Shifting Shapes and Shaping Self: Social Identity, Animal Art, and Mortuary Ritual in Early Medieval Northwest Europe

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ABSTRACT

In the centuries following the decline of the Roman Empire, the maintenance and manipulation of identity became ever more crucial as new power structures emerged throughout Europe. During this period, a zoomorphic art style now called Style I animal art developed in northern Europe. Originating in southern Scandinavia in the late fifth century AD and continuing in use until the seventh century AD, the art style incorporated representations of disembodied heads, animal-men, and ambiguous creatures. These motifs were primarily rendered on personal ornaments such as brooches—objects that were ideal media for communicating messages to others. The creation and development of this style can be seen as active processes through which material culture was used as a social strategy to create and renegotiate personal and group identities.

This dissertation is an analysis of the ways in which brooches and other objects decorated with this style were used to express identities in social contexts, particularly in mortuary contexts, where such objects survive. The analysis of over 1500 inhumations in eleven Anglo-Saxon cemeteries provides a contextualized view of how Style I decorative motifs were actively used in local contexts.

My research examines the nature of pre-Christian human-animal relationships as depicted on personal ornaments and the ways in which these relationships visually expressed social identity, religious ideology, and the culture of transformation in Early Medieval Europe. I suggest that Style I animal art reflected the cultural fragmentation, mingling, and hybridity that occurred in the early medieval period. This analysis contributes to current early medieval archaeological studies by utilizing a contextual approach that considers the intersection of symbolic communication, art, and social expression.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Recent archaeological studies have focused on the concept of identity as an important social construction. Identity is here defined as the self-perception held by an individual in relation to socially constructed categories that are deemed significant by the larger social group. In addition to self-constructed identity, an individual is also defined by others in his or her social group. Research questions examining how social categories such as gender, age, kin, and ethnic groups were created and manipulated in the past are especially relevant for the early medieval period in northwest Europe.

The early medieval period was a time of dynamic change during which individuals and groups actively negotiated their social identities in reaction to the decline of the Roman Empire. In the fifth and sixth centuries AD, northwestern European groups developed a series of new cultural traditions, including new funerary rites and artifact styles. The changes of this period as seen in these new traditions are crucial in understanding the transition between the Roman Period and the Middle Ages.

One of the most visible changes in material culture was the appearance of a Germanic art style, termed Style I animal art. This style developed in southern Scandinavia and was primarily used to decorate brooches—clothes fasteners that were large, conspicuous, and ideal media for communicating messages to others. Style I art is characterized by zoomorphic decoration in which animal bodies are fragmented and schematized (Haseloff 1981). The art style is ambiguous and multivocal. On many objects, the animals appear to have been hidden within the ornamentation. The chip-carved metal surface enhances the abstract forms of the animals and appears alive with movement.

As the influence of the Roman Empire decreased, these objects were distributed throughout the North Sea region and as far south as Lombardy. The art style was used intensively until the seventh century, when power structures in northern Europe stabilized and Christianity became the religion of the elite. At this time, a new animal style came into use; it was associated with males rather than females and reflected the emergence of consolidated kingdoms.

During the third through seventh centuries in northwest Europe, mortuary practices underwent several changes in which a variety of rites were practiced. One of these changes occurred with inhumation burial, which was a common form of mortuary deposition in much of Europe in the preceding centuries. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, more lavishly appointed burials appeared in some areas where a more standard Roman inhumation rite had typically been practiced. Burials of this type often included weapons and jewellery, whereas the more standard practice of the time was to include vessels in the grave and, more rarely, personal adornments. Clothing elements and weapons were rarely included in Roman graves.

Associated with the new mortuary rite was the inclusion of brooches and other pieces of metalwork decorated with Style I animal art. Furnished burials with these types of artifacts increased in the late fifth century and continued through the sixth century, decreasing when power structures stabilized. These new political groups reduced the need to signal social position through the mortuary rite. The influence of the Christian church also hastened the decline of furnished burial.

Research Objectives

Archaeologists have long been interested in the ethnicity of early medieval peoples. Differences in material culture seen in burials in Europe have often been used to define such identities. Cemeteries in which some men were buried with weapons and some women were buried with clothing adornments decorated with animal styles have been attributed to Germanic peoples who moved into western Europe from lands east of the Rhine. The migrationist view overlooks the more basic and relevant questions regarding this particular set of mortuary rituals—why was there an adoption of more lavish burial practices beginning in the third century? Why did it gain popularity in more areas after the fifth century? Was this change tied to shifting power structures and changes in ideology, or was it truly an extrinsic process, by which migrants simply introduced new customs? Perhaps the question of whether migrants or native peoples initiated these customs should be laid aside until the social and ideological motivations

behind such practices are more clearly understood. I argue that such analyses should examine not whole cultures, or focus on ethnogenesis, but should focus on the people themselves, and how they constructed individual identity within the social context of their community. Were there specific objects that were associated with specific ages or genders? How did age grades or gender constructions change across geographical boundaries? Did certain motifs of Style I animal art correlate with specific genders or ages? By looking at grave good assemblages of early medieval communities, it may be possible to discover what aspects of identity were most important to early medieval peoples.

Specifically, my research questions the social functions of Style I art and the objects that it decorated. While most studies of Style I art have focused on stylistic developments and the style's origins, how the style operated in local contexts is not yet well understood. The research questions central to this dissertation are:

1) How did individuals utilize Style I-decorated items to construct personal identity?
2) What specific types of identities did Style I constitute?
3) How was Style I utilized in different local contexts within a region?
4) How did Style I connect individuals across the areas in which it was used?

This dissertation utilizes a contextual approach to analyze burials from the fifth and sixth centuries in northwest Europe. By examining grave good assemblages as a whole, as well as the specific representations depicted on grave goods, I explore how material culture was used symbolically to differentiate identities in early medieval mortuary contexts. Brooches were the primary objects on which Style I art was rendered. As such, these objects form the core of this analysis. Previous work has shown that it is the combination of artifacts and features within a grave that signaled identity in the early medieval period (Flowers 2005; Stoodley 1999b). By focusing on the use of brooches and other associated grave goods as markers of identity, I aim to discover which aspects of identity were significant in the early medieval period, how these aspects were signaled

through dress accessories, and whether there were standardized symbols, motifs, and styles that expressed these identities.

Geographical and Temporal Context

The geographical area covered in this analysis focuses on the areas in which Style I art was used. I analyze eleven cemeteries from Anglo-Saxon England. I also compare the ways in which the style was used in Scandinavia. Specifically, the areas under consideration border the North Sea: these include areas in modern Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and England (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1. Area under consideration (after Henson 2006: Fig. 1)

The time period covered spans from the late fourth century, when Germanic art styles began to develop and graves became more strongly expressive of identity, to the seventh century, when furnished burial in many areas of Europe began to decline, and another art form, Style II, became the predominant style.

Terminology

The terms used to describe archaeological cultures during the fifth through eighth centuries are inherently problematic because they were first used to describe what were thought to be distinct, genetically related groups of individuals. Thus, the term "Anglo-Saxon" was meant to refer to the supposed Germanic immigrants who migrated *en masse* to Britain in the fifth century. This applies to peoples such as the Franks, the Lombards, the Visigoths, and the Ostrogoths. Yet, archaeological evidence has shown that these groups were much more diverse than was originally thought. The Anglo-Saxon culture we see in the archaeological record was created by peoples from across Europe and Britain. Thus, my use of the terms "Anglo-Saxon," "Germanic," and "Norse" refer to archaeological cultures and not to genetically separate peoples.

Theoretical Approaches

Style

The concept of style is crucial in understanding the social construct of identity. Individuals form self-perception through social comparison of themselves with others (Wiessner 1990). Style is the medium through which the self or group image is displayed to others. Messages that can be transmitted stylistically include recurrent signals such as class, social group, rank, gender, religion, and political affiliation (Wobst 1977). These types of messages can be found on all types of objects, although objects of adornment are ideal for information transmission because they are seen by close acquaintances as well as strangers. Messages transmitted stylistically are most useful when emitters and receivers of such messages are not routinely in contact with one another. However, there needs to be some amount of shared context knowledge between individuals if signals are to be understood. Certain symbols on the object or the objects themselves cue specific responses from the individual reading the signal. Symbolic signaling thus makes social interaction easier and enables one's group to judge how closely an individual is

conforming to the norms of that group, and it also allows individuals to communicate their achieved status. Messages transmitted through material culture can be controlled by dominant individuals or groups, and manipulated through individual agency (Wobst 1977; Wells 2001). While many types of style refer to group identity, some styles can communicate aspects of individual identity (Wiessner 1983).

Another view of style is that it is largely passive; messages are read rather than sent (Sackett 1990; Schiffer 1999). According to proponents of this view, a particular style comes into being because a group of people chooses one way to produce an object from several possible options, based upon technological traditions and limitations (Sackett 1990). Style in this case is an unconscious behavior rather than a deliberate signaling act.

Most style theorists agree that style can play a passive part in information transmission, yet it can also be manipulated assertively through individual agency. An object bearing style can reference individual identity, group identity or both. Additionally, the referent can be a distinct entity or a more abstract concept (Wiessner 1990).

Mortuary Theory

For archaeologists, furnished graves provide ideal contexts from which to study identity and style. Many of the surviving objects in early medieval graves were used to adorn the body, such as brooches, or were used in public settings, such as weapons. Early medieval burial rites, in particular, were public displays in which the body and the grave goods were laid out for the community to observe. Most grave goods are non-functional in that they do not aid in the disposal of the body. It can be argued that artifacts deposited in graves were purposely chosen because they transmitted information about the deceased individual, the community, and the culture's ideological beliefs, either subconsciously or consciously. These artifacts also referenced social relationships between identity, community, family and self (Clarke 1975; Hedeager 2000). Because funerals are essentially public rituals, they may become "tournaments of value" where people

compete periodically to establish or challenge group relationships (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 413). Burials can also become contexts for ritual conspicuous consumption. These competitive displays of power are often the result of unstable inter-group relationships (Hines 1996).

During the mortuary ritual, symbolic material culture is used to renegotiate the social order and relationships between individuals and groups (Chapman 1994). In this process, relationships and identities may be inverted or idealized. Grave goods can thus be studied to see what statements about the values and beliefs of the community were being communicated—what aspects of identities were most strongly signaled? Were these aspects correlated with the social or political structures of the time? The identities given to the deceased individual may have been manipulated versions of the individual's position in life. Moreover, the decisions involved in the selection of grave goods are usually made by the community, not the deceased (Parker Pearson 2000). Thus, funerals reflect widely held community values more so than the self-perception of the deceased (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 67). While the objects placed in the burial are informative, it is only through human action that meaning is given to objects; meaning is not inherent to objects, but is created through the interaction between objects and individuals (Robb 1998). Objects are involved in a complex union of the intentions of the producer, the significance attached to the object and the consumption of the object by the individual or group (Hegmon 1998).

Among burials of the early medieval period in northwest Europe, the principal grave goods are costume elements; these include brooches, pins, necklaces and small tools such as knives and keys. Dress components can signal many aspects of social identity, such as ethnic affiliation, status, gender and age, and may also distinguish differences between communities (Pohl 1998). Modern ethnographic studies of traditional dress show that it is rarely static. Elements of costumes are often changed and adopted from other groups (Eicher 1995). In some cases, dress components reflect the values and structure of the group. Dress can be used as an ethnic marker to advance in social status, show group pride, challenge authority, and to address relationships with other groups. Most often, the dress of women is used to promote traditional ideals; these

can also preserve or recreate concepts of the past (Bridgewood 1995: 30). To signal group membership, different dress elements must be combined in a recognizable ensemble. Yet, dress can incorporate both social and personal styles at once (Brush 1993). In this way, dress can be an assertive element of individual agency. Funerary dress and adornment are not necessarily the same as everyday clothing, and may reference entirely different sets of ideals. Therefore, it is important to recognize that dress may not directly reference the individual's life.

Ideally, a close study of the combinations of brooch types and other forms of personal adornment as well as the art styles used on such items will distinguish the aspects of identity important to early medieval peoples in northwest Europe.

Prior Research Correlating Symbolism and Artifact Assemblages

Several archaeologists have analyzed Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in terms of artifact assemblage and identity, but only a few have incorporated analyses of Style I art into their conclusions. J.D. Richards (1987; 1995) is one scholar who has looked at symbolism in mortuary contexts. He argues that Anglo-Saxon cremation urns were decorated with a coded system of symbolism. He has noticed that when viewed from above, the incised designs on the urns are, in some cases, identical to those on annular brooches. Similar comparisons have been made between these urns and bracteates. Bracteates are decorated with similar motifs on their outer edge. Richards has also demonstrated that the decoration and form of a cremation urn can express important social roles of the individual it contained. He claims that categories such as culture, ethnic and regional affiliation, age, kin group, status and sex can all be communicated on such a vessel. He concludes that the height of cremation urns was fairly standardized throughout Anglo-Saxon England and thus signals a Germanic ancestry, while differences in the type of design, such as incised lines or chevrons, may designate different ethnic groups such as "Angle" or "Saxon."

Richards' study included analyses of the form and decoration of over two thousand cremation urns from twenty cemeteries in an attempt to correlate these factors

with the age and sex of the individual and any associated artifacts. Specifically, he measured the size and shape of the whole urn, the width of the mouth, the mode of construction, and decoration type. He concluded that there were significant statistical correlations between these elements and the identity of the deceased. The type of decoration was correlated with the types of objects associated with the burial. For example, bronze tweezers were associated with horizontal and vertical lines on tall, narrow necked urns, while standing arches were correlated with miniature spears (Huggett and Richards 1990).

Similarly, Mads Ravn (1999) conducted a multivariate analysis to suggest the presence of two main categories among the male cremations at Spong Hill, East Anglia. The first group was correlated with playing pieces, glass vessels and shears that, according to the author, symbolized the individual's ability to lead in battle as well as the extent of his external social relations. Another group had correlations with the presence of horse symbolism and urn stamps related to the god Thunor, such as the swastika. Ravn suggested these men were warriors. Males not included in these two groups had less distinctive burials. Ravn concluded that males were buried according to status held in life.

Recent work on early Anglo-Saxon identity has been undertaken by Sam Lucy (1998) in East Yorkshire, and through general region-wide studies by Nick Stoodley (1999) and Karen Brush (1993). These studies have shown that gender and age were important organizing principles in the funerary rite. However, it is important to recognize, as Lucy's (1998) investigations into the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of East Yorkshire have shown, that the methods of categorizing burials based solely on gender do not account for the majority of Anglo-Saxon burials, as many are buried with either gender-neutral grave goods or none at all. The grave goods deposited were also highly selective. Certain artifacts, such as bracelets and tools, were deemed inappropriate as symbols associated with the dead, even though they are found in quantities in associated settlements (Richards 1995). This specificity indicates that only certain aspects of each gender were chosen as important aspects of identity at the funeral ritual (Chapman 2000b). The placement of items within the grave as well as specific combinations of

artifacts added meaning to the Anglo-Saxon burial rite (Pader 1982; Lucy and Reynolds 2002). However, even with this uncertainty, analyses of grave goods do show that specific messages were encoded through the mortuary rite.

Gender roles and their associated material expressions vary between cemeteries, and these roles change through the early Anglo-Saxon period (Brush 1988). Gilchrist (1997) suggests that definitions of masculinity and femininity were undergoing change during this time. The question is why some individuals were given a gendered burial when it was not available to or chosen for the rest of the community. Although it may be argued that gender was important to signal among individuals and families of high status, this simple explanation ignores more complex questions regarding social structure and kinship relationships. Age, marital status, fertility, parenthood, and family lineage may have all been equally important in structuring expressions of identity.

Investigations into the use of Style I art have concentrated on spatial and temporal correlations rather than with individual identity. A recent study conducted by Colin Shepherd (1998) focused on Style I attributes in England, but these attributes were not discussed in terms of mortuary ritual or identity. Outside of England, Siv Kristoffersen (2000a) has done the most work on symbolism and grave good assemblages. Her work, *Sverd og spenne: Dyreornamentikk og sosial kontekst*, is a good example of how art and social identity can be linked.

Methodology

How were identities shaped in the early medieval period? Evidence suggests that age and gender played a significant role in identity formation. To explore the relationship between mortuary ritual, life history, and the construction of identity, I have conducted an analysis of 11 Anglo-Saxon cemeteries dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, the time period in which Style I art was used.

Table 1.1. Cemeteries used in Analysis

Cemetery	County Location	Cultural Affiliation
Mucking I	Essex	Saxon
Mucking II	Essex	Saxon
Springfield Lyons	Essex	Anglian
Great Chesterford	Essex	Anglian
Empingham II	Leicestershire	Anglian
West Heslerton	North Yorkshire	Anglian
Berinsfield	Oxfordshire	Saxon
Watchfield	Oxfordshire	Saxon
Butler's Field	Gloucestershire	Saxon
Blacknall Field	Wiltshire	Saxon
Wasperton	Warwickshire	Saxon

Specific research questions include:

1) How did individuals utilize Style I-decorated items to construct personal identity?
2) What specific types of identities did Style I constitute?
3) How was Style I utilized in different local contexts within a region?
4) How did Style I connect individuals across the areas in which it was used?
5) Were identities heavily localized or were there particular identities that were common throughout the study area?

Data from published cemetery reports were analyzed. For each grave, information was recorded about age, gender, composition of the grave good assemblage, and the use of Style I-decorated objects (see Appendix B, page 307). Photographs of Style I-decorated objects were taken at museums where possible.

Through the analysis of grave good assemblages as a whole, the production of meaning through material culture in the early medieval period will be addressed.

CHAPTER 2 – ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF EARLY MEDIEVAL NORTHWEST EUROPE

This chapter surveys the extent of archeological knowledge of the early medieval period in northwest Europe, including Britain, northern Gaul, northwestern Germany and southern Scandinavia during the fifth through eighth centuries AD. The most recent theories on settlements, craft production and economy, social structure and ideology, and material culture will be covered. This chapter situates early Anglo-Saxon England within the context of northwest Europe as a whole, and covers trends that were occurring throughout northern Europe during the early medieval period.

Geographical and Historical Context

Located in the northwest corner of the European continent, the area covered borders the North Sea: from western Norway and Denmark in the east, to northern Germany and the Netherlands to the south and lowland Britain in the west. Several large rivers dominate the landscape. The Thames, in England, flows from the Cotswolds and empties into the North Sea. On the continent, the Rhine, Elbe and Weser flow north through the North European Plain into the North Sea. The topography of the area varies. Deep fjords can be found on the western coast of Norway, islands and salt marshes along the Denmark, Frisian and north German coasts, and fenland and chalk downs on the southeastern coast of England.

Historically, the period under consideration began in the final phases of the Roman Empire. Britain and Gaul were Roman provinces and had been extensively altered by the Roman presence. However, regions that lay beyond the Roman frontier, including southern Scandinavia and northwest Germany, were also impacted by the spread of Roman culture. In all regions of northwest Europe, settlement patterns, diet and agricultural practices, material culture and mortuary rituals were influenced by Roman culture. Experience in the Roman army, trade relations, and plundering were some of the activities that exposed people to Roman culture (Pohl 1997).

Beginning in the second century AD, Germanic tribes began moving westward across the Rhine into the Roman Empire; this phenomenon continued into the fifth and sixth centuries. The term "German" was first given by Caesar to the tribes east of the Rhine, although the many tribes in that region did not call themselves by that name, nor were they all closely related (Schutz 2000). In previous centuries, men of these various tribes had been given positions in the Roman army. Acting as auxiliaries, they were stationed throughout the Empire. Initially, auxiliaries were recruited from and stationed in newly conquered lands. After serving in the army for a number of years, these men could obtain Roman citizenship (Schutz 2000). Some individuals probably returned to their homelands, taking their experience and training back with them.

Eventually, by the end of the fourth century, over half of all Roman officers were natives of lands beyond the frontier, and many had risen to hold high positions in the Roman army. Even the position of general could be held by a "barbarian." Stilicho, a Vandal, was a general under emperor Theodosius in the late fourth century (Pohl 1997). Roman authorities, in order to encourage peaceful relationships with barbarian groups, supported local leaders. Luxury items such as feasting equipment and coinage, as well as Roman cultural practices created social differentiation within these groups. It has been suggested that these new forms of wealth and status caused conflict within and between Germanic tribes, precipitating the migrations of the late Roman period (Hummer 1998).

In the second century AD, federations of Germanic tribes, such as the Franks, *Alamanni* and Goths moved up to and into the Roman provinces (Schutz 2000). The Germanic tribes considered here, including those originating in northwestern Germany and southern Scandinavia, also began movements at this time.

The Franks, whose name originally meant simply, "the brave" or "the fierce," were composed of several smaller tribes that originally lived east of the Rhine; these were most likely the *Ampsivarii*, *Chatti*, *Cattuarii* and the *Bructeri* (Todd 1992; Hummer 1998). In the mid third century, the Franks raided Gaul, although these activities were stopped by the Roman army by the early fourth century. The defeated Franks were given land in northern Gaul. It appears that the Roman authorities extended an invitation to Frankish tribes to settle in Gaul to protect the area from the hostile activities of other

Germanic groups (Myhre 2000). Near the end of Roman rule in Gaul in the fifth century, and immediately afterwards, the Franks managed to consolidate power under the leaders Chlodio, Childeric and Clovis (Todd 1992). Childeric, whose grave was discovered in the seventeenth century, controlled the lands around Tournai, but his son, Clovis, expanded the Frankish kingdom to the Seine in the west and to the lands of the *Alamanni* in the southeast (Ament 1980). By the end of the sixth century, the kings of the Merovingian dynasty had expanded their territory to include most of modern day France (Hummer 1998).

The Saxons, first referred to in Ptolemy's *Geography* around 150 AD, reached the river Weser in the third and fourth centuries, replacing or absorbing a tribe known as the *Chauci* (Haywood 1991). Like many other Germanic peoples, the Saxons were a confederation of tribes, composed of smaller groups, including the *Reudingi*, the *Aviones* and perhaps the *Chauci* (Haywood 1991). The Saxons also had connections with the *Anglii*, a tribe of people that lived on the Jutland peninsula (Todd 1992). By the fifth century, the Saxons had expanded to the river Ems in the modern Netherlands (Whittock 1986; Haywood 1991). These confederations did not form rigid political structures during the initial migrations; their membership was fluid and based not on biological descent but on loyalty to a leader (Wood 1997). Saxon groups had begun raiding Roman lands in the third century; written sources indicate they raided the east coast of Britain and the coasts of Gaul along with the Franks (Myhre 2000; Todd 1992). In the fifth and sixth centuries, peoples of several tribes, including Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Frisians and most likely Franks migrated to eastern Britain. This move created an opportunity for the continental tribes to extend their territories into the areas from which the migrants had left. The Saxon groups who remained extended their territories south and west, and the Frisians moved east to extend their land along the North Sea coast (Todd 1992).

In contrast to the Franks and Saxons, the Angles and Jutes were not mentioned frequently in late antique sources. The Angles and Jutes lived north of the Saxons on the Jutland peninsula (Schutz 2000). The Frisians were mentioned by Tacitus. This tribe was located on the salt marshes near the river Ems. After the Rhine became the western frontier in the first century AD, the Frisians entered into trading relationships with the

Romans, and settlements became densely populated at this time (Meier 2003). The Danes became a powerful group in Denmark during the fourth and fifth centuries (Figure 2.1).

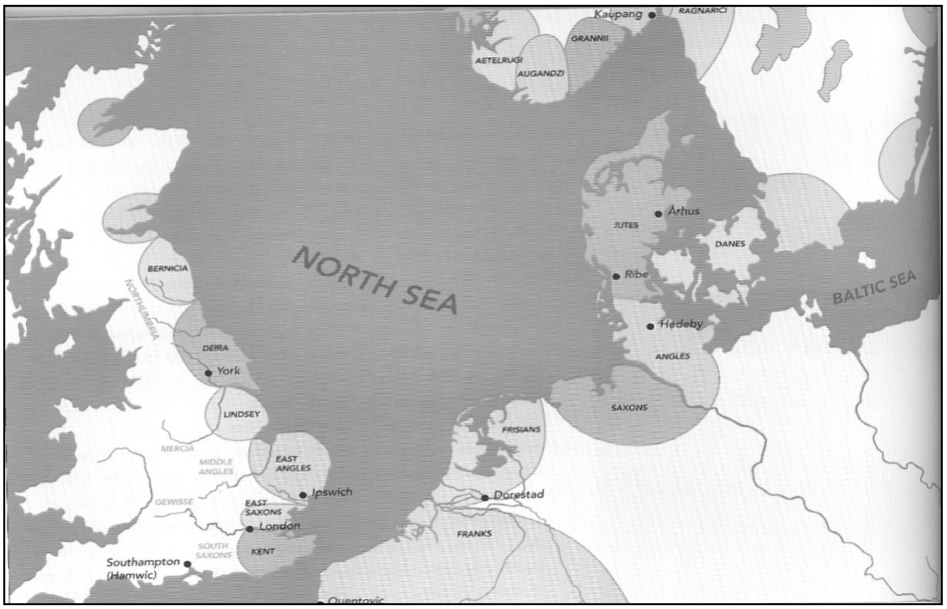


Figure 2.1. Tribes and kingdoms of northwest Europe in the early medieval period (after Myhre 2000: Fig. 10).

The period surveyed ends in the early eighth century; this is the time when kingdoms consolidated and increased their hegemony over the landscape, and when other institutions, namely Christianity, began to affect the cultural landscape. Thus, the time covered will include the fifth through eighth centuries, although where helpful, archaeological evidence from earlier periods will be reviewed.

The diverse geographical locations considered as well as the numerous methodologies that are used to investigate the archaeological evidence make it difficult to decide what terminology to apply to the period. The terms “Late Antiquity,” “Migration Period,” “sub” or “Post-Roman,” “Scandinavian Iron Age” and the “Germanic Iron Age” have all been used as descriptors for these centuries. The terms “Merovingian” and “Vendel,” for example, apply to specific regions and times, although some authors will

apply such terms to multiple regions. To avoid many of the biases that these various terms introduce, the term "Early Medieval" will be used to denote the fifth through eighth centuries, except when summarizing the arguments of authors with their own unique dating schemes. Terms used to designate archaeological cultures are equally fraught with problems. The term "Anglo-Saxon," for example, should not be taken as the name of a bounded, biologically related people, only as a label that we use to mark a characteristic set of archaeological evidence found in a given location. The Germanic peoples of fifth and sixth century Britain were not known as Anglo-Saxons, nor did they call themselves by that name; the term was first used during the ninth century by continental writers and was only used widely to refer to the early medieval peoples of Britain after the sixteenth century (Reynolds 1985). Similarly, terms used by Romans for confederations of tribes, like those of the Franks and Saxons were never the actual names of those groups, but were used rather as generic terms, much like the word "Viking" is used to describe Scandinavian raiders of the eighth and ninth centuries (Springer 2003).

History of Research and Current Research Objectives

The early medieval period, situated between the Roman period and the Middle Ages, has received less attention than either of these periods, partly because the material culture of this time is less visible. Only recently, in the last half-century, have archaeologists focused on early medieval settlements, economy and social structure. The majority of earlier scholars of the period examined mortuary evidence; this period, in contrast to the late Roman period and the later Middle Ages, is rich in furnished burials. Consequently, the settlement evidence that was found in early archaeological studies was misinterpreted, resulting in views of the "Dark Ages" that were judgmental, to say the least. Of the early Anglo-Saxons, Lethbridge stated the people lived in "…miserable huts in almost as primitive a condition as can be imagined. They…were content to throw the remains of a meal into the furthest corner of the hut and leave it there [and] …they did not mind having a skeleton sticking out of the wall of one of their huts" (Lethbridge and Tebbutt 1933: 149 in Hamerow 2002: 7). This author was speaking of a pit house, or a

Grubenhaus, which archaeologists first thought were crude dwellings. Archaeologists now interpret these as workshops that were often converted into refuse pits at the end of their use. Interpretations such as these did not inspire further studies into early medieval settlements, and archaeologists remained content to base their theories concerning the period on grave goods and biased historical sources.

Cemeteries have been investigated scientifically since the eighteenth century. These studies focused on the extent of the Germanic migrations and the distribution of artifact types. Scholars with a focus on art history developed detailed artifact typologies, but paid little attention to the social context and meaning of such artifacts. Excavation of early medieval settlements began in earnest in the early twentieth century, with the discovery of the *terp* Ezinge in Frisia, and the excavations at Warendorf, Westphalia and Feddersen Wierde, Lower Saxony (Hamerow 2002) (Figure 2.2). Excavations in these areas have continued to expose early medieval settlements. Large-scale excavations of these settlements in England did not begin until the 1950s, when buildings at Yeavering were uncovered. Some similarities of material culture, including longhouse form and mortuary practices, have led archaeologists to speak of a cultural zone that was characteristic of the lands adjacent to the North Sea, including northern Gaul, northwest Germany, southern and western Scandinavia, and southeast Britain (Hamerow 2002; Pentz 2000). It is important to recognize that despite these broad similarities, there was also a diversity of cultures around the North Sea during this time.

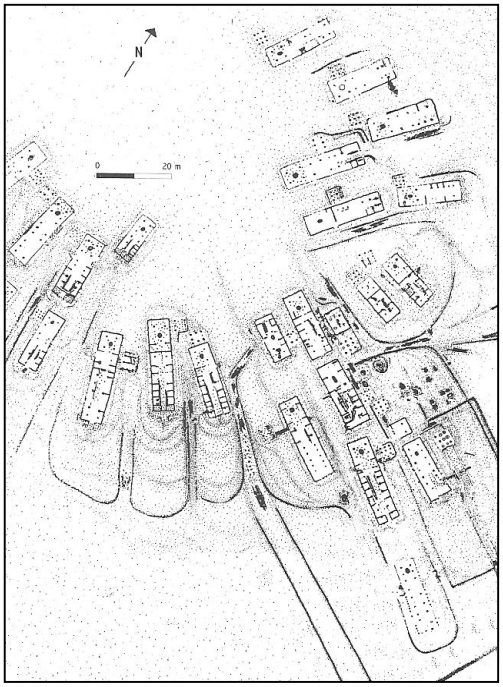


Figure 2.2. Feddersen Wierde, Germany (after Mejdahl and Siemen 2000: Fig. 7).

