. 25–27* were found in the excavations in 1957. (KM 14264: 9–99).

KM 14264: 56, 61, 84, ornamental buttons = **Nos. 25–27** [*lean family*].

SOUTHWEST COAST OF FINLAND

Kalmumäki in the village of Kallela in Kalanti. — A flat cremation cemetery which covers a hillock *c.* 100 × 60 m where large-sized stones are partly visible on the ground. A charcoal layer *c.* 10–80 cm thick and abundant in finds, which can be dated to the later Migra-

tion Age and partly also to the Viking Age were found among the stones placed in 2–3 layers. The remains of several weapons and ornaments found in this cemetery deserve particular mention. Usually their decorations were made in the so-called Salin's Style II. Excavations have

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been carried out here in the years 1923, 1924, 1927, 1928, 1931 and 1932. — Object *No.* 53 was found in 1923. (KM 8339: 1—335; 8242: 1—237; 8339: 336—338; 8779; 8780: 1—173; 8912: 1—1291; 9173: 9; 9365: 1—730; 9502: 1—368; 14145).

KM 8242: 51, ornamental mount = **No. 53** [*face motif*].

Vanhalinna in the parish of Lieto (a suburb of Turku) which is situated on the south shore of the river Aura and is 8 km north-east of Turku. — At the excavations carried out many times on top of this hill fortification finds were mostly of the Viking Age and the period of the Crusades but some weapons of the Merovingian period were also found. The oldest of the finds discovered up to now is probably that of the brooch mentioned below which was found in the 'castle courtyard' in 1958. (KM 2497: 1—15; 2670: 1—26; 5452: 1—80; 14091; 14318: 1—458; 14644: 1—918). — See *Rinne 1914*, pp. 72—128 and *Salo 1958*, pp. 58—73.

KM 14644: 94, relief brooch = **No. 47** [*fat family*].

Ketohaka in the borough of Salo (earlier the village of Isokylä in Uskela). — A cemetery comprising dozens of barrows and a flat cremation cemetery of the 4th to the 7th century A. D.. Object *No.* 17 was found at Ketohaka either during clearance work or when the cemetery soil was sifted. Neither grave differs in structure from other contemporary grave mounds but many objects of value were found among the grave goods e.g. two gold rings from the Roman Age. The finds are considered on one hand to be East Baltic and on the other hand Scandinavian, and Scandinavian and Finnish popu-

lations are believed to have existed in this area side by side (*Äyräpää 1914*, pp. 23-). However, the question is, as Kivikoski has pointed out, only of import goods (*Kivikoski 1954*, p. 169). (KM 5614: 1—8; 6459: 1—78; 6479; 6658: 18—177; 6669: 1—7; 6914: 4—103; 7095: 64—66; 7300: 5—7).

KM 6668: 16, ornamental button = **No. 17** [*T line*]

Palomäki in the borough of Salo (previously Isokylä in Uskela). — A cemetery with both barrows and a flat cremation cemetery, which was in use since the late Roman Iron Age. Object *No.* 46 was found in the excavations in 1910. (KM 2434: 1—16; 4395: 1—12; 4567: 1—14; 5580: 1—119; 6658: 1—17).

KM 5580: 41, ornamental button = **No. 46** [*fat family*].

Hönsäkerskullen, Alsätra in the borough of Karjaa. — A cemetery which comprised a couple of barrows and some charcoal pit graves. One of the barrows was excavated in 1939. It was intact and the numerous objects date from the Merovingian Age. *No.* 54 came from the charcoal pit situated next to this barrow. The pit contained an abundance of grave goods which presumably belonged to at least two persons — a man and a woman —. This pit represents up to now the largest intact find of the earlier Migration Period and it is composed of objects which throughout (except *No.* 54) are considered to be of Finnish or East Baltic origin. (KM 11183: 445—537). — See af *Hällström 1945*, pp. 30—50.

KM 11183: 453, mount combination, = **No. 54** [*face motif*].

KARELIA

Tytärsaari An island in the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland, which according to the Peace Treaty made in Paris in 1947, was ceded to the Soviet Union. — The site of the antiquities was a stretch of drift sand at Kaunismäki on the eastern shore of the island. There had apparently been one or more cremation burials. — The idea that this was a cemetery which was demolished by storm winds is supported by the fact that the material included besides the objects mentioned below also pieces of cremated bones, coal and burned stones, as well as ceramics from the Iron Age. The finds were made on the shore line of

Kaunismäki on a strip of land which covers nearly two hundred metres. (KM 3382: 1; 5424: 1—10; 8703: 1—9; 8812: 1—5).

KM 3382: 1, magnificent equal-armed brooch = **No. 35** [*fat family*].

KM 8703: 1—4, strap mounts = **Nos. 36—38** [*fat family*].

KM 8703: 6, strap buckle = **No. 39** [*fat family*].

Nukuttalahti on the island Riekkalansaari in Sortavala on the northern shore of Lake Ladoga, which was a Finnish area ceded to the

Soviet Union after the peace treaty made in Paris in 1947. — A cremation barrow *c.* 1,5–2 m in diameter in which two bronze bracelets and a button decorated with a cross motif as well as a spiral ring for the finger were found in addition to object *No.* 41. In the same barrow a

number of cremated bones and a blue enamel bead were found in 1938. (KM 10770: 1–4; 10822: 1–5). — See *Kivikoski 1940*, pp. 1–11).

KM 10770: 3, great ornamental button = **No. 41** [*fat family*].

THE AHVENANMAA ISLANDS*

Gölby grave 4 in the parish of Jomala. — A small cremation barrow (*ättehög*) with few grave goods. It is one of the oldest monuments of the inhabitation of Ahvenanmaa in the Iron

Age. The excavations were performed in 1928. (KM 8942: 4–6).

KM 8942: 4, great ornamental buttons = **Nos. 28–31** [*lean family*].

* The Swedish name of Ahvenanmaa is *Åland*.

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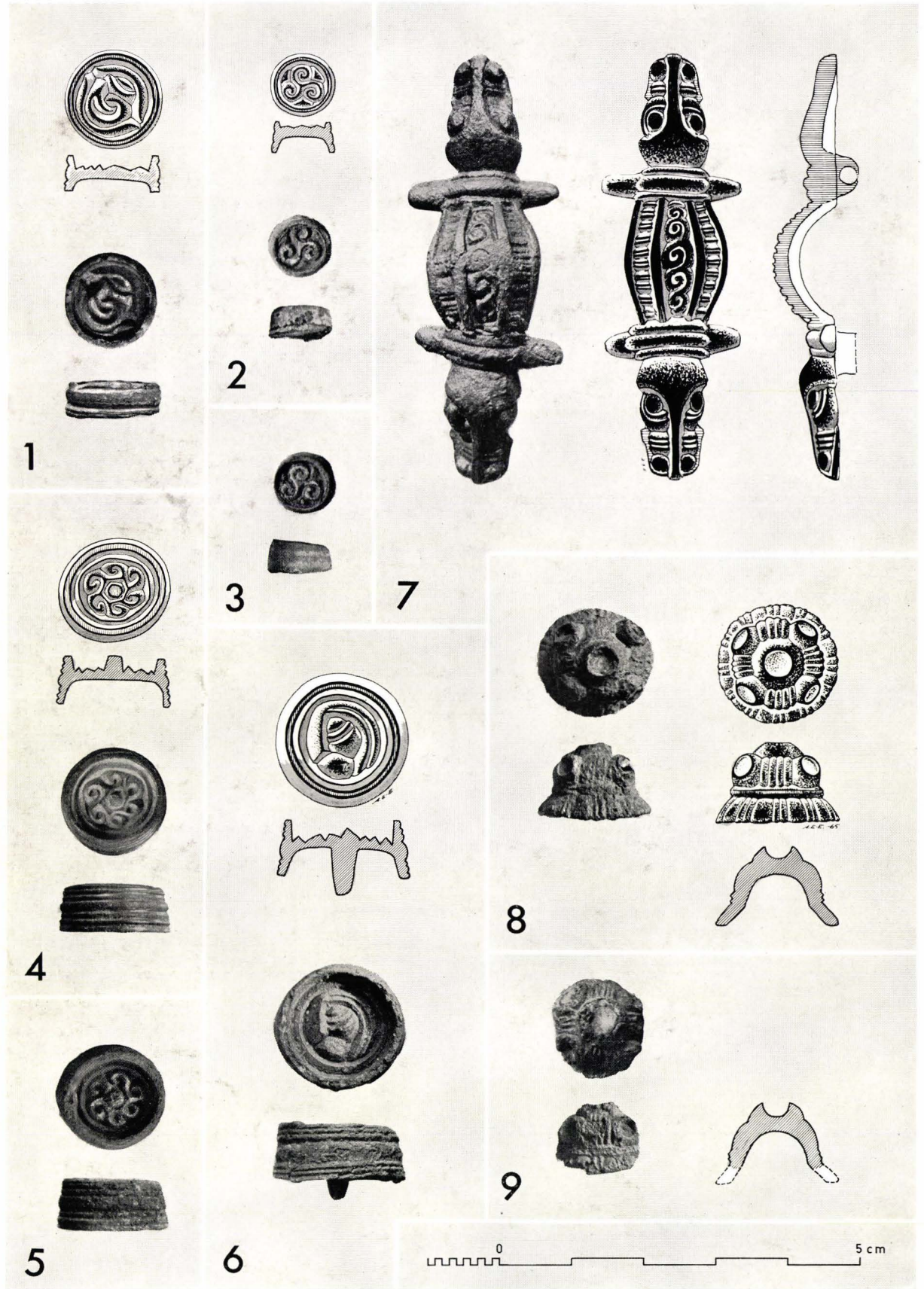
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PLATES