Current research objectives include placing settlements in larger geographical and ecological contexts, investigating patterns of settlement and the development of territories, linking early medieval settlements with later manorial systems, and to identify early centers, proto-towns and trading networks (Hamerow 2002; Arnold 1997). Mortuary evidence is now being used to investigate aspects of social identity and early medieval concepts of age, gender, family, and ideology. Material culture is investigated now not only in terms of typologies but in terms of social context; how objects were used as social tools is an important question considered by archaeologists. A new trend in early medieval archaeology is the comparison of archaeological data and methods of several different regions. In-depth comparison of different northern European regions is, surprisingly, quite rare, especially in mortuary studies. A critique of the field by Heinrich Härke illustrates how Germanic and English archaeologists have had parallel research objectives for the past forty years, but have largely ignored each other's works (Härke 2000b). More collaboration seems to have been made in investigations of settlements and early medieval economy.

Settlement and Agriculture

Settlement Layout

Settlement organization around the North Sea basin was highly variable during the early medieval period. Some settlements, like Wijster in the Netherlands and Vorbasse in Denmark were organized in rows, suggesting a degree of organizational planning (Welch 1992). These layouts could remain stable for centuries. In contrast, groups of buildings in early Anglo-Saxon England were haphazardly arranged (Hills 1986). At the settlements of Mucking, Essex and West Stow, Suffolk, groups of farms were not laid out pre-planned, and they tended to shift in space over time.

The nature of the coastal landscape in each of these regions was a determining factor in the layout of settlements. In Denmark, the Netherlands and northern Germany, the coastline was composed of salt marshland. Wide zones of salt marsh line the coast of

the Netherlands; the marshlands diminish in size on the coast of Jutland. Inland from the marshland, the *Geest* landscape is composed of bogs, estuaries and small glacial moraines (Mejdahl and Siemen 2000). Settlement in coastal areas was largely determined by the extent of the marshland, the sea level, and the intensity of storm surges.

In the salt marshlands, people of the Iron Age and early medieval periods lived on artificial mounds called *terpen* or *wierden*. These mounds were made of turf, dung and timber from old buildings (Hills 1986). The accumulation of debris in these features was probably both accidental and deliberate, as they provided a raised base that protected settlements from coastal inundation (Haywood 1991). Several large-scale excavations have exposed whole *terp* villages. One of the best-known *terp* sites is Feddersen Wierde, Lower Saxony. The earliest buildings at this site were placed on the marsh during the first century BC, a time of marine regression (Meier 2003). The sea levels rose again in the late first century AD, and the *terp* developed into several single farms placed on individual mounds in the second century AD. Gradually, the individual mounds merged into a larger village terp, or *Dorfwurt*, in the third and fourth centuries (Meier 2003; Todd 1992). Buildings in the village were laid out in a radial plan, probably to maximize space on the artificial mound. At its height, Feddersen Wierde contained thirty byre-houses. One farmstead, larger than the others, has been labeled a chieftain's farm, or *Herrenhof* (Mejdahl and Siemen 2000). Within this larger farmstead's enclosure lay several outbuildings. Evidence for the working of iron, wood and leather has been found in these structures (Todd 1992). In the fifth century, the settlement contained smaller, unenclosed farmsteads interpreted as the dwellings of craftworkers. This change in settlement layout occurred at the same time that sea levels rose and farmland became salinated. This resulted in a shift from agriculture to manufacturing (Hamerow 1995). Eventually, the *terp* was abandoned at the end of the fifth century.

Inland, on the sandy soils, larger villages were constructed. These villages were not set up radially, as there was more room for buildings to be spaced out in neat rows, as at the village of Flögeln-Eckhöltjen, Lower Saxony (Mejdahl and Siemen 2000). Other examples of row-settlements exist around the North Sea. Vorbasse, a settlement in Jutland, was occupied from the first century BC to the eleventh century AD. In the fourth

century, twenty farmsteads were organized in rows on either side of a trackway (Hamerow 2002). A century later, a larger farm was built slightly away from the others (Hamerow 1995). At Wijster, Drenth, farmsteads were laid out uniformly in perpendicular rows. Located on sandy soil, each farmstead had its own pithouses and granaries, all located in fenced plots. Wijster was abandoned in the fifth century (Randsborg 1991; Hamerow 2002). Single farmsteads are also known in the Netherlands. At Peelo and Fochteloo, large longhouses were surrounded by smaller outbuildings. It appears that these farmsteads were not connected with any others; no other farmsteads have been excavated nearby (Todd 1992).

In Norway and Sweden, farmsteads were linked together, but were not organized around a trackway or common ground as villages in southern Scandinavia often were (Myhre 2003). Often, one farmhouse was much larger than the surrounding buildings. Each farmstead included enclosed fields (Myhre 2003).

Archaeological evidence suggests that settlement sites in early Anglo-Saxon England were not organized in the same way that continental sites were. Most early Anglo-Saxon sites contained only a few buildings, and were not enclosed by fences. No villages like Vorbasse or Feddersen Wierde have been discovered. However, excavations in England are usually on a smaller scale than are excavations in Denmark or Germany. Rahtz (1976) suggests that most excavated settlements represent abandoned or failed settlements; successful sites probably lie under modern towns.

The settlements of Mucking, Essex and West Heslerton, North Yorkshire are two of the most well documented Anglo-Saxon settlement sites. The settlement of Mucking was established by 420 AD and lasted for approximately two hundred years. The position of the site on a high spot above the Thames suggests that the site was thoughtfully selected (Dixon 1993). Its location at the mouth of the Thames has led Haywood (1991) to suggest that the settlement may have been strategically placed either as a base for raiding or as a British-planned federate settlement. Identified on the site were the remains of fifty-three halls and over two hundred *Grubenhäuser* (Hamerow 2002). West Heslerton appears to have been more horizontally stratified, with distinct areas used for

different activities, and *Grubenhäuser* dedicated to craft activity and grain storage (Hills 1999; Powlesland 2000).

The differences in continental and British sites of the fifth and sixth centuries have in the past led scholars to suggest that the cultures differed in their most fundamental aspects. However, continued excavations have revealed similar shifting, unorganized small settlements in areas of northwest Germany (Hamerow 2002). More permanent farmstead layout did not occur in Anglo-Saxon England until the seventh century. Large buildings were enclosed by fences at both Yeavering, Northumbria and Cowdery's Down, Hampshire in the seventh century (Welch 1992; Hamerow 2002).

It has been argued by archaeologists looking to confirm the traditional idea of the Anglo-Saxon migrations that many of the continental settlements, like Flögeln and Feddersen Wierde, were abandoned in the fifth century as German peoples moved from the continent to Britain (Hills 1986; Hines 1998). Palynological analyses suggest that agricultural pollen levels in the Rhineland declined dramatically in the fourth century and did not recover until the seventh century (Higham 1992). The same phenomenon happened in the southern Jutland peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries (Dörfler 2003). However, as excavation continues, new settlements appear in the very areas that previously seemed to have been devoid of fifth century habitation. This new evidence fills the gap between early medieval period settlement and later early medieval settlement (Hills 2003).

Changes did occur on early medieval period settlement sites. At Vorbasse, Denmark, large-scale excavations have revealed that the previously ordered row-settlement became more disorganized during the fourth and fifth centuries. The increasing number of irregularly placed buildings occurred at the same time that the number of granaries decreased. This has been linked to a shift from a focus on farming to craft specialization. This shift may have occurred as flooding and possible salination of farmland caused by coastal inundation increased, and perhaps by the breakup of trade networks with the Roman world. It is also possible that social factors, such as changes in inheritance rules, led to this shift. The dissolution of ordered row settlements may have

been a symptom of an abandonment of ancestral farmsteads or possibly a realignment in kin structure (Hamerow 1995; Powlesland 2000).

Settlements in Frisia show a different pattern in that settlement declined in the third century but increased again in the fifth century, with artifacts of a Saxon character. Archaeologists had previously thought that the low population densities in this area during the fourth century represented a mass movement to Britain, but it is now thought that the populating of both Frisia and England was undertaken by westward moving Saxon groups (Hills 2003).

Climate models constructed from the measurement of oxygen isotope levels in European glaciers as well as by palynological evidence from peat bogs suggest that the first centuries BC and AD experienced a warm climate. The North Sea regressed, and peaty soils developed on the coast of the Netherlands and northern Germany (Meier 2003). Climatic changes beginning in the late second and early third centuries led to a significant marine transgression in the fourth century. Flooding occurred all along the North Sea, peaking in the late fifth century (Todd 2001). Named the Dunkirk II, this transgression led to a rise in sea levels of twelve to fourteen feet in the North Sea. This coincides with the abandonment of many of the *terp* sites. The loss of arable land must have put severe stress on coastal populations, leaving little choice to the inhabitants of the region; they had to raid other communities to acquire resources or seek arable land elsewhere (Haywood 1991). Coastal *terp* sites had little available arable land even during times when the North Sea was not rising (Hamerow 2002). The loss of arable land was compounded by the increase of population that occurred in the third and fourth centuries. Coastal flooding affected Britain as well during this time (Jones 1996).

Architecture

Early medieval buildings across northern Germany and southern Scandinavia were similar in their form and construction from the Bronze Age to the end of the early medieval period (Hamerow 2002). The largest building, the primary dwelling, was the longhouse. Usually oriented east-west, these buildings could be quite large; some

excavated longhouses were over 60 meters in length (Hamerow 2002). The basic longhouse form was a long, timber building supported by two rows of internal posts, creating three aisles running the length of the building. In most cases, one end of the hall was sectioned off with wattle, behind which stalls were placed (Hills 1986). These stalls housed domestic animals. Longhouses were usually divided into three portions: a living area, a work area and the byre. Entrances to the hall were paired on opposing walls (Hamerow 2002).

Excavations of longhouses indicate that the length of the walls increased from the first to fifth century, possibly due to the addition of a number of rooms for people or stalls for animals. It is suggested that access to various parts of the hall was granted only to those of a specific status. In the fifth and sixth century, the length decreased, and the byres, in many cases, were no longer built into the hall. Towards the end of the early medieval period, in the seventh and eighth centuries, bow-sided forms of the longhouse developed in the Netherlands and northern Germany, in which the inner supports were moved to the outside walls, forming an open space in the hall (Hamerow 2002). In this type of longhouse form, called the *Warendorf* type, the byre was removed from the hall and placed in a separate outbuilding. In Norway and Sweden, the three-aisled longhouse became common after the third century, although these were more often partly constructed of stone (Roesdahl 1980).

Another building type common on Germanic sites of this period is the *Grubenhaus*, also referred to as a pit-house or a sunken-featured-building (SFB) (Figure 2.3). These begin to appear on continental sites in the Netherlands during the second century (Hills 1999). These were small, square buildings, the pits of which were either left open or covered with suspended planked floors. They were probably used for craft activities and the

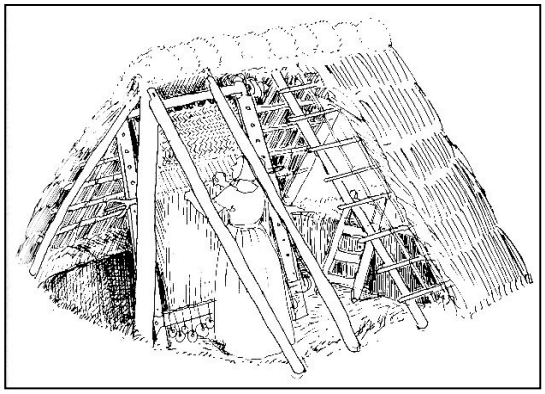


Figure 2.3. Grubenhaus as weaving shed (after Mejdahl and Siemen 2000: Fig. 11).

storage of agricultural produce. Loom weights, brooch moulds and hearths have been found in these buildings, suggesting they were used as textiles sheds, metalworking workshops or cooking sheds (Leahy 2003; Damminger 1998). Soil samples taken from this type of structure from West Heslerton, North Yorkshire have contained grain phytoliths, suggesting that the pit houses were sometimes used to store grain (Powlesland 1997). The sunken foundations appear to have been used as rubbish pits after the buildings ceased to be used as workshops (Higham 1992).

In northern Gaul, the lack of large-scale excavations has limited the evidence of early settlement. When early settlements are found, they are largely composed of *Grubenhäuser* (Hamerow 2002). At the sixth century site of Brebières, the only structures found were *Grubenhäuser*, although only three of the thirty-one pit houses found appeared to have been lived in (James 1988). Recently, though, settlements with larger buildings have been found, as at Juvincourt-et-Damary (James 1988). This settlement had five larger buildings; these were small halls supported by wall posts. In some southern Merovingian settlements, stone was used as foundation footings (Hamerow 2002). These materials, perhaps, were held over from Roman building techniques. It does appear, however, that the *Grubenhaus*-type of building, in some sites, was the only type of structure present. One difference in Frankish and Merovingian pit houses is the use of stone in the construction as well as different post placement (Hamerow 2002).

The halls in early Anglo-Saxon settlements were unlike those on the continent. They were shorter, lacked attached byres, and the weight of the roof was supported on the walls rather than on internal posts (Hamerow 2002). Sometimes there was a partition on one end of the hall, which created a small room. In some cases, larger halls may have had an upper storey (Powlesland 1997). Evidence suggests that most structures of this type had timber floors (Powlesland 1997). Larger halls were constructed around the seventh century, and were built using foundation trenches instead of the simpler posthole construction (Hamerow 2002).

Several theories have been proposed to explain the differences between the byre-less house of the Anglo-Saxons and the longhouse typical of northern Germany. One proposes that warmer winters in England may have made byres unnecessary; livestock

could have lived outdoors all year. Alternatively, the smaller dwellings may also be explained by migration mediated changes in family size. Smaller families would not have needed the large longhouses of the continental homelands (Powlesland 1997). One of the most widely held theories suggests that the byre-less house was a mixture of Romano-British and Germanic construction traditions. At the settlement of Mucking, Essex, Philip Dixon hypothesizes that the halls were built with the assistance of native Britons. His main source of evidence for this theory is that the spaces between the posts are similar to the Roman *pedes* (Dixon 1993). However, it now appears that the architecture of the early Anglo-Saxon settlements is not as unique as has been thought; the small byre-less houses typical of Britain in this period have been found on the continent in more recent excavations (Hamerow 1995). These smaller buildings located around the main aisled buildings might be the antecedents to the Anglo-Saxon hall (Arnold 1984).

Agriculture

Crops grown in northern Germany and southern Scandinavia included rye, barley, oats, beans and flax. In coastal regions, these crops were grown on the higher land in the marshes, although most crops were grown in the sandier soils inland (Meier 2003; Lengsfeld and Meier 2000). Rye was increasingly grown in the early medieval period in Denmark and Germany as the production of wheat decreased (Hamerow 2002). Flax was grown, presumably for cloth. Barley was grown as a cereal crop, and was also used to make fermented beverages (Todd 1992). Agriculture intensified in the early medieval period and shifting fields were abandoned; permanent fields were set up next to settlement sites (Hamerow 2002). Wheat, rye, barley and oats occur at Anglo-Saxon sites such as West Stow and Cowdery's Down (Welch 1992).

Cattle were the most frequent domestic animals on continental sites. At Feddersen Wierde, cattle comprised forty-eight percent of the faunal assemblage, while sheep were somewhat less frequent, making up twenty-four percent of the assemblage (Welch 1992). Sheep and pigs were slaughtered at a young age for meat, while cattle were kept for dairying (Fehring 1991). In the *terp* region, the distribution of animals was determined by

the distance of the settlement from the sea. Cattle were the predominant animals, as they could graze in the salt marshland or inland (Meier 2003). At terp settlements, sheep were the second most common animal, while pigs were more abundant in the more forested inland areas (Todd 1992).

Other animals found in northern European faunal assemblages include horses, dogs and chickens. Wild animals account for less than one percent of the faunal assemblage. Bones of red deer are the most common. In coastal sites, such as Feddersen Wierde, seals were hunted. Cod, salmon and sturgeon were fished from the North Sea (Todd 1992). The heavy reliance on cattle may have been influenced by the cool, moist weather pattern that was in effect during this period, which resulted in less arable land, as has been proposed for Denmark during this period. The exchange of livestock as gifts was also important to these communities; this practice strengthened social relationships (Hamerow 2002).

In northern Gaul, late Roman agricultural techniques were still practiced, with sheep the most common animal in the faunal assemblages. Cattle became the most common animal in the sixth century. Pigs, horses, geese, wild boar and deer have also been found in faunal assemblages (James 1988; Hamerow 2002)

In Anglo-Saxon England, the faunal pattern diverges from German and Scandinavian patterns. At West Stow, sheep account for forty-four percent and cattle thirty-six percent of all domesticated animals (Welch 1992). This suggests that wool production was important. At a settlement site at Bishopstone, Sussex, two phases of occupation, one Romano-British and the other Anglo-Saxon, show a similar variety and abundance of animals being utilized with sheep the most abundant, suggesting some degree of continuity between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon agricultural practices (Arnold 1984). Additionally, Iron Age and Romano-British field systems remained in use during the early medieval period.

Economy, Manufacturing, and Trade

In areas of the former Roman Empire where Germanic culture spread in the fifth and sixth centuries, the quality of some types of material objects declined. As can be seen in the examination of the settlement evidence in Britain and some parts of Gaul, buildings were no longer constructed of stone masonry, but of timber. Similarly, wheel-thrown pottery was replaced by hand built types. However, the decline of the Roman Empire seemed to stimulate economic activity, the production of crafts and trading systems in the regions beyond the frontier.

For most communities in northwestern Europe during this time, craft production was domestic; each family or village made products to fit their own basic needs (Welch 1992; Damminger 1998). For some objects, such as special tools, weapons or local types of jewellery, people may have relied on regional centers where craft specialists based their businesses. Few larger centers of distribution existed in the Germanic culture areas in the fourth and fifth centuries, although some luxury objects were imported from distant areas. Examples of whole, finished products come from burials or ritual deposits. Evidence for manufacturing is harder to recognize, and for some crafts, like woodworking, evidence rarely survives. Archaeologists regularly find evidence for textile production, pottery production and metalworking (Welch 1992).

Loom weights and spindle whorls are often found in excavated sites, commonly in the refuse deposits of *Grubenhäuser* (Leahy 2003). Simple tabby weaves and complex diamond twills were being constructed in the later Roman period in the German homelands. Most textile production was carried out in domestic settings, but there is evidence of some larger scale production centers. At Wijster, several weaving workshops may have been in use; many spindle whorls and loom weights have been excavated from specific structures at this site (Todd 192). Many examples of early medieval garments have been preserved throughout northern Europe, either in waterlogged deposits or as oxidized remains on the backs of metal brooches (Owen-Crocker 2004). As in the Iron Age, early medieval weavers produced textiles on warp-weighted looms (Tidow 2000). Weaving tablets and combs were used to produce smaller bands of decorative material.

Owen-Crocker (1986: 179) has suggested that tablet weaves "may have established patterns which were peculiar to families or regions."

Early medieval graves in the province of Drenthe, the Netherlands have shown that early medieval women wore peplos style gowns held together by shoulder brooches along with festoons of beads. This costume is common in northwestern Europe at this time, especially in Britain, the Netherlands and northwestern Germany. A reconstruction of a woman's grave from Zeelo, Drenthe has shown that the woman was buried wearing a linen twill peplos gown and a woolen cloak. These garments were pinned together with brooches. Men's clothing of this period included tunics, trousers and cloaks (Comis 2003).

In early Anglo-Saxon England, pottery included wares for everyday domestic use and decorated funerary urns (Figure 2.4). Both types were coil-built from clay (Leahy 2003). Most pottery was fired to low temperatures. Funerary urns may have even been fired on the pyre itself. Cremation urns could be highly decorated with incised lines and stamps (Richards 1995). Pottery techniques and decorations were similar throughout northwest Europe. Cremation urns from Spong Hill cemetery in East Anglia and from the cemetery at Schmalstede in Schleswig-Holstein, northern Germany have almost identical decorative motifs (Carver 1999a). Ceramic vessels from West Stow, East Anglia, are similar to wares found at Feddersen Wierde, Germany, as well as at Ezinge and Wijster, the Netherlands (Todd 2001). Updraught kilns were used in both England and the continent. These kilns were built over pits dug in the ground (Todd 1992). In the fourth and fifth centuries, most pottery was locally produced. Trade in finer wares increased during the seventh century, when production centers produced large quantities (Hamerow 2002).

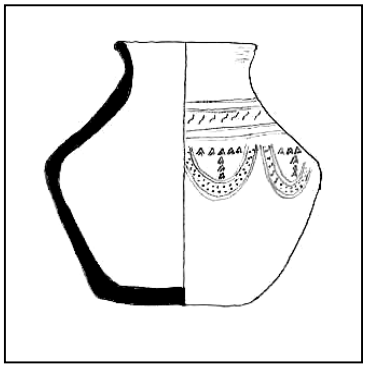


Figure 2.4. Anglian cremation urn (after Arnold 1997: Fig. 7.4).

Ironworking during the fourth and fifth centuries was common on smaller sites. In southern Scandinavia, bog ore is abundant. Surplus production of iron objects is indicated

at Joldelund, North Friesland. Although a relatively small rural settlement, the community here specialized in working iron. Over 500 slag-pit furnaces and five smithies have been found at the site (Hamerow 2002). Some archaeologists have suggested that the increase of ironworking sites in southern Scandinavia during the fourth and fifth centuries is reflective of the increase in warfare at the time (Hamerow 2002).

Evidence for ironworking on Anglo-Saxon settlement sites is somewhat more rare, although deposits of slag have been found at Mucking. The amount found suggests that production was on a local scale (Arnold 1997). Non-ferrous metal was also worked in Anglo-Saxon England, although there is little evidence for production besides the final objects themselves-the brooches, pins and pendants found primarily in female graves (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. Anglo-Saxon bronze cruciform brooch.

Several settlements in southern Scandinavia are unique for the quality and quantity of metalwork found within them. At Gudme-Lundeborg, on the island of Fyn, Denmark, many metal objects have been dated to between the fifth and seventh centuries. These objects include scrap metal, bracteates, gold mounts and rings, and Roman coins (Hamerow 2002). While the dwellings at the settlement are similar to others in northwest Europe, it is probable that a family or person of exceptionally high status controlled the settlement. A few other settlements of this type have been excavated in southern Scandinavia, all close to the sea. Dankirke, Jutland, Helgö, Sweden, and Sorte Muld, Bornholm are all similar: prestigious objects such as jewellery and glassware were either produced or heavily used at these sites (Fabech 1999). Craftsmen at Helgö worked iron, bronze, silver and gold (Holmqvist 1972). Several metal workshops have been excavated, and within them have been found iron knives, locks, tools, beads, dress pins, clasp buttons, glass vessels and brooches (Holmqvist 1979). Mould fragments for at least 200 relief brooches were found in association with the workshops at Helgö (Holmqvist 1972).

These sites tend to be formed out of clusters of specialized locations; a settlement, a landing or manufacturing place on the coast, workshops and a sanctuary are common to many of these central places (Fabech 1999). Hamerow (2002) suggests that these were central places in which an aristocratic family strategically engaged in manufacturing and exchange. This phenomenon was most likely initiated through contacts with the Roman world. Centers such as Gudme were probably regional centers that also served political and religious functions (Näsman 1999; Heidinga 1999). Hedeager (2001: 468) suggests that "Gudme was a place where foreign objects from the outside world were acquired and transformed into 'prestige' objects embedded in the cosmological order." Even less specialized settlements could have been controlled by a chieftain or a ruling family. Craftsmen who produced higher status objects that could not readily be produced by the average household-glassware, jewellery, and weaponry-were likely attached to high status households. This has been suggested for Feddersen Wierde. The large *Herrenhof*, or chieftain's farm, was surrounded by smaller huts in which were found manufacturing debris (Damminger 1998).

In the seventh century, a series of sites, known as emporia or -*wic* sites, began to develop around the North Sea. These were different from the earlier Scandinavian central places because they were much larger, dealt in complex long-distance trading systems and were often governed by local kings. These sites, fully established in the eighth century, include Hamwic (Southampton), Lundenwic, Eoforwic (York) and Ipswich in England, Quentovic, France, Dorestad, the Netherlands, Ribe, Denmark and Hedeby, Germany (Welch 2000). Emporia such as these were occasionally seasonal trading settlements (Randsborg 1991). Others, such as those on either side of the English Channel, like Hamwic and Quentovic, were founded and controlled by kings who sought to monopolize trade (Welch 1992; Hodges 1982). Some of these emporia developed into urban medieval towns.

Trade networks in the seventh and eighth century were far-reaching. In the "princely" graves of Anglo-Saxon England, grave goods came from Sweden, Francia, Italy, Syria, and Egypt (Carver 2000).

Social Structure and Ideology

Perhaps the most influential ideological concept in Germanic prehistory was that of the warband. The warband permeated the worldview of peoples living in northwest Europe in the Roman and early medieval periods. The warrior ideology, which originated in the first century AD, was based on loyalty to one's leader (Hedeager 1992a). The leaders of early Germanic communities, along with their loyal retinue, controlled the military, political, and religious institutions of society (Myhre 2000). The structure of the retinue, or *Gefolgschaft,* necessitated the circulation of wealth from leader to follower. This wealth included jewellery, swords, land, and honor or worth (Ravn 2003; Bazelmans 2000b). This wealth was exchanged for loyalty and military service. The wealth given to the retinue was often obtained by plunder or through gift exchange with other leaders. Thus, as retinues grew, an ever-widening area of land was needed to sustain gift exchange. Because the primary bond in this system was of an individual to his leader, groups were composed not just of kin but also of biologically unrelated individuals attracted to the fame of the leader or to the opportunities for status (Jones 1996). Young warriors could gain riches, land and renown in war (Hedeager 1992a). Because of the structure of the warband, gift exchange became an ideal value in life (Hedeager 1992a).

The leader and his retinue "probably sparked the development from an open ranked society towards a stratified society" in the transition from the Roman period to the Middle Ages (Ravn 2003: 11). The main items circulated within the retinue were weapons. Leaders gave weapons to warriors in their warband, and warriors would return those weapons to the leader if needed. Weapons could be passed down as heirlooms, given to the deceased, or sacrificed to the gods in a body of water. Weapons circulated in this way were restricted to the most expensive and elite weapons, such as swords and helms (Härke 2000a). Swords, in most cases, were too valuable to deposit in graves; therefore, when they do appear they may signal social attributes other than wealth. Theuws and Alkemade (2000) suggest that important or founding ancestors of a community may have been deposited with swords; this rite may have legitimized the existence and the values of a community.

A weapon given as a gift also became a representation of personal worth. The giving or receiving of a weapon enhanced and reinforced social relationships (Bazelmans 2000a). Weapons and other objects that were circulated within the warband not only had intrinsic and practical value, but symbolic value as well. Objects such as these referenced personal relationships and histories that served to unite members of a group (Pollington 2002). Items circulated through gift exchange had biographies of their own that enhanced and created the authenticity of the *Gefolgschaft* and the community (Figure 2.6).

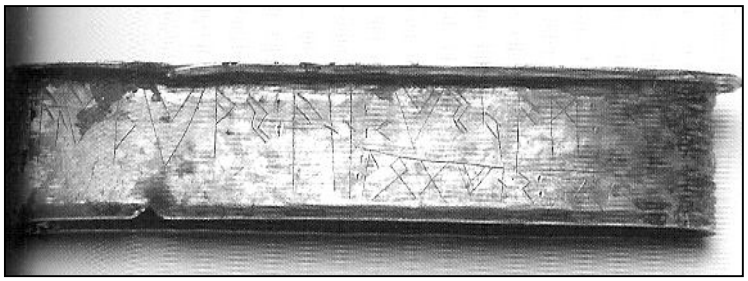


Figure 2.6. Fifth century scabbard mount, the Netherlands. The inscription states: "Property of Halethwas, he gives swords to the sword-fighters" (after Bazelmans 2000b: Fig. 2).

Archaeological evidence from both settlements and cemeteries shows an increasing focus on personal property, social stratification and the legitimization of nascent power structures. Material culture of the period referenced the warrior ideology of the elite. Several regional studies have confirmed this general trend. During the pre-Roman Iron Age on the island of Bornholm, status was not differentiated between individuals across cemeteries, although there was some differentiation within family groups; men had more grave goods than women. A few families were buried with high status objects in the early Roman Iron Age, but this phenomenon was extremely limited. Women acquired status in burial during the late Roman Iron Age, as both men and women were buried with elaborate sets of grave goods. It has been suggested that this indicates that women could own and inherit property. Rich graves for both men and women continue into the fifth and sixth centuries with obvious "male" and 'female" gendered assemblages; these included weapons for men and jewellery for women. Later early medieval graves were extremely standardized, suggesting that inheritance rules

were stabilized and that competition through the funerary rite was no longer a strategy employed by the elite (Jørgensen 1987).

In southern Scandinavia, the change in social systems and political structures occurred around the second century AD (Ravn 2003). At this time, inhumations with imported grave goods appeared, the first weapon graves were constructed, and organizational changes on settlements occurred. Larger dwellings, bigger farms and chieftain's residences appear in Jutland around the second century AD. Personal and familial property was increasingly differentiated. In third century Jutland, farmsteads became enclosed within villages (Näsman 1999). In earlier periods, farms had been distributed around a communal village space (Hedeager 1992b). Specific areas in longhouses were partitioned off from the rest of the dwelling, the *Grubenhäuser* appeared, and craft specialization increased, as seen at the *Herrenhof* at Feddersen Wierde. It has been suggested that these larger, independent farmsteads belonged to single primary descent lines (Hedeager 1992b). Extended families replaced smaller familial units. These new domestic groups could include parents, unmarried siblings, servants, craftsmen, farm workers, and "all who were necessary to maintain the enclosed household or farm unit and its land" (Ravn 2003: 7). It is also at this time when the central places, like Gudme-Lundeborg and Dankirke become more common on the landscape (Hedeager 1992b).

Confederate tribal groupings appear at this time in Roman records, replacing names of smaller, older Germanic groups (Hedeager 1992b). During the fourth and fifth centuries, groups warred with each other, took over territories and legitimized their authority with lavish funerary displays and the conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. In the Frankish lands, large tracts of land were given to certain leaders during the fifth century, which resulted in extreme social differentiation. Law codes specifying amounts for *wergilds* show three basic distinctions in Merovingian society: unfree individuals, free workers, and free individuals with special economic or political status. (James 1988).

After the initial period of stratification, specialization and group competition, authority no longer needed to be created but maintained. In Danish controlled lands,

furnished inhumation decreased markedly after the fourth century. This does not necessarily mark a decrease in the economic potential of communities or a decrease in social stratification, but instead may be related to new rules regarding inheritance (Randsborg 1991). Instead, luxury goods, particularly bracteates and gold foils called *guldgubbar*, were sacrificed to the gods (Hedeager 1992a). A new pantheon of gods may have been created right at the time when southern Scandinavian kingdoms stabilized (Ravn 2003). Indeed, even the method of sacrificial offerings changed in southern Scandinavia during this time. Up until the sixth century, hoards were deposited in bogs and lakes. At the beginning of the sixth century, sacrificial objects were deposited in settlements, often in places belonging to a family or ruler, such as in post holes of the largest longhouses (Näsman 1999). The objects offered were different, too. No longer large communal offerings of war booty or human sacrifice, ritual deposits were metal objects, such as bracteates or gold foils which depicted the ideological equivalent of the new elite—the leader of the gods, Odin (Fabech 1999; Shepherd 1998).

Bracteates, modeled originally on Roman coins, were adapted to express Germanic religious iconography (Gaimster 1998). These items were produced and are concentrated in south Scandinavia during the fifth and sixth centuries, but have been found elsewhere on the continent and in Britain. Most of these bracteates depict Odin, who, as the major deity, served to legitimize new aristocratic leaders and their retinues. Sacrificing precious and symbol-laden objects to the new ruler deity maintained the new world order (Hedeager 1992a; Axboe 1995).

Throughout early medieval Europe, gender and age differences were strongly signaled through the burial rite. Mature men were given spears, shields and swords, and more rarely buckets and tools, while women were given brooches, beads and keys. Knives and belts were given to both sexes. In most of the region, certain items and groups of items were restricted to the most valuable members of society-those who could fight, lead or reproduce (Halsall 1998; Stoodley 1999; Siegmund 2003). Cremation and inhumation were both practiced. Cremation was more common in Scandinavia and eastern England.

After the mid eighth century, as regional kingdoms stabilized, grave goods were no longer given to the dead. Competitive display was mediated afterwards through above-ground structures and through relationships with the Christian church and political leaders (Halsall 1998).

The early medieval period in northwest Europe was a time when social systems and ideology changed drastically. The restructuring that occurred during this time was caused by many factors, most stemming from earlier exposure to Roman culture, such as the use and display of luxury goods. This exposure, coupled with environmental changes and movements of peoples from the east, caused population growth and movement, increased craft specialization, the emergence of the warlord's *Gefolgschaft*, increasing land division, exchange networks and the creation of a new ideological system. As new political systems stabilized, kingdoms were able to spread their authority over wider areas, ultimately creating the kingdoms of the later medieval period.

CHAPTER 3 – THE EARLY MEDIEVAL MORTUARY PRACTICES OF NORTHWEST EUROPE

The medieval cemeteries of northwestern Europe provide archaeologists with contexts from which to study material culture and how it was used to construct social identity. Archaeologists have extensively studied the large corpus of early medieval graves and their accompanying grave good assemblages. Many of these studies, however, have focused on tracing the migrations of the Germanic peoples across Europe by studying the distributions of certain artifact types, such as fibulae. Only recently have archaeologists attempted to study the social meanings embedded within early medieval mortuary practices (see especially Pader 1980; 1982; Härke 1992; 2000b; Brush 1993; Lucy 1998; 1999; 2000b; Stoodley 1999b; Williams 2003). Previous approaches, such as those conducted under the normative view of culture, assumed that the level of energy spent on the grave, the grave structure, position of the body and any associated grave goods were indicative of the wealth and status the deceased individual had in life (Tainter 1975; Clarke 1975). Ethnicity, too, was thought by archaeologists to have been directly indicated by the types of grave goods found in a burial (Hills and Hurst 1989).

Recent studies have shown that variations within material culture assemblages can also indirectly signal other social constructions. Mortuary ritual is now considered an active process through which the mourners, the deceased, and the community are indirectly reflected (Clarke 1975). Material culture can be used to emphasize, exaggerate, invert, or disguise identities in mortuary contexts. Based on ritual practice, funerals situate individual and group identities in the past but also serve to transform or renegotiate those identities in the present (Williams and Sayer 2009). These practices serve as rites of passage for both the deceased and their family and community. Mortuary practices can now be seen as the activities through which identities were constituted during the political, religious, and economic transformations of the fifth and sixth centuries (Williams 2011: 238).

Because mortuary rituals are selective, drawing direct correlations between the contents of a grave and the actual status or wealth of an individual is problematic (Härke 1997b). Archaeologists are left with an incomplete record of a funerary ritual; many objects and behaviors do not preserve in the archaeological record. Organic materials, such as textiles, wooden funerary structures, and food offerings that would provide

evidence of additional funerary behaviors do not often survive (Richards 1995; Härke 1997b). The burial itself comprises only a part of any mortuary ritual; feasting, ritual ceremonies undertaken by mortuary experts or religious leaders, and post-funerary visitation and commemoration all combine to create an interactive social performance.

With the realization that mortuary rituals are actively constructed, and that material culture can be used to manipulate identity, interesting questions can be posed. How did people actively construct and manipulate identities in culture contact situations? What aspects of a person's identity were most important in the funeral ritual? How did dress accessories and weapons transmit social information? How do these objects indicate the values and beliefs of the community? How much were these choices localized?

While grave goods have traditionally been the focus of these research questions, other aspects of mortuary ritual and the construction of social relationships during mortuary rituals are now being used to address these issues. The location of a cemetery in the landscape, its proximity to the settlement, technologies of remembrance, object biography, the treatment of the body, and the body itself were equally involved in the construction of early medieval identities.

Mortuary contexts in which material culture is preserved can be used as proxy indicators for how individuals and groups expressed the perceptions they held about themselves and their world. By examining the mortuary rituals of early medieval Europe, we may see how material objects were used to express social identity as well as how communities actively re-created themselves.

Many of the surviving objects in early medieval period graves are those used to adorn the body. Ethnographic studies have shown that items of dress and adornment are often used as visually transmitted social symbols. Clothing and personal adornment can also be seen as indicators of social memories related to the life cycle and rites of passage (Eckardt and Williams 2002). Most grave goods are non-functional in that they do not play a role in the disposal of the body. Therefore, artifacts deposited in graves are carefully and actively chosen because they transmit information about the deceased individual, the community, and the culture's religious beliefs. These artifacts may also

reference social relationships between identity, community, family, and self (Clarke 1975; Hedeager 2000).

The liminal zone between life and death creates an opportunity to renegotiate the social construction of the group by making statements through symbolic material culture concerning the values and beliefs of the community in relation to the individual (Chapman 1994). During this process, any number of these relationships may be manipulated, inverted, or idealized. It is therefore unwise to assume that mortuary practices reflect specific roles or actual status (Parker Pearson 2000). Those participating in the funerary ceremony are legitimized by the renegotiation and reconstitution of social relationships. During mortuary rituals, the community must reorganize and recreate itself without the deceased member (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 67).

In order to investigate the ways in which material culture was used to create early medieval identities in early Anglo-Saxon England, I will survey the mortuary rituals of northwestern Europe from the late Iron Age to the eighth century, when furnished burial ceased in most areas of northern Europe. The primary areas covered include lowland Britain, northern Gaul, northwestern Germany, and Scandinavia.

Pre-Roman Iron Age Mortuary Practices

Britain and Northern Gaul

During the Iron Age in Britain, the majority of the dead were cremated or disposed of by excarnation, a process that leaves no recognizable archaeological trace. There is little evidence of how Iron Age communities expressed social identity through mortuary ritual. Evidence of mortuary custom that is preserved is restricted to regional cultures. In northern Britain, the Arras people of East Yorkshire inhumed their dead under small barrows. Some graves of this type were equipped with jewelry such as jet bracelets, shale and jet beads, and brooches, pots, tools, and occasionally, swords, shield fittings and wheeled carts. This tradition lasted from the fourth to the second centuries BC (Taylor 2001). The square barrows under which the graves were placed were built deliberately in relation to other features in the landscape, and were especially associated

with linear boundary ditches and streams (Taylor 2001). It has been suggested that the placement of these barrows may have demarcated tribal boundaries (Parker Pearson 1993). Burials similar to those of the Arras culture in Yorkshire appear in northern France. While crouched burials were not as common there as in Britain, grave goods were very similar, although locally produced. Some men were buried with a full complement of weaponry, including spears, swords and shields. Carts were also deposited along with the deceased (Taylor 2001).

In southeastern England, cremation rites became widespread during the second century BC. Individuals were cremated in full dress and their remains were buried. Sometimes, the deceased's remains were placed in urns and the individual was accompanied by pottery vessels, brooches, toilet instruments, and in some cases, more elaborate items such as buckets, imported amphorae, and gaming pieces (Haselgrove 1999). Later cremation burials with imported grave goods clearly show the expanding influence of the Roman Empire on Iron Age British societies. Some Iron Age Britons living in southern Britain attempted to manipulate their identity in order to ally themselves with the Roman world, either in order to gain prestige and wealth or to protect their interests in Britain. Others, perhaps, maintained their funerary customs in reaction to Roman influences.

Mixed rites were practiced in the Later Iron Age (Haselgrove 1999). In the Aylesford-type cremation cemeteries, dating from 50 BC and into the Roman period, some graves become very elaborate, with many imported objects related to ceremonial feasting included in the grave good assemblage. Weapons were not usually included. This trend is paralleled in Europe in the regions of the middle Rhine, northern France and Belgium, and is thought to have been influenced by Roman contacts (Taylor 2001). Families or communities that included imported items in their funerary rituals may have been given prestige goods through alliances with Romans, or may have tried to emphasize ties to the Roman world with prestige goods.

These developments occur roughly the same time that wheeled pottery, coinage and new settlements types were introduced into the area. Small mounds or ring ditches sometimes marked these graves. A slightly later burial tradition is called the Durotrigian,

found primarily in southwestern Britain along the Dorset coast, although graves of this type soon spread across southern England. Graves of this type are very standardized. Inhumations are found in organized cemeteries and many graves were lined with stones. Grave goods of this tradition include pots and cuts of meat. This rite began in the first century BC and continued through the second century AD (Taylor 2001). Durotrigian graves could be quite richly furnished. A man buried in Deal, Kent was given a crown, a brooch, as well as a shield and spear. Women, too, were given rich burials. These burials often contained beads, rings, bronze bowls, brooches, and mirrors (Taylor 2001).

Northwestern Germany and Scandinavia

In Scandinavia and northwestern Germany, cremation was the main rite during the pre-Roman Iron Age. Cremation remains were placed in urns and were sometimes covered by small mounds, as in Britain. There were few grave goods associated with these burials; a brooch was usually the only object interred with the dead. Until the mid-second century BC in Denmark, there were no significant differences among burials or settlements. However, after this period and until about 50 BC, settlements became more stratified, as did the burials. The amount of grave goods associated with burials increased, including burnished pottery, weapons and jewelry. These burials were often placed close to the new settlements. Parker Pearson (1993) argues that this phenomenon may represent the formation of new social orders in opposition to older systems of authority. The placement of the dead near the living may have helped to define village status through affiliations with ancestors in a time of social stress between regional groups.

Towards the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, grave furnishings became richer, and Roman imports became more common. Concomitant with this was a further increase in the differentiation of houses and communities. As contacts and trade relations with the Roman world became more established, graves became increasingly differentiated. In some graves, Roman weapons, vessels, glass beakers, gold and jewelry were buried along with the deceased (Myhre 2003). On the island of Fyn, graves appear with gold rings and imported vessels from the Mediterranean. At Hedegård, in central Jutland, bronze

vessels, chain mail and a Roman officer's dagger were included in the grave good assemblage of the cemetery. All of these graves seem to be related to central places and thus perhaps to chieftains who controlled trade with the Mediterranean (Axboe 1999). The deposition of such high status objects began in the early Roman period in southern Scandinavia, while northern Scandinavia saw this phenomenon somewhat later (Myhre 2003).

Interestingly, it seems that different grave good assemblages were given not only to people of different statuses, but in some cases, only to one gender or the other. Richly furnished graves of the first and second century were restricted to males in the lower Elbe, but to females on the Danish islands. Additionally, it appears that males and females were buried in separate cemeteries in the lower Elbe region (Gebühr 1997; Randsborg 1991). This may reflect different social structures or perhaps different levels of conflict in each region. Males may have been signaled in the mortuary rite in the lower Elbe region because those societies may have had more contact with the Mediterranean; males may have had more status in such societies because their identities as warriors, leaders or traders may have been highly valued during a period of culture contact.

Figure 3.1. Roman cremation in glass vessel, Cirencester (Roman Corinium).

Roman Influences on Mortuary Ritual

Classical Roman traditions included both inhumation and cremation, although inhumation was considered primitive (Taylor 2001) (Figure 3.1). Written records illustrate the complexity of classical burial rites. There were intricate law codes that governed the burial of the dead. In urban Roman areas, the traditional funerary rite was cremation. This rite took place outside of the city walls. Along with the actual act of burial, a complex set of feasts took place. Funeral meals called *silicernium* took place on the day of the burial, while the feast of *Cena novemdialis* took place on the

ninth day after burial. When included, grave goods were most often items associated with feasting: jugs and fine *terra sigillata* dishes were often deposited, although personal items such as lamps, writing equipment, hairpins, necklaces and mirrors were also given to the dead. More rare were amuletic objects, the most common of these being coins, called Charon's obols; these were to be used as payment to Charon in the underworld. In many instances, wealth and status may have been expressed through the location of burial rather than the amount or quality of associated grave goods. Prominent burials were often located on major streets outside of the town (Naumann-Steckner 1997).

The spread of the Roman Empire into northern Europe resulted in several changes in mortuary material culture, especially in the third and fourth centuries. However, during the first centuries of the Roman period, Iron Age traditions continued to be practiced in most areas of northwestern Europe. In Britain, traditions that continued into the Roman period included crouched inhumation in the north and west, and clothed inhumation in southern areas. During this period, the Roman cremation rite spread throughout Britain from the southeast. The Roman cremation rite was quite different from the earlier Iron Age tradition. Few personal items were included, but coins, lamps, boots and brooches were sometimes interred with the dead. More customary was to bury feasting implements with the deceased (Taylor 2001).

Williams (2004a) argues that consumption was an ideological theme carried out in all aspects of the Roman cremation rite. He sees the sequence of choices made in the cremation rite as *technologies of remembrance* in which artifacts acted as agents of mnemonic transformation. Memories could be evoked in certain ways through the use of artifacts much like a sequence of actions is chosen in a *chaîne opératoire* (Jones 2003). Williams asserts that the use of ceramic jars as urns further evoked the consumption theme. In daily life, these jars were mundane items used for food, quite unlike the specifically made cremation urns used by the later Anglo-Saxons. The choice of using a jar rather than a glass, wood, or textile container was actively made (although these do occur). Grave goods associated with the urns were items used to enjoy at feasts, such as wine vessels and fine *terra sigillata* dishes. Furthermore, the act of cremation can be seen as the literal consumption of the body. Funeral feasts were likely held at the same time.

According to Williams, all of these practices allowed the deceased to become "consumed into memory" as ancestors (Williams 2004b: 424).

During the third and fourth centuries, inhumation became the predominant rite throughout the Roman Empire. Large cemeteries appeared at this time in which the funerary rite was highly standardized; there was little use of grave goods. If used, these included ceramic, glass or bronze vessels and sometimes knives. Metal remains of costume elements sometimes survive, especially hobnails from boots and belt buckles (Halsall 1995). The decreasing amount of grave goods at late Roman cemeteries such as King Harry Lane cemetery, St Albans, parallels the apparent decline of social networks as well as settlement nucleation that disrupted kin networks during this time (Fitzpatrick 2000). Some scholars have suggested that the decline in the use of grave goods and the increase in inhumation cemeteries reflected the spread of eastern religious traditions such as Christianity (Dierkens and Périn 1997).

In late Roman Britain, two types of burial rite were practiced, one in which grave goods are present and graves are oriented north-south, and one in which grave goods were not include and graves were oriented east-west (Petts 2009). These practices continue in western Britain after the late Roman period. In some cases, cemeteries are organized around focal graves. In furnished cemeteries, knives, beads, and pins are commonly associated with burials (Petts 2009).

Beyond the *limes*, cremation remained the most common mortuary rite, and was used, for example, by the continental Saxons (Dierkens and Périn 1997). Most communities in northwestern Germany and Scandinavia continued practices that had begun in the Iron Age, although the use of Roman imports caused status differences to appear among communities. For the rural populace of Britain, Iron Age mortuary rituals, such as excarnation, may have been practiced throughout the Roman period, thus leaving little archaeological trace (Higham 1992).

Early Medieval Continental Germanic Mortuary Practices

The Germanic immigrants who came to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries practiced both inhumation and cremation. Mortuary rites in Anglo-Saxon England

remained similar to those practiced throughout northern Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries. Grave good assemblages in fifth century Gaulish inhumations are similar to contemporary Anglo-Saxon inhumations; likewise, the cremation cemeteries of northern Germany and Scandinavia are similar to those in eastern England (Halsall 2000). Spong Hill, especially, exhibits close similarities with southern Scandinavian cemeteries in both funerary technology and in the ceramics used in cremation urns. Archaeologists have not always recognized the similarity of rites throughout northern Europe during the Migration Period. Pentz (2000: 26) claims that "north-western Europe had so many common features that it can, to a certain extent, be considered a coherent whole.

Most impressive is the common pattern of burial customs, even though there were, of course, regional variations. This must reflect some degree of uniformity of religious assumptions and a common set of ideological attitudes." In some respects, the burial rites are uniform in their diversity. Burial rites were always diverse in the Germanic homelands of the Anglo-Saxons. While cremation was practiced in both the Elbe and Weser river valleys, inhumation was practiced in Jutland and Gaul during the fourth century (Alcock 1989). However, cremation remained the main burial rite in the third and fourth centuries outside of the Roman Empire (Hills 1979). In western Europe as a whole, a variety of mortuary rites were practiced in the early medieval period. In some periods in Denmark, there is no archaeologically visible burial rite.

Some cemeteries in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, such as Liebenau, exhibit a mixed burial rite starting in the fourth century (Arnold 1984). In southern Frankish areas, graves were marked by large monuments but few grave goods. This pattern perhaps was a continuation of classical Roman practices. In Merovingian areas of the Rhineland, the opposite rite was practiced; extremely rich graves have been excavated, but they were not marked by monuments (Randsborg 1991).

Northern Gaul

In northern Gaul during the fourth century, mortuary ritual was still modeled on Roman fashion; inhumations were poorly furnished (James 1979). In the late fourth century, well furnished inhumation burials appeared in small groups within larger Roman cemeteries. Women were interred with new Germanic brooch styles, bracelets, and

necklaces, while men were interred with crossbow brooches, buckles, and weapons, including spears, arrowheads, shields, axes, and swords (Halsall 1995).

In the late fifth century, swords with cloisonné decoration appear in weapon graves, the most famous of these being the grave of Childeric I in Tournai. Among numerous artifacts, the man in this grave was buried with a crossbow brooch, gold buckles, purse mounts, finger rings, a spear, a sword, and a scramasax all decorated with garnet cloisonné. The remains of twenty-one horses were also excavated near his grave (Halsall 1995).

During the fifth and sixth centuries, large cemeteries known as "row-grave cemeteries" or *Reihengräberfelden* became widespread along the Rhine, and spread to Frankish and Alamannic areas. Many of these cemeteries were in use for centuries after the initial interments (Todd 1992). Graves were laid in neat rows away from settlements. In some inhumation cemeteries, the earliest inhumations became the focus of entire cemeteries. This occurred at Krefeld-Gellep and Frénouville (Dierkens and Périn 1997; Naumann-Steckner 1997). Some row-grave cemeteries had more than 5,000 burials, as at Krefeld-Gellep, Germany.

In row-grave cemeteries, the body was laid in a supine position in simple trench or stone-lined graves, sometimes in a coffin or on a bed (Halsall 2000). Men were buried with weapons, although offensive weapons such as the spear or sword were more common than shields. Flints, awls, tweezers, shears, knives, combs and vessels were also buried with men. Women were interred with jewelry, including brooches, and personal tools, such as knives, combs, and vessels. In some areas where this specific mortuary rite was practiced, as in the Alamannic regions, grave good assemblages could be quite elaborate. Men could be buried with many weapons including seaxes, spathas, shields, axes, spears, helmets, tools, and horse gear. Women were buried with jewelry, spindle whorls, drinking vessels, and weaving swords (Fehring 1991). In Merovingian cemeteries near the Rhine, multiple brooches marked the costume of a wealthy female. These included bird brooches at the shoulders, and bow brooches at the waist to fasten a cloak or skirt. At the end of the sixth century, large disc brooches became popular. In male

graves, large silver belt buckles, iron weapons, axes, seaxes and swords were buried (Naumann-Steckner 1997).

Row-graves, in all regions where they were used, were object-rich, and at times of funerals, must have been locations for competitive display. People at this time lived in a "disturbed and multi-ethnic post-Roman Gaul and Rhineland, where societal instability prompted the display of family status at moments of stress such as deaths" (Janes 2000: 6). However, in the seventh century, row-grave cemeteries decreased in size and became more numerous on the landscape. The use of grave goods decreased, and there was an increase in burial markers, such as gravestones, walls, barrows and stone crosses (Halsall 2000). This, as in Anglo-Saxon England, reflected the growing stability of a few regional leaders.

Cremation of the dead and unurned burials of ashes were the norm for people living in Frisia until the fifth century. At that time, both cremations and inhumations were placed in formal cemeteries. These graves, compared to earlier unurned cremations, were well equipped. At Wijnaldum, Frisia, a woman was buried with penannular brooches and a Donar amulet made of antler, glass and amber beads. Cow and roe deer bones were also included with the cremations at Wijnaldum (Cuijpers et al. 1999).

Northwestern Germany

In Germany, the majority of pre-migration cemeteries of the first three centuries AD were large and may have contained thousands of cremations. Grave goods deposited in these graves were modest and include pottery vessels, some items of personal adornment, animal bones and more rarely tools or weapons. The cemetery of Liebenau on the river Weser is a classic example of a Germanic mixed-rite cemetery. At Liebenau, the deceased was burned on the funeral pyre with his clothes and personal possessions. The ashes were then buried in pits as unurned burials or in urns (Fehring 1991; Arnold 1984). Some graves included the remains of the cremation pyre and ashes (Todd 1992). These cremation graves do not seem to have been marked by elaborate above ground structures

such as mounds or monuments. Mounds and cairns were, however, built over some burials in regions of Scandinavia during this time (Todd 1992).

Gender and status were usually not differentiated in these large cemeteries. Infants and young children were not included. An analysis of several cemeteries in the Netherlands shows that families were buried together in plots. Interestingly, inhumations and cremations were both used within the same family groups, suggesting that inter-family differences were important in structuring the mortuary rite (Wimmers 1991). In the earlier Germanic Iron Age, there was a separation of male and female cemeteries in some areas.

Inhumation became widespread in northwest Germany and southern Scandinavia in the fourth century and gained in popularity throughout northern Europe during that time (Halsall 1995). These inhumations were not richly furnished and in this respect were similar to contemporaneous cremation burials. Inhumation had first appeared in limited areas of Denmark, southern Sweden and northern Germany in the first century BC. At this time in northern Germany, rich inhumation burials referred to as the Lübsow group were set apart from the cremations in the cemetery. The people buried in these rich graves had access to Roman goods, such as silver, bronze and glass vessels (Todd 1992).

At the beginning of the fifth century, a new variation of inhumation burial appeared. These burials were somewhat more lavish, and included weapons, and more elaborate bow brooches. In many instances, these graves were more lavish than contemporaneous weapon graves in Gaul (Halsall 2000). At this time, some cremation cemeteries in the Elbe valley were abandoned (Halsall 1995).

Between the rivers Elbe and Weser, urn fields were used from the third to fifth century. These urn fields have been ascribed to the Saxon peoples based on the presence of characteristic *Buckelurnen* (Siegmund 2003). Frank Siegmund has noted differences in fourth to seventh century mortuary practices of the Franks and *Alamanni* west of the Rhine with those of the Saxons east of the Rhine. In the areas east of the Rhine, cremation cemeteries are more numerous than in Frankish areas, and inhumations oriented north-south are more common. Another difference is the appearance of rich

horse burials (2003). Horse burials were concentrated in the Merovingian world east of Rhine and North of the Danube (Müller-Wille 1993).

The row grave cemeteries are not known in the Saxon regions. Rather, sixth and seventh century cemeteries had polycentric layouts in which graves were most likely placed near kin irrespective of the amount of time that had passed between the burials. Additionally, many Saxon cemeteries of this date were placed close to Stone or Bronze Age features. This can be contrasted with the focal point of Frankish and Alamannic cemeteries, which are the founding burials of an important ancestor. Siegmund suggests that the Saxon peoples lived in small communities that were based on stable kinship systems and links to mythic or fictive ancestors as represented by the ancient monuments. Another feature unique to the Saxon cemeteries is the fact that there appears to have been very little plundering of graves. In contrast, nearly one third of all graves in the row grave cemeteries of Gaul were robbed in antiquity. In Saxon cemeteries, wealthier women were buried with a pair of brooches, bead necklaces, and tools such as spindle whorls. Men were buried with weapons, although graves with weapons are much more rare than in Frankish areas. Flints and firesteels are also common finds in male graves (Siegmund 2003). Bronze Roman objects, personal ornaments such as brooches, and ceramics were buried in cemeteries along the middle Weser (Schutz 2000).

Scandinavia

Inhumation and cremation were both practiced in Sweden and Denmark during the early medieval period, although grave good assemblages were few in both types of burials (Høilund Nielsen 2009a). Weapon burials, which are numerous in Gaul, Germany and Britain, are rare in this region, representing one to two percent of all total graves (Halsall 2000). It has been suggested that wealth was deposited in bogs or hoards instead of burials. In southern Scandinavia, where large cemeteries are rare, the cremation cemetery of Lindholm Høje in Denmark provides the best example of mortuary practices. 40 inhumation and 581 cremation graves were excavated at the cemetery. The majority of bodies seem to have been burned and interred at the same location in the cemetery

(Høilund Nielsen 2009a). Burned grave goods recovered from the burials included beads, brooches, buckles, gaming pieces, and knives. The burial rite at Lindholm Høje included animals; 57% of burials included bones from dogs that were likely placed next to the deceased individual on the pyre. Other animals incorporated into the ritual included cattle, sheep, pig, and horse. According to an analysis undertaken by Høilund Nielsen (2009a), horses were associated with graves of males as well as graves that were enclosed by stone settings, some in the shape of ships. Pots included in deposits above the cremation indicate that food and drink were likely associated with the mortuary ritual.

Roman Iron Age graves in Denmark were more varied than in any other prehistoric period; both inhumation and cremation were practiced (Hedeager 1992). Hedeager suggests that the diverse grave types were actively used to maintain regional differences in response to new elites who asserted their identity through opulent inhumation graves (1992a). By the Migration Period, at cemeteries such as Hjemsted in Denmark, burials became stratified. Rich female burials were placed in the center of the cemetery with the poorer graves in the periphery. Ravn (2003: 136) suggests these graves were used by elites "…in the ideological battle for a more centralized identity."

The picture is somewhat different in Norway, where both inhumations and cremations were more richly furnished. Weapons, glass and bronze vessels, jewelry and tools were interred with the deceased. Mounds covered some burials. In some cases, the larger mounds cover graves with few grave goods. These types of burials date from the sixth century, and perhaps indicate that permanent markers meant to signal stabilized authority were more appropriate from mortuary ritual than the conspicuous consumption that characterized richly appointed inhumations (Halsall 2000). In the seventh century, as in most other areas of northwestern Europe, burials become simpler, and weapon burials decrease in number. This phenomenon, too, is though to have been a product of the stabilization of political authority that occurred at this time. While most burials were becoming less ornate, some burials became excessive in their lavishness. In Valsgärde, Vendel, and Tuna, Sweden, boat burials marked the resting places of the elites. Helmets, weapons, glass vessels, horse-riding equipment and sacrificial animals were placed in the boat burials. These burials are often located on edges of boundaries or settled lands, and

may have served as boundary markers. The less opulent burials of the Vendel period, named so after the Vendel boat burials, were located near settlements and probably represent small family groups (Halsall 1995). By looking at specific markers on Y-chromosomes, a group of archaeologists have concluded that there was an eighty-three percent likelihood that a Vendel period cemetery in Sweden had been used by a single patrilocal family (Lidén and Götherström 1999).

Anglo-Saxon Mortuary Practices

Over twenty-five thousand early Anglo-Saxon graves had been excavated by 1980 (Arnold 1984; Meaney 1964; Privat et al. 2002). Although a significant percentage of Anglo-Saxon graves were not accompanied by grave goods, cemeteries are easily recognizable by the characteristic grave good assemblages of the furnished burials. While cremations are somewhat concentrated in the east, and inhumations to the south and west, both practices occur throughout all areas of Anglo-Saxon England and both practices were employed from the early fifth century until the seventh, when Christian influence modified burial practice. The difference between the two mortuary technologies may have been shaped by many factors, among those a belief in a shared past manifested in a persistent mortuary technology, differences in burial ideology, and the desire to distinguish between kin-groups within a cemetery (Williams 2011).

There appears to have been a strong assertion of the Germanic ideology on Anglo-Saxon mortuary ritual, although it is doubtful that these burials represent a homogenous Germanic society (Richards 1995). Crawford (1997: 69) claims that "what distinguishes the Anglo-Saxons from their Continental forbears and contemporaries is the force with which they displayed their ethnicity through the burial rite," a characteristic of an unstable society legitimizing its presence by conspicuously consuming luxury items through mortuary ritual. There is little evidence for continuity between late Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, suggesting that a break in mortuary tradition took place sometime during the fifth century AD (Dickinson 2011).