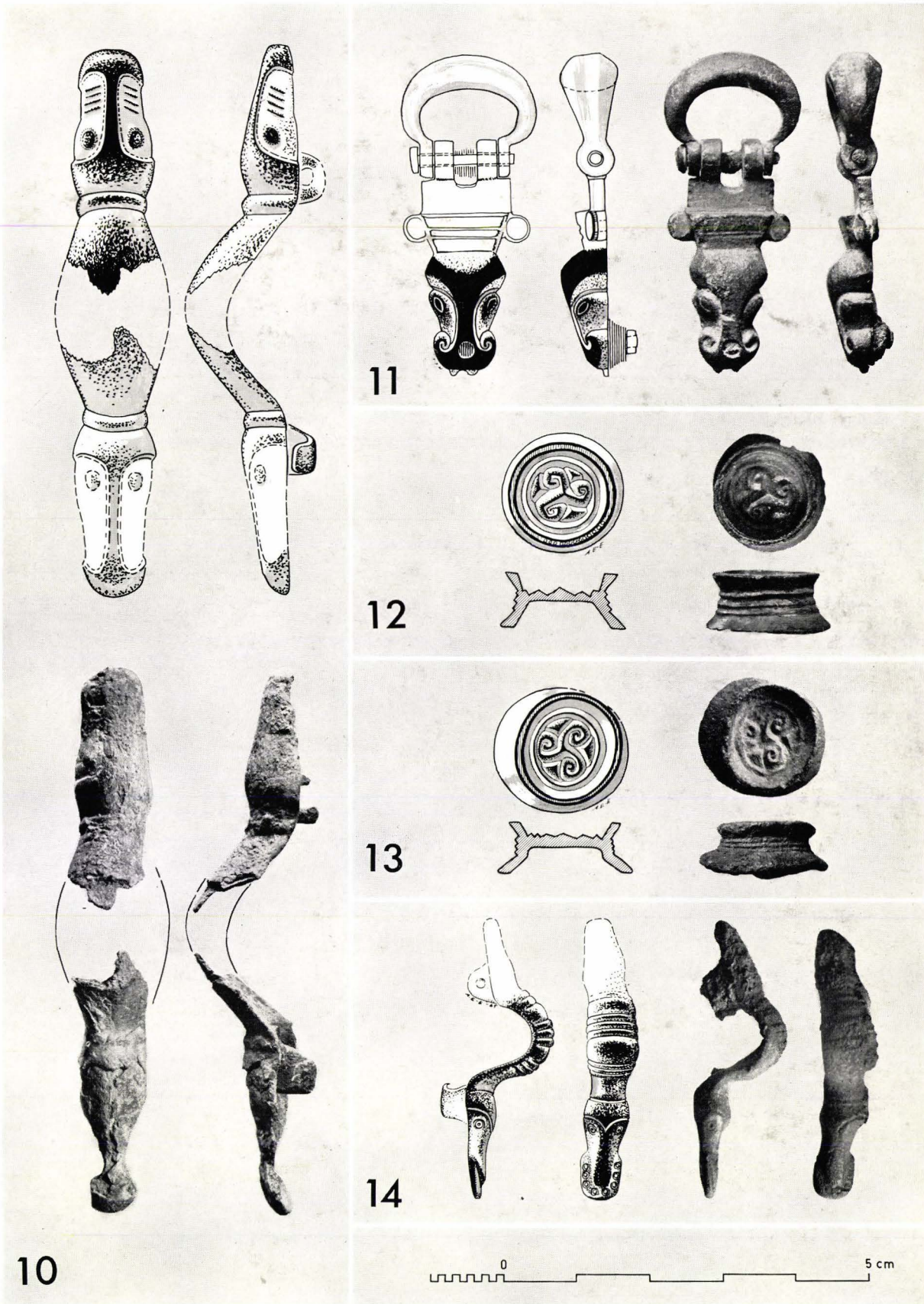


NO. 1 from VALLINMÄKI
 NO. 2 from VALLINMÄKI
 NO. 3 from VALLINMÄKI

NO. 4 from HIDDENOKKA
 NO. 5 from HIDDENOKKA
 NO. 6 from KHLÄ

NO. 7 from GULLDYNT
 NO. 8 from GULLDYNT
 NO. 9 from GULLDYNT

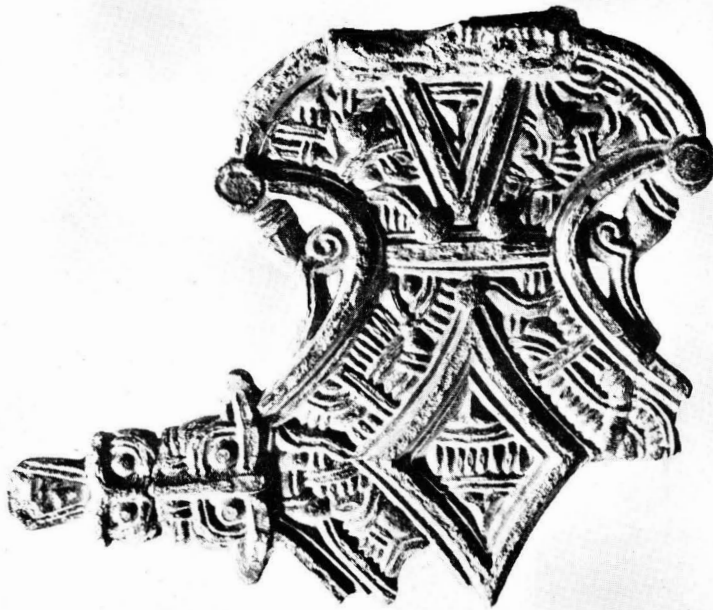
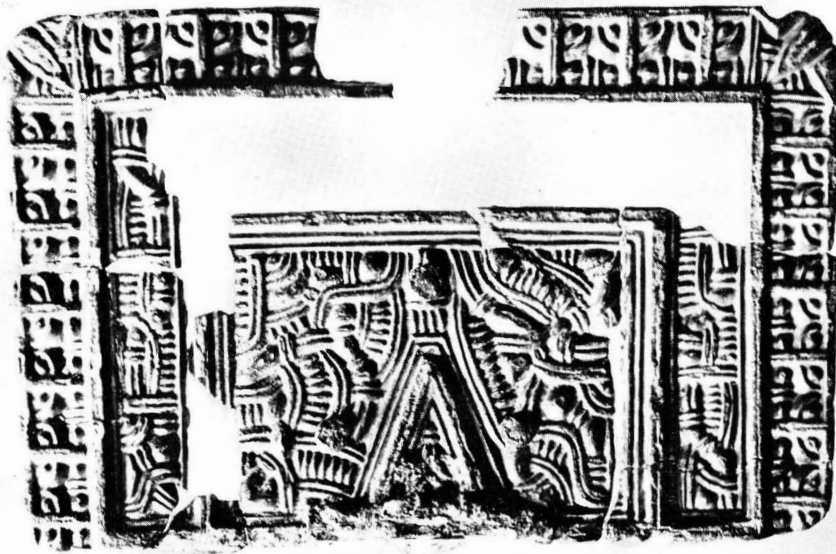
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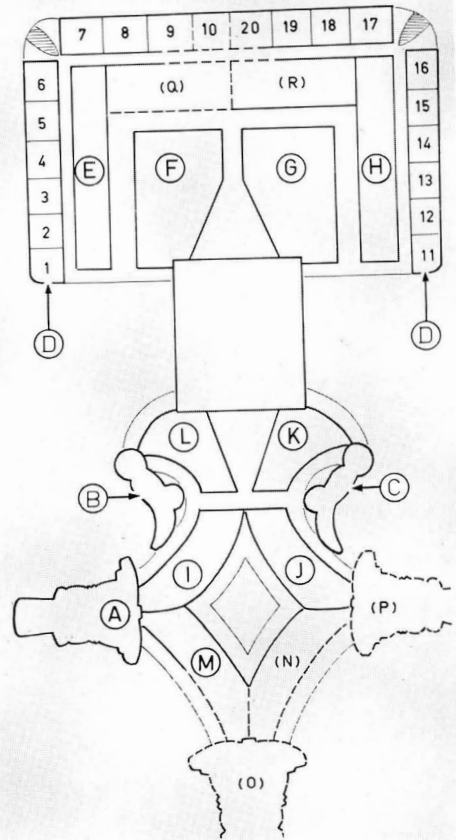
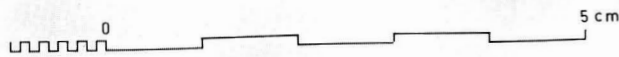
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 NO. 11 from KIRSTINMÄKI
 NO. 12 from LÄGPELT 2

NO. 13 from MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ
 NO. 14 from KOPPELONMÄKI

(enlarged and analysed details of No. 11 in plates XV—XVI)

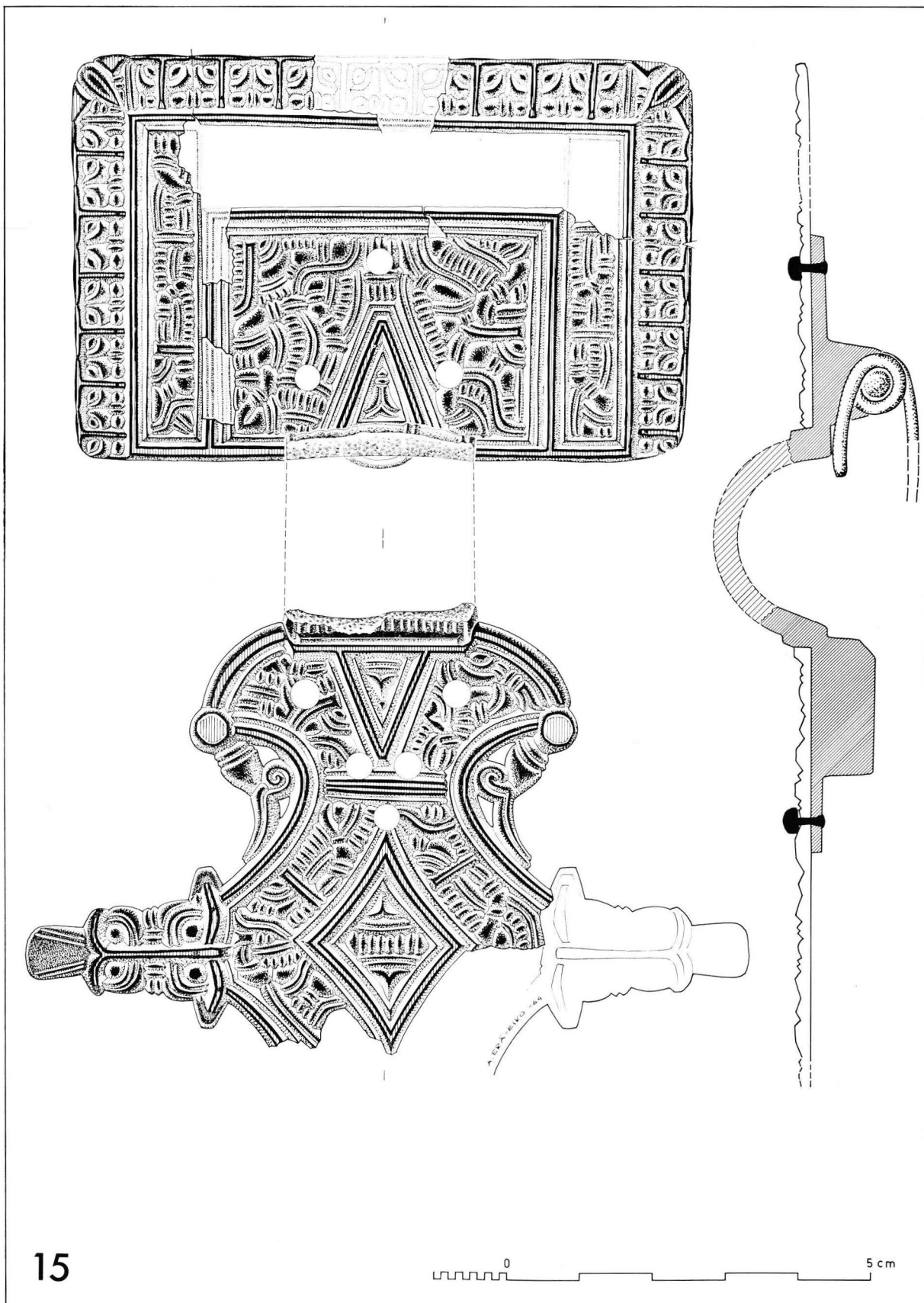


15



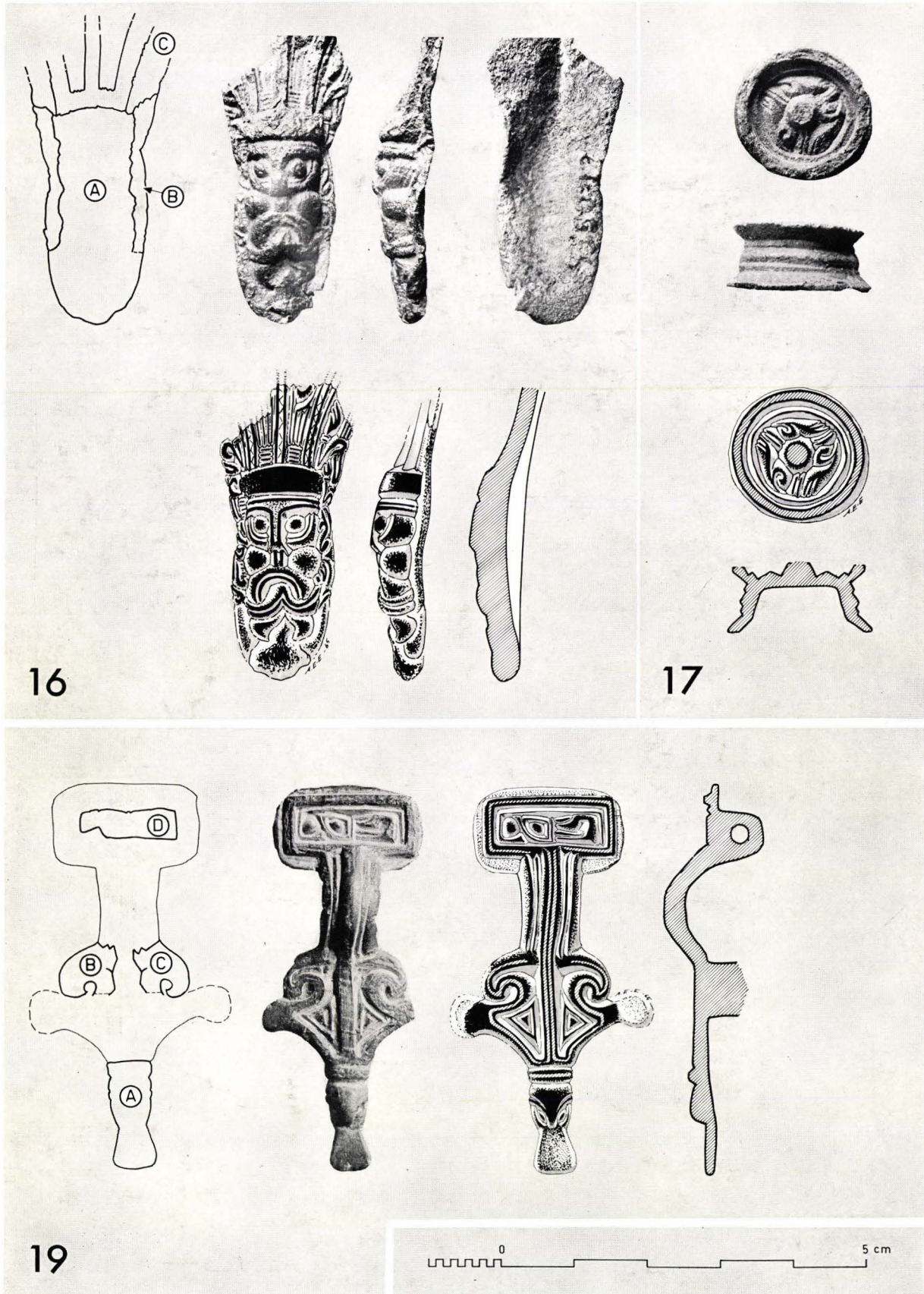
NO. 15 from KAKUNMÄKI

(enlarged and analysed details in plates XV—XVIII and fig. 27)



NO. 15 FROM KAKUNMÄKI

(enlarged and analysed details in plates XV—XVIII and fig. 27)



16

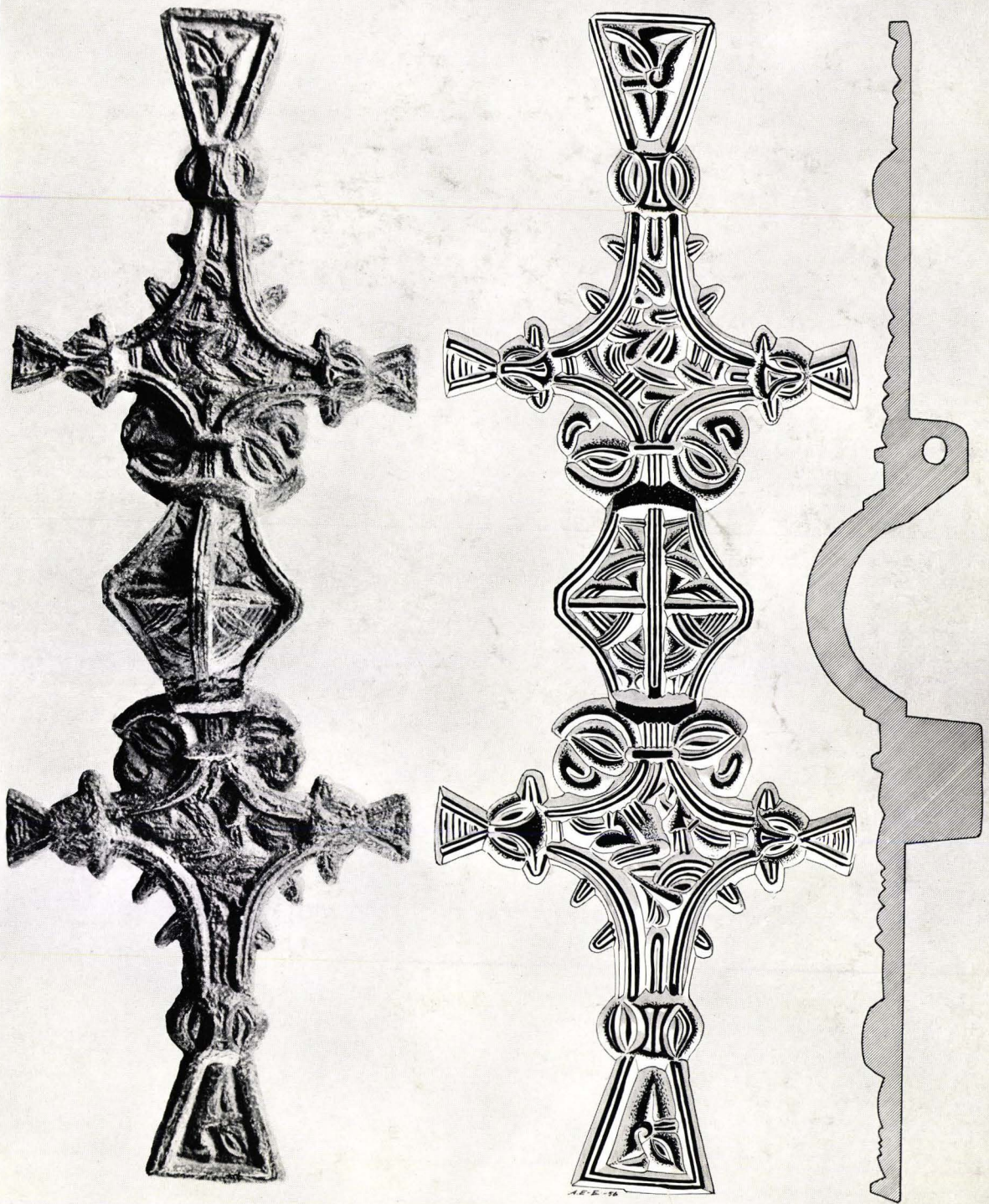
17

19

NO. 16 FROM TUNIS
NO. 17 FROM KETOHAKA

NO. 18 SEE PLATE VI
NO. 19 FROM GULLDYNT

(enlarged and analysed details of Nos. 16 and 17 in plates XV–XVI, of No. 19 in plates XXI–XXII)