The geographical range and absolute number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries increased in the sixth century. Migration, natural population growth, and assimilation of the native population may account for the increase in the mortuary population that expressed a Germanic ideology (Higham 1992). Britons who had married into Germanic families may be invisible in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries because any who had acquired enough status would want to affirm that status through conformation to Anglo-Saxon norms. Elite individuals of the indigenous population would have had the motivation and resources to affiliate themselves with the new power structure (Scull 1995).

Despite the overall similarity of the early Anglo-Saxon burial practice, burials of the fifth to seventh century are remarkably diverse. Mortuary technologies, inclusion of grave goods and grave offerings, the layout of the body, and cemetery organization were among the many variables chosen by mourners. Such variability in the archaeological record indicates that mortuary practices, while informed by broader regional and cultural norms, were actively constructed in local contexts (Carver, Hills, and Scheschkewitz 2009; Lucy 1998). Thus, mortuary rituals in the fifth and sixth centuries AD were more likely concerned with issues of local group and individual identity than with the modern concept of ethnicity.

Inhumation

Warrior graves similar to those in Gaul appeared at Mucking and Milton Regis on the lower Thames by 420 AD. In Gaul, these graves were furnished with pottery, glass, weapons, and ornamental jewelry; while in Britain the deceased were equipped with military-issue buckles and Quoit-brooch style metalwork (Higham 1992). These burials could represent *foederati* from the continent, Germanic individuals with no ties to Rome, or Romano-British individuals (Dickinson 2011). Burials with a pagan Germanic character appear in the archaeological record shortly thereafter, and appear first on the east coast. By 480 AD, typically Anglo-Saxon burials became numerous across southeastern Britain (Dickinson 2011).

Characteristic of early Anglo-Saxon graves are jewelry and weapons. Wealthier Anglo-Saxon women were often buried in a distinctive "female kit," which consisted of a pair of brooches placed at the shoulders, presumably to pin a peplos-style dress (Owen-Crocker 2004). Beads of amber, glass, or crystal were sometimes strung between the two shoulder brooches. From the belt, which usually included a metal buckle, were hung various tools, such as knives, keys, spindle whorls, and shears. A third brooch could be worn at the center of the chest to pin an over-garment. Other items, including rings, hair or veil pins, wrist clasps, and bracelets could be included in the grave. In some areas, such as Kent, other items were included. These unique items, such as crystal balls, perforated spoons, bracteates, and beaver teeth may have had apotropaic, or protective, functions (Lucy 2000b). Dress accessories were buried with approximately sixty percent of female burials (Stoodley 1999b).

The basic grave good assemblage for males was more limited than that of females. Knives and buckles were commonly buried with males. Brooches, pins, tweezers, and shears have also been excavated. Many males were buried with spears, shields and swords. In a study of Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries in Kent and Wessex, Heinrich Härke (1989b; 1992) found that forty-seven percent of adult males were buried with weapons. These burials were often richer than those without weapons; drinking vessels such as wooden buckets, glass, and bronze vessels were included. It is likely that burial with weapons was a symbolic act as individuals who could not have fought in life were occasionally given weapons in death.

Inhumations were normally placed in the ground without any grave structure, although some graves were fitted with wooden planks. Postholes and shelves found in some graves may have supported wooden above-ground structures. Occasionally, inhumations were placed within annular or penannular ditches or under barrows; a few individuals from the later sixth and seventh centuries were given burials in chambers or boats, as at the "Princely Burials" of Prittlewell and Sutton Hoo, respectively (Welch 1992).

Many Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were placed in or around Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman earthworks or monuments (Lucy 2000a). Over sixty percent of Upper

Thames cemeteries are situated in this way (Härke 2001). Similarly, Merovingian graves were placed near megaliths. Antique items such as ceramic vases, bracelets and brooches were also placed in some Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian graves (Effros 2001).

It has been suggested that the practice of placing burials near prehistoric features was done to legitimize the presence of the group in the area (Burmeister 2000). Placing the dead near monuments inscribed memories onto the landscape, linking them with a community of ancestors. Anglo-Saxons even developed their own barrows in emulation of the Bronze Age features, but they were always smaller and distinct form the older monuments. Seventh century barrows become larger. Williams (1998) suggests the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century were trying to *become* the ancestors in order to legitimize their presence and hegemony over the landscape. The dead were placed in the landscape next to prehistoric and Roman structures to maintain and create relationships with the past, the ancestors, and to reference the current stability of the group. These landscapes could have been used for ceremonies and meetings of all kinds; continually reinforcing authority based on a shared, yet fictive, relationship with the past (Williams 1997). As liminal places in the landscape, cemeteries served the living population by providing a locus through which they could interact with the ancestors and maintain their politico-religious ideologies. By adopting fictive ancestors, the builders of the barrows could claim the land and control territorial boundaries (Dickinson 2002a). Ideas associated with monuments can last beyond construction. In this case, monuments to Bronze Age people were co-opted by later peoples (Jones 2003). Cemeteries located near monuments can also represent places of assembly where other ritual or political performances were carried out (Semple 2004).

An alternative to the theory of burial grounds near mounds as a strategy of legitimization has been advanced by Thäte (2009), who suggests that in early medieval Scandinavia, the placement of cemeteries was influenced by psychological ideas of the death journey. Besides prehistoric mounds, burials were located next to three types of landscape features: elevated places, watery places, and areas next to roads. All of these can be seen as places of topographical liminality, boundaries that may represent and facilitate the journey between the world of the living and the world of the dead. All of

these features, including intrusive burials in prehistoric mounds, would serve as visible locations for burials as well as places where boundaries could be easily crossed.

Preserved pupal cases found on skeletal remains indicate that bodies, in some cases, were buried some time after death (Welch 1992). At the burial, clothed bodies were normally laid in a supine position, although flexed, crouched and prone burials did occur. The majority of burials are single inhumations, but multiple burials did take place; these often include adults and small children (Stoodley 2002). Some corpses appear to have been buried in non-normative positions. Corpses in these types of burials, referred to as "deviant" burials by Andrew Reynolds (2009) are sometimes placed in prone position. Some have been decapitated.

Disruption of graves appears to have taken place at some early medieval cemeteries. This phenomenon has usually been explained as grave-robbing, but new analyses of disturbed inhumation graves may be changing this view. Edeltraud Aspöck (2011) has analyzed disturbed graves in continental and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and has concluded that the re-opening of graves was a common practice, but one not necessarily motivated by "grave-robbing." Instead, the practice may relate to the retrieval of objects, the repositioning of bones due to concerns regarding revenants (reanimated corpses), or other post-burial rituals of which we have no record. Fear of revenants may be referenced in later Anglo-Saxon literary works via the trope of the dragon in the barrow guarding his hoard, as well as the belief that barrows were the home of the dead, who were animate beings (Semple 1998). Re-opening of graves may explain the curious body positions found in some graves.

Fifth and early sixth century cemeteries are characterized by a lack of extreme differentiation; moderately wealthy graves are common, but there are few rich elite graves (Moreland 2000; Arnold 1980). From the latter half of the sixth century onwards, some exceedingly wealthy graves appear, especially in Kent and East Anglia, where rich burials placed under mounds may have signified a reorganization of power as kingdoms emerged from competing local powers. These burials, such as the cemetery at Sutton Hoo, seem to have been influenced by kingdoms in Gaul and Scandinavia (Carver 1998).

According to the investigators, the use of pagan rites such as boat burial were active choices made in reaction to an increasing Christian presence (Carver 1998; 1999b).

Cremation

The first Anglo-Saxon burials have been dated to the mid-fifth century (Williams 2011). Cremation was practiced in all areas of Anglo-Saxon England, in many cases in the same cemeteries as was inhumation. Williams (2002) suggests that the choice between cremation and inhumation may have been one of the more significant aspects of funerary ritual. Cremation was highly visible and presented a different spectacle to viewers than did an inhumation funeral. The burning of the body along with grave goods and animal bones was a highly transformative act, both for the dead and the mourners; the dead were "reconstituted into a new state and identity through the ritual transformations of the ceremony" (Williams 2002: 68). The act of mixing ashes, artifacts and animal bones in the urn also helped to create or re-create the identity of the individual. The selection and perhaps curation of individual bones and objects to include in the funerary urn presents a contrast to an inhumation burial, where the physical interaction between the deceased's physical remains and the mourners ended with the filling of the grave (Williams 2011). Similarly, the burial of cremation urns created a symbolic link between the community, its ancestors, and the land (Williams 2004c).

Many archaeologists have commented on the conservatism of the cremation rite, and have suggested that these cremation burials represent the remains of ethnic Germans. However, conservatism of religious and ritual practices is common among mixed immigrant groups; cremation could solidify ties, whether existent, imagined, or desired, with northern continental Europe (Williams 2002).

Spong Hill in East Anglia is the most well known of the large cremation cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England. Originally, the cemetery had approximately three thousand burials. The majority of the regional population was likely buried there (Hills 1999b). Spong Hill is typical of the large cremation cemeteries; most burials were accompanied by a modest amount of grave goods, and there is little extreme

differentiation between the burials. Large cremation cemeteries, such as Spong Hill and Lovedon Hill may have been the locus for mortuary activity for a much larger area than smaller inhumation cemeteries. As cemeteries serving many communities, these cemeteries became places where people from different settlements met, participated in funerary rites, competed for social standing, and made social connections (Williams 2004c).

Recovery of scapulae, which were unburned on the dorsal side, has shown that fully clothed bodies were laid on the ground under a pyre. Analyses using Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy on cremated bone from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries show that the pyre reached temperatures between 600 °C and 900 °C and that legs and arms were burned differentially, suggesting that the hands and arms were placed away from the center of the pyre (Squires et al. 2011). After the remains were burned, cranial bones and long bones were placed in a ceramic or bronze urn. Remains of several individuals, perhaps members of a single family, are commonly found within the same urn. Inclusion of another individual's remains was probably intentional, and may therefore suggest that each urn's burial place was marked in some way, and may be indicative of veneration of the ancestors or communal identity (Hills 1999). Accidental inclusion of another individual's remains probably did occur if pyre sites were used for multiple cremations. Cremation urns may have been marked above ground by posts or mounds and could be deposited individually or in groups. Evidence for the deposition of urns in discrete groupings suggests that urns were stored or perhaps displayed in central funerary structures or even the homes of the deceased (Williams 2011). Some cremations, such as those at Apple Down cemetery, were marked with four-post structures. Similar structures have been found in Migration Period sites in Germany, as at Oldendorf (Welch 1992).

In addition to the burnt remains of personal items that had been placed on the body before cremation, such as brooches and pins, whole objects were added to urns after the cremation, such as miniature combs and tweezers, shears and animal bones. Urns were decorated with incised, stamped and plastic motifs. Early urns at Spong Hill have raised bosses and linear incised decoration, typical of urns found in the continental homeland (Hills 1999). Richards (1995) has demonstrated that the form and decoration of

a cremation urn expressed aspects of the deceased individual's identity. He claims that categories such as ethnic and regional affiliation, age, kin group, status and sex can all be communicated on an urn. Richards' study included analyses of over two thousand cremation urns from twenty cemeteries. He attempted to correlate these factors with the age and sex of the individual and any associated artifacts. He measured the size and shape of the urn, the width of the mouth, and type of decoration. Generally, Richards found that urn size increased with age, wide mouths were associated with men and narrow mouths with women (Richards 1987). The type of decoration was correlated with the types of objects associated with the burial. For example, bronze tweezers were associated with horizontal and vertical lines on tall, narrow necked urns, while standing arches were correlated with miniature spears (Huggett and Richards 1990).

Most analyses on Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices have been performed on inhumation graves. However, interesting new theories regarding the role of material culture in the structuring of social memories have been applied to cremation burials in several articles by Howard Williams. His work is worth focusing on because it ties together body techniques, information transmission, commemoration and the active nature of material culture. Williams defines memory as a social and cultural phenomenon that encompasses the perceived pasts constructed in social and ritual practices which are shared between individuals (2011: 238). Mortuary rituals, according to Williams, were social performances in which the dead were commemorated and transformed though the production of visually striking scenes rich in symbolism relevant to the local group. The performance included the brief display of the body along with carefully selected culturally symbolic material culture, the transformation of the dead individual though mortuary technology, and the reconstitution of the burial place as a place of memorialization (Williams 2011: 239).

Material culture can evoke social memories through function and form as well as symbolic and biographical associations with the deceased (Williams 2005a). Objects associated with mortuary ritual contribute to the remembering and forgetting of the dead. Retrospective and prospective memories of the deceased are often constructed in mortuary rituals. Retrospective memories portray the individual as he or she was in life,

while prospective memories portray an “idealized identity for the deceased” (Williams 2005a: 254).

The two mortuary rites that predominated pagan Anglo-Saxon England constituted drastically different ways of thinking about the dead. Inhumation weapon burials, for example, formed a “tableau” or theatrical scene that served to inscribe social memories onto a place through quickly concealed earthly burial. The image of the deceased, equipped with weapons or traditional dress, formed an idealized identity of the dead for the mourners. This image reinforced the Germanic warrior myth, and could be reused and re-created in later rites. Weapons were used in an entirely different way in the cremation rite. Archaeological excavation reveals that weapons are rarely placed in cremations. Less than ten weapon fragments exist from over 2500 total cremation urns excavated at Spong Hill (Williams 2005a). Other objects used in inhumations were placed in the urns, including the standard female dress assemblage, but weapons were not. Artifacts more commonly associated with cremations included bag rings, tweezers, razors, sheers, ear scoops and combs. The emphasis on items that are associated with bodily maintenance may relate to the transformative nature of the cremation rite itself.

However, swords and other weapons may have been placed with the clothed body as display, but taken off and redistributed to the community before the pyre was lit. There are several reasons why weapons were perhaps deemed inappropriate for inclusion in cremation urns. Swords had long social biographies, and as such may not have been appropriate to accompany the newly reconstituted bodies that were produced in cremation. Most weapons would not have been destroyed by fire because the cremation fire did not get hot enough. Since everything else in the pyre was transformed through fire, weapons would have been inappropriate because in their original form they were still too closely connected with the identity of the former person (Williams 2005a).

It can be argued that the act of cremation turned the deceased from a participating member of the community into an ancestor. In this process, certain aspects of the deceased were remembered, forgotten and re-membered (Williams 2003, 2004a). Objects included with the cremated person aided in this process. Williams states that social memory is produced through material commemoration and body practices, which include

ritual performances. He argues that the Anglo-Saxon cremation rite dissolved and reformed the body with objects used in life to groom the skin and hair. Miniature tweezers, razors, shears and combs are found more often in cremation graves than in inhumation graves. Of the thousands of cremations excavated from the cemeteries in Newark, Nottinghamshire, Sancton in East Yorkshire, and Spong Hill in Norfolk, at least one third of all urns had combs. These are distributed across all ages and genders. Combs and other toilet implements were used to reconstitute the ancestor through associations with grooming. Objects included on the pyre were also transformed and contributed to the transformation of the deceased (Williams 2003). In cremation cemeteries in England, Ravn (2003) has found strong statistical relationships between status and hair; combs and tweezers are correlated with the richer graves. In other early medieval societies, hair was an important social construct that could be associated with different identities. For example, in Merovingian Alamannia, combs were associated with young males, whereas in other parts of Merovingian Gaul, hair pins, head cloths and head bands are associated with femininity (Halsall 2010).

Nearly half of cremation remains include animal remains mixed with the human bone. Horse, sheep, goat, cattle and dogs are all represented, although horses were probably the most frequent and symbolic creatures sacrificed in the cremation ritual. Few butchery marks are ever found on these bones, so it seems that they were not used primarily for feasting. Faunal remains were occasionally placed in their own urns and even given grave goods. Horses in particular are depicted on urns as well as on some brooch types, such as the cruciform and small-long types. What is the possible significance of the horse burial? Ethnographic studies have shown that, in many cultures, animals are thought to be able to transport the dead to the underworld.

Males are more likely to have sacrificed animals included with their grave goods. Correspondence analysis shows that males with martial equipment and urns stamped with animal motifs are often buried with horses. Williams (2001a) argues that while the sacrifice of animals may have signaled the high status of the deceased and his family, the animal was meant to be transformed in the fire along with the deceased. Here the symbol is polysemic; it expresses religious and social identities simultaneously (Effros 2002). In

this way, the animal contributed to the new identity of the individual. The animals and the dead combined to form the ancestor, which thus reinforced the association with such animals in the Anglo-Saxon cosmology (Williams 2001a).

Williams also critiques in some ways the mourner-centered approach to interpreting mortuary ritual. Williams believes that many archaeologists have gone too far perhaps from studying the dead person in favor of the mourners. As the deceased is the focus of the ritual, the body can be viewed as on object of active material culture with agency and biography. The dead, in some cases, can be seen as controlling or influencing the way they are remembered. The dead have a continuing relationship with monuments, places and objects that are still engaged with the living. In cremation, the corpse is acted upon by mourners at the beginning of the ritual when clothes, personal adornment and objects are chosen for inclusion in the funerary rite, but as the sequence proceeds, the "mourners become the 'recipients' of sensory information and the fire and the corpse become agents affecting remembrance and personhood" (Williams 2004a: 273). Mourners would see the differences in each individual pyre firing as aspects of the deceased's personality. While these differences may have been affected by the pyre construction, the weather, body size and fat content, these factors may have been unknown or irrelevant to the mourners. The spectacle of cremation would have affected all five senses, including taste if feasting occurred as part of the funerary ritual. After the cremation proper, the collection of remains provided a mnemonic process that would allow the mourners to remember and reform the dead (Williams 2001a). Both *inscribing memories*, memories associated with places and objects through rituals or writing, and *incorporating memories*, memories constituted through body practices, would be produced during the cremation rite.

Mortuary rituals were also, to an extent, dictated by tradition. In each instance, a mortuary ritual reproduced "structures of practice" that maintained the values held by the group as a whole (Williams 2006: 220). Because of this, burial practice is a conservative social construct.

Mourners at a cremation would respond and make inferences about the deceased according to emissions given off from the cremation tableau with the aid of their

relational knowledge about the deceased. In this way, funerals, and especially cremations, are participatory memorials that involve sensory communication, whereby the participants can physically interact and produce incorporating memories of the dead according to their own perceptions.

The Material Culture of the Germanic Ideology: Swords and Brooches

Many Germanic graves are equipped with weapons. This practice started in the fourth century and lasted, in some areas, into the early eighth century. Fourth and early fifth century burials of this type in northern Gaul and Britain have been connected to *laeti* (Cunliffe 2001). In regions beyond the Roman frontier, weapon graves may have been used as a symbol that legitimized status and authority (James 1979). These weapon graves, in most cases, probably did not represent active warriors. In some cases, the individuals buried were too young, infirm, or injured to have been able to wield a weapon effectively (Härke 1990). Rather, high-status families employed weapon graves to display the strength of their social relationships in Germanic warrior society. Through weapons such as swords, an individual was given a culturally constructed masculine warrior status (Gilchrist 2009). Swords, although present in many graves, are not as common as other weapons such as spears or shields. It has been argued that swords were circulated in a ritual exchange system, and given as gifts from leaders to warriors (Effros 2003). As the circulation of swords, and possibly other weapons, continued, the objects themselves would be imbued with social meaning as they became associated with particular relationships and histories. Swords would be that more valuable because they would have a complex and meaningful social biography; certain swords would become singularized. Each weapon may have had several equally significant biographies: social, economic and personal (Csíkszentmihályi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Kopytoff 1986). Effros states that "the biography of a particular garment or weapon and thus the context in which it was acquired might have had far more significance to the person who owned or used it" than to others outside of the social network (Effros 2002: 20). Therefore, the contextual knowledge of the people involved in the circulation of the weapon would have

contributed to the authenticity and singularization of the object (Freund 1994). The cultural biographies of objects used in graves may have also helped the community re-member and re-construct the deceased (Williams 2001b), as well as highlighting, manipulating or even contradicting certain identities at the funeral (Devlin 2007). The exchange of weapons from chiefs to warriors and from warriors to chiefs would also allow individuals to connect to a system of social relationships; the material culture would provide a mechanism in which to gain social contacts that could become useful later (Figure 3.2). As in exchange systems extant today, like in the !Kung San Hxaro system, ritualized exchange and circulation of goods may have secured future assistance from trade partners and lessened risk inherent in an unstable society (Wiessner 1982).

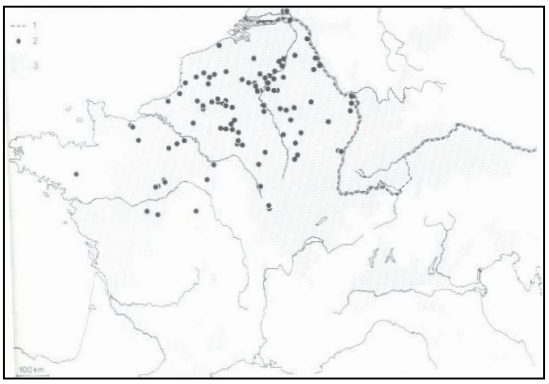


Figure 3.2. Distribution of fourth and fifth century weapon graves on the continent (after Müller-Wille 1993, Fig. 22).

In his study of weapon graves, Härke (1990) correlated the inclusion of weapons in a grave with an individual's stature, suggesting that males buried with weapons were genetically distinct from those buried without weapons. Gilchrist (2009) suggests this differentiation in male status created a high-status "hegemonic masculinity" that was formed in opposition to subordinate masculinities. A masculine gender could thus be created and manipulated through an association with weapons.

Artifacts associated with females can also reveal aspects of social identity. Germanic females have been seen as passive carriers of identity since the time archaeologists first became aware of them. Any foreign brooches that appeared in a cemetery were automatically attributed to foreign wives. For example, Danubian brooches that appear occasionally in Migration Period graves in Gaul are often given this interpretation. However, women can and did have active roles in choosing their identities; foreign brooches may have been desirable and unique items, much like exotic artworks

are today. Exotic items could have been acquired through cultural imitation, trade, or gift-exchange. Effros states that foreign fibulae were "viewed not as alien by contemporaries but rather as unique and therefore highly desirable symbols of social, religious and gender identity (Effros 2004: 183).

Brooches and other items of adornment could serve as mnemonic devices for personal relationships in the same ways as did high-status weapons. In some instances, brooches appear to have been heirlooms when they were finally deposited in a grave. Worn down, and in some cases broken and repaired, these brooches may have acquired meaning through time, representing the past, specific events, interpersonal relationships, and familial connections. Used in specific contexts, these objects and their biographies could be used in the manipulation and creation of specific identities both in life and in the burial tableaux (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. Burial tableau of an Anglo-Saxon woman from Butler's Field, England.

Ornamentation on artifacts could be used to reinforce and justify existing social order and hierarchies, but it could equally be used to challenge the social conditions (Effros 2002). Consider Germanic equal arm brooches. Equal arm brooches are decorated with what scholars have called *Stil der gleicharmigen Kerbschnittfibeln*, or equal arm

style. This style adapted Roman military art styles (Bruns 2003). This style is produced by chip carving and incorporates artistic elements seen on Roman military belt equipment. The brooches made by the Germanic craftsmen were often silver or mercury gilt to make the faceted chip carving even more reflective (Bruns 2003). Bruns suggests that an individual looking at a Germanic chip carved brooch would be struck by the ambiguity of design caused by the uneven relief and the reflective faceting. The compact and seemingly changing motifs of the equal arm style in this way created distance between the emitter and receiver. Such visual devices could advertise identities to fellow group members or hide them from those not knowledgeable of the art style.

Items of personal adornment, such as elaborate brooches, weapons and feasting equipment all reinforce the themes of the early medieval world, which stressed communal feasting, warrior values, and personal adornment (Alkemade 1997). Overt displays of gender differences started in the late third century, and may have been reflective of changing ideas of the body and person (Theuws 2000). Gender was strongly signaled in fifth and sixth century graves. Although some graves were not furnished with the typical set of gendered grave goods, this does not preclude the possibility that gender was expressed though clothing or other organic objects that do not survive (Halsall 2010).

Possibly, the differences between male and female graves allowed different aspects of a Germanic ideology to be expressed. Local and regional authority was authenticated during funerals, and male burials may have advertised community or family legitimacy, while deceased females, clothed in traditional costume, signaled a continuing relationship with ancestral peoples. In regards to personal identity, grave goods and the funerary tableaux served to present a final, fixed picture of the deceased. Devlin (2007: 41) has referred to this as a technology for "finishing" the memories associated with the dead.

Analyses of grave layout have indicated that gendered burials signaled key members of families in the early sixth century grave plots. According to Sayer (2009), the development of household and kindred plots at two cemeteries in Kent shows how concepts of gender and kin relationships changed between the sixth and seventh centuries. In the earlier sixth century plots at Mill Hill and Finglesham, burials were

organized a small number of wealthy focal burials. Sayer estimated that a burial of a significant person took place every 8-12 years and that these represented the head or other important figure in an extended household. In the later sixth and seventh century burial plots, there were fewer very wealthy graves, but more graves exhibiting a standard burial style. These burials represented members of a family unit, suggesting that the family identities were becoming more important during the seventh century (Sayer 2009).

Changes in Mortuary Ritual during the Seventh Century

In almost all areas where Germanic burial rites were performed, a significant change occurred around the late sixth and early seventh centuries. This was a time when the Christian church was expanding throughout northern Europe and when emergent kingdoms competed for power. In Anglo-Saxon England, the responses to this were varied. Cremation cemeteries were abandoned, and the "princely" cemeteries of Sutton Hoo and Prittlewell were constructed (Hirst et al. 2004; Welch 2011a). Sutton Hoo has sometimes been referred to as a case of "last gasp" paganism, but Martin Carver argues that the ship burial under Mound 1 represents something new; specifically, it uses foreign luxury objects to refer to Scandinavian royalty in reaction to Frankish and Byzantine power, as well as to successful Christian missions in Kent (Carver 2000). The Valsgärde and Vendel boat burial in Sweden are also of this type. In southern Germany, this phenomenon is expressed in horse burials and large barrow graves in *Separatfriedhöfe* cemeteries. Somewhat earlier, in the late fifth century, Merovingian burials were lavish. These are often called chieftains' burials and are characterized by containing jewelry with gold cloisonné ornament (Halsall 1995). This phenomenon probably started earlier in the Merovingian world because vestigial Roman institutions allowed stable kingships to develop more quickly.

Less ornate graves from the seventh and early eighth centuries have been referred to as "final phase" burials (Geake 1992). Regional funerary customs were not stressed in these late pagan cemeteries. At this time, a uniform costume came into favor (Hines 1994). These items had spread from Francia and were strongly influenced by Byzantine

fashions. Included in female graves were pendants made of cabochon cut garnets, disc pendants with filigree decoration, crystal balls, beavers teeth, amethyst beads and small monochromatic glass beads of blue, green, red and white. Germanic brooches, such as square-headed and saucer brooches, become less popular, although round pendants were still worn, but singly, not in pairs as had been done in the fifth and sixth centuries. Identities associated with the female gender were not expressed in as many ways as they had been in the fifth and sixth centuries (Dickinson 2011).

The number of weapon burials also decreased, but in weapon burials that were constructed, a new set of weapons appears. Seaxes and helmets are deposited in these graves, although their appearance in graves is rare (Geake 1999). There exist only a handful of helmets from grave contexts in Anglo-Saxon England, the most famous being the helmet from Sutton Hoo, Suffolk. Others include the boar-crested helmet form Benty Grange, Derbyshire, and the "Pioneer" helmet form Wollaston, Northamptonshire (Underwood 1999). An eighth century helmet has also been found from a refuse deposit in York. The utilization of these artifacts in the seventh century may have legitimized emergent Anglo-Saxon leaders; they attempted to associate themselves with the Roman past. After the 720s or 730s, furnished burial ceased. Geake hypothesizes that identity and allegiance no longer needed to be displayed in funerary rituals, as social institutions, such as regional kingship, were stabilizing. Moreover, Christianity, and organized polities offered alternative mechanisms of legitimization and social re-creation (Geake 1997; 1999).

In all of these areas, among less lavish burials, gender differences were not strongly signaled. The messages that were conveyed through weapons and dress accessories were no longer appropriate or needed in mortuary ritual displays. By the 720s or 730s in England, the practice of depositing grave goods in burials completely ceased, probably in response to these stabilizing kingships (Geake 1999). Furnished burial lasted longer in northern Scandinavia.

Conclusion

Identities of people living in the Migration Period were affected by the use of material culture. While archaeologists often focus on regional differences of the early medieval period, it can be seen that mortuary rituals throughout northwestern Europe were structured in similar ways. The spread of Roman culture introduced the inhumation rite in the third and fourth century to the provinces and to lands beyond the frontier. As Roman power lessened, and new peoples moved into western Europe, a new funerary ideology was introduced. Both inhumation and cremation rites were used. Burials of both types were used to legitimize authority, compete with local rivals and to ally communities to foreign influential powers. Gender differences were strongly signaled. Objects of adornment, such as brooches, could be worn to affiliate oneself with the ancestors, to demonstrate the ability to acquire an exotic authentic object, or to differentiate between family and community members. Weapons were used to solidify bonds and to promote a Germanic origin myth, while ordinary objects like combs and jars were used to transform loved ones into ancestors. Different mortuary technologies were used to create tableaus that reified origin myths and gender ideals, or to incorporate the dead into new roles as ancestors. The placement of the dead in the landscape could help legitimize claims to land or reject foreign cultural influences. Finally, during the seventh and eighth centuries, local rulers emerged and created organized kingships. Christian missions successfully converted pagan Germanic kings, while church burial made it no longer acceptable or necessary to bury the dead with grave goods. Legitimization of the community and recreation of the social structure could be mediated through the church and through local political organizations.

CHAPTER 4 – THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF BROOCHES FROM THE LATE IRON AGE THROUGH THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Brooches are particularly informative for archaeologists studying the early medieval period in northwest Europe. They are often found in burial contexts and tend to be the most conspicuous objects in a female-gendered grave. Often utilized in typological studies, brooches are now being used to examine early medieval technology, craft production, gender relations, and social identity.

In this chapter I survey the development of the brooch from the Late Iron Age to the end of the early medieval period in northwest Europe, focusing particularly on Britain, northern Germany, and Scandinavia. While attention is paid to the typology of different brooch forms and their individual styles, the social functions of brooches will be emphasized. Objects of personal ornament, such as brooches, are inherently symbolic because they are chosen and displayed by individuals, and may thus express aspects of identity. Specific types of brooches and decorative styles were associated with specific people, classes, genders, and stages in the lifecycle.

The Origins and Development of European Fibulae

Brooches, at the simplest level, function as clothes fasteners[1]. In Europe, fibulae were developed during the later Bronze Age from eyelet pins that were secured to clothes with threads or leather thongs (Alexander and Hopkin 1982). On such pins, metal bows replaced organic methods of attachment. These pins, called *Urfibeln*, appeared in Europe in two major areas: a northern area in Denmark and northern Germany, and a southern area centered in Austria, north Italy and Switzerland (Alexander and Hopkin 1982). The inclusion of a spring, an innovation that occurred between 1250 and 1100 BC in the southern region described above, as well as in Greece and Crete, allowed for the

[1] A note on terms: English publications usually refer to a clothes fastener with a pin as a *brooch*, although the Latin term *fibula* is used to refer to a bow brooch, especially when in an Iron Age or Roman Period context. Similarly, German publications use the term *Fibel*; the French, *fibule* (Hull and Hawkes 1987). I will follow the English usage, except when referring to bow brooches used before the Early Medieval Period.

construction of the one-piece fibula and necessitated the development of more substantial footplates in which to hold the pin. This design allowed the fibula to be held firmly in place when the pin was secured. Only by exerting pressure on the pin, moving it away from the catch of the footplate, could the pin be removed from the fabric (Alexander and Hopkin 1982). Following the initial invention of the one-piece fibula with a spring, fibulae diverged into myriad forms across Europe (Figure 4.1).

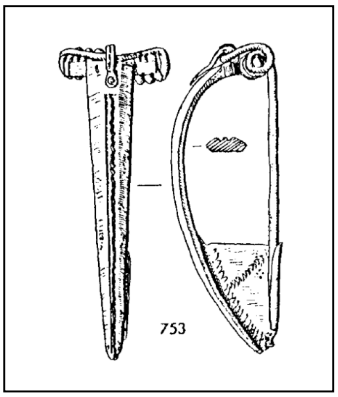


Figure 4.1. One-piece Colchester fibula (after Hattatt 2000: fig. 743).

My purpose here is not to trace the development from the inceptions of the fibulae, but to focus specifically how they were used to construct identity during the early medieval period in northwest Europe. I will briefly outline the development of fibulae and their stylistic elements during the later Iron Age and the Roman Period before examining history of research of Anglo-Saxon brooches in Britain and the use of Germanic brooches during the early medieval period.

Late Iron Age and Roman Fibulae

Fibulae were first used in Britain in the Iron Age, although they did not become common until the end of the period. Fibulae of continental type replaced ring-headed pins during the Hallstatt D period, c. 625-450 BC (Haselgrove 1999). During the Middle La Tène period, British fibulae developed in isolation from continental forms and took on an insular La Tène character (Haselgrove 1999). Fibulae used before the Roman conquest were often simple safety-pin types: these were constructed of a single piece of wire wound to form a spiral spring and held by a catch (Swift 2003). From 20 BC, fibulae from the Roman world were imported into Britain and were copied by Romano-British craftsmen (Haselgrove 1999). Iron was commonly used to produce Iron Age fibulae, but Roman and Romano-British fibulae were usually made of some type of copper alloy (Johns 1996), usually of bronze or brass.

Penannular brooches were also used before the Roman conquest. Evidence suggests that the penannular brooch was invented in Britain during the third century BC (Fowler 1960). A penannular brooch is similar to an annular brooch, but the ring of metal is interrupted, forming a gap through which the pin can be moved. The pin is wrapped around the ring and, when passed through fabric, rests against one of the terminal ends of the ring. This brooch was also adopted by Roman troops, and was probably produced locally for them. This brooch type continued to be used throughout Britain during the Anglo-Saxon period, especially in the western and northern regions (Fowler 1960). The morphology of these brooches shows differences in function. Those with humped pins, for example, would have allowed the wearer to pin the brooch on a heavy, coarse fabric. Fowler suggests that Roman auxiliaries used these types of penannular brooches to fasten bulky army-issued cloaks (Fowler 1960). Penannular brooches with straight, slender pins were more suitable for thinner folds of finer fabric.

Plate-brooches—brooches composed of a flat metal plate and a hinged pin, appear after the Roman conquest (Johns 1996). Johns emphasizes the functional difference between fibulae and penannular brooches and the plate-brooches: while bow shaped fibulae and wide penannular brooches could hold a large amount of fabric, plate-brooches could only accommodate a small amount. Johns argues that many Roman Period plate-brooches were worn primarily for ornamentation, although bow brooches also had an ornamental function. Fibulae of this type were held upright by the large fold of cloth they secured; the cloth prevented the brooch from falling sideways. The decoration on the bow was also best observed when encompassing a large amount of cloth.

Fibulae in use after the conquest of lowland Britain included the simple one-piece Nauheim derivatives and the hinged Aucissa and Hod Hill types, both of which are regarded as components of the Roman military costume. Aucissa brooches, made in Gaul, were often stamped with the names of the maker. These names include *Aucissa*, *Atgivios* and *Tarra* (Johns 1996). Both the Aucissa and Hod Hill types fell out of use before the second century AD. These brooch types were replaced by headstud and trumpet brooches, both of which were popular in the second century AD. Headstud brooches were decorated with enamel and had wire loops or rings at the head, a feature

that could be used as an attachment for a cord or chain (Johns 1996). Also in use during this period were trumpet brooches. Trumpet brooches were so named because the head expanded over the pin attachment to resemble the mouth of a trumpet. Ornament on these brooches could be cast, engraved, and enameled; many were made in silver (Johns 1996). The diversity of Roman fibulae declined in the third and fourth centuries, although a popular brooch type of the Late Roman Empire was the crossbow brooch, which will be described in further detail below.

Plate-brooches of the Roman Period included simple enameled discs, as well as plates shaped in the form of diamonds, wheels, lozenges, and squares. A separate class of plate-brooch is the zoomorphic brooch. Interestingly, rather mundane animals are depicted on these brooches, such as horses, hares, hounds, ducks, chickens, and fish. More rare are depictions of exotic animals, such as lions, leopards, and mythical animals (Swift 2003; Hattatt 2000). Although rarely depicted on brooches, human figures do appear on one type of zoomorphic plate-brooch: the horse-and-rider type brooch (Figure 4.2). Common in Roman Britain, they are found in slightly higher numbers at sites that include temples, and so may have had a religious or cosmological significance (Johns 1996). Skeuomorphic brooches, some in the form of sandals, axes, jars, and shields, were also worn (Hattatt 2000). Small zoomorphic and skeuomorphic brooches were likely more ornamental than functional, and some, such as the horse and rider brooches, were more often used as votive deposits in ritual sites than were other types (Bayley and Butcher 2004).

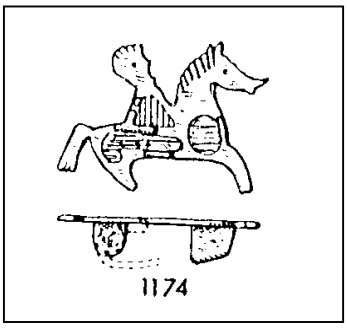


Figure 4.2. Horse-and-rider brooch (after Hattatt 2000: fig. 1174).

Generally, distributions of Romano-British brooches show that penannular and plate brooches were more widespread in the northern regions, while bow brooches were more popular in the southern militarized regions (Swift 2003). The distributions of many types of brooches are concentrated on military sites. The majority of these brooch types are made from leaded bronze, a copper alloy less expensive than other forms (Bayley and

Butcher 2004). The decoration of brooches follows a similar cheapening effect. During the first century, decoration was engraved or punched. Later brooches seem to have been mass-produced, although there seem to have been fewer brooches in the later period despite the mass production (Bayley and Butcher 2004).

Timothy Webb's (2011) analysis of material culture in the northern part of Roman Britain shows that brooch types became very diverse: 48 types of bow brooches were identified within the sample. This diversity corresponds well with finds from the continent, where the diversity of fibula types increases dramatically with early Roman influence, suggesting that individual taste, and not a rigid group identity, was expressed through fibulae (Wells 1999). It is likely that during culture contact situations like those that occurred during Roman occupation, identity could be expressed in increasingly more complex ways, and individuals had more choices regarding personal ornamentation. In Roman Britain, the numerous types of bow brooches used in the first century AD may be linked with the need to create secure identities in reaction to the Roman conquest.

Sophia Jundi and J. D. Hill (1998) have looked at the different ways brooches were used in the Late Iron Age and Roman Period in Britain and have argued that the large increase of the number and types of brooches in use had to do with the drastic social changes that occurred between the first centuries BC and AD. Brooches of the Early and Middle Iron Age are uncommon; there exist only 360 provenanced finds in Britain. In contrast, there are examples of hundreds of brooches being found in single cemeteries in the centuries preceding and following the Roman conquest. The authors of this study call this phenomenon the "Fibula Event Horizon" (Jundi and Hill 1998: 126). Several aspects of brooch development and deposition are relevant to this discussion. First, brooches were increasingly ritually deposited as the Iron Age developed; this may mean that brooches were thought of in new ways relating to individuality and personhood. Burials also became more visible in the Later Iron Age; individuals were recognized and given specific artifacts, such as brooches, perhaps to signal some aspect of the individual's identity or status. Finally, the authors argue that during the later Iron Age there was a rapid development of the simple springed-pin characteristic of Early and Middle Iron Age types. Brooches become larger, more ornate, and distinct from each other. Specifically,

hinges were enlarged and became flared in some cases, and other ornamentation in the form of plates and bosses were added to the bow. Additionally, there is some difference in regional brooch distribution; suggesting that different groups used brooches as markers of tribal, age, or gender identity. This suggests that these concepts were unstable during this time; tribal identities, concepts of individuality and personhood, gender, and age may have been renegotiated during the transition from the Iron Age and Roman periods. The visibility of brooches may have actively expressed aspects of identity to others and helped to negotiate both the individual and group through cultural instability.

Jundi and Hill examined the dragonesque brooch in this context (Figure 4.3). Post-dating the Roman conquest of Britain, these brooches were based on a scroll motif of Late La Tène art (Jundi and Hill 1998). However, the enameling on the brooch and the patterns made by the enameling seem to be of provincial Roman origin (Johns 1996). Perhaps these brooches were worn to signify and assert a non-Roman identity through the use of a style acceptable to Romans. In a study of material culture from northern Britain during the Roman period, dragonesque brooches were more numerous than other plate brooches at military sites, suggesting that the Roman army incorporated native cultural identities (Webb 2011). Native art styles and identities were actively continued in other areas controlled by the Roman Empire. For example, in the province of Noricum (Austria), women continued to wear brooches in pairs into the second century AD (Swift 2003), while women in northern Gaul and the Rhineland continued to use a four or five fibulae set during the first century AD despite Roman influence (Wells 2001).

Figure 4.3. Dragonesque brooch.

Gillian Carr (2001; 2006), using the study of dragonesque brooches by Jundi and Hill (1998) as an example, looked at Colchester brooches and their derivatives in Britain. The original Colchester type was imported, but was later produced in Britain. This type tended to be made of one piece and was left undecorated. British-produced Colchester derivatives were made of two pieces and were decorated with head-studs, enamel and

moulding. Perhaps the most important difference between these two brooch types was their use of different colors. The difference was achieved by using different metallurgical compounds. The original Colchester type, whether imported or produced in Britain, was invariably made from brass, an alloy of copper and zinc. Brass objects like these are golden in color. Colchester derivatives were made from bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, which gave the fibulae a brown hue. Keates (2002) has shown that the color and luminosity of metals was used to constitute ritual contexts and identities in Copper Age Italy. Color is as much a part of an object as its form or design, and as such, can signal associations and identities. Carr hypothesizes that locally produced Colchester derivatives were made of bronze to signal an association with pre-Roman manufacturing traditions, and perhaps to signal native British identity. Conversely, those individuals wearing brass Colchester brooches were associating themselves with the Roman or Gallic world (Carr 2001). An alternate hypothesis cited by Carr is that Colchester derivatives were only acceptable to the native population if they were produced in a familiar manner; the resultant hybridized form was rendered less problematic than foreign imported brooches. This method of differentiation between the individual and the "other" may have been important during times when "gender, social and cultural identities were increasingly fluid" (Carr 2001: 117). It is also possible that bronze was cheaper and more plentiful than other alloys, including brass (Bayley and Butcher 2004). It is important to recognize that the relative numbers of each brooch type varied between regions; the Colchester brooch and its derivatives could signal multiple meanings and were used by different people and groups in diverse ways. Carr also argues that the use of "mutually recognizable but hidden devices" in items of personal adornment could serve to construct identities by signaling to members of the same group, while at the same time concealing the meaning from non-members (Carr 2001: 117). This could be the case for both the Dragonesque brooch and the bronze Colchester derivatives. By using these items, "non-Romans" could signal their non-Roman identity to each other while concealing it from those who were identified as "Roman."

It is important to consider that brooches are functional items relating to the creation of a costume, and may inform our interpretations of differences in dress. In

Roman Britain, some brooches with local British influences were worn in pairs, and may indicate a non-Roman style of dress (Swift 2011). Additionally, the type of brooch may have been used to enhance the overall identity the costume presented, or alternatively may have been used as a subtle reaction against that expressed identity. Gillian Carr's (2006) examination of the Colchester type brooch illustrates that brooches were multivocal, and that brooches may have expressed different meanings to different people and in different contexts.

One particular Roman fibula type that was used to express a particular identity was the crossbow brooch (Figure 4.4). This type dates from the end of the third century to the mid-fifth century and is characterized by having an elongated foot and a cross plate above the bow. It is though to have developed from the P-brooch, a fibula that was common around the Danube. P-brooches were designed with a curved bow large enough to hold the folds of a military cloak (Swift 2003). The terminal ends of the bow and cross piece on crossbow brooches are sometimes formed as onion-shaped knobs (Swift 2003). At first very plain, crossbow brooches produced during the late fourth century were often gilt or made completely of precious metals, covered with niello ornamentation, and sometimes adorned with medallions. A unique feature of this brooch is the mechanism for replacing damaged pins: on some, one of the knobs of the crossbow unscrews so that the hinge and pin mechanisms can be accessed (Johns 1996). These brooches are thought to have been associated with the military and with wealthy civilians, as they are found most often in association with military sites. There is also a strong similarity among these types of brooches (although occurrences of identical crossbow brooches are rare), suggesting that their production and use was controlled and restricted to the upper classes of Roman society (Swift 2000). Associated with the elite, they were sometimes inscribed with the current

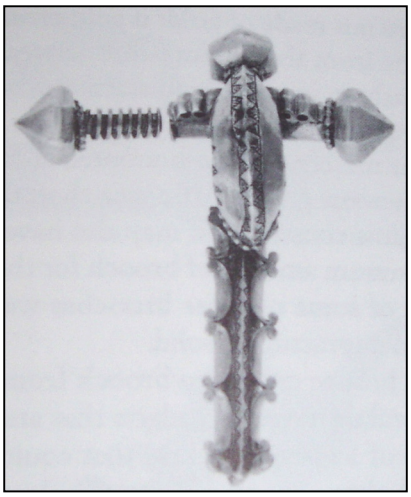


Figure 4.4. Crossbow brooch with screw removed (after Johns 1996: fig. 7.12).

emperor's name (Swift 2003). Late antique representations often show high-ranking army officials with crossbow brooches. The *Diptych of Stilicho*, created around 400 AD, shows the general Stilicho wearing a large, ornate crossbow brooch on his military tunic (Harlow 2004; Johns 1996). While some types of Romano-British brooches may be gender neutral, the crossbow brooch is strongly gendered as a masculine object (Swift 2011).

Although bow, penannular, and plate brooches were part of everyday costume in Roman Britain, there is a general trend of declining usage during the third and fourth centuries. Both the diversity of types and absolute numbers of fibulae declined at this time. Brooches during the third and fourth centuries were made of leaded-bronze, rather than of brass (Bayley and Butcher 2004). These centuries are characterized by brooches appropriate for male soldiers, as opposed to the brooches worn by both sexes during the first and second centuries AD (Bayley and Butcher 2004).

Early Medieval Germanic Brooches

Some types of early medieval brooches, such as cruciform brooches, derive from late Roman provincial bow brooch types and are found across wide areas of northern Europe. Particularly common among Scandinavian and Germanic assemblages are plate brooches: brooches in which the pin and hinge mechanism are hidden by a large bronze plate, which is often intricately decorated. Much of the innovation in early medieval brooch production took place in Scandinavia. There, craftsmen adapted provincial Roman brooch types and styles to produce locally meaningful artifacts. The new brooch types were quickly adopted in other areas of northern Europe. The development of Germanic art styles and the mechanism for style exchange is discussed in Chapter 6.

History of Research of Germanic Brooches

The principle forms of Anglo-Saxon brooch have been recognized since the nineteenth century, although chronologies of Anglo-Saxon brooches are still difficult to

construct because the chronologies themselves are built upon a strictly typological framework (Halsall 1995).

The first identified Anglo-Saxon archaeological artifacts were published by the Reverend James Douglas between 1779 and 1793 (Lucy 2002b). Although Bryan Faussett had excavated Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent between 1757 and 1773, these were published much later in 1856 (Lucy 2000). Between the late eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century other scholars, including Sharon Turner, J. M. Kemble, and Edwin Guest, had studied Anglo-Saxon artifacts in terms of the extent and date of the Saxon *adventus* (Lucy 2002b). The first scholar to attempt to classify Anglo-Saxon brooches was Roach Smith, who, in 1850, applied his typology to historical sources such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples* (Lucy 2002b). T. Wright continued this line of study in 1852, and Kemble utilized similar studies of pottery in 1855 to draw parallels between the Anglo-Saxon areas in England and areas of northern Germany (Lucy 2002b). Kemble, especially, was critical of early historical sources and sought to contextualize early Anglo-Saxon archaeology more thoroughly than had his contemporaries (Hills 2003).

Beginning in the early twentieth century, scholars began to shift their focus from identifying evidence of the Anglo-Saxon *adventus* to identifying and classifying particular types of artifacts. During this time, many large cemeteries had been excavated and had yielded large numbers of artifacts. These included the cemeteries of Taplow, West Stow, Bifrons, Howletts, Barrington, and Holywell Row (Leeds 1936). Elsewhere, especially in Scandinavia and Germany, brooches were the focus of extensive typologies. Perhaps the most influential study of Germanic style was Bernhard Salin's 1904 publication *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*. In it, he described three styles of Germanic zoomorphic ornament: Styles I, II, and III (Salin 1904). These styles, although now much refined, are still in use today in typological and iconographical studies. An early study of a specific brooch type in Scandinavia was Haakon Shetelig's *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, published in 1906 (Leeds 1936). Surveys of several Scandinavian brooch types included Oscar Almgren's (1923) *Studien über Nordeuropäische fibelformen*.

One of the first scholars to focus in particular on brooches in England was E. T. Leeds. In the early twentieth century, he made typologies of several brooches including the saucer brooch in 1912, defining the "applied" and "cast" subgroups that still apply today (Åberg 1926). Leeds acknowledged the probable survival of the Romano-British population and saw evidence of this in the form of penannular brooches and in the continuance of late provincial motifs, such as scrolls (Leeds 1936). Similarly, Thomas Kendrick studied the typology of bronze hanging bowls and specifically the associated enameled escutcheons. From this evidence, he suggested that the Kentish cloisonné brooches were produced by British craftsmen who had been influenced by continental examples (Leeds 1936). In 1949, Leeds published his seminal *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, one of the first English publications to deal extensively with a whole body of a specific brooch type.

In 1924, the Swedish archaeologist Nils Åberg undertook a study of Anglo-Saxon material to "…establish new points of departure for estimating the chronology of the period of migrations" (1926; iii). Although his aim was still much like those of scholars in the 1850s, Åberg systematically studied several artifact types, such as saucer, cruciform, and square-headed brooches to interpret historical patterns and the development of Anglo-Saxon decorative styles. He also pointed out the great numbers of similarities between Kentish material and the material of Vendel Period Sweden, and posited that there had been some form of political or economic contact between the two areas; he did not rely solely on migration of peoples as an explanation for the observed similarities in material culture. Åberg saw the development of Anglo-Saxon art unfold in three fluid stages: spiral and animal ornamentation derived from provincial Roman art, Salin's Style I with conventionalized animal motifs, and Salin's Style II with ribbon-style ornament (Åberg 1926).

While Leeds, Åberg, and Kendrick attempted to tackle the problem of British continuity and the extent of Germanic influence on the British populace, none looked past the presence or absence of brooch types to examine the anthropological and sociological causes of the cultural change apparent in the fifth and sixth centuries. Rather, they assumed that change took place, but did not consider the proximate and ultimate causes

for such change. Consider Leeds' interpretation of the "Kentish problem." He argues that the many Frankish artifacts found in Kent can be accounted for by migration alone. He states: "I do not for one moment believe that it is possible that the Jutes should have undergone such a complete transformation simply as the result of mere commercial imports" (Leeds 1936: 57; Leeds 1946). Now, however, it is acknowledged that there was substantial trade and contact between Kent and Frankish Gaul, and that such trade may have stimulated the evolution of artistic styles in both regions.

In summary, systematic analyses of Anglo-Saxon brooches began in the early twentieth century. Several different approaches were used. E. T. Leeds looked at archaeology to answer the questions of history, as exemplified in his 1945 work *The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered* (Jessup 1950) and Åberg relied on typology, devising classifications and developmental histories of art styles. However, one scholar, Baldwin Brown (1915), attempted to correlate artifacts with social custom over the whole Anglo-Saxon Period. All of these early studies were conducted from art-historical and historical approaches; it was not until the later twentieth century that more anthropological approaches were applied to the study of brooches. Archaeologists in the later half of the twentieth century reacted against, as Catherine Hills put it, the "Beowulf and brooches" approach to Anglo-Saxon archaeology (Hills 2003: 37). The cultural-historical approach to brooch studies, and Anglo-Saxon studies in general, continued with some developments into the 1970s (Lucy 2000). After this time, archaeologists began to explore the ways in which people and material culture interacted (Dickinson 1991; Inker 2000). Particularly, archaeologists have looked at how brooches can be used to examine concepts of personal identity, gender, age, and ideology in the early medieval world. Nonetheless, the studies of the early twentieth century provided a solid foundation on which were based more theoretically derived arguments about Anglo-Saxon culture. Anglo-Saxon brooch types continue to be the subject of such research, although the theoretical basis of these research programs has changed drastically since the first cultural-historical studies of brooches were undertaken in the early twentieth century.

Anglo-Saxon Female Costume

In Anglo-Saxon England, women were the primary consumers of brooches. Occasionally males were buried with single brooches used to fasten cloaks (Hines 1997b). While the majority of women were buried with at least one brooch, some types, such as the great square-headed and florid cruciform types, are relatively rare within the burial population. Grave good assemblages give a good indication of what was considered a proper burial costume. The question of what was considered an appropriate everyday costume is more problematic, but it is likely that burial costumes were at least similar to what women wore in their day-to-day lives.

Evidence for the female costume comes from both the positioning of clothes fasteners in the grave as well as from textiles that have been preserved on the back of metal artifacts. In some cases, the corrosion products of the bronze brooches have preserved textiles well, allowing researchers to identify the type of cloth, weave, and spin used in the burial costume (Walton Rogers 2007). From these preserved textiles, evidence indicates that the standard costume for the majority of women consisted of a peplos-style garment, which is a tubular, untailored dress made usually of woolen cloth (Walton Rogers 2007). Usually, a pair of brooches positioned at the clavicles was used to fasten the back and front portions of the peplos together at the shoulders (Figure 4.5). While this type of dress was worn throughout the Anglo-Saxon settlement area, there were some differences in the types of weave and spin used in the textiles. These differences generally corresponded to the traditional "Saxon" and "Anglian" areas, with a intermediate zone between those two areas. A smaller zone includes Kent and the Isle of Wight (Walton Rogers 2007). In her survey of surviving

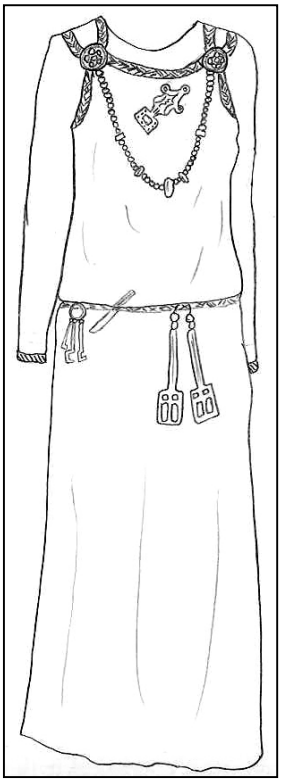


Figure 4.5. Standard female dress (after Lucy 2000: Fig. 37).

Anglo-Saxon textiles, Penelope Walton Rogers estimates that 80% to 95% of adult women wore a peplos-type garment.

These costume differences generally apply to the brooches used to pin the peplos as well. In western areas, saucer or disc brooches were attached to the garment, occasionally along with a square-headed brooch on the chest used to secure an over-garment such as a mantle or cloak. A festoon of beads was commonly hung between the shoulder brooches (Owen-Crocker 2004). In the northeastern region, it was a common practice to attach the peplos with annular brooches. The choice of shoulder brooch was more diverse in the intermediate zone, with small-long, quoit, button, and cruciform brooches being used as garment fasteners (Walton Rogers 2007).

An individual's appearance could also be altered by the way in which the brooch was fastened. Where fabrics survive on the backs of brooches, it is possible to deduce the manner in which the brooch was attached. In Anglian areas, the fashion was to pin the brooch such that the peplos borders were placed edge to edge. Occasionally, the brooch pin was fastened over a fold in the cloth, suggesting that there was a flap of fabric folded down on the front and back of the garment. In some areas of the Saxon zone, the edges of the peplos were overlapped before pinning, resulting in a double layer of preserved textiles on the back of the brooch (Walton Rogers 2007).

Where shoulder brooches do not form a matching pair, a mantle may have been worn over the peplos as a dress-like garment. In some case, only one shoulder brooch was worn, resulting in a peplos attached at one shoulder and hanging under the other arm next to the waist. Neither of these two configurations is common in Anglo-Saxon grave good assemblages, but they are known from continental graves and depictions of women's dress (Walton Rogers 2007). Whether worn with one shoulder brooch or two, peploi were worn with an inner gown. In some cases, a belt was worn underneath the peplos but over the inner gown. In eastern England, the inner gown's long sleeves were fastened with metal sleeve clasps. In addition to the peplos and inner gown, an outfit could be augmented by a thick cloak, which was usually fastened by a large brooch (Owen-Crocker 2004). Head veils are indicated by evidence of fine, lightweight fabric preserved in the corrosion products of thin pins placed around the head. In many graves,

the individual was buried with a belt, knife, keys, and other tools. These could include girdle hangers, toilet implements, and weaving implements.

The brooch complex and the belt group were the two most essential components of the costume, although additional adornments were used, such as extra brooches, beads, rings, pins, and bracelets. In most fifth and sixth century cemeteries, the majority of women are buried with some variation of this costume. The variation present in burial costume does suggest that there were both local differences and individual choice in the construction of appearance. Some of this variation may have to do with differential access to wealth. Among the surviving brooches in graves, the quantity and quality of the metalwork does vary. Only a few women in any cemetery were buried with the largest and most complex brooch types. However, there likely was meaning in costume choice, as personal appearance is always controlled to some extent by individual agency.

Whether these configurations of brooches were worn in life is questionable: experimental studies have shown that some of the most elaborate brooches were too heavy to hang securely from the garments to which they were attached (Lucy 1997). However, in some cases brooches seem to have been semi-permanently attached to the fabric–small-long brooches are occasionally found to have had their catch-plates clamped so that the pin is permanently locked in the closed position (Hines 1997b). Additionally, some garments associated with brooches did not, in fact, need fasteners.

Over time, brooches evolved to fulfill both practical and social functions. Some studies show that the combination of brooches affected how they were worn: wear patterns on square-headed brooches show that single brooches were worn with the head plate facing left, while pairs were worn with head plates facing right (Leigh 1985). Since the orientation of the head plate would not affect the usefulness of the brooch as a dress fastener, there may have been some symbolic significance of wearing one or two brooches. The variety of types of jewelry in grave good assemblages suggests they were used for more than practical attachment. For example, over one hundred combinations of brooches were recognized and analyzed by Karen Brush (1993) in her study of Anglo-Saxon dress. Clearly there was no single socially mandated combination of brooches or rigid regional costume styles.

This variability may be indicative of the presence of a degree of individual style. Brooches may have symbolized or expressed identities such as marital status and mothering (Lucy 1998). Brush asserts that brooches were culturally or regionally specific. She found that the regional brooch for an area was usually the most common brooch type in each site of that area. While this argument is somewhat circular, she claims that "where interregional marriage occurred, a woman's 'foreign' brooches could have served to emphasize both her status and the status of her husband who was powerful enough to desire, and contract, such an alliance" (Brush 1993: 269).

Anglo-Saxon Brooch Types

Most Anglo-Saxon brooch types were originally produced in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany and were subsequently elaborated upon within Anglo-Saxon settlement areas. Some brooch types, however, owe their form more directly to Roman influence. There are two broad classes of Anglo-Saxon brooches, long and circular, within which there are several types. A third class, the *Kleinfibeln*, is composed of small brooches, some of which depict animals—mainly birds of prey. These brooches are infrequent in Anglo-Saxon assemblages, and are found most commonly in Kent, where they were likely used in a continental costume that required four brooches (Walton Rogers 2007). Most brooches were composed of bronze with an iron pin, but large, ornate brooches were made of silver and gold (Owen-Crocker 2004). Bronze brooches were often silver or gold gilt. The major forms of Anglo-Saxon brooches are discussed below, along with discussions of the most relevant recent research for each brooch type.