18

NO. 18 from GULLDYNT

(enlarged and analysed details in plates XIX—XX)



no. 20 from KIRJAKKA
 no. 21 from VALLINMÄKI
 no. 22 from VALLINMÄKI

no. 23a from GULLDYNT
 no. 23b from GULLDYNT
 no. 24 from KILLÄ

no. 25 from LENTOLANKÄRKI
 no. 26 from LENTOLANKÄRKI
 no. 27 from LENTOLANKÄRKI

(enlarged and analysed details of Nos. 20, 22 and 25 in plates XXI—XXII)



28

29

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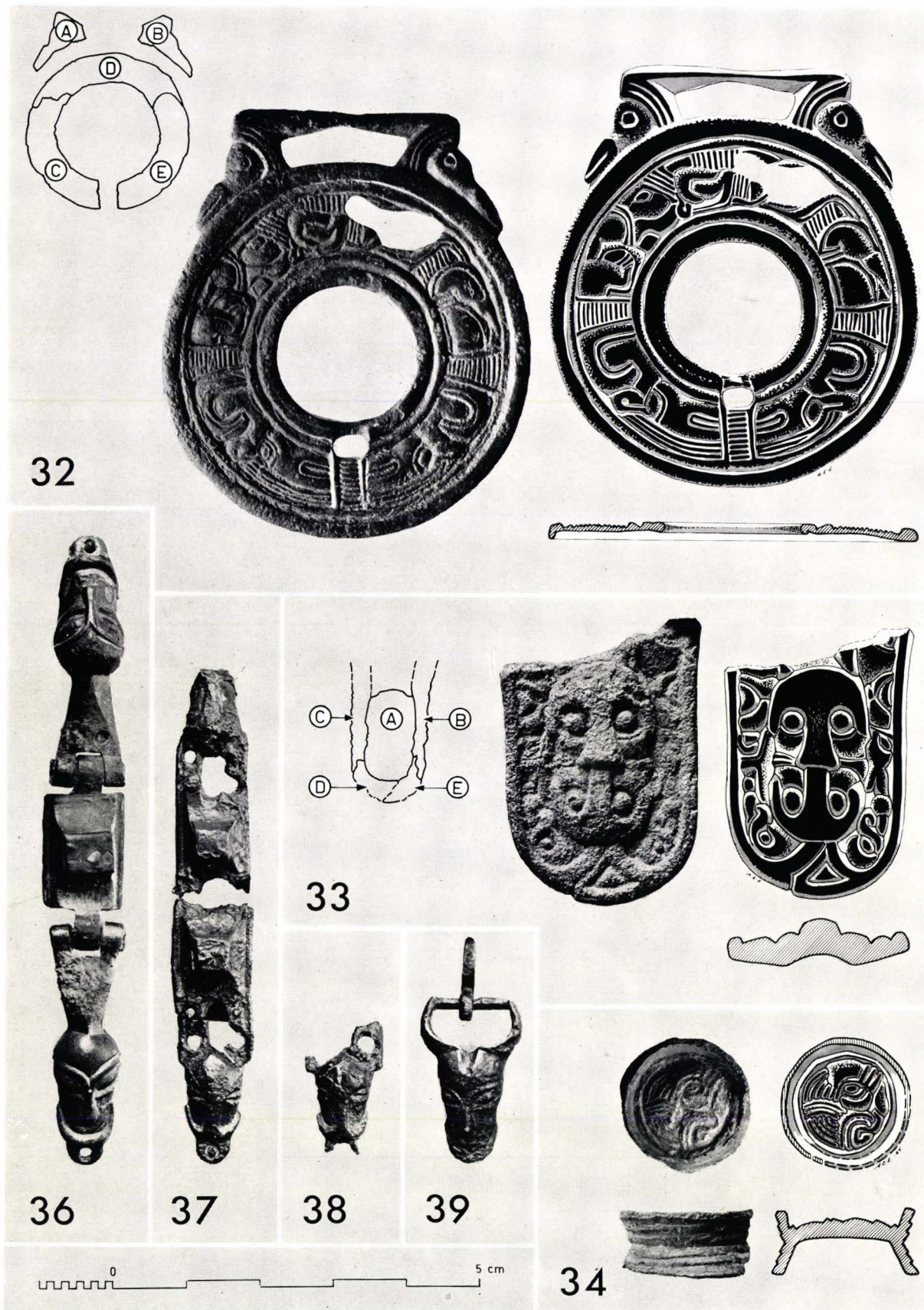
31

28-31

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NOS. 28-31 FROM GÖLBY

(enlarged and analysed details of Nos. 28-29 in plates XXI-XXII)



NO. 32 from GULLDYNT

NO. 33 from GULLDYNT

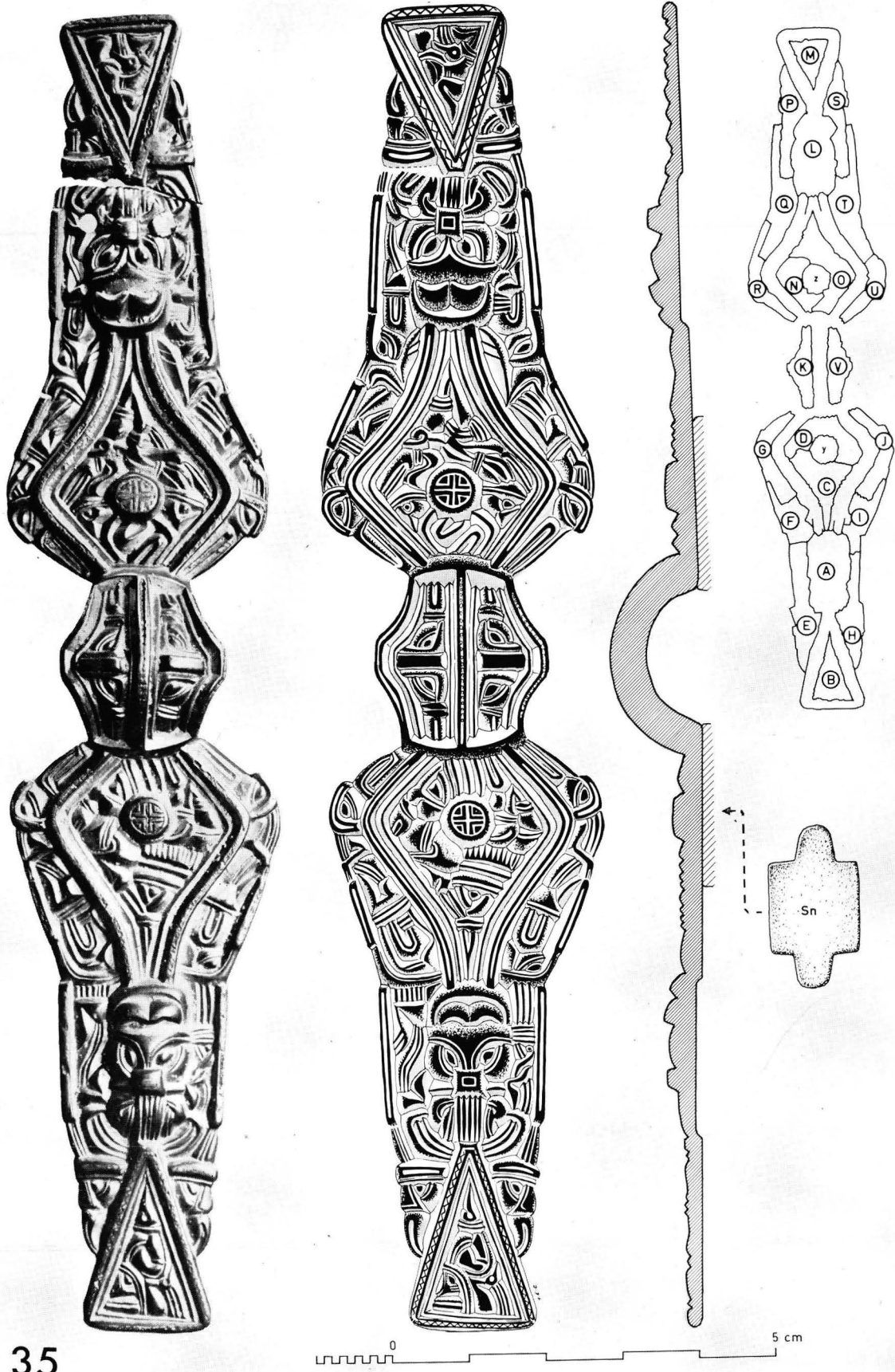
NO. 34 from MAHLAISTENTÖNKÄ

NO. 35, see plate X

NOS. 36-39 from TYTÄRSAARI

NOS. 36-39, see also fig. 55

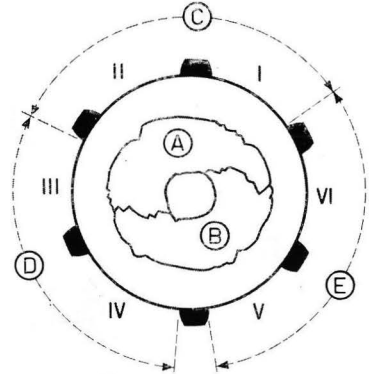
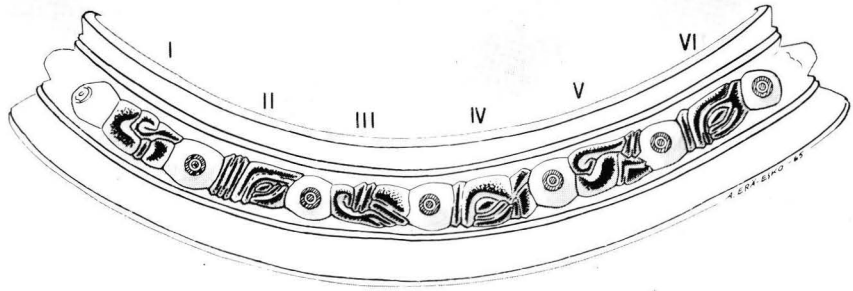
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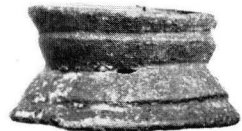
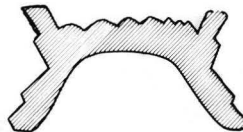
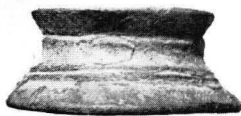
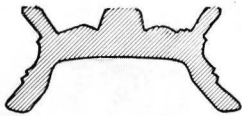
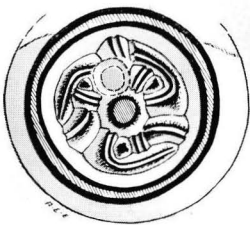
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NO. 35 from TYTÄRSAARI

(enlarged and analysed details in plates XXV—XXVIII)



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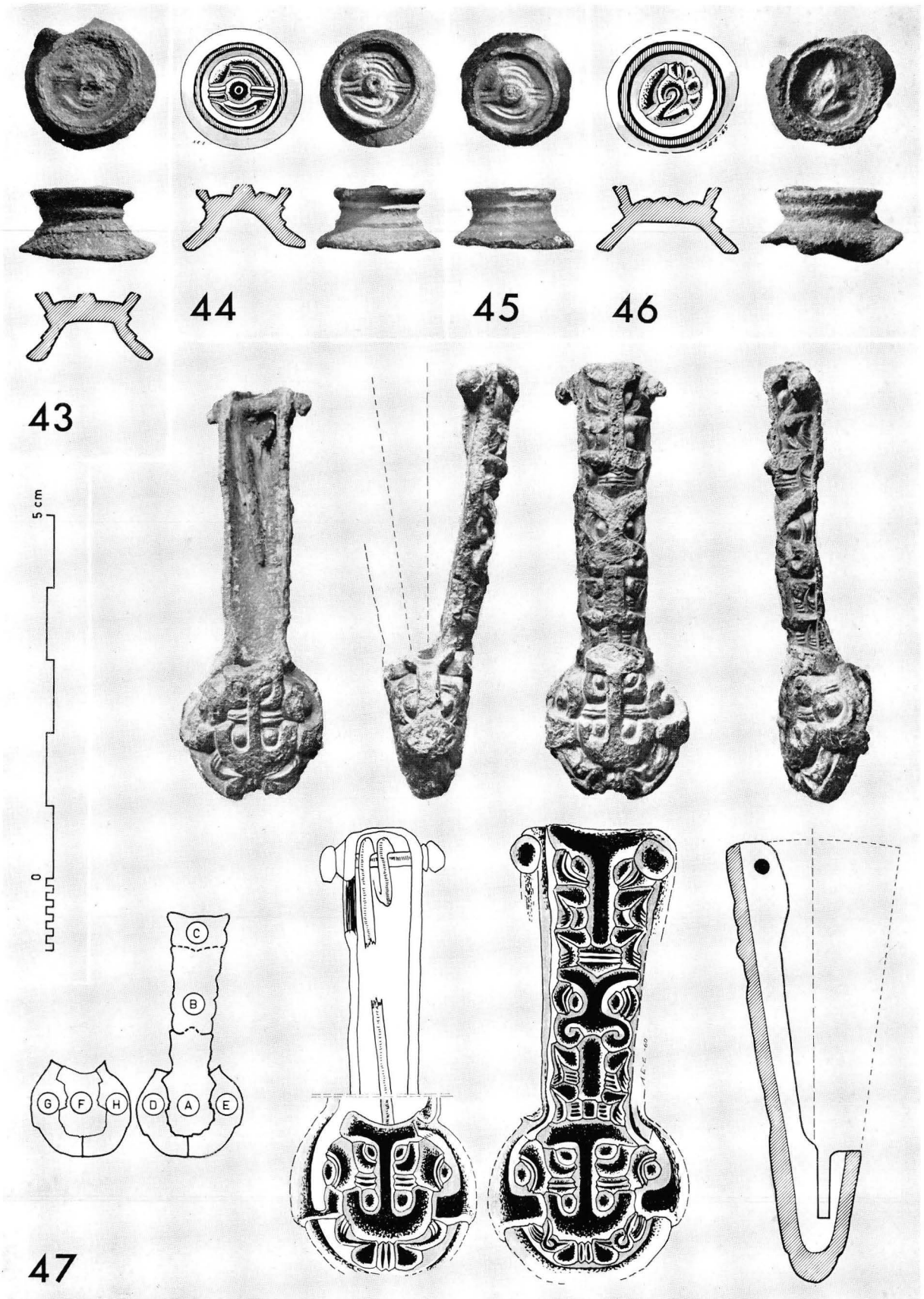