<u>Annular Brooches</u>

Annular, or ring brooches, are most common in eastern England. They are fairly simple brooches constructed of a single piece of metal with a pin attached. Decorations included punched impressions and incised lines. In the later sixth and seventh centuries, they were often embellished with garnets (Lucy 2000b). The width of the ring may vary, with narrow annular brooches popular in northeastern England, while broad annual brooches are more common in the southwest (Pollington 2010).

Penannular Brooches

Penannular brooches have a long history in Britain before and after the Anglo-Saxon period, but they were also used by the Anglo-Saxons. In many cases, when found, penannular brooches were used as secondary ornaments in necklaces and purses. One type, Fowler's type G, was used as a dress fastener, but was usually paired with other types of brooch (Dickinson 1982a). They are not commonly found in grave good assemblages.

Quoit Brooches

Quoit brooches are constructed of a wide, flat annular band, in which a notch has been cut. The pin passes through this notch (Ager 1985) (Figure 4.6). It is likely that quoit brooches developed from annular brooches in the mid fifth century. Smaller versions of the quoit brooch were worn in pairs between which was strung a bead festoon, in the same way pairs of saucer brooches were worn. Larger quoit brooches were often worn singly to fasten a cloak or shawl. Quoit brooches are found mainly in Anglo-Saxon England, although a few seem to have been exported to northern Gaul. Chip carving, stamped patterns, silver inlay, riveted figures and a flat relief are characteristic stylistic elements of these brooches (Ager 1985; Evison 1968).

The elites of post-Roman Britain probably used these items as a symbol of status and as a symbol of legitimization that linked them to the Roman Empire. Later phases of the style, which became increasingly zoomorphic in decoration, could have been used by

the Germanic immigrants to mask their Germanic heritage and ally themselves with the Romano-British (Suzuki 2000). The continued production of this style was most likely the result of the desire to imitate post-Roman styles and produce objects suitable to both British and Germanic tastes (Ager 1990).

Figure 4.6. Quoit brooch.

Applied Brooches

Applied brooches are constructed of a decorated gilt foil mounted on a bronze back plate, around which a metal strip was applied as a rim (Evison 1978a). As on many other Germanic brooches, popular motifs included circles, stars, floriate crosses, scrolls and animal ornament (Evison 1978a). They were popular in the Elbe valley in the third and fourth centuries. By the fifth century, Roman style ornament, such as scrolls and animal ornament, were applied to brooches made between the Elbe and Weser (Avent and Evison 1982). Applied brooches appear early in England: many are dated by associated artifacts to the first half of the fifth century. Evison argues that some may have been brought to or produced in England before the fifth century. These examples occur in Germanic cemeteries at Howletts, Dorchester, Abingdon, and Mitcham (Evison 1978b). In light of this evidence, Evison states that they were connected with Germanic mercenaries (Evison 1978b: 270).

Cast Saucer Brooches

Cast saucer brooches developed from an applied form and were produced at the same time as the later applied disc brooch. Unlike an applied brooch, a saucer brooch is cast in one piece. The earliest cast saucer brooches are dated to the mid-fifth century in Lower Saxony (Welch 1985). The saucer brooch form was taken to England in the first half of the fifth century and developed independently of continental types from that time (Avent and Evison 1982). Dickinson (1991) has studied a corpus of cast saucer brooches with a five running spiral motif dating from fifth century Britain (Figure 4.7). While the motif originated in Saxony, it was adapted in Britain. Like the Quoit Brooch style, this motif is related to late Roman chip-carving techniques used on Roman belt equipment given to military officers. Officers of Germanic origin probably took these items back to northern Germany where they most likely signaled power and legitimacy. However, there the motif was transferred to women's costume, perhaps as "…'vicarious consumption' whereby men display[ed] their status and dominance through adornment of their womenfolk" (Dickinson 1991: 62). In Saxony, these items may have come to identify powerful families. In East Anglia, where saucer brooches first appear and then quickly decline in usage, the motif was no longer needed to signify power, perhaps because the powerful families were transformed through the migration or relied on other forms of expression once they had settled in their new communities.

Figure 4.7. Five-spiral saucer brooch.

Cruciform and annular brooches could have been used in this way, as they were also familiar to those immigrating from north of the river Elbe. However, saucer brooches remain concentrated and numerous in the Upper Thames region. Dickinson asserts that "in the areas where five spiral saucer brooches became most popular it has long been obvious that Saxons were in close contact with both the Roman authorities and

indigenous population" (Dickinson 1991: 68). There the spiral motif would have been familiar, and yet ambiguous to both Saxon and Romano-Briton alike; both groups may have used saucer brooches to signal identity. This theory raises questions about the assumption that Germanic grave goods were restricted to those of Germanic descent. Interestingly, they are never found in more than two graves per cemetery and are not necessarily associated with the richest graves. However, the saucer brooches are among the most costly brooches in the Upper Thames area (Dickinson 1993). Dickinson maintains that saucer brooches, as well as other brooch types, were powerful objects used "to segregate and integrate families and social groups though a period of major settlement change and social restructuring" (1991: 69). The various levels of detail on a brooch, such as shape, motif and mode of decoration could have each expressed aspects of identity related to family, tribal and regional origins (Arnold 1988).

Disc Brooches

Disc brooches are not as elaborate as saucer brooches, and a common decoration is the ring and dot motif, one that was used frequently in Roman provincial metalwork. There are no continental antecedents of this brooch type, which suggests they developed from Romano-British forms (Lucy 2000b). Disc brooches have a distinctive white coloring, likely from a tin coating (Walton Rogers 2007). They are common in the Upper Thames Valley and are used in the same communities in which are found gilt saucer brooches (Pollington 2010).

Button Brooches

Smaller than saucer brooches, but very similar in form, are button brooches. Found in southern England and Frankish Gaul, many are decorated with a stylized human mask (Welch 1985). The survey of button brooches produced in 1982 by Avent and Evison included 118 brooches. Most of these were bronze-gilt. Nearly one third of those studied had punch mark decoration (Avent and Evison 1982). The primary characteristic

of decoration on button brooches is the presence of a human mask, full-face or in profile, which fills the central field of ornament. Seiichi Suzuki (2008) has recently built upon this corpus, adding to it ninety new finds, many of which have been discovered by metal-detector users and recorded under the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Button brooches were in use from the later fifth century to the middle of the sixth. Welch suggests that the mask motif on button brooches is derived from similar motifs found rarely on Scandinavian clasps (Welch 1985), although others see this type as a smaller version of a saucer brooch. Suzuki (2008) also draws comparisons between button brooches and Scandinavian material, specifically the masks that appear on the Jutlandic group of relief brooches. He suggests that the Galsted brooch was the primary source of inspiration for these brooches and argues for a tentative date of 480 AD for their date of initial production. Button brooches are most commonly found in Saxon areas and in Kent (Walton Rogers 2007). Button brooches fell out of favor as clothes fasteners in the middle of the sixth century (Avent and Evison 1982).

Keystone Brooches

Keystone garnet disc brooches are unique in that they are largely restricted to Kent. Common among these brooches is the use of garnet inlays, cloisonné settings, and filigree. Many are made of silver and gold, and all date to the later pagan Anglo-Saxon period, (Lucy 2000b; Pinder 1995). Initially produced in the sixth century, these brooches share certain features with Frankish material culture.

Keystone brooches are cast in silver and contain three or four inlaid garnets, although sometimes glass is substituted. A later transitional form, the keystone plated disc brooch, is composed of two separate plates, a silver back plate and gold front plate (Walton Rogers 2007).

Composite disc brooches are more elaborate than the plated variety of keystone brooch and are made of a front plate set with garnet and glass cloisonné, roundels, and a central boss (Pinder 1995). Composite disc brooches date to the 7th century.

Supporting arm Brooches

Supporting arm brooches, or *Stützarmfibeln,* are bow brooches with an enlarged head plate in the form of a supporting arm that hides the spring. The specific class found in eastern England has two lugs on the supporting arm and a flat bow. These types are restricted between the lower Elbe and Weser rivers on the continent, and date to the early fifth century. When documented in a grave, they are cited as evidence for fifth-century migration (Evison 1977). Continental forms were worn in pairs by women, but all types of supporting arm brooches found within England have been found singly.

Equal arm Brooches

Equal arm brooches developed from supporting arm brooches with a trapezoidal footplate. In this brooch form, the head and foot are nearly symmetrical, divided by a short bow. Like the supporting arm brooch, the equal arm type originated between the Elbe and Weser rivers in northwestern Germany during the fifth century (Bruns 2003). Bruns suggests that the equal arm brooches were "clearly introduced to England by a splinter group of the migrating Angles and Saxons…from the region between the mouths of the Elbe and Weser" (Bruns 2003: 1). There are a limited number of equal arm brooches in England: only fifteen of sixty-six total known equal arm brooches are from England.

Bruns, like others before her, suggests that an individual looking at a Germanic chip carved brooch would be struck by the ambiguity of design caused by the uneven relief and the reflective faceting. This point is perhaps more significant when considering the context in which these brooches were worn. They are found in funerary contexts in women's graves, not those of men. The Roman military style seen on belt fittings was transferred to the female costume. The position of equal arm brooches indicates that they were worn singly in the middle of the chest, probably to fasten a cloak over a dress (Bruns 2003). Bruns argues that its position on an outer garment, the unique shape of the brooch, and the reflective surfaces created by the design enhanced the high visibility of

the equal arm brooch. In fact, some archaeologists consider the basic shape of a brooch to be the most important; the shape being the first aspect of the brooch another individual would notice (Bruns 2003). Because equal arm brooches were decorated with Roman derived ornament, perhaps the women who wore them were signaling their affiliations with male family members who had served in the Roman military, yet still through a medium that was Germanic (Bruns 2003).

Cruciform Brooches

Cruciform brooches were first classified by Åberg (1926), who classified them into five groups, mainly divided by the complexity of decoration. E. T. Leeds further refined the typology for the Anglo-Saxon cruciform series, focusing on cruciform brooches of florid type (Leeds and Pocock 1971). These are the most complex of the cruciform brooches.

Cruciform brooches are bow brooches very similar in shape to the late Roman crossbow fibula. The head plate has three knobs; this shape gives the group its name. The footplate is usually formed into the head of an animal, sometimes identified as a horse (Lucy 2000) (Figure 4.8). Cruciform brooches developed from brooches in which the lateral knobs were connected to the spring mechanism for the pin. In the later, more ornate Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches, the knobs are flattened and are used as a decorative surface (Owen-Crocker 2004). These brooches originated during the fifth century in southern Scandinavia (Shetelig 1906) and in Anglo-Saxon England were used into the seventh, although they seem to decline in usage in the late sixth century (Leeds and Pocock 1971). The very earliest Anglo-Saxon types dating to the early fifth century are similar to those found on

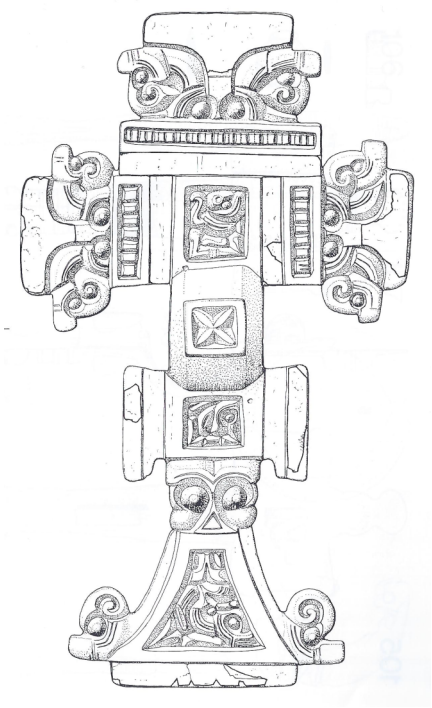


Figure 4.8. Cruciform Brooch (after Timby 1996).

the continent in Jutland and in north Germany, and are found in old, worn and mended states in England; perhaps these brooches were made on the continent and brought to Britain (Lucy 2000). The later florid type, which was classified by Leeds, originated in East Anglia during the later sixth century (Leeds and Pocock 1971). This group has zoomorphic decoration on the knobs and foot. Many of the zoomorphic motifs were stylized eagles or eagle-headed beasts, and occasionally what are described as horned owls (Leeds and Pocock 1971). The florid type is often decorated with Style I animal art. Cruciform brooches may be worn singly or in pairs (Walton Rogers 2007).

Small-long Brooches

Small-long brooches are small bow brooches similar to the larger cruciform brooches. The decorative features on these brooches are executed with stamps and moulded ribs (Lucy 2000b). They date from the late fifth century and are concentrated in the Anglian region of England. These brooches, like so many other Anglo-Saxon forms, were classified by both Åberg (1926) and Leeds. An interesting aspect of these brooches is that while they are simpler than other brooch forms, they are not known on the continent and thus seem to have been a unique insular brooch type (Lucy 2000b). Small-long brooches are highly variable; trefoil, square, and cross-shaped examples are all known. Interestingly, the form of small-long brooches in a region usually imitates the shape of the local high-status brooch. For example, in regions where square-headed brooches are common, so are square-headed small-long brooches (Walton Rogers 2007).

Square-headed Brooches

Square-headed brooches are bow brooches with a large square or rectangular head, an arched bow, and a diamond or lozenge shaped footplate (Leeds 1949) (Figure

4.9). The footplate is often decorated with biting animal heads and what Leeds calls the "rampant beast" (Leeds 1949: 4). Leeds saw two sources for the square-headed brooch: Scandinavia, where footplates of relief brooches were divided by a bar; and the Rhineland, from where the "rampant beast" motif apparently originated. Leeds devised his classificatory scheme primarily on the presence or absence of the divided foot, as well as the presence of a cruciform foot.

Figure 4.9. Great square-headed brooch, with headplate to the left and footplate to the right, connected by a bow.

John Hines expanded the corpus of great square-headed brooches in 1997. He narrowed the chronology of this brooch type to c. 500-570 (Hines 1997). In his corpus, Hines went beyond typology and chronology to place these brooches in their social and cultural context. He recognized that since only a few women were ever buried with square-headed brooches, they may have symbolized certain aspects of identity. Great square-headed brooches are usually worn in addition to two shoulder brooches, and may have been used to fasten an outer garment over a *peplos*-style dress. This argument is supported by rare instances in which textiles have been preserved by the corrosion of a metal brooch. In these cases, several layers of cloth are preserved, revealing, for example, the presence of a linen outer garment at Berinsfield (Hines 1997: 286). Many of the brooches in Hines' corpus show signs of wear and repair; it is likely they were intensively used by their owners and were not reserved solely for special occasions.

Because the pin runs behind the bow, a square-headed brooch could be worn with either the headplate or footplate towards the head of the individual—a decision that could alter the "reading" of the decorative motifs.

Square-headed brooches were not merely functional dress accessories. There were often gilded, enameled, and inlaid with niello, glass and garnets. To see if square-headed brooches were indicative of wealth and status, Hines weighted the value of the artifacts associated with great square-headed brooches in grave contexts. He found that great square-headed brooches are included in the richer graves of the period (Hines 1997). He proposes that the florid cruciform brooches may have served a similar function (Hines 2003). This conclusion need not exclude other forms of meaning symbolized by these brooches; gender and age have also been shown to correlate with the presence of square-headed brooches (Pader 1982; Stoodley 1999b). In the last stage of square-headed brooch production, there is a reduction in the diversity of forms as well as the overall geographical range; Hines suggests that these brooch types were increasingly restricted and produced in limited quantities in response to the emergent centralized elite of the later sixth century (Hines 1997). Hines has also shown that square-headed brooches were influenced in some ways by the Scandinavian relief brooches of Norway, which are similar in form and ornamentation (Sjøvold 1993). Leigh (1990) argues that the decoration on Anglo-Saxon brooches, and particularly great square-headed brooches was both *colouristic*, consisting of niello, garnet or glass inlay and mercury or tin gilding, and *textural*, in that the relief broke up polished surfaces.

A second group of square-headed brooches are those found in Kent. These are separated from the great square-headed brooches because they are smaller, employ a fuller use of zoomorphic decoration, and are often decorated with garnets. The Jutish style square-headed brooches share similarities with relief brooches from Jutland, and often incorporate a disc on the bow. The Continental group incorporates garnets into the design (Walton Rogers 2007). These square-headed brooches also appear earlier in the archaeological record than do their northern counterparts, and are thought by some archaeologists to have influenced the production of the later brooch type (Lucy 2000b).

Radiate-head Brooches

Found in Kent, radiate head brooches are indicative of continental contact with Francia and the lower Rhine (Pollington 2010). Most are likely imports. They feature a variable number of knobs on a semi-circular head plate. As with cruciform brooches, these knobs are modeled on functional knobs of bow brooches with springs. Zoomorphic designs may appear on the head plate and on the knobs themselves. In England these brooches date to the sixth century.

Kleinfibeln

Several other brooch types appear in Anglo-Saxon England, although these are not common and are likely imports of Frankish origin (Lucy 2000). *Kleinfibeln* encompass a range of small plate brooch types. These include geometric shapes as well as zoomorphic figures. Particularly notable among the zoomorphic *Kleinfibeln* are brooches representing birds: as single birds in profile, in pairs posed at opposite ends of an s-shape, or as whirling heads (Walton Rogers 2007). Garnets are often used as inlays to represent the eye.

Some finds of such brooches are copies made in Kent (Walton Rogers 2007). It has been suggested that in Frankish regions on the continent, the bird of prey brooches may have represented a decorative scheme that directly referenced the eagle iconography of the Roman military, and as such, was used in opposition to Style I animal art (Shepherd 1998). However, there are examples of locally made bird brooches in England which are decorated with Style I motifs in the center of the body (Pollington 2010). The S-brooches have a wider range, including Lombardic Italy. When these brooches are used in Kent, it indicates connections to Continental Europe rather than to Scandinavia.

Wrist Clasps

Wrist clasps lack pins, and cannot be considered brooches. However, they do act as clothing fasteners and are, in some cases, highly decorated. Wrist clasps act as hook and catch closures on sleeve cuffs (Hines 1993). A third piece, called a gusset plate, covered the slit in the sleeve. These fasteners are most concentrated in eastern England, particularly in East Anglia and many are thought to have been brought with migrants from Norway. However, in England, they used almost exclusively by females, whereas in Scandinavia, both sexes attach their sleeves with wrist clasps (Owen-Crocker 2004).

Technological Aspects of Production

Early Anglo-Saxon metalworking technologies are still largely unknown, as are the locations of workshops that must have been in existence. The first clay mould fragments for an Anglo-Saxon brooch were found in the settlement of Mucking in the fill of a *Grubenhäus* of the sixth century. The fragments formed the front and back halves of a mould for a great square-headed brooch (Jones 1975). Portions of the foot and the border of masks survived on the mould portions. Square headed brooches of a similar, but not identical type, were found in one of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries nearest to the settlement (Jones 1975). The closest parallels for Anglo-Saxon moulds are mould fragments for at least 200 relief brooches excavated from the early medieval metal workshop at Helgö, Sweden (Holmqvist 1972). Also surviving at Helgö are miscasts of square headed and other relief brooches, as well as a silver alloy fragment of a model for an equal-arm brooch. Lamm has suggested this is a trial piece (Lamm 2008: 25). Piece moulds were most likely used to manufacture Anglo-Saxon brooches, but other methods may have been used.

Three possible sixth century lead models for cruciform brooches have been identified from East Anglia. These are likely models used to make the moulds from which the final brooch form was cast. This could be done in several ways. In one method, the sheet-cut model would be pressed into a block of clay, the block left to dry, and

another block would be pressed over the model. An ingate would be cut into the mould, the mould would then be separated, the model removed, and the mould ready for casting after firing (Mortimer 1994). After casting, the brooch was cleaned, decoration was sharpened and punched or incised decoration added. Gilding was applied and the pin was attached to the lugs (Arnold 1988). However, this method does not seem to adequately explain the rounded details on many brooches. It is possible that a two model and mould making process was employed, where wax or wood was used to create the primary model, and the secondary model was cast in lead using a type of "lost-lead" process (Mortimer 1994; Coatsworth and Pinder 2002). Alternatively, the East Anglian lead models could have been used as showpieces by itinerant craftsmen (Dickinson 1982b). However, without metal workshops like those excavated at Helgö, it is still uncertain whether one or two model and mould processes were used. In a sixth century grave at Poysdorf, Austria, two bronze brooch models as well as smithing tools were found (Daim and Mehofer 2003). A model for an Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooch exists from Geneva, Switzerland (Arnold 1988). However, it is fairly certain that decoration was added during the mould stage, as it would have been impossible to cut complex chip carved or interlaced designs into metal once in was cast (Leahy 2003).

Tania Dickinson's study of the variation between pairs of cast saucer brooches shows that only a few have minimal variation in elements. The majority of saucer brooches are quite distinct from each other. She argues that if a two-piece mold was reused, more brooches should be similar. Similarly, no two great square-headed brooches are identical (Brownsword and Hines 1993). Each was a unique creation. Evidence from Helgö suggests that brooch moulds did not survive their initial casting, hence the large number found at the workshops there. However, if moulds did survive multiple castings and their usage resulted in very similar brooches, poor metal flow and cleaning could alter elements to some degree. In some cases, it is clear that two different moulds were used to cast brooch pairs. Dickinson argues that the use of more than one mould rules out the possibility of itinerant craftsmen; carrying around multiple models and moulds for several brooch types would be too cumbersome. However, multiple moulds could have been produced in workshop settings. Wicker (1994) argues, however, that craftsmen may

have traveled from one workshop to another. The final alternative is that wax models were used. Their use could explain slight variations in brooch pairs, as working with pliable wax would have caused slight differences during the casting process.

Dickinson hypothesizes that several technologies and modes of manufacture were used. Itinerant craftsmen could have produced those types of saucer brooches that have minimal variation through the use of bronze models, and workshops could have produced types with inherent variation in workshop settings with wood or wax models (Dickinson 1982b). The evidence for square-headed brooches as discussed above may indicate the presence of workshops in the later sixth century, because a decrease in brooch types is apparent. In a time where larger regional identities were formed, individuals perhaps had restricted access to craftsmen and designs (Arnold 1988). Similarly, studies of keystone garnet brooches in Kent suggest that the majority were produced in one workshop over three generations (Arnold 1988). An analysis of decorative punch markings on a group of Kentish square-headed brooches found that only seven tools were used to make the marks, indicating that such brooches were produced in a limited number of workshops (Leigh 1990).

Several questions arise from the study of brooch production. If brooches are rarely identical, does that mean that craftsmen produced brooches on demand for individuals? Was it desirable to have two brooches that were slightly different? Perhaps this added to the ambiguity cited by so many archaeologists as characteristic of Germanic metalwork.

Archaeologists know more about the types of alloys used to produce brooches. X-ray spectrometry on great square-headed brooches confirms that most were cast in copper alloys, although the relative amount of zinc and tin in each appears random. The authors of this study conclude that most great square-headed brooches were cast using scrap metal; even brooches that have a high degree of similarity may have different chemical compositions, although there are a few convincing exceptions to this rule (Brownsword and Hines 1993). An analysis of sixth and seventh century gold objects including brooches shows that all alloys used were the same as coin alloys, which leads to the

conclusion that coins were melted down to make jewelry. Evidence suggests that coins of the Merovingian kingdom were used in this way (Brown and Schweizer 1973).

Much attention in Anglo-Saxon studies of metal craft has been paid to the later sixth and seventh century garnet and cloisonné brooches typical of Kentish areas and of the Sutton Hoo regalia. After the seventh century, long brooches and the associated Germanic animal style fell out of use, although simple circular brooches continued to be worn into the eleventh century (Bruce-Mitford 1956). Many of these brooches were modeled after the Kentish circular brooches, which have in common a quadripartite design with a central boss and four peripheral bosses (Bruce-Mitford 1956).

Workshops and Central Places

Recent excavations of settlement sites in Scandinavia may shed light on the nature of early medieval craftsmanship. Evidence of intensive craft production, long-distance trade, and large halls has suggested that during the third through the seventh century, these "central places" operated as important religious and political nodes in elite interaction networks (Hedeager 2002). Some of the most important central places are Gudme, Sorte Muld, and Lejre in Denmark; and Uppåkra, and Helgö in Sweden.

At Uppåkra and Helgö, especially, evidence for metalworking suggests that expert brooch makers worked in dedicated workshops (Hjärthner-Holdar *et al*. 2002). Brooches decorated with Style I art produced at Helgö had a wide distribution. Helgö has been described as a "pagan sacred complex" based on the combination of prestige jewelry production, the appearance of exotic foreign objects such as the sixth century bronze Buddha figurine from India, and the votive deposition of small gold foils (*guldgubber*) (Arrhenius 2011). There is also evidence that some of the goldsmiths came from abroad and contributed to the production of relief brooches (Arrhenius 2011). This is one possible mechanism for Germanic art styles: master craftsmen traveling between well-known dedicated workshops.

Uppåkra, a central place in southern Sweden, has also produced evidence for the production of prestige metalwork during the fifth and sixth centuries. A glass beaker with

Style I-decorated foil bands was produced at the site (Hårdh 2004). As at Helgö, guldgubber were deposited in post holes in the main hall, which has been interpreted as a cult house. In Scandinavia, at least, evidence suggests that the production of elaborate brooches was linked to ritual or sacral activity. This corresponds to early medieval views of smiths as magicians: they possessed arcane knowledge and participated in dangerous, transformative processes that resulted in the production of objects ascribed with magical qualities (Hedeager 2002; Kristoffersen 2000b).

Brooches and Identity

Functionally, brooches act as clothes fasteners. Yet, in every culture in which they are used, they come to have symbolic or representational associations. For example, in modern culture, brooches are polyvocal objects and as such can be used to express any number of messages including those promoting corporations, nationalities, religions, social movements, inspirational sentiments, or simply individual taste. For many modern individuals, not much thought is devoted to why we wear the adornments we do; it might be explained as habit or simply as a matter of taste or preference.

Madeleine Albright, the former Secretary of State of the United States, presents a modern example of how brooches can convey complex messages in social and political contexts. In her book *Read My Pins: Stories from a Diplomat's Jewel Box*, Albright discusses the ways in which she came to realize that the brooches she wore to State events could be seen to reflect not only her emotions regarding certain events, but also her political ideology. Interestingly, many of the brooches she used to convey political power included animals, especially serpents and birds. Albright also describes the ways in which she could position the same brooch to indicate different political stances: she would orient a bird's head up to represent hope and would express disappointment or sorrow by pointing the head down (Albright 2009: 17-19).

While Albright's experiences with personal adornment as a medium for political and ideological expression are anecdotal, they do illustrate the power that brooches have

as emotive objects, and more importantly, show how brooches are multivocal: orientation, position, and context can alter the reading of the visual message.

Individuals in early medieval northern Europe used brooches in the same manner: they were expressions of individual and group identity, but they could also be used to express aspects of political and religious ideology. It may be that the ambiguous nature of the early Anglo-Saxon art style was reflective of and may have expressed the cultural ambiguity of the time, where identities, both local and regional, real and idealized, were flexible and capable of transformation. The use of active material culture in the Early Medieval period suggests that the identities symbolized were not static, inherent identities, but identities that were constantly and actively negotiated in reaction to the events and culture of the time (Hines 2003). While analyses of brooches lead to suggestive conclusions, it is essential to recall that these objects themselves did not have inherent ethnic, political or social identities; rather, expressions of these identities were assigned to objects through human social actions (Carr 2001: 117). Ideally, a close study of the combinations of brooch types and other forms of personal adornment as well as the art styles used on such items will distinguish the aspects of identity important to early medieval peoples in northwest Europe. The following chapter examines the decorative styles featured on early medieval brooches, specifically, Style I animal art.

CHAPTER 5 – ART STYLES AND ICONOGRAPHY ASSOCIATED WITH EARLY MEDIEVAL METALWORK

History of Germanic Animal Art Studies

While the development of brooch studies was discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the development of art styles during the early medieval period. Anglo-Saxon brooches have been studied since the 1850s, when they were primarily used to approximate the extent and nature of the Anglo-Saxon migrations. Iconography became the focus of attention during this time period, especially under Sophus Müller (1880). A specific focus on the art styles used to decorate early medieval metalwork developed in the early twentieth century, notably with Bernhard Salin's 1904 publication of *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*. In his work, the Swedish scholar described three primary styles of Germanic zoomorphic ornament: Styles I, II, and III (Salin 1904). These styles, although now much refined, are still in use today in typological and iconographical studies. Salin based his typology on a well-illustrated catalogue that was broad in geographic scope, producing a work that has proved to be the foundation for all further studies on the early Germanic zoomorphic styles. Salin also advanced the idea that one of the most important aspects of these styles was the appearance of hidden figures, both human and animal, within the ornament.

A succession of Scandinavian archaeologists quickly followed Salin, most notably Haakon Shetelig (1906), who concentrated on cruciform brooches of Norway. He was one of the first to acknowledge that the motifs rendered on early medieval metalwork may represent northern European myths, although he doubted that these would ever be accessible to scholars (Shetelig 1947). Shetelig saw the development of the Germanic animal style as originating in the Scandinavian countries, far away from the stronger influences of the classical world. He also acknowledged that Germanic ornamental art had at its foundation artistic motifs carried from the Bronze Age, as well as the fact that it likely incorporated Roman, Hellenistic, and elements from the Scythian animal style (Pollington 2011; Shetelig 1949).

Still common in this early period of study was the conception that early styles of Germanic art were inferior to Roman art. Shetelig expressed this view: “the classical balance was unavoidably broken by a naïve and unskilled demand for more striking effect, which resulted in a profuse and overcrowded ornamentation, apparently without any leading idea of design" (1949: 44-45). A common thought was that since modern scholars could not see meaning in the ornament, the artisans that created the art did not follow a stylistic grammar.

Oscar Almgren’s study of northern European brooch art styles followed in 1923 (Almgren 1923). Norwegian material was studied by Bjørn Hougen (1936), who described the “Migration Style” that appeared on relief brooches. In all of these works, the emphasis was on typological analysis; little attention was paid to the functions of the iconography or the wider social implications of the utilization of the art style. However, scholars were beginning to draw comparisons between the motifs used in different regions. Nils Åberg pointed out the great number of similarities between Kentish material and the material of Vendel Period Sweden, and posited that there had been some form of political or economic contact between the two areas (Åberg 1926).

In England, T. D. Kendrick and E. T. Leeds advanced the study of Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic ornament, largely following the typological framework of their Swedish and Norwegian colleagues. Kendrick (1938) refined understanding of the development of zoomorphic ornament in England and renamed Anglo-Saxon Styles I and II the “Helmet” and “Ribbon” styles, although these designations have not endured. However, Kendrick still advanced the view that Germanic art, and Anglo-Saxon art in particular, was a “barbaric” form of classical art, a degenerative art style that held as one of its principles “a sense of aesthetic discord” (Kendrick 1935; 1938: 2). In 1949, Leeds published his seminal *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, one of the first English publications to deal extensively with a whole body of a specific brooch type.

Since the 1950s, three major questions regarding Germanic animal art have been debated. The earliest of these is the geographic and temporal origin of the style. Works by Wilhelm Holmqvist (1955) and Egil Bakka (1958) argued for the style’s origins in Scandinavia, while Aarni Erä-Esko (1965) examined evidence for the development of the

art outside of Scandinavia. Both Arne Johansen (1979) and Günther Haseloff (1974) discussed Roman and southeastern European influences on the Germanic styles. Others, including Helmut Roth (1973), have studied Germanic animal art in southern Europe, such as Langobardic art in Italy.

In the 1980s two important works added to the art historical study of Germanic animal art. George Speake (1980) reconsidered the Germanic background of Salin's Style II in England, producing a substantial analysis that included the findings from Sutton Hoo. Speak also considered the role of iconography in the style, and attempted to link animal motifs with Germanic ideology. A year later, Günther Haseloff (1981) published *Tierornamentik der Völkerwanderungszeit*, a massive three-volume study that reworked and refined Salin's style groupings and included illustrations of much of the available corpus of Germanic animal art. In England, Leslie Webster (2005; 2011; 2012) has given attention to how Style I fits in with later developments of Anglo-Saxon art and has examined the concept of visual literacy.

With the typology of the art styles more or less sorted out, scholars began to consider the content of the iconography. Interpretive studies of the Germanic art styles owe much to bracteate research, especially work done by Karl Hauck (1970; 1985). He interpreted much of early medieval iconography as relating to the Nordic god Odin, whose shamanic transformations were argued to be referenced in the artistic motifs seen on metalwork of the period. Scandinavian scholars Bente Magnus (2001; 2005a; 2005b), Lotte Hedeager (1997; 2003), and Siv Kristoffersen (1995; 1997; 2000b; 2010) have elaborated upon this hypothesis. Magnus (2001), especially, has stretched this link even further, offering particular mythic episodes as inspiration for the iconography seen on Scandinavian relief brooches.

Kristoffersen (1995; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001), however, has taken a different approach and has attempted to understand how Style I motifs were psychologically perceived. Hedeager (1993; 1999) applied her iconographical interpretation to look at power and ideological structures that may have existed during the period, advancing the argument that neighboring regions in northern Europe shared a similar ideological view. She has also advanced the idea that the Huns influenced much

of the Scandinavian material culture of the Migration Period (2011). Karen Høilund Nielsen (1998) has explored similar arguments regarding political and elite ideologies in reference the later Style II.

The most recent shift in studies of Germanic animal art has been towards exploring not only the meaning of the art style, but its purpose. Archaeologists such as Tania Dickinson (2002b; 2009), John Hines (1997), and Colin Shepherd (1998) have looked at how specific brooch types, and associated Style I motifs, operated within small communities in Anglo-Saxon England. Here, the focus is not so much on large regional typologies, but on considering expressions of age, gender, and other aspects of identity as signified by a brooch. Høilund Nielsen (2009b) has utilized correspondence analysis to further explore the ways in which brooches were used in social contexts. She argues that her results show the ways different communities used relief brooches. For example, she suggests that one of the ways relief brooches were exported outside of Scandinavia was as a marriage gift in political marriage. This approach, while dependent on typology, seriation, and interpretation of the iconography, has the potential to reveal the significance of the art: how individuals in localized communities used it, and how the style connected regions within northern Europe under a common ideology.

Roman Influences on Early Medieval Metalwork

Scholarly consensus suggests that the majority of art styles developed beyond the Roman Empire during the late fourth and fifth centuries were influenced by late Roman motifs seen on metalwork associated with military service. While some styles, such as the Sösdala and Quoit brooch styles rarely deviated far from the artistic grammar of the late provincial Roman style, others deviated to such an extent that art historians and archaeologists have termed these styles "Germanic," meaning that while some of the motifs ultimately derive from late Roman metalwork, the technique, execution, and transformation of the style is seen as a localized phenomenon. By "Germanic," I refer to the art styles that originated beyond the Roman frontier in northern Europe, specifically, the regions now located in the modern countries of Germany, Denmark, Sweden,

Norway, and England. As discussed in chapter 3, naming conventions used by archaeologists do not necessarily correspond directly to language, ethnic, or genetic groups.

Roman material culture reached far beyond the *Limes* during the later Iron Age. People in the northern regions of Europe became familiar with Roman iconography, and were exposed to Hellenistic and eastern influences the Romans themselves had adapted. As power structures solidified, particularly in southern Scandinavia, local artists borrowed and transformed Roman iconography and incorporated it into their own artistic grammar and ideology. Thus, the Germanic art styles can be seen as a melding of a Germanic stylistic repertoire with motifs borrowed from late Roman provincial art. Germanic craftsmen became quite skilled at imitating Roman styles and techniques. In Saxon areas, beyond the Roman frontier, near exact copies of Roman products were made before the Germanic style flourished (Ament 1980).

It must be noted that some local motifs, particularly the use of stylized mask-heads, may have been carried over from earlier Iron Age Celtic art (Green 1996). In fact, it is possible that in some cases a motif such as the human head-mask may have originated as a Celtic element that then traveled through two independent artistic channels—"barbaric" and Roman—only to end up merging once again as a Germanic stylistic element. That is to say, the origins of stylistic elements and motifs used in Germanic art are difficult to pin down.

Skills needed to create decorative metalwork were adopted from the Romans as well, including techniques such as repoussé work, chip-carving, and granulation (Holmqvist 1955). Chip-carving, a technique originally developed for wood, creates deep, v-shaped channels, which on metalwork results in sharp, high relief that can also be extremely reflective. Only a few examples of chip-carving on wood survive. One of these artifacts is the alder chair from Fallward, Germany (Høilund Nielsen 2003) (Figure 5.1). The chair dates from the early fifth century AD and was placed in a burial along with other chip-carved wooden artifacts, including a footstool and a bird-shaped container. Also included in the grave were Late Roman chip-carved belt fittings (Hansen 2010). The

presence of artifacts such as the Fallward chair hint at a whole corpus of Germanic representations that are unfortunately now lost due to organic decay.

Figure 5.1. The chair from Fallward (after Hansen 2010).

Germanic art began to develop in the second century AD. The mechanisms of this shift appear to hinge on interaction with the Roman political system. By the second century AD, powerful families beyond the *Limes* in Scandinavia were regularly receiving diplomatic gifts of feasting equipment, coins, and weapons (Magnus 2005a). The silver discs from Thorsbjerg and the cups from Himlingøje illustrate how Germanic artists began altering and embellishing Roman high-status objects. The Thorsbjerg discs, found in Thorsbjerg bog, in Denmark, were decorated Roman *phalerae*—ornamental pieces of Roman military costume. While each disc contains representations typical of Roman art, such as Medusa's heads and a depiction of Mars, each also shows signs of embellishment by local craftsmen. Small animal figures made of silver are riveted onto one disc, while the other contains a frieze of animals atypical of Roman decoration (Holmqvist 1955).

On two Roman silver drinking cups from Himlingøje on the island of Zealand, Denmark, decorative friezes depict animals such as goats, birds, and horses in a stylized manner (Figure 5.2). Some of the birds of prey look backwards in a Late Provincial manner. Also featured on the friezes are

Figure 5.2. The Himlingøje cups. (after Hårdh Fig. 9).

mask-like disembodied heads and stylized warriors with ring swords (Magnus 2005b). The animal ornamentation, while still plastic, is more stylized and abstract than Roman zoomorphic art.

In the later Roman period, German men were actively recruited to join the Roman legions as auxiliaries. Upon completion of their service, many of these men returned home with Roman belts, buckles, scabbard fittings, and Roman coins. Peter Ørsted (1997) suggests that each of these returning auxiliaries may have brought with them the equivalent of 350 grams of gold. This influx of both new artifact types and styles along with the material required to produce local objects stimulated the artistic grammar of the Germanic artists. Objects associated with the Roman military, such as belt sets, were ways in which members of the military legitimized their association with Roman power. As objects that expressed power, it is likely that the objects themselves and the artistic grammar associated with them were quickly adopted and adapted by elites beyond the Roman frontier (Inker 2006).

Non-military Roman objects also inspired Germanic craftsmen. In the fifth and sixth centuries AD, Roman coins and medallions were the inspiration for round gold pendants, on which Roman iconography was altered and applied with the addition of Germanic motifs (Gaimster 2011) (Figure 5.3). Over 900 bracteates are known, and while their primary concentration is in Scandinavia, they do appear on the continent and in Anglo-Saxon England, especially Kent. Bracteates were produced by hammering the gold over a die, adding a frame, and attaching a suspension loop to the disc. They were worn as pendants suspended on strings or chains. Originally bracteates were emulations of profile portraits of Emperors, but quickly the iconography of the bracteates developed to include depictions of animals, symbols, and scenes that have a uniquely Scandinavian character (Magnus 2005a).

Figure 5.3. C-Bracteate.

Late Roman Military Metalwork

The primary military artifact from which Germanic artisans drew their inspirations were bronze belt sets that made their way to the Germanic homelands either through retired auxiliaries or through other means such as trade or looting. In the late fourth century, Roman belt equipment was decorated using the chip-carving technique (Figure 5.4). So-called "chip-carved bronzes" are viewed as the primary source for the later Germanic animal styles (Haseloff 1974). These belt sets usually included geometric designs, although many of them incorporated aquatic beasts and crouching quadrupeds. While the animals appear quite naturalistic, many are hybrids composed of characteristics of several animals. For example, lion bodies may be combined with the tails of fish (Haseloff 1974). Hippocamps are a common zoomorphic motif on chip-carved bronzes. Geometric motifs found on Roman military belt equipment originate in classical motifs, such as running spirals, spiral-tendrils, palmettes, egg-and-reel, and egg-and-tongue motifs (Bruns 2003). These motifs are ultimately derived from vegetal motifs (Haseloff 1974). The decoration is symmetrical, with ornamental zones demarcated by lines, in which the various geometric motifs are rendered. If animals appear, they appear only on the buckle loop itself or on the outer margins (Pollington 2010). Never are they included in the central field of ornament. Belt sets such as these occur in Gaul, between the Rhine and the Seine rivers, and in the Elbe-Weser valleys (Bruns 2003; Haseloff 1974). Chip-carved bronzes also occur in Kent, and were likely imports (Haseloff 1974).

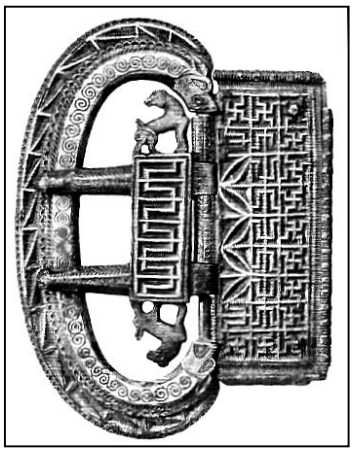


Figure 5.4. Belt buckle with Nydam Style (after Kramer, et al. 2000).

Sösdala Style

Named after a hoard of metalwork found in Sweden, the Sösdala style is executed with no visible relief on the cast surface. Instead, punches were used to delineate geometric motifs, and, in some cases, simple outlines of animals. These motifs include stars, triangles, lozenges, scrolls, rows of dots, and concentric circles (Pollington 2010). Items on which Sösdala Style appears are sometimes mercury-gilt, providing a contrast between decorative zones (Bruns 2003). Typical punch decorations can be seen on the Jarlsberg bow brooch from Norway. It includes rows of punched decoration, stars, and circles. A fish appears in simple outline on the head plate of the brooch. Most notably, a pair of downward-facing equines extend from the upper portion of the footplate, a motif that will evolve into the downward biting beasts found on so many relief brooches decorated with Style I art. Other examples of Sösdala style include the punched zoomorphic figures on the Gallehus horns.

Quoit Brooch Style

This style appears in southeastern England during the mid-fifth century, and is considered one of the styles that owes its origins primarily to Roman military metalwork (Inker 2000). Developed from the decoration found on late Roman military belt sets, this style exhibits shallow chip-carved, incised, and punched decoration. The Quoit brooch style is characterized by semi-natural zoomorphic decoration accompanied by geometric motifs (Suzuki 2000). In some cases, border zones of brooches are composed of quadrupeds and sea beasts; sea beasts being defined by the presence of a scrolled tail rather than the hind legs seen on quadrupeds (Pollington 2010). The bodies of the animals are defined by punch marks and incised lines to resemble fur. Often, an outer zone is composed of opposed pairs of quadrupeds or running sea beasts, while an inner zone is composed of geometric motifs, often running spirals (Suzuki 2000). Three-dimensional animals are also used, such as the pair of birds on the Sarre Quoit brooch. The style appears on belt fittings, scabbard fittings, and disc brooches. These brooches are uniquely

constructed by combining an annular and penannular brooch, with the penannular portion set inside. Peter Inker has applied an approach considering style as well as technique to objects made in the Quoit Brooch Style in post-Roman Britain; he argues that the style is more "defined by technology and technique than simply by decorative character" (Inker 2000: 27). The use of motifs reminiscent of late Roman motifs and the use of Roman punch-marking techniques has led some scholars to maintain that silversmiths trained in the late Roman tradition produced these objects. These objects were widely distributed in the fifth century and each appears to have been individually produced. Inker argues that the style is an antique one that relies on technological choice as the mode of decoration and expression of social identity (Inker 2000). Later phases of the style became increasingly zoomorphic in decoration (Suzuki 2000).

Saxon Relief Style

The Saxon relief style is a development from the chip-carved bronzes of Late Roman provincial metalwork. Designs of this style are executed in chip carving on buckles, equal-arm, supporting-arm, and saucer brooches. The primary decoration is scrollwork, best exemplified on saucer brooches of the late fifth century (Inker 2006). Border zones can include plastic animal motifs, usually of backward-looking animals. These animals are restricted to marginal ornamental zones. The style likely originates in the Elbe-Weser triangle, but is also found in England. Peter Inker suggests that some design elements of this style were derived from Roman shield patterns (Inker 2006).

Equal Arm Style

Equal arm style is closely related to Saxon Relief style, but was largely restricted to equal arm brooches. This style apparently developed out of Roman military art and directly preceded both Nydam Style and Salin's Style I (Bruns 2003). This style is produced by chip-carving and incorporates floral, geometric and zoomorphic elements seen on Roman military belt equipment. One main difference in technique between the

Roman military style and the equal arm style is that while pieces in the Roman style were made of bronze, the brooches made by the Germanic craftsmen were often silver or mercury gilt to make the faceted chip carving even more reflective (Bruns 2003). In England, most of the brooches are associated with artifacts dating to the fifth century (Evison 1981). Most English equal arm brooches were made using the same techniques and motifs as the continental examples, although several are decorated with stamps and molding; these, though, come relatively late in the sequence and are seen as the last type used before the abandonment of the brooch type (Evison 1981).

Nydam Style

Nydam style dates to the early fifth century and can be considered the first independent Germanic style (Pollington 2010). Deep chip-carving creates a three-dimensional cast relief that adds a sense of movement to the buckles, brooches, and sword fittings on which it appears. The application of niello on flat surfaces adds to the movement of the motifs, creating a contrasting metal surface that would create alternating light and shadow as the wearer of the metal object moved. Early Nydam style brooches incorporate zoomorphic motifs on the edges of the head plate very much in the way an animal may be applied to a Roman belt buckle (Pollington 2010). Later Nydam style brooches, such as the Lunde brooch, break this rule and include figures on the inner zone of the head plate. These zoomorphic motifs—primarily birds, sea-beasts, and quadrupeds—are more dynamic than animal figures on Roman military equipment (Figure 5.5). Also

Figure 5.5. Late Nydam Style brooch, Lunde, Norway.

figuring in the stylistic repertoire of the Nydam Style is the mask-between-beasts motif, which likely was borrowed from Late Roman metalwork. This motif often appears on Roman strap ends, with the mask forming the apex of the strap end (Bruns 2003). This motif endures throughout the evolution of the Germanic animal styles. Haseloff (1974) sees the Lunde brooch as a classic example of Nydam style art: Roman geometric motifs remain, such as the meander motif on the bow; hybrid sea creatures with curved tails appear on the footplate; but the main field of ornament on the head plate is now filled with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures executed in high, chip-carved relief. Haseloff compares this particular motif to the Roman motif that depicts Oceanus between two dolphins (1974). Nydam style develops into Style I by the mid-fifth century. Haseloff (1986) dated the transition form Nydam to Style I to 475, but more recent research has dated that transition to 450 AD (Axboe 2007).

Style I Art

Style I Germanic animal art appears on metalwork in the middle of the fifth century (Hedeager 1998). The style is a development of the previous styles, particularly the Nydam style, and shares with that style an origin in southern Scandinavia, including Denmark, southern Sweden, and southern Norway (Hedeager 2000). Scandinavian bracteates also influenced the development of the style (Webster 2011). Style I spread over a wide area of Europe after it developed in southern Scandinavia. Two major groups of relief brooches bearing Style I ornament have been identified. Nordic brooches that were exported or copied can be found in Scandinavia, Alemannia, Thuringia, and England (Hedeager 2000). The second group, Continental Style I, includes artifacts from Pannonia, England, and central Europe (Hedeager 2000). The Frankish people, notably, did not use Style I ornament but rather used eagle iconography—a bird with strong association with Rome (Hedeager 1998)

Style I appears primarily on brooches, but was also used to decorate pendants, buckles, belt mounts, weapon mounts, horse fittings, and drinking equipment. Described as the first distinctive Germanic style, Style I differs from Nydam style in that

zoomorphic decoration covers the majority of the object decorated. Geometric patterns still occur in this style, as evidenced by the spiral, palmette, and scroll motifs executed primarily on the margins of brooches. This arrangement is in direct contrast to the Roman provincial belt buckles, where it is the animals themselves that are regulated to marginal zones of ornaments, with the geometric motifs filling the central zones. Portions of the ornamentation are usually confined within defined frames; this framing technique may serve to present a visual aid for processing the condensed text of the art. Leslie Webster (2003) suggests that framing devices helped a viewer read the text when confronted with the seemingly chaotic, dynamic mixture of figures. In addition to exerting control over the mass of creatures, these frames may have also set cognitive boundaries between one portion of the visual text and the next.

Günther Haseloff (1974; 1981) studied the development of Style I and divided it into four phases. The evolution of these phases indicates a movement away from depicting animals and humans as they actually appear. Instead, body parts become increasingly reduced to contour lines. In Style I Phase A, animal bodies and appendages are executed with rounded relief. This is a shared characteristic with the earlier Nydam style. Punch marks also remain from the Nydam style. The defining characteristic is the use of contour lines to outline bodies and body parts. In Style I Phase B, animal motifs fill all interior zones of the object, relegating geometric and vegetal motifs to the outer margins of the head plate. Rounded relief on animal and human figures is replaced by flat relief in which bodies are filled in with parallel ridges. Style I Phase C develops the idea of the contour line further: bodies and body parts are usually only represented by contour lines. In Style I Phase D, the contour lines become elongated and ribbon-like (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6. Motifs from the Kircheim brooch.

In addition to dividing Style I into four phases, Haseloff identified three major artistic principles, all which serve to transform the animal and human figures in some way. These principles are *addition*, *abbreviation*, and *re-assembly* (Dickinson 2002b; Haseloff 1981). These techniques, which act both to conceal and reveal meaning through the stylization, reduction, and melding of animal and human features create multivocal, multivalent texts. Leslie Webster refers to this text as an "elliptical visual language" (2003: 13).

While the primary decorative motif consists of animals or animal body parts, humans also appear, mainly as disembodied heads, masks, or as parts of hybrid animal-men. Unlike depictions of animals on Roman metalwork, the figures here are abstract and stylized. Both animal and human bodies are reduced to their most elemental parts: heads, arms, hands, hips, legs, and feet. Some of these body parts are emphasized over others, and are frequently placed within the decoration without being properly articulated with other body parts. Human figures in the art are never accompanied by other objects. All activity and interaction occurs between the animal and human figures.

Body parts in Style I art are defined by contour lines. Haseloff viewed these lines as one of the defining characteristics of the style (1974). The sense one gets as she views a brooch decorated with this style is one of movement, contortion, and fragmentation. Animals and humans are broken up and put back together in a seemingly meaningless way. However, this seemingly chaotic amalgamation of body parts is likely highly structured, and upon further inspection, figures can be seen interacting with one another. Often this interaction or mixing of human and animal figures seems to be one of contention, where figures seem to be directly opposed, but many times the meeting of human and animal elements seems to refer to the notion of hybridity and transformation.

Also common in this style is the occurrence of broken symmetry. Opposing sides of a brooch may look identical, but often the craftsman has changed slight details in the design so that the two halves are almost, but not quite symmetrical. No two relief brooches decorated with Style I art, even those that occur in pairs, are ever identical. Each is a unique creation.

Style I Motifs and Iconography

Several motifs appear commonly in Style I art, many of which have antecedents in late Roman provincial metalwork. All, however, are altered in some way and likely express a Germanic or Scandinavian worldview. The following section illustrates the motifs and traces their origins. The possible meanings behind the motifs are examined in the next chapter.

Anthropomorphic Motifs

Dancing Men

Human bodies posed in a dynamic manner are often referred to as dancers (Figure 5.7). This motif appears on brooches, but also, importantly, on other objects such as beaker rims, drinking horn mounts, and bracteates. In some cases the legs of the figure are splayed as if the person depicted is jumping; in others the legs are folded, as if the figure is crouching (Shepherd 1998) (Figure 5.8). In some cases, human bodies are contorted; they appear to flip backwards in a gymnastic display. The best example of this type of "dancer" is the figure depicted multiple times on the beaker rim from Vestlye, Norway (Figure 5.9). This same type of contorted figure appears on decorative mounts on the drinking horns from Taplow, England (although this figure could also be classified as an animal-man). Emphasized in nearly all of the "dancer" motifs is a raised hand with the thumb prominently extended. The earliest examples of this motif are probably found on bracteates,

Figure 5.7. Open hand gesture with extended thumb (after Shepherd 1998).

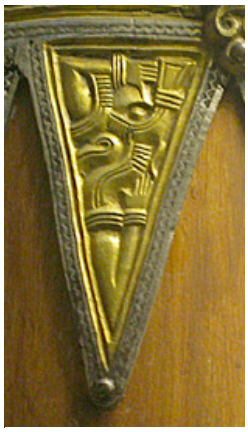


Figure 5.8. Human figure on drinking horn mount, Taplow, England.

and are likely Germanic interpretations of representations of a Roman Emperor with his hand raised (Holmqvist 1955).

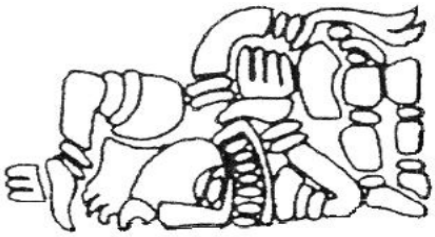


Figure 5.9. Human figure, beaker rim, Vestlye, Norway (After Hårdh).

Human Masks

Figure. 5.10. Human masks on the Chessell Down Brooch, England (© Trustees of the British Museum).

Human faces, or masks, are often predominantly displayed on the knobs of relief brooches (Figure 5.10). These face masks are very stylized, and it remains unclear whether they depict humans or deities. Sometimes described as helmets, the top of the head is represented by a curved bar. Underneath, the eyebrows and nose are typically joined. Dots form the eyes and each cheek is represented by lines connecting the bottom of the nose with the outer eyebrow. A mouth may or may not be depicted. The overall impression is the suggestion of a mask-like face, whose general expression is very owl-like (Kendrick

Figure 5.11. Birds as beard on human face (after Shepherd 1998).

1938). Variations occur; in some cases what appear to be beards are actually formed from the bodies of birds (Figure 5.11). In Style I art, only masks appear frontally (Magnus 2005a).

Zoomorphic Motifs

Downward Biting Beasts

Derived from creatures on Late Roman metalwork, animals whose necks or bodies are curved such that their mouths point downward appear commonly below the head plates of large relief brooches. These are likely related to backward-glancing beasts seen, for example, on Quoit Style objects (Shepherd 1998). On many brooches, the downward-biting beasts are actually birds of prey.

Rampant Beasts

Like the downward biting beasts, rampant beasts are derived from Late Roman metalwork. In some cases, these beasts are arranged in a procession and seem to guard zones of ornament (Webster 2003). Animal species are not usually identifiable, although some reasonable interpretations have suggested that wolves, boars, horses, serpents, ravens, and eagles are likely candidates (Jennbert 2012) (Figure 5.12).

Figure 5.12. Downward biting beasts and rampant beasts on the Gummersmark Brooch, Denmark (after Hårdh 2004).

Tiersalat

Tiersalat, or "animal salad," is a common motif depicted on later Style I brooches, especially in Anglo-Saxon England. Every available space within a decorative zone is filled with animal ornament, but the motif usually is composed of dislocated body parts, seemingly in a random jumble (Figure 5.13). In some cases, body parts are reduced to only their contour lines. Unless you were to know the iconographical associations with the contour lines, a viewer might not even recognize these as body parts. The presence of this motif in Anglo-Saxon England has led some scholars to consider the execution of the Style I ornament in the area as incompetent or degenerative (Dickinson 2002). Animal salad is linked with the concept of *horror vacui*—a need to fill the entire field of ornament with as much decoration as possible, regardless of the artistic merit of that decoration (Dickinson 2002; Leigh 1984).

Figure 5.13. Tiersalat *ornament (after Dickinson 2002).*

Motifs with both Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Elements

Tiermenschen

Figure 5.14. Embedded human profile in animal motif (after Leigh 1984).

As defined by Haseloff (1974), *Tiermenschen* are animals with human heads, but they can also be considered as hybrid figures that are composed from parts of both humans and animals (Figure 5.14). David Leigh (1984) was one of the first

scholars who examined what is now considered one of the central aspects of Germanic animal art: ambiguity in the figural representations. By studying Kentish square-headed brooches, and others of the Jutish group, he discovered that one could find human profiles embedded within other figures. Usually this occurs within the animal heads of a man-between-beasts motif. Specifically, the faces of animals become human heads if turned ninety degrees. Usually, the animal's ear forms a headdress on the human (Figure 5.15). Leigh considered this motif-within-a-motif a disguising mechanism. The figure can be seen as a whole animal, and also as a separate human head. He does not classify these as Haseloff's *Tiermenschen*; he does not read them as human-headed animals, as he asserts that you can't see both at the same time. The figures appear as an animal one moment, and as a human head the next. This assertion seems limited, as I think it quite possible to hold in one's mind, conceptually, the concept of the animal and the animal-man at the same time. This brings up questions about the nature of the human-animal relationship during the early medieval period, which will be covered in the next chapter.

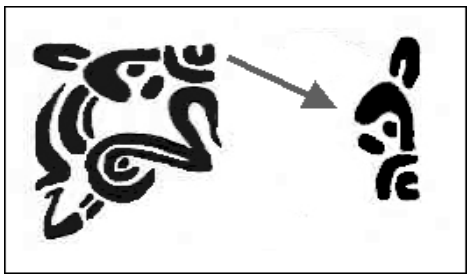


Figure 5.15. Salin's Style I. Left: Animal motif. Right: A human form hidden in the animal motif (after Leigh 1990: Fig. 8c).

En-Face Masks

Another motif which can be read several ways is one in which a full-face mask can be separated into two profiles. Usually, the full *en-face* mask can be read as an animal (Kristoffersen 1995). Pulled apart, two symmetrical human faces can be read as facing each other. However,

Figure 5.16. En-face mask, Tureholm, Norway (after Andersson et al. 2002) .

the opposite composition can also occur, where the *en-face* mask can be seen as a human, and the profiles are seen as beasts. The scabbard from Tureholm, Norway shows this construction, where two horse profiles form a stylized human face. Masks may also appear to have human and animal qualities dependant on the direction from which they are viewed. Leigh (1984) suggests that animal masks inverted often appear human.

Man-between-Beasts

The man-between-beasts motif appears to be derived from classical depictions of the deity Oceanus between two dolphins (Haseloff 1974). Variations of this motif were depicted commonly on Late Roman metalwork (Shepherd 1998). On buckles, a mask is situated between two hybrid sea creatures. In Style I art, the motif no longer refers to Oceanus and his sea-creatures, but refers to land dwelling quadrupeds (Figure 5.17). The artists retained the shape of the sea creatures by depicting the quadruped with its hind leg extended backward, thus maintaining the original s-curve. Sea creatures, hybrid or otherwise, disappear from the symbolic repertoire of Germanic art with the development of Style I (Haseloff 1974). However, the original motif develops many forms. In early Christian art, a human figure between two beasts refers to the Biblical Daniel in the lions den (Shepherd 1998). On a Merovingian

Figure 5.17. Galsted brooch, Denmark.

Figure 5.18. Daniel motif, belt buckle, Vaud, Switzerland.

buckle dating to the sixth century AD from Vaud, Switzerland, the Daniel motif is accompanied by a Latin inscription which reads: "Long live Daniel, two lions lick his feet. Darius" (Historisches Museum Bern 2009) (Figure 5.18).

In other cases, the beasts appear as birds, serpents, and even wolves. Curiously, animal species are much more recognizable in this motif. Shepherd (1998) classifies birds of prey as part of human masks as a variant of this motif. On Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches, especially, birds of prey form the mustaches of human masks.