NO. 40 FROM GULLDYNT

NO. 41 FROM NUKUTTALAHTI

NO. 42 FROM KILLÄ

(enlarged and analysed details in plates XXIII—XXIV)

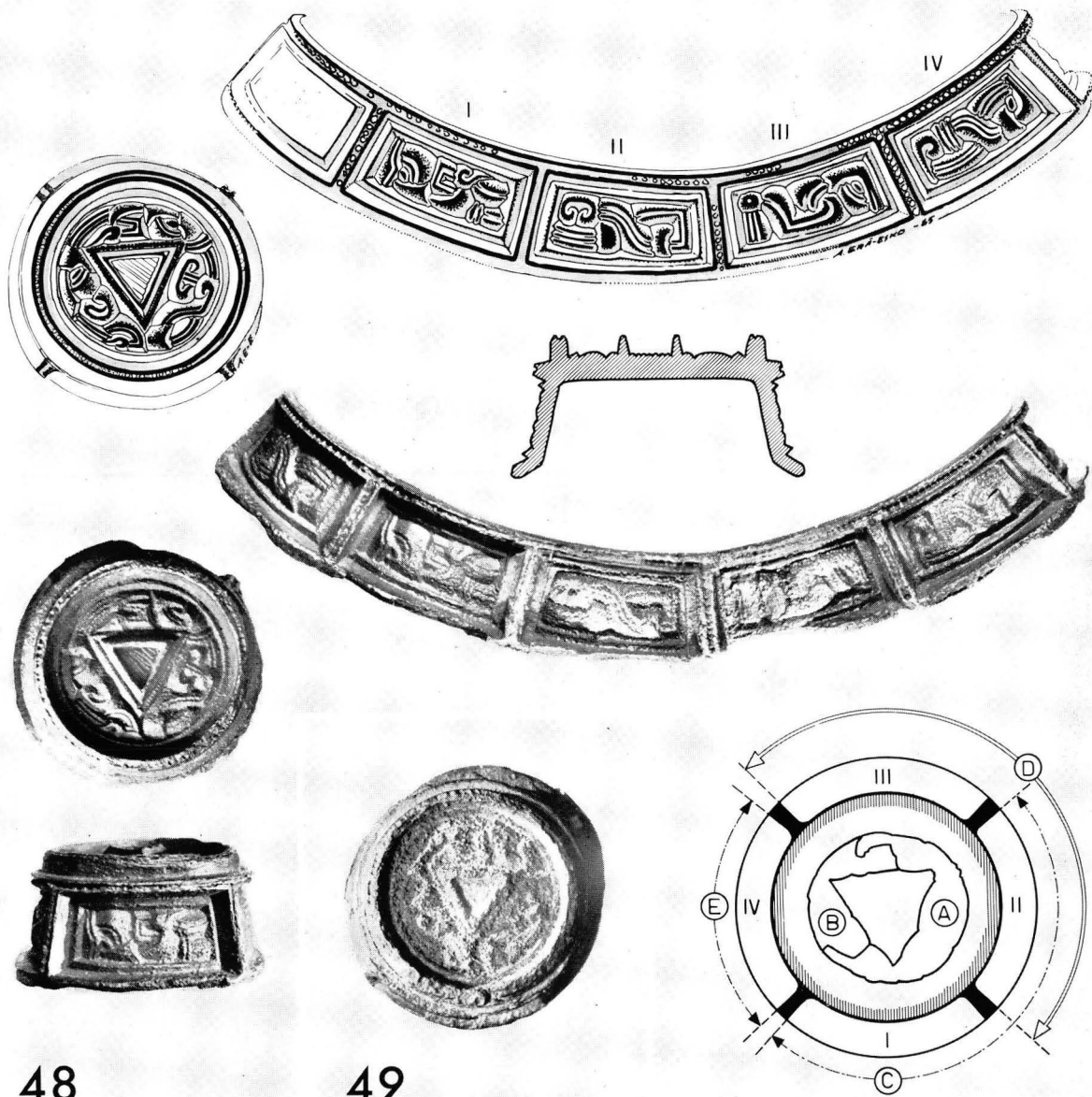


NO. 43 from KILJÄ
NO. 44 from KILJÄ

NO. 45 from KILJÄ
NO. 46 from PALOMÄKI

NO. 47 from VANHALINNA

(enlarged and analysed details of Nos. 44 and 46 in plates XXIII—XXIV, of No. 47 in plates XXIX—XXX)



48

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52



no. 48 from GULLDYNT
no. 49 from GULLDYNT

no. 50 from MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ
no. 51 from MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ
no. 52 from MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ

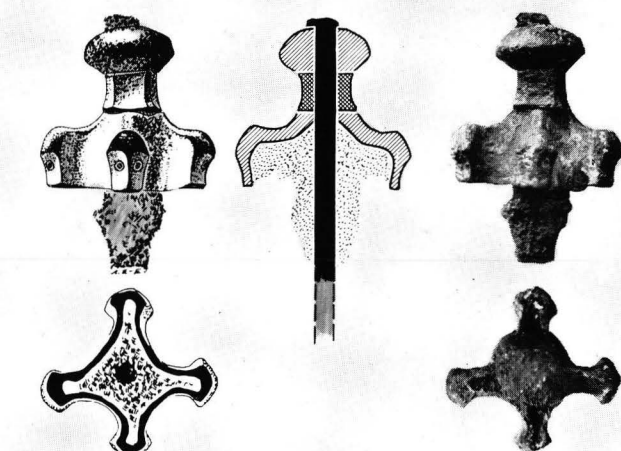
(enlarged and analysed details of Nos. 48 and 50 in plates XXIX—XXX)

53

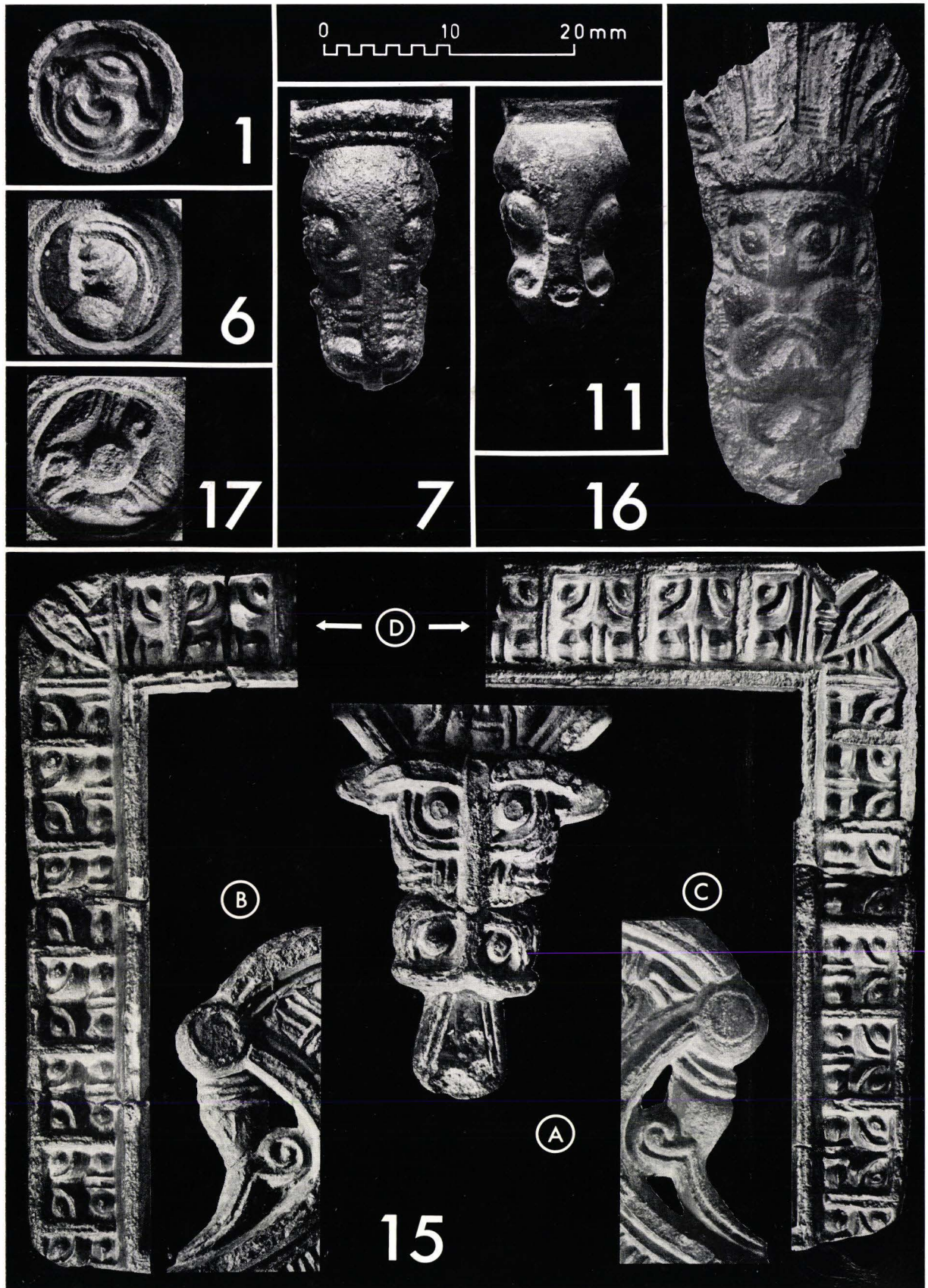


no. 53 from KALMUMÄKI

54

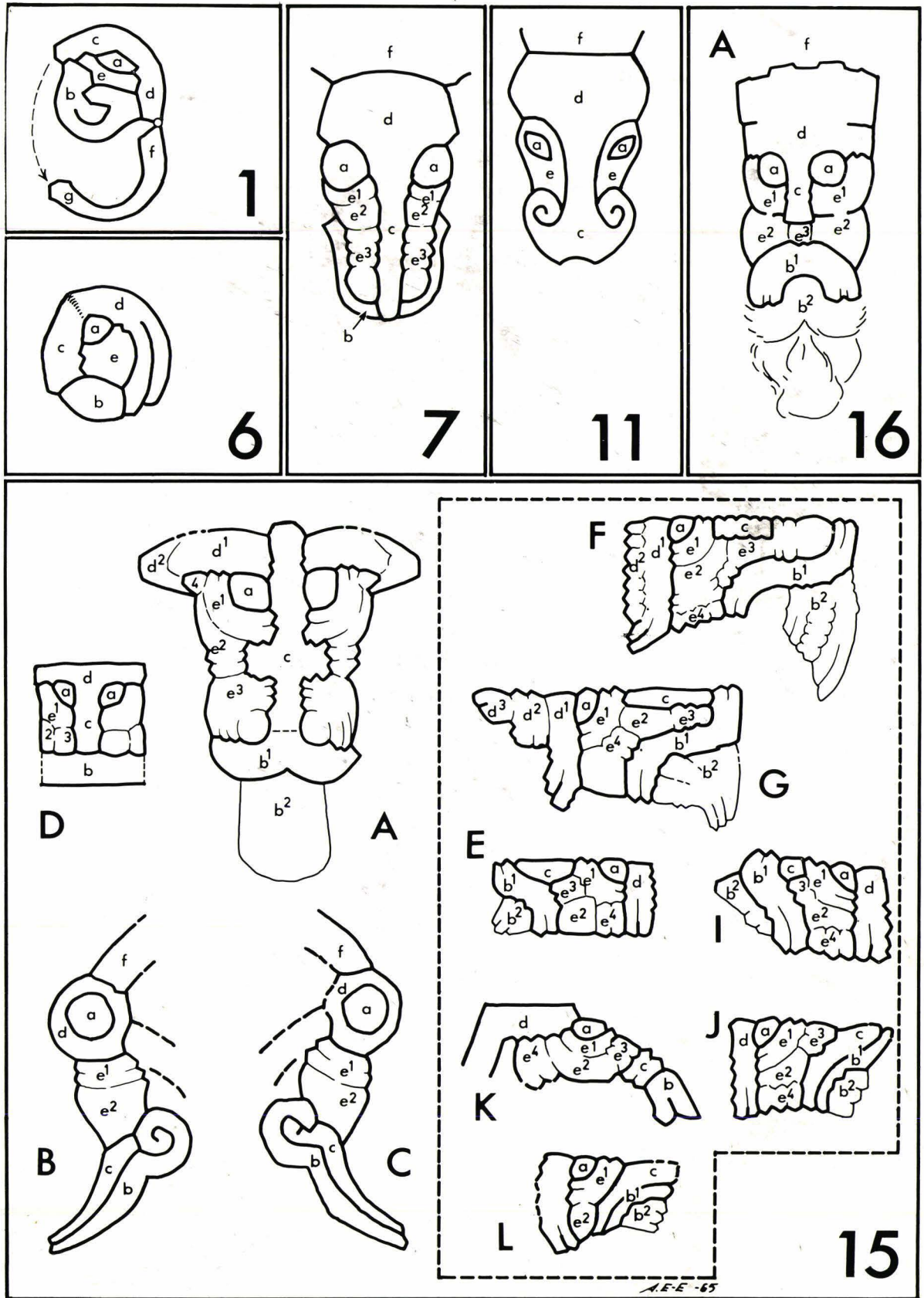


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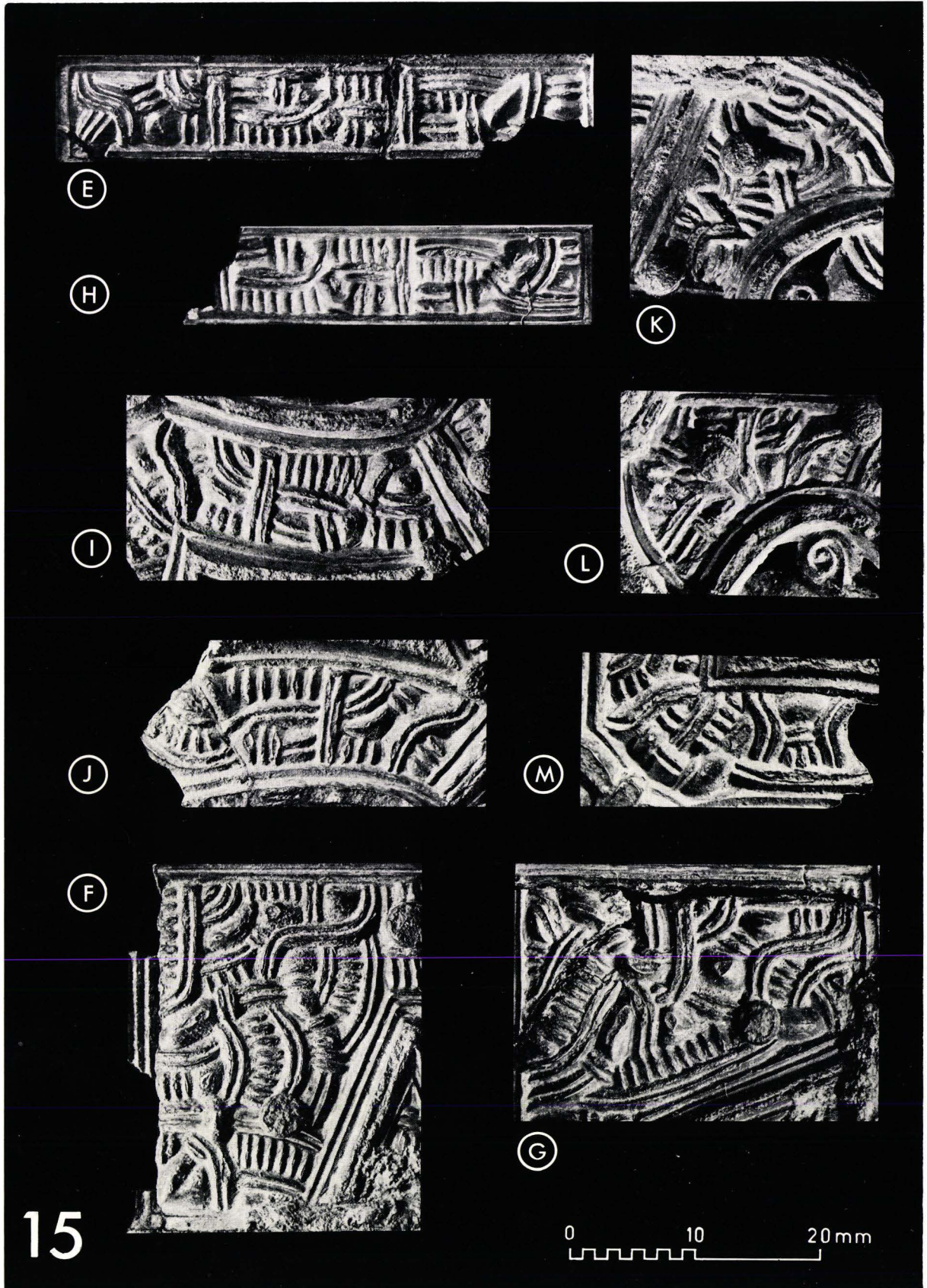
NO. 1 (VALLINMÄKI) from pl. I
 NO. 6 (KILJÄ) from pl. I
 NO. 7 (GULLDYNT) from pl. I
 NO. 11 (KIRSTINMÄKI) from pl. II

NO. 15 (KAKUNMÄKI) from pl. III
 NO. 16 (TUNIS) from pl. V
 NO. 17 (KETOHAKA) from pl. V

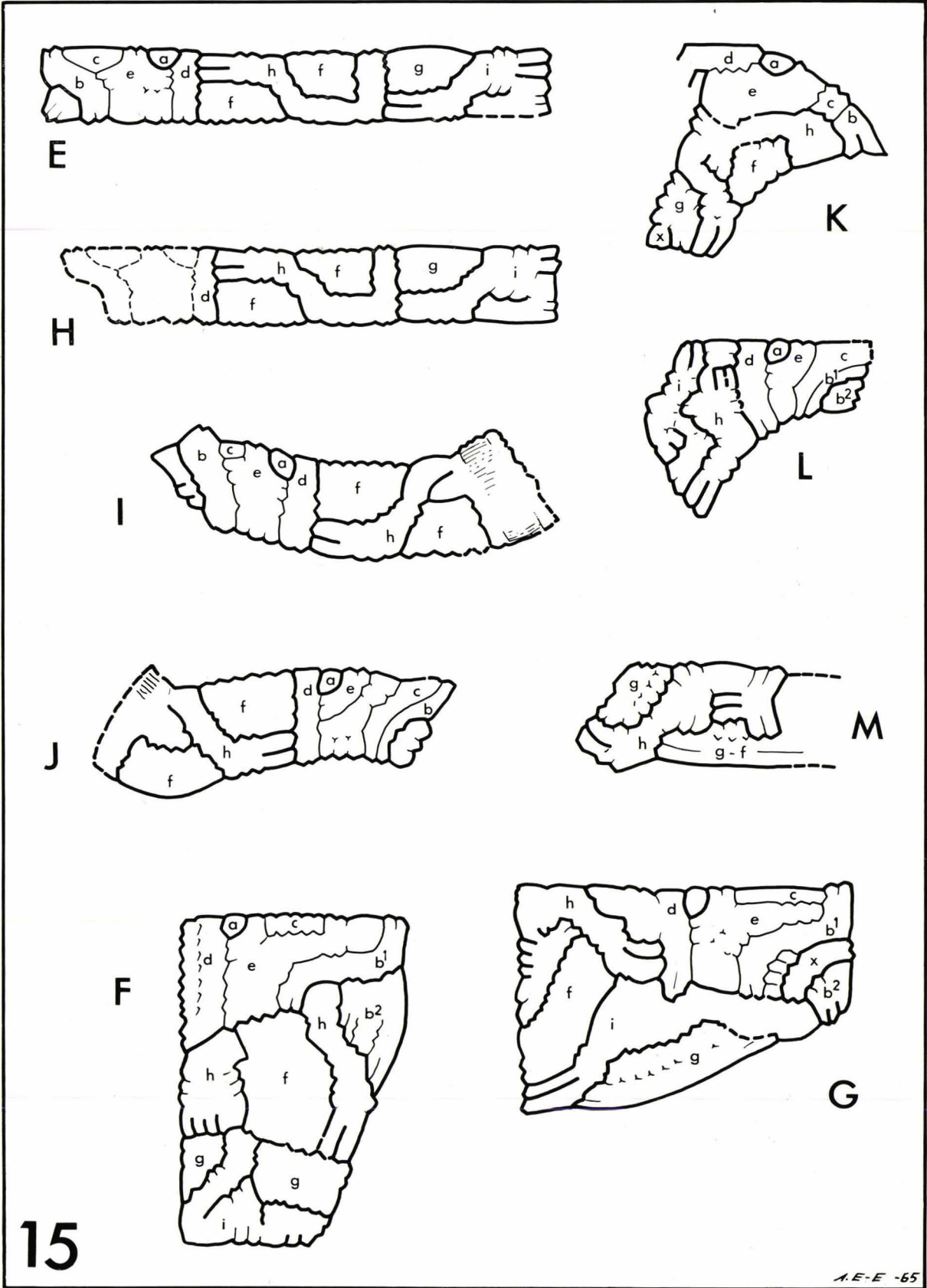


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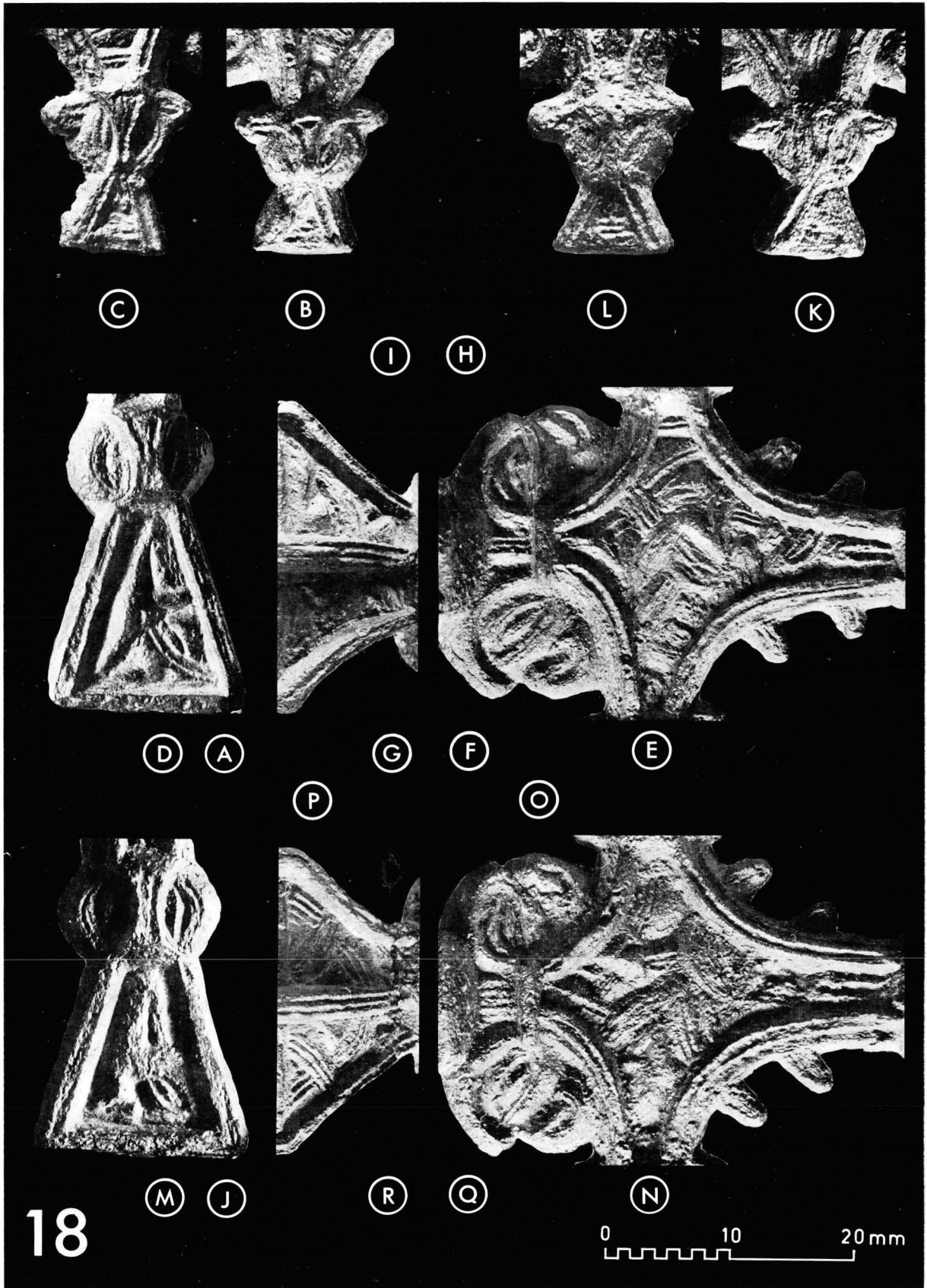
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 NO. 15 (KAKUNMÄKI) from pl. IV
 NO. 16 (TUNIS) from pl. V