Nordendorfer Motif

This motif occurs most commonly on Anglo-Saxon florid cruciform brooches. On the distal lappet of the footplate, triangular-shaped zones often descend from below the nose or mouth of a human mask. In some cases, this space is left empty, and these may have been rare examples of an empty space on a Style I brooch. However, on some, the triangular zone is filled with a Style I animals or animal parts (Vierck 1967). In many of the cases, the animal or animal parts seem to be emanating from the mouth of the human mask. The Nordendorfer motif appears to have originated in Anglo-Saxon England and was later brought back to southern Scandinavia (Vierck 1970).

Figure 5.19. Nordendorfer motif (After Vierck 1967).

Style II

Salin (1904) asserted that Style II developed from Style I at the very end of the sixth century, although this view has been challenged. Improved chronologies show that Styles I and II overlapped in usage; the origin of Style II is now dated to the mid-sixth century (Pluskowski 2010). Animals depicted in Style II decoration are intertwined with

each other, and are more elongated and ribbon-like than their Style I predecessors. Interlace is used to a large extent. Animals are much more identifiable in Style II motifs, and humans are rarely portrayed. The motifs of this style are not produced by chip carving, but rather by filigree and cloisonné work (Hougen 1967). Originally thought to have been derived from Byzantine metalwork, it is now recognized that there are antecedents of Style II in Lombardic graves of the sixth century as well as in Scandinavian artifacts (Hills 1980). In England, Kent appears to have earlier Style II artifacts than do other parts of Anglo-Saxon England, most likely because Kent had stronger contacts with other parts of northern Europe, including Merovingian Gaul where this style is also seen rather early (c. 569) (Hills 1980). In England, Style II was used into the seventh century, when it was increasingly used in Christian contexts.

The Ambiguity Principle

David Leigh's reading of the embedded human profiles in animal figures in Style I art freed Germanic animal art from being seen as a derivative, unskilled form of ornament, where animal and human figures were used simply to fill up empty spaces on metalwork. In a way, Leigh's interpretation "unlocked" the embedded, symbolic grammar of Style I art and simultaneously illustrated that the art was an iconographic text that could only be read by those versed in its visual vocabulary. As an ambiguous text, the intended result was to prevent an easy reading of the restricted symbolism embedded within the motifs.

Of course, this begs the question: as people living in a modern world filled with images based on our own visual repertoire, what are we not seeing in Germanic animal art? We literally cannot see the world the same way as the people who made, wore, or saw these pieces of metalwork. Were there specific ways of reading a brooch decorated with Style I animal art? Who could read this cryptic text? Do the framing mechanisms aid in visual extraction of the restricted images? What do these images mean? Are the symbols related to a religious ideology? Can we get close to an interpretation? These answers will be examined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 6 – STYLE I ANIMAL ART IN CONTEXT

Style I animal art was an intricate ornamental tradition influenced by Classical, Eastern, and Germanic decorative styles. Germanic craftsmen borrowed individual motifs from these sources and transformed them to suit the tastes and beliefs of elites throughout southern Scandinavia, as well as those elites in northern Europe who had real or perceived ties to power structures in southern Scandinavia. Untangling the ornament's stylistic genealogy is but one of the main avenues of research surrounding Style I art. The most important anthropological question is this: what did Style I animal art *do* in social contexts? How did people actively use the style's iconography? How did they visually perceive it, decode it, and think with it? A corollary to these questions is: what did Style I animal art *mean*? To what did the motifs refer? If we accept that the style is not based on the *horror vacui* principle, and that each motif held and expressed meaning, can these motifs be translated with any accuracy in the present?

This chapter explores the ways in which Style I animal art can be interpreted. I will discuss how the relationship between humans and animals and the natural world is constituted in the style, how theories relating to the idea of the body might relate to the theme of fragmentation as seen in various motifs, and they ways in which people may have been participants in the production of meaning by making and wearing objects decorated with animal art. I will also discuss Norse and Anglo-Saxon belief systems as a way of understanding why animals were so fundamental to early medieval art styles. Finally, I will examine the ways in which the later Style II was used as a way of understanding the functions of Style I.

Visual Text and Social Context

What does one perceive as they look at a brooch decorated with the motifs of Style I art? To a modern observer, the design might, at first, seem unintelligible; especially when observed at a distance, the decoration seems chaotic, as if the craftsman had filled the design fields with small, random groups of lines in high relief. However, as

the observer gets closer however details begin to emerge: human faces or masks are perhaps the first motifs identifiable to the modern eye. On further inspection, one might notice a hand with raised thumb, or perhaps a leg seemingly floating among meaningless curved lines. It is only with careful, close observation that the motifs resolve themselves. What at first seemed incoherent is revealed to be a complex visual language.

Many scholars have pointed out the difficulty that even experts encounter in reading the motifs of Style I. When animals can be deciphered, they appear to have been purposely hidden within the ornamentation (figure 6.1). The revelatory nature of the decoration serves several purposes. The viewer must be able to read the images presented on the brooch; they must have literacy in the visual grammar presented, and they must also be close enough to the brooch to read the specific messages embedded in the visual text. Motifs which were easily visible from a distance may have been more readily read by a wider range of people, but the smaller, more ambiguous motifs may have been read only by a select few (Carr 1995)

Figure 6.1. Motifs on the Chessell Down brooch from England (after Pollington 2010).

The stylized, detached parts of the body, which are arranged in ways that do not make anatomical sense, suggests that a grammar of style was used, and that observers unfamiliar with this style may have been unable to recognize and decode the symbols. The motifs are deliberately confusing to those who are unfamiliar with them. The motifs serve to simultaneously conceal as well as reveal meaning as the eye scans the object.

This therefore begs the question: why is the decoration on objects of the fifth and sixth centuries in this part of Europe both cryptic and revelatory? What social purpose

does this serve? As scholars living in the modern world, our approaches to answering these questions are difficult to disentangle from our conceptions of perception and image. As Peter Wells (2008a) notes, we are exposed to thousands of images every day, as opposed to an individual living fifteen centuries ago who perhaps encountered only a few carefully selected, culturally meaningful images in a day. Furthermore, we can never truly see the message created by an individual craftsman on a brooch because we approach the object within the cultural context of our own time. A modern observer creates a personal, context-specific interpretation of the image presented which can never be the same interpretation as someone living in the sixth century; our worlds and our ways of seeing are different (Wells 2008a).

If we are not able to use the same cognitive map as did the inhabitants of early medieval Europe, then we must approach the questions posed above through careful study of the social context in which these visual texts were used.

Socio-economic Status and Gender

Since the beginning of serious study of early medieval metalwork in the nineteenth century, scholars have assigned different meanings to the motifs. The first interpretations, however, were almost all based on art historical development. Style I motifs were treated as pure decoration; no active social use was afforded the ornament. In fact, Sophus Müller saw the decoration as meaningless (Neiß 2004). While the specific motifs were identified and classified by Bernhard Salin as early as 1904, the interpretation of Germanic animal art as being an inherently derivative and degenerative art form lasted until the mid-twentieth century (Kendrick 1938; Lethbridge 1956). Under this model, the social function of a piece of gilded metalwork decorated with this style would be to display conspicuous wealth as a means of expressing status. Of course, brooches and other pieces of metalwork do express socio-economic status; but they symbolized other aspects of identity as well.

Gender is the most obvious aspect of personal identity associated with the wearing of brooches as adornments. Although there are exceptions, large relief brooches

in early medieval northern Europe were worn primarily by females. Since Style I art was used most often on dress fasteners, the decorative style was also associated with females. However, weapons and drinking containers were also decorated with Style I motifs, and as these items are usually associated with males, it is clear that Style I was not exclusive to the female gender. Age and life cycle phase can also be associated with Style I art. In Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the large, ornate brooch types were restricted to adult females (Flowers 2005; Stoodley 1999a). This generally holds true in other northern European cemeteries as well (Halsall 2010).

At the most simplistic level, Style I art and the metalwork that it decorates can be associated with mature females of high status. While this generalization gives us a basic idea of what type of person would wear such an object, it does little to indicate how or why such a decorative scheme or form of brooch would be perceived as socially important. To begin to understand that, it must be understood why the motifs were embedded in social practice and ideology.

Bodies, Fragmentation, and Enchainment

Humans and animals are depicted in the visual grammar of Style I art. Much less prevalent are floral and geometric motifs that are the most obvious links to late Roman provincial art. The most divergent motifs from late Roman traditions are the animal and human figures. Unlike animals or humans in late Roman art, the figures are not usually readily identifiable or even recognizable as coherent species. Even the human faces and figures defy instant interpretation. As discussed in chapter 5, animal and human bodies are deconstructed, fragmented, and dislocated within the ornamental motifs. At the same time, body parts are integrated together, producing hybrid entities. This does not describe a form of degenerative ornament, nor were the motifs purely ornamental; this is not an example of "art for art's sake."

Bodies are central to early medieval art. It could be argued that Style I art is consumed with breaking, shaping, and reintegrating the physical (and perhaps spiritual) body. This is far from the idealized depictions of the human body seen in classical art.

Moreover, there is no individuality as such in Style I art. Human faces are heavily stylized. While there is some diversity of facial features, this variation does not seem to correspond to depictions of individuals. Much more effort is placed upon highlighting the mutability of the physical form. Clearly, corporeal morphology was important as an organizing principle in the art. Bodies and body parts were conceptually integral to one's perception of the world. The depictions of bodies on early medieval metalwork may inform our understanding of the concept of the body in general as perceived in early medieval cultures. Bodily practices, such as presenting or performing the "finished" body through clothing and adornments, as well as the fragmentation of the partible body in mortuary practices, may be situated in different conceptions of corporeality, performance, and personhood.

However, mortuary practices, bodily performances, and practices regarding property all seem to indicate that individuals were important in the early medieval period. In southern Scandinavia, a focus on individuals begins in the second century AD. At this time, the "Germanic" gendered burial appears; both men and women are afforded status in furnished graves. Communal layout of property gives way to fenced farmsteads, and some male individuals achieve extremely high status as leaders of war bands. Seventh and eighth century law codes lay out specific *wergild* values for different types of individuals (James 1988).

If individuality as such was recognized during this time period, how do we reconcile concepts of individual personhood with the fragmentary bodies of Style I art? I would suggest that at a physical and technical level, the bodily figures represented on Style I art are necessarily deconstructed due to the medium on which they were crafted. A reduction in size of figural depictions is usually accompanied by a reduction of the number of body parts represented (Bailey 2008). Therefore, choices must be made regarding the inclusion of specific body parts.

Given the technical nature of chip carving, only so many details of the body can be depicted. Of course, animal and human figures could have been bigger, but even then some parts would have been selected for elimination. Even in earlier styles of Germanic art where bodies are more plastic and naturalistic, such as Nydam style or even late

Roman provincial styles, body parts are subtracted such that the body represented is a stereotype of a body in the real world. Bailey (2008: 10) argues that the process of miniaturization results in "representational absence," and that this absence requires viewers to think about what has been lost in the representation. Moreover, he suggests that observers of miniature figures, models, and landscapes gain access to other worlds. He cites psychological studies that show that the brain processes information more quickly when subjects imagined themselves in miniature landscapes or interacted in an imaginary world through small figures in video games (Delong 1983 in Bailey 2008).

Schematized representational absence in the human form can add meaning because it allows for multiple interpretations. Nakamura and Meskell (2009) note that when handled and viewed from different perspectives, abbreviated human figurines from Çatalhöyük can exhibit or exaggerate different aspects of the human body. This multiplicity in form allows for multivocal meanings to be expressed through bodily interaction. Abbreviated forms in this context acted as "vehicles through which one could enact and explore various social attitudes, relationships, and values" (Nakamura and Meskell 2009; 224). Figural representations enable individuals to reconcile their own physical qualities with their ontological views of the world (Nanoglou 2008).

Joyce (2008: 37) suggests that we think of figurines as "instruments of experience:" objects that engage an individual through repeated embodied movements. While depictions of bodies on brooches are not three-dimensional figurines, I would argue that a person's repeated bodily interaction with brooches and the figures depicted on them—pinning and unpinning the elements of costume—would result in a close cognitive association between brooches, Style I bodies, and the social creation of human bodies. The act of putting on and fastening clothing, of physically assembling the "finished" human body, prepared the individual for public social interaction. These objects may have been thought of as extensions of the body, intimately associated with daily performative practices. In this sense, the bodily figures on brooches or other adornments could have been thought of as having life; they were active objects that mediated the completion of the body and person. Brooches, therefore, were integral

components in the creation of gendered personhood, acting as facilitators in the performance of identity in the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

Objects which incorporate relationships via metonymic metaphor can also be used to extend the physical body. Vision-based behavioral studies have shown that the behavioral space surrounding the body is extended through the use of tools, weapons, or other objects such as jewelry (Malafouris 2008). Interactions with such objects affect spatial perception and concepts of embodiment and the visual body schema (Maravita *et al*. 2003). In this way, objects used in close association with the body become parts of the body. Sørensen (2010) discusses the integration of personal adornment with the body in the European Bronze Age, distinguishing between attached, associated, and additive objects. Attached objects in Bronze Age society include finger-rings and earrings—adornments that physically encircle the body. According to Sørensen, these are the objects that become part of the person, perhaps added to the physical body at certain life stages and incorporated into personal identities. Associated objects decorate the body but may be removed in such a way that does not affect the body or the costume. Brooches, according to her definition, would be placed with buttons and other garment clasps in the additive category which incorporates objects that are added to the clothing rather than the body. She argues that these dress pins are more directly related to the production of the costume and the individual's access to such clothing, although she does note that very elaborate dress pins can be categorized in multiple categories. As tools for completing costumes, these types of adornment may be most closely associated with social differentiation.

Large, elaborately decorated brooches were the primary dress item in many northern European graves. I would argue that while being additive objects, they also act as attached objects that may be incorporated into the corporeal body. I would also argue that these brooches act as instruments of experience that extend the body. They must be handled multiple times on a daily basis and act as framing devices for particular parts of the body. When paired at the shoulders, symmetrically-placed brooches draw attention to the upper torso and head of the individual, thus defining those aspects of the body that are most important in conceptions of identity. It seems like no accident to me that the most

emphasized and detailed parts of the human body in Style I art are the faces and masks. While many of these faces and masks appear to be male due to the presence of facial hair, some are more gender ambiguous and may represent females.

As physical objects, bodies can be seen as having both relational identities, which reflect changes in context and personal character, as well as fixed identities, which are based on culturally constructed ideals of what the body should be (Fowler 2008). Human experience is mediated through the corporeal body; our relationships with each other, our conception of self and personhood, and our connections to the landscape are all based on bodily action, perception, and experience. Bodies are viewed by others, and can be seen as expressions of both identity as well as the social relationships that are created through bodily action. Human bodies are also intimately tied with objects; through objects we interact with the world and enable social actions and the creation of mutually recognized inter-personal relationships. Objects can visually and materially represent such relationships and are integral in the creation of personal and group histories (Sofaer 2006). As people create objects, objects enable the creation of people through the mediation of social relations.

Miniaturization and abstraction of figural motifs in the art can be thought of both as a functional aspect of brooch production, as well as a visual strategy that enhances contemplative cognition. An additional aspect of the figural motifs is fragmentation and dislocation. Recently, the concepts of personhood, fragmentation, and fractal patterning of human bodies have been discussed in archaeological literature (Chapman 2000a; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Fowler (2008: 49) demonstrates that in many cultures, human bodies are conceived as being constructed of several aspects, which vary according to cultural context. For example, in southern India, the permeable body acts as a vessel in which different essences may be combined, removed, and replaced. In other cases, bodies are partible; In Melanesia, gifts of food and other products produced from bodily action are seen as features or aspects of the person giving the gift (Fowler 2008: 50).

Personhood, too, can likewise be defined in different ways. In modern Western society, personhood is bound to concepts of individualism and autonomy. Each

individual person is a complete and discrete whole, an entity distinctly separate even from close relatives and the landscape. Bodies begin and end, and are bounded by skin. Bodily integrity is essential to individual identities. Yet for those living in past societies, as well as those living outside the Western world, personhood is often conceptualized as the result of the interactions in which a person participates. In this way, persons can be seen as "dividuals" rather than bounded, autonomous individuals; person hood is made up of interactions and relationships (Brittain and Harris 2010; Brück 2006). However, in reality, every person has dividual and individual aspects of their personhood. In this way, relational personhood and the concept of fragmentary or fractal body become enchained in social relationships. Surely people living in early medieval Europe conceived of the fractal body and the relational person in different ways than do the individuals of the cultures cited above. Yet, because one of the guiding principles of bodily representation is fragmentation, it seems likely that personhood was not seen as completely autonomous.

One way in which fragmentation is seen in the archaeological record is through the transformation of the body in mortuary ritual. In cultures where the body is made up of essences, features, or parts, mortuary rituals often involve the segmentation or fragmentation of the body (Fowler 2008). Only through fragmentation can the corporeal body be transformed and the essences that constituted the deceased's identity be reintegrated into society. Cremation, the destruction of proxy vessels and objects, and the re-dispersal and curation of human remains are examples of mortuary practices that act as methods of fragmentation. Other transitions in the life cycle could be mediated through fragmentation as well; Joanna Brück (2006: 307) suggests that in Bronze Age Britain, the production, use, and breakage of pottery and metalwork served as metaphors for life transitions, including marriage, reproduction, and the production of the self.

If we take the deconstructed bodies seen in Style I art as "broken" objects, we may apply Chapman's theory of fragmentation as an essential component of social enchainment (2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Chapman first conceptualized enchainment when he discussed the deliberate breakage or fragmentation of objects in the Neolithic and Copper period in the Balkans. Each fragment from an object could then be

used to create and maintain social relationships; as the fragments together constituted the whole, so did each person constitute a fragment of linked social relationships. This process was referred to as enchainment, a linking together of social interactions and bonds across space as well as time. Objects may be used as metaphorical symbols to categorize and memorialize social relationships.

Chapman and Gaydarska (2007: 6) argue that the scale of enchainment processes reflects the value of the relationship personified. For objects that move in a small-scale setting such as that between households, personal relations are objectified, whereas those objects that move between regions or cultures objectify economic and social values. Breaking an object or body does not necessarily result in a loss of meaning; fragments of the formerly whole object reference the original object while producing novel, context-dependent meaning (Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen, and Hughes 2010). Enchainment processes therefore integrate and symbolize the relationships between people, places, and objects. This includes the life cycle of the object; as an object is made, used, and discarded, it acquires a biography. Each person who interacts with the object adds context to its biography; similarly, objects help define an individual's own biography and personhood (Csíkszentmihályi and Rochberg-Halton 1981).

Fragmented bodies can become enmeshed in enchainment as well; a more familiar example to us would be the relics of Christian saints, whose fragmentary bodies nonetheless represent the original, whole body of the saint (MacKendrick 2010). Relationships formed with and through relics can be widely geographically separated but yet maintain core social and religious values.

Whole objects are also used in enchainment processes. Brooches then, could act as the metonymic link between people; for example, a woman's relationship with her mother, her natal kin, and her marital kin. Of course, links to groups may also be incorporated into an individual's identity via a brooch. I would add, however, that any of these relationships or links might be desired, exaggerated, invented, inverted, or even downplayed. In a mortuary context, the relationship is even more complex. A brooch, and its signified relationships, may be terminated. In cases where a brooch is clearly an old and heavily worn heirloom, why had it not been kept by the younger generation? Clearly

it had been handed down. Perhaps the final deposition of a brooch in this instance symbolizes the termination, or the cessation of the usefulness of a specific relationship connection.

Style I decorated brooches are usually deposited as whole objects either in graves or in votive deposits. However, in some instances, only the terminal portions of relief brooches have been found deposited in graves. These terminal pieces without exception ornamented with human or animal figures, many of them masks or heads. In other cases, the brooches themselves are found in graves with the terminal pieces snapped off; however, no fragmentary pieces have been matched with these particular objects. It should be noted that the breakage does appear intentional and does not appear to be the result of plowing or excavation. This phenomenon is known primarily in Sweden, but also occurs in Norway, Finland, and Hungary. Bente Magnus (2009) describes these objects as having been ritually killed, but perhaps we should look at them in terms of enchainment and fragmentation. Perhaps the breaking of the brooch into pieces represented the linking of personal relationships; the breaking and sharing of the brooch could have taken place in life or during the mortuary ritual, as an action that would enhance the transformative nature of the situation and at once commemorate and terminate social relationships.

I would extend the concept of enchained relationships being symbolized by brooches one step further. Brooches signified inter-personal relationships and aspects of dividual and individual identity. I suggest that in addition, the segmented and deconstructed bodies of humans and animals on brooches referenced both the concept of the partible body in early medieval society as well as a philosophy of transformation through fragmentation. The *en-face* mask motif, in particular, stresses the fragmentation of the individual into multiple or dividual beings.

This ideology of transformation has been advanced by Howard Williams (2001a), who views Anglo-Saxon cremation practice as a transformative process through which the deceased are recreated as ancestors. During the process of cremation, the physical body changes and becomes a condensed form (Sørensen and Rebay 2008).

Although there are many relationships and identities transformed through mortuary practices, it might be helpful to think about the elements of the fractal body being redistributed and reintegrated into society as well. While not as visually or physically transformative as cremation, inhumation is also a process of fragmentation; eventually the body decomposes and reintegrates into the earth. In later Anglo-Saxon England, the body, conceptualized as a transparent glass through which actions and deeds could be viewed, was encouraged to decompose in the ground, physically melding and mingling with the dirt and worms to reconstitute itself as a clean spiritual body (Stodnick and Trilling 2010). While situated in a Christian context, this familiarity with decomposition and transformation indicates that the act of burying a whole body did not preclude subsequent bodily or metaphysical transformation.

At the funeral, as at cremation ceremonies, the identities of the deceased are broken down and transferred to others and reinforced for the group. The daughter of the deceased is now the matriarch; the apprentice of the craftsworker now the master; the second-in-command now the leader. The idealized femininity or masculinity of the deceased reinforces those same aspects of identity for individuals of the community. As in life, the deceased's dividual person is enchained in social relationships. In the same way, the deceased body's adherence to idealized cultural norms represents the group itself and lends legitimacy to group unity. Chapman (2010) has suggested that in some mortuary contexts, an inhumation of a whole body may not relate to the concept of the individual, but rather the integrity of the community.

I would argue that this transformative ideology was not only utilized during mortuary ritual. Concepts of transformation and mutability pertained to concepts of personhood and one's place in the world, especially with respect to the relationships and connections between humans and other animals. Of the three main categories of motifs in Style I animal art (animal, human, and geometric/floral motifs), animal motifs are the most striking and yet the most ambiguous. These motifs also seem to be the focus of the style's ornamental vocabulary. Yet, animals are not presented as static, unmoving beings. In the ornamentation, animals interact both with other animals and with human motifs. As such, the figures in Style I animal art enact and enchain the different kinds of

relationships animals have with humans. Human and animal figures can be viewed enacting conflict and cooperation. In some cases, the boundaries between humans and animals are blurred, breaking down bodily borders.

Hybrid and Entangled Bodies

People living in early medieval Europe likely had much different perceptions regarding animals than we do today in our modern, urban world. Humans lived in much closer physical proximity to both domestic and wild animals than do many modern people. They interacted with them on a daily basis and were not separated from wild animals in the ways in which we are today. Therefore, it is not surprising that peoples living in these societies created permeable boundaries between humans and animals.

Animal bodies may appear as fragmented parts, as animal faces or masks, or more rarely, as coherent bodily forms. Partitioned animal and human bodies in the art, unlike whole forms, are able to incorporate aspects of each other in the creation of hybrid bodies. I would argue that this is the reason why bodies are fragmentary in the art: deconstructing the corporeal body into parts allows the integration of beast and man. Hybrid motifs in Style I decoration deliberately defy identification and appear to be in a constant state of transformation. The *Tiermenschen*, en-face masks, man-between-beasts, and Nordendorfer motifs all show aspects of human-animal hybridity. More than one kind of hybridity appears, perhaps demonstrating different human-animal relationships or different ideologies of transformation; both animals and humans are often reversible, added to, or embedded within other figures. Elements of one animal may be part of another, and elements of two animals, when viewed together, often produce an en-face human mask. In most cases, the animals appear to have been hidden within the ornamentation.

Late Roman provincial art, from which Style I draws many components, also depicted human-animal hybrids. A ubiquitous example of a late Roman hybrid is the hippocamp; a horse with a fish tail. Depicted on late Roman belt buckles, these hybrids likely were an influence for later Nydam and Style I zoomorphic motifs. Classical

hybrids, however, are immediately recognizable due to their composite nature. The Minotaur is both a bull and a man, whose body is assembled from recognizable body parts characteristic of each creature (Hughes 2010; Miracle and Borić 2008). Moreover, the boundary between the human and animal attributes of the hybrid creature remains distinct. Locating boundaries in Style I art is difficult; even the boundaries seem to shift in the art. Early medieval hybrids do something classical hybrids would never do: they approach monstrosity. Whereas there was a tendency to depict what was ideal in both the animal and human components of the classical hybrid (Hughes 2010), early medieval craftsmen were more concerned with the act of deconstructing bodies and transforming them into a new entity.

In the case of the Minotaur, Hughes (2010) suggests that the bull's head joined to the human body is indicative of a masking practice; Theseus, in killing the monster, actually unmasks the human. In representations of classical hybrids, Hughes argues, humans were confronted with the idea of their own corporeal fragmentation. Shepard (1996: 188) argues that the idea of composite animals originates in butchery; the realization that animals can be deconstructed into separate parts applied to humans as well, but also served to illustrate that certain parts of anatomy were tied to an animal's attributes. These parts could then be mixed with other animal parts to create hybrid creatures that explained abstract and complex concepts.

Juxtaposed next to everyday examples of deconstructed and disarticulated dead animals, the representational human-animal hybrid forced the viewer to situate the concept of the other in the context of the human body. Hughes argues this confrontation is what made human-animal hybrids inherently monstrous to classical audiences.

If the majority of Style I hybrids were not composite hybrids like hippocamps, minotaurs, and centaurs, how can they be categorized? Miracle and Borić (2008) refer to two other types of hybrids in addition to the composite hybrid: transformative hybrids and explanatory hybrids. Transformative hybrids are creatures that can be an animal or a human and can transition between both states, such as a werewolf (literally a man-wolf, from Old English). Explanatory hybrids are commonly used to explain the world in "just-so" stories, and are utilized as agents in etiological myths. Style I hybrids could fit into all

three of these categories, but the recurring theme in the decoration is one of transformative hybridity. The *Tiermenschen* and en-face mask motifs fall within this category, exhibiting features that can be viewed as an animal, a human, or as a human-animal hybrid. On many brooches, the faceted, chip-carved surface enhances the abstract bodily forms and creates the illusion of a living surface (Hills 1980; Speake 1980). Viewed from different angles, the play of light and shadow on the object magnifies this illusion of movement. The deconstruction of both animal and human corporeality through fragmentation and the metamorphic reconstruction of hybrid bodies blurs the boundary between "animal" and "human."

In his study of lines, Tim Ingold (2007: 167-9) argues that disrupted spaces in fragmented lines are dislocations, but these dislocations are not necessarily absent of meaning; the segmented nature of a disrupted line allows the creation of passages through which humans are able to create themselves, within previously unapproachable spaces. The segmented bodies of Style I figures do exactly that. As fragmented lines, they create cognitive spaces where the viewer can explore the relationships between animal and human and reconcile themselves within those connections. Fragmentation and hybridity are conscious principles of expression in the art style (Gaimster 1998).

Boundaries between the human and animal worlds are viewed as permeable in many cultures. Animals themselves can be conceptualized as being completely different from humans, as different kinds of human, or as one and the same. Among some Amazonian cultures, animals are classified in the same category as humans with whom an individual has few ties. A foreigner and a tapir, for example, would be seen as embodying similar places in the world (Miracle and Borić 2008: 102-3). Metamorphosis between animal and human forms is seen as a natural condition.

Animals and humans can be brought together in archaeological contexts in several ways. Association, substitution, and transformation have all been recorded in mortuary contexts as well as representations (Chapman 2010; Miracle and Borić 2008). Association is the most casual of these linkages. In Anglo-Saxon England, examples of association with animals include amuletic objects such as beaver teeth or boar tusks included in graves and the inclusion of whole horses or horse gear in high-status graves.

Substitution, which might include affording animals their own grave and grave gifts, or substituting specific bones of a human with those of another animal, is rare in northern European graves of the early medieval period. In some instances of high-status horse burials, horses were given their own separate graves (Bond and Worley 2006; Fern 2005). Substitution does appear more frequently in Style I motifs. For example, a man's mustache may be substituted with two birds' heads, resulting in a body with essentially three heads. In these cases, the animal-human hybrid is categorically different than *Tiermenschen,* which have a single head. Whether figures with several heads represent a multi-headed hybrid or suggest a close bodily association between human and animal is explored below.

Human-animal transformations are thought to occur in cremation graves, where human and animal bones have been intermingled. In Anglian cemeteries, animal remains are often found mixed with human bones in cremation urns. Joints of sheep, goat, and pig were likely food offerings, whereas horses, cattle, and dogs were cremated whole on the pyre with the deceased (Crabtree 1995; Williams 2005a). In Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries, horses were particularly common; 23% of cremations contained horse bones (Bond and Worley 2006). Both "sacrifices" and food offerings were mixed with human bone in the urn. At the large cremation cemetery at Spong Hill, over 44% of cremations included animal bones (Bond and Worley 2006). In many of these cases, multiple animal species were present in the cremation (Bond 1996), resulting in a new hybrid "body" in the cremation urn. Mixture of the cremated bones was intentional; experiments have shown that cremated bones of animals are readily differentiated from cremated human bones (Williams 2004a; 2005a).

Food offerings and remains of whole animals, particularly horses and dogs, are also seen in inhumation graves. The inclusion of the whole bodies of horses and dogs in graves throughout northern Europe in the early medieval period indicates that these were meant to be companions to the dead (Crabtree 1995).

The transformative aspect of integration is not as clearly expressed in inhumations. Mingling human and animal bodies in a cremation requires a process of

fragmentation and reconstitution that is similar to the creation of hybrid animal-human bodies as seen in Style I art.

In all of these cases, the creation of hybridity in burial or in representation breaks the integrity of the human body, enabling individuals to think about the relationships