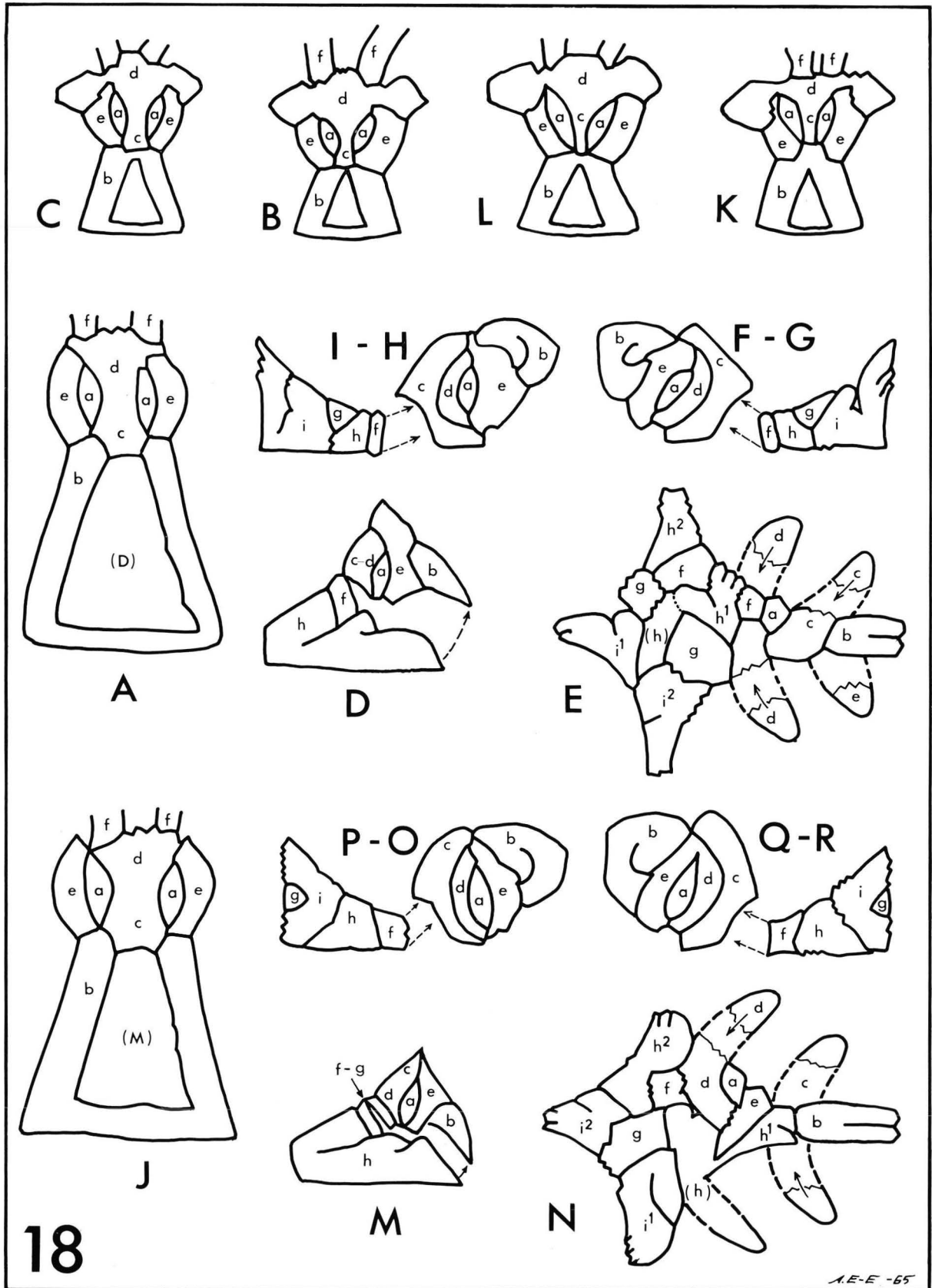
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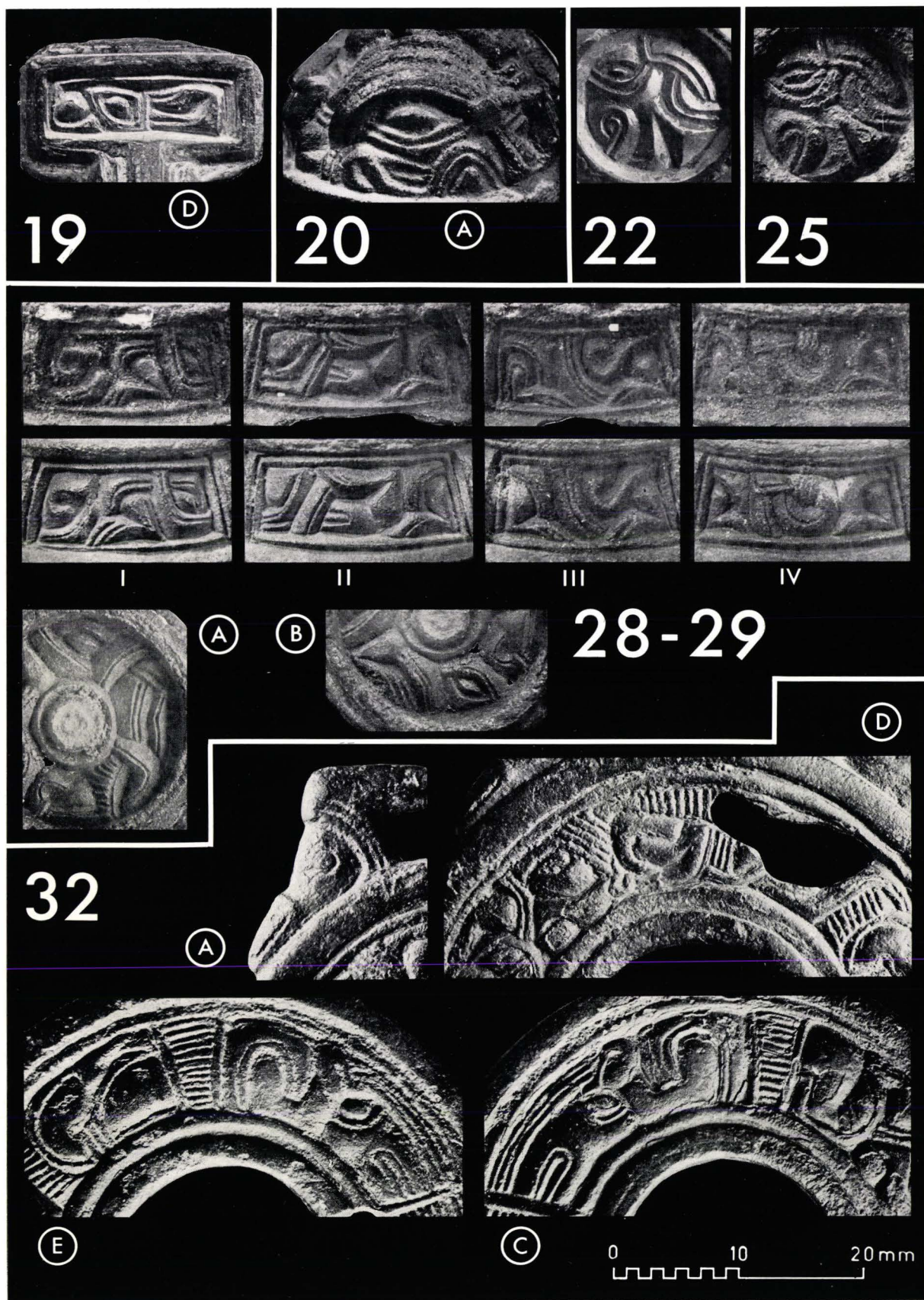
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 (analysed heads of figures E, F, G, I, J, K and L in pl. XVI)



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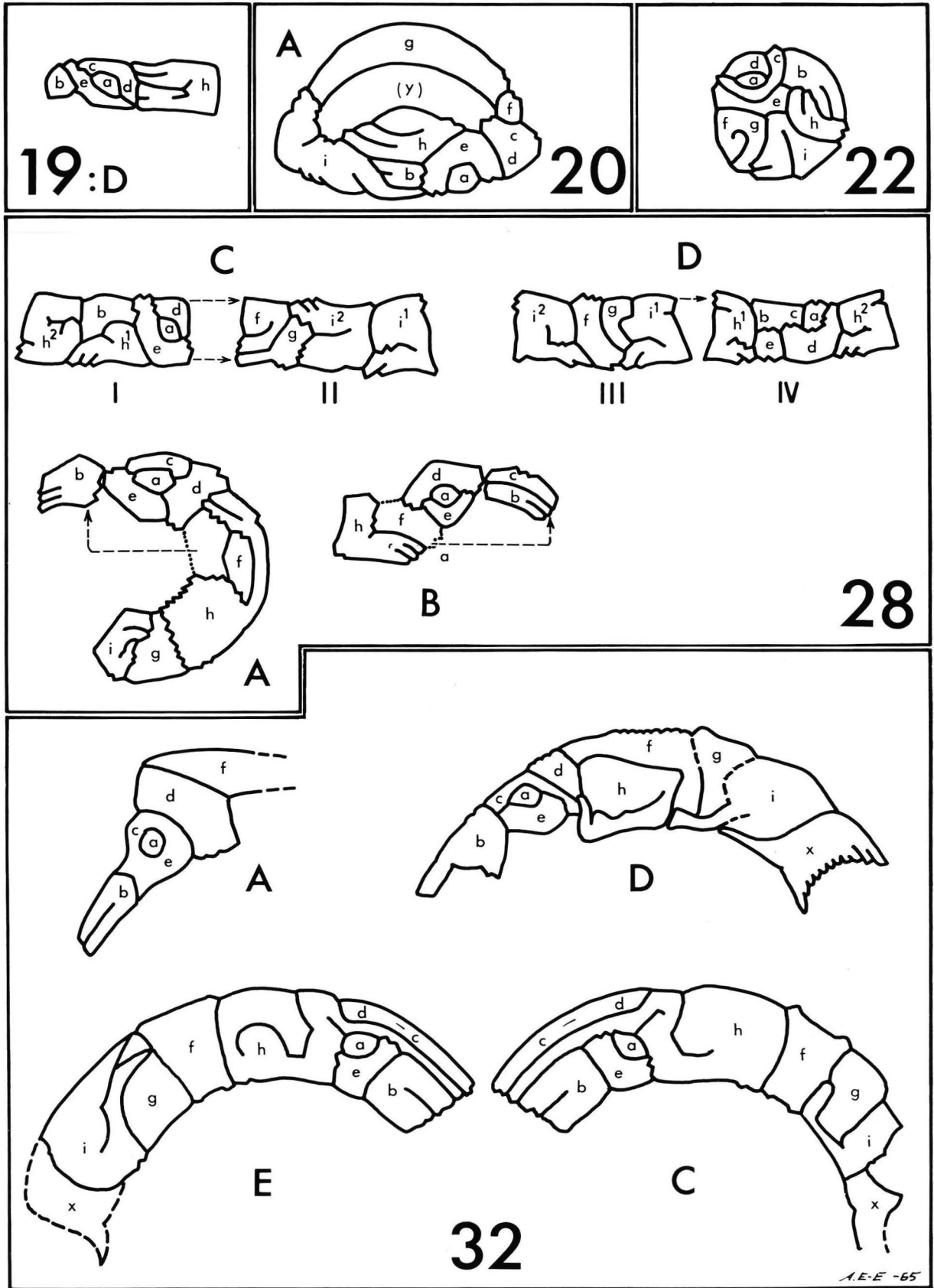


NO. 18 (GULLDYNT) from pl. VI



NO. 19:D (GULLDYNT) from pl. V
 NO. 20 (KIRJAKKA) from pl. VII
 NO. 22 (VALLINMÄKI) from pl. VII

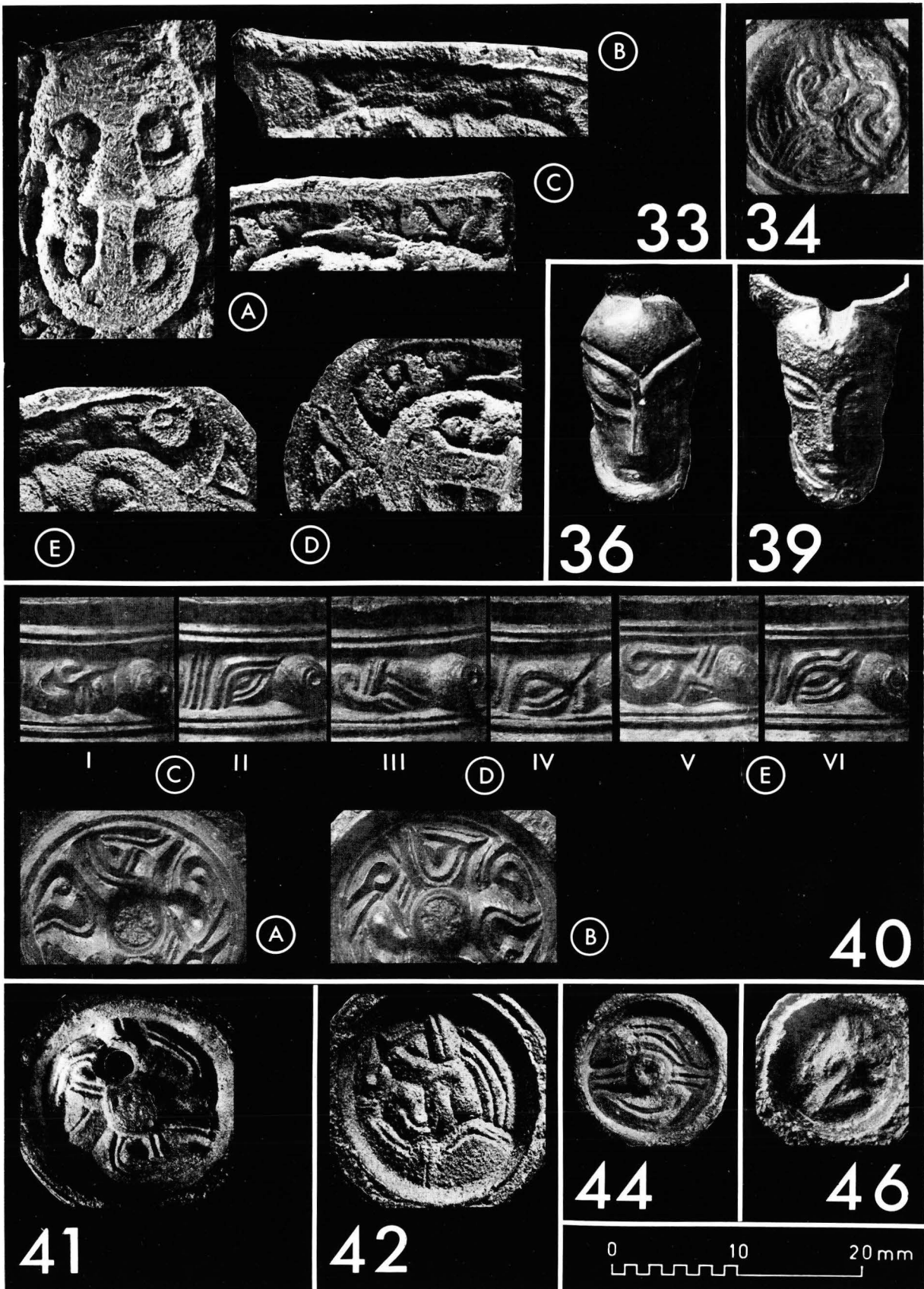
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 NOS. 28-29 (GÖLBY) from pl. VIII
 NO. 32 (GULLDYNT) from pl. IX



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 NO. 20 (KIRJAKKA) from pl. VII
 NO. 22 (VALLINMÄKI) from pl. VII

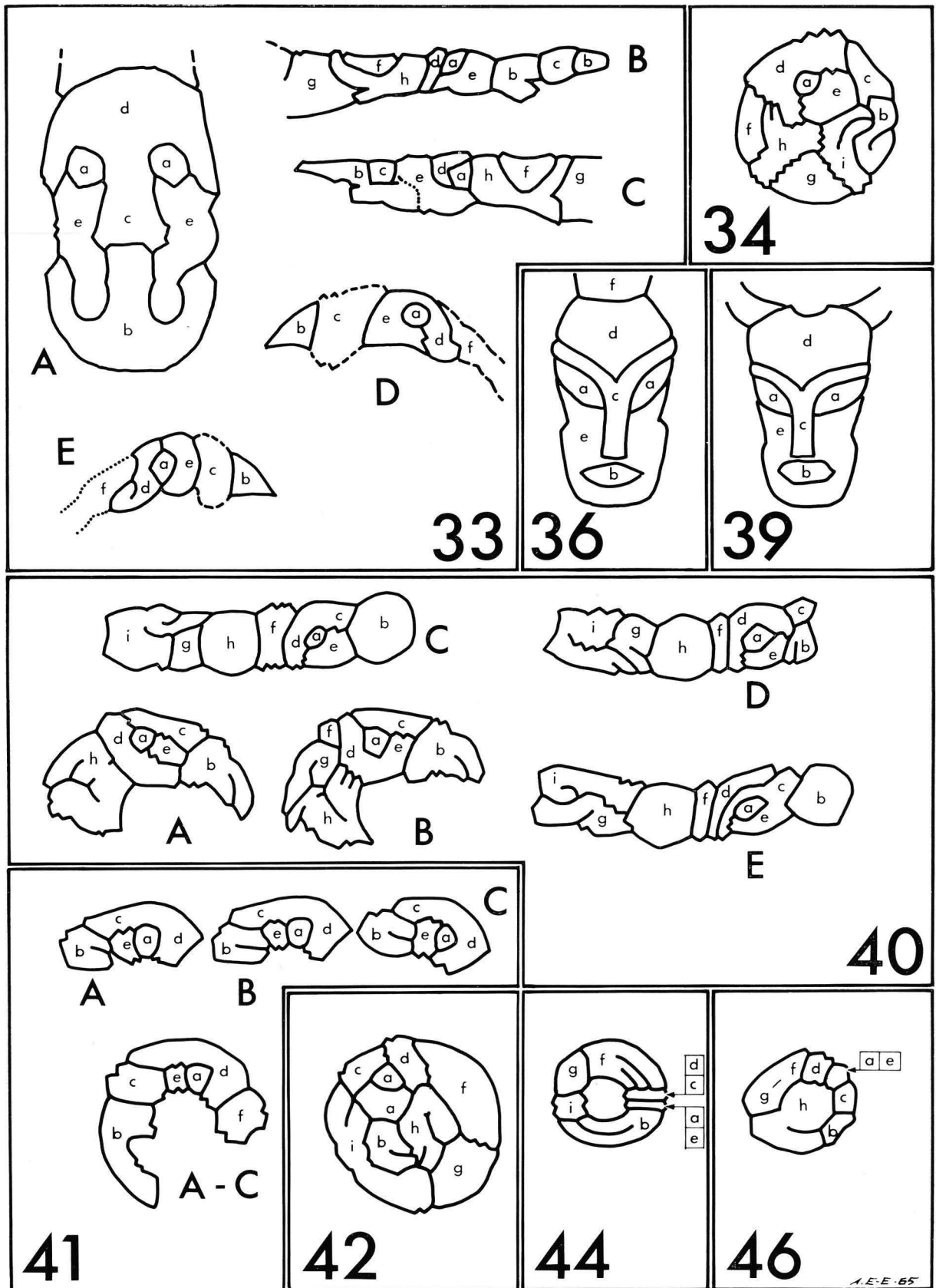
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 NO. 32 (GULLDYNT) from pl. IX

A.E.-E -65



NO. 33 (GULLDYNT) from pl. IX
 NO. 34 (MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ) from pl. IX
 NO. 36 (TYTÄRSAARI) from pl. IX
 NO. 39 (TYTÄRSAARI) from pl. IX
 NO. 40 (GULLDYNT) from pl. XI

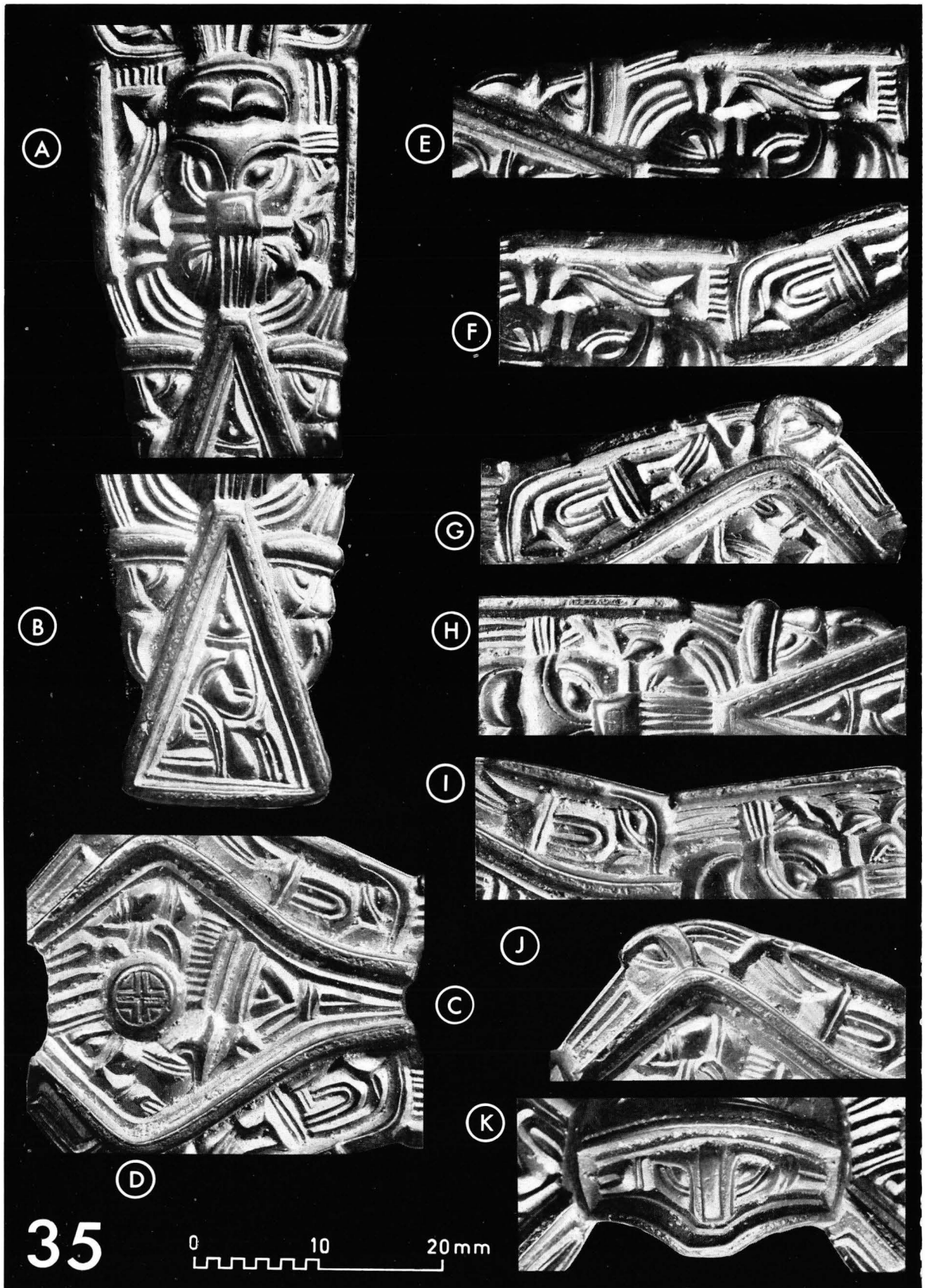
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 NO. 42 (KIILÄ) from pl. XI
 NO. 44 (KIILÄ) from pl. XII
 NO. 46 (PALOMÄKI) from pl. XII



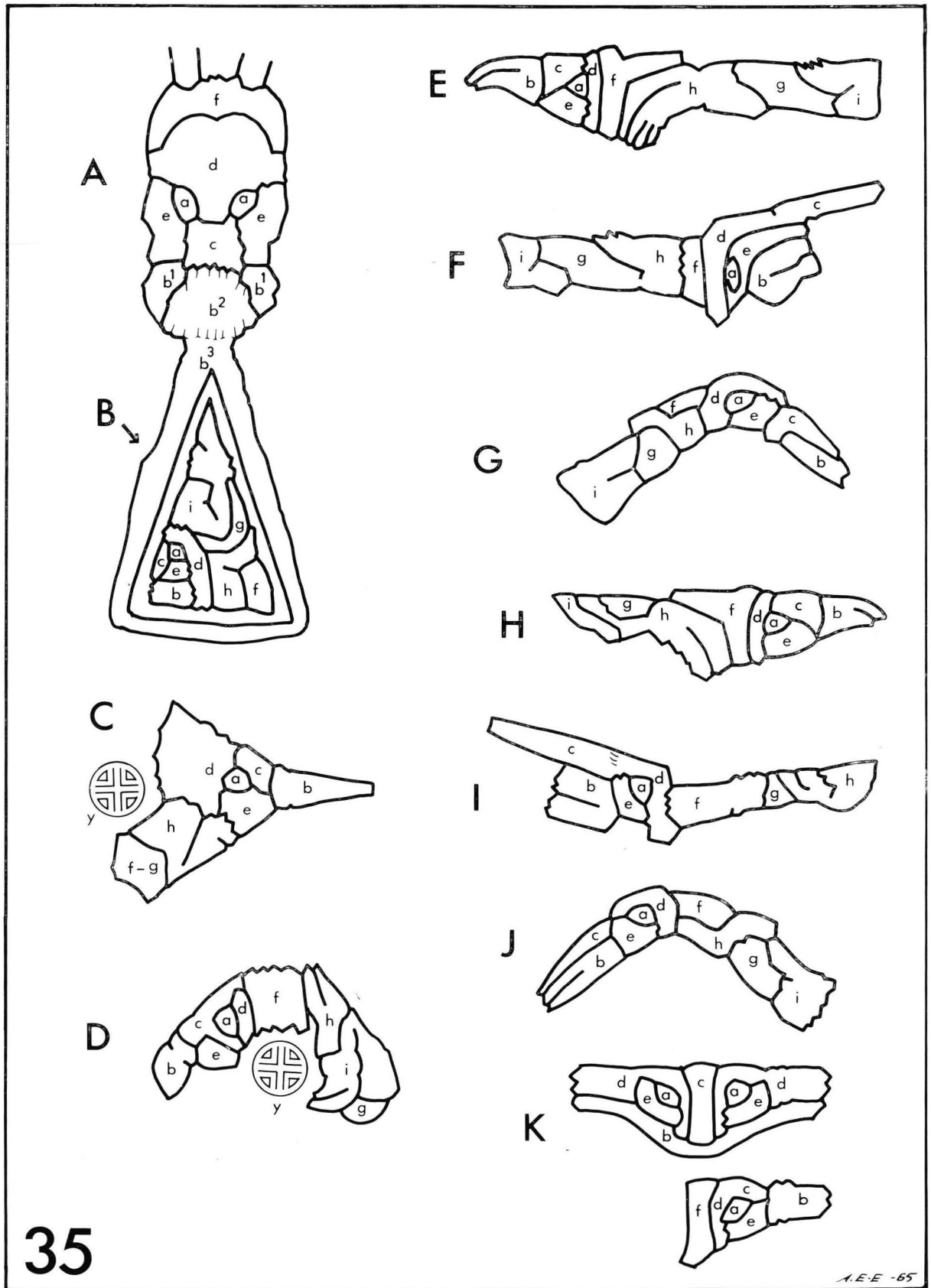
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 no. 36 (TYTÄRSAARI) from pl. IX
 no. 39 (TYTÄRSAARI) from pl. IX
 no. 40 (GULLDYNT) from pl. XI

no. 41 (NUKUTTALAHTI) from pl. XI
 no. 42 (KIILÄ) from pl. XI
 no. 44 (KIILÄ) from pl. XII
 no. 46 (PALOMÄKI) from pl. XII

A.E.-E.-65



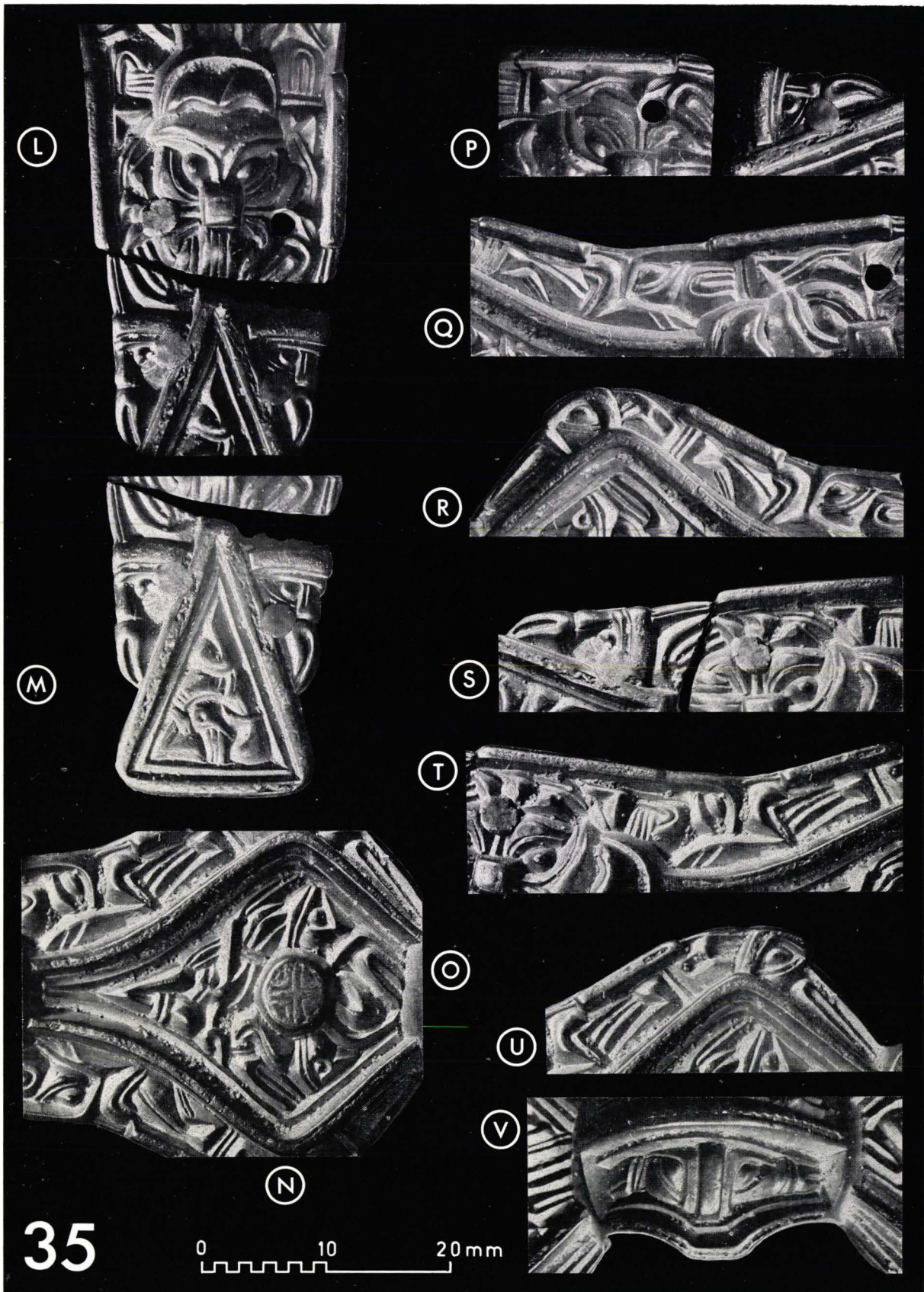
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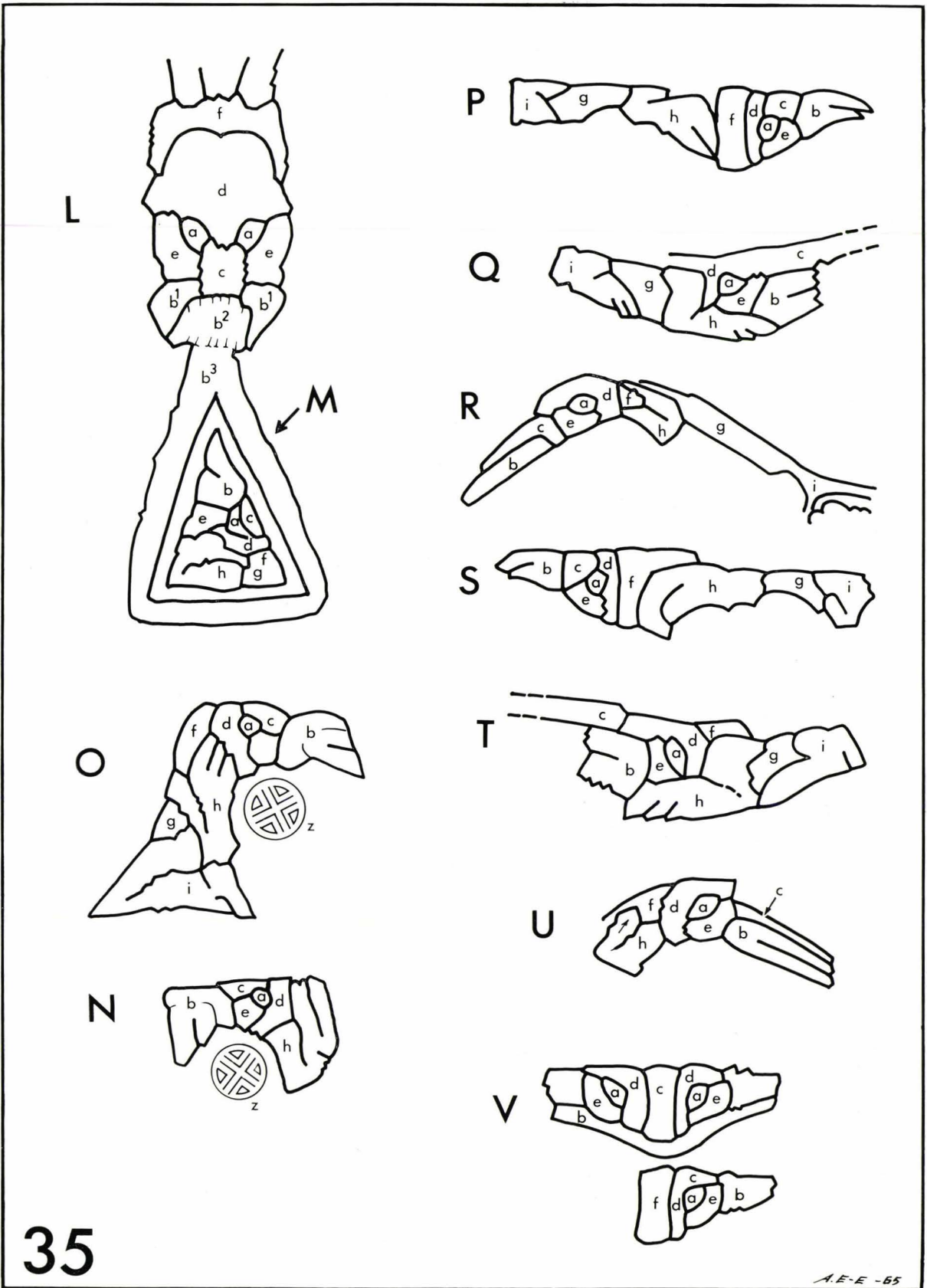
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A.E.E -65

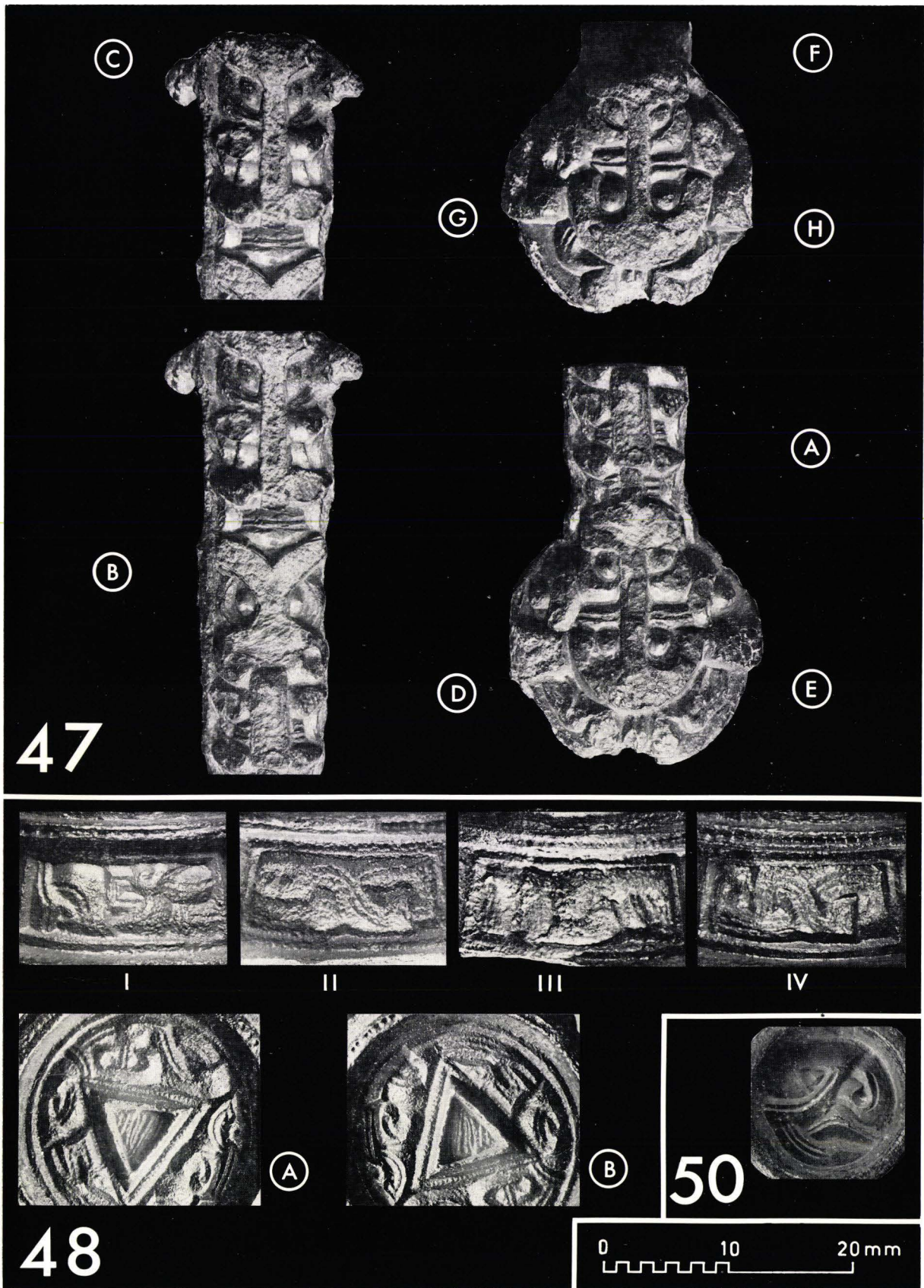
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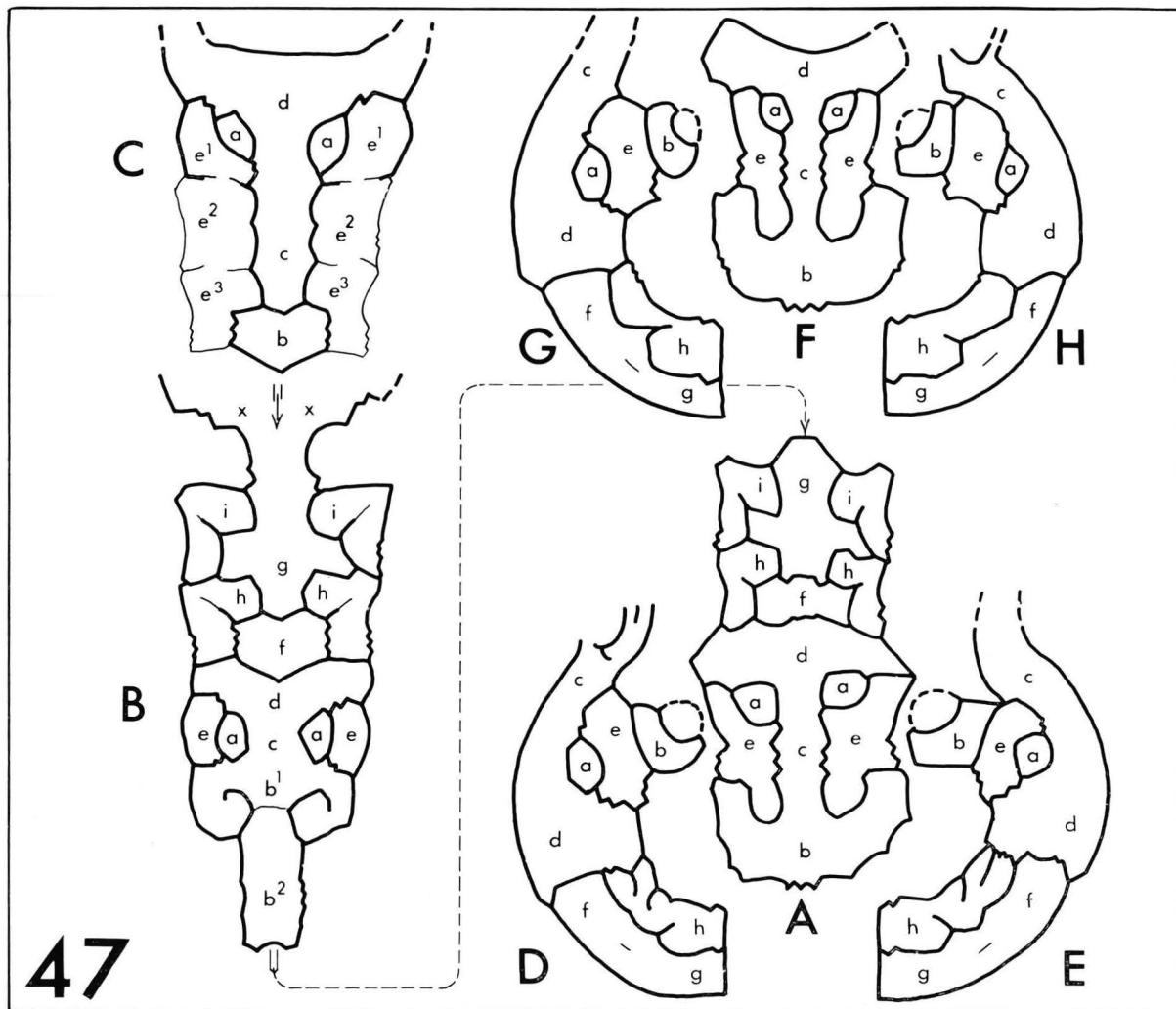
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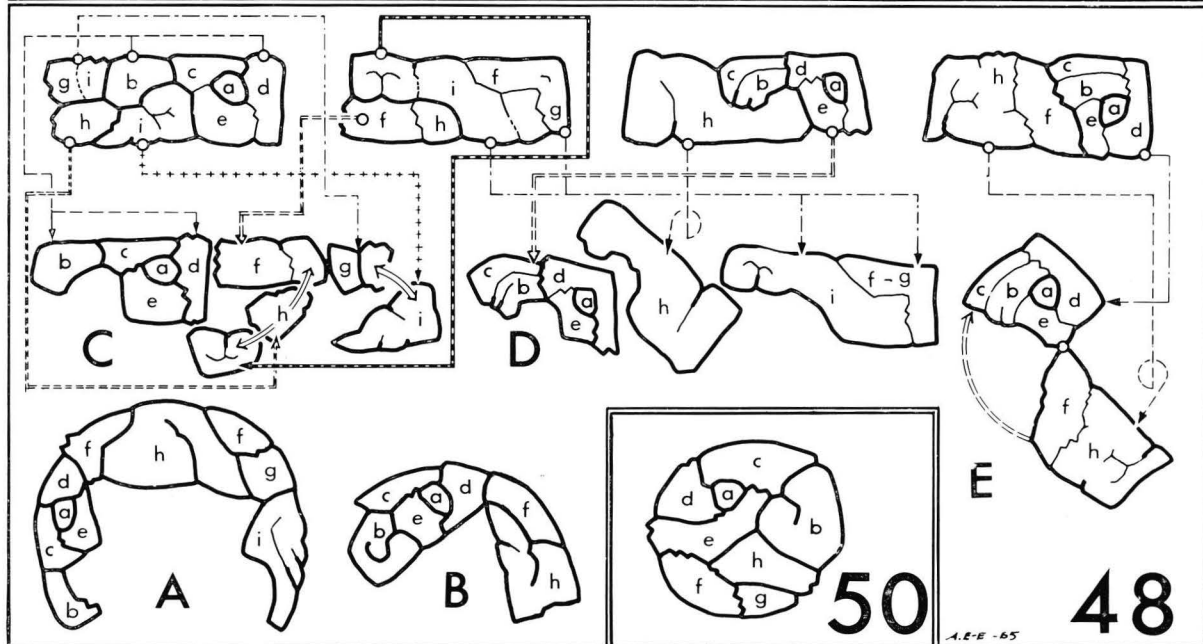
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no. 47 (VANHALINNA) from pl. XII
no. 48 (GULLDYNT) from pl. XIII
no. 50 (MAHLAISTENTÖNKKÄ) from pl. XIII



47



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48

NO. 47 (VANHALINNA) from pl. XII
 NO. 48 (GULLDYNT) from pl. XIII
 NO. 50 (MAHLAISTENTÖNKÄ) from pl. XIII

(the figure of panel I in No. 48 is turned upside down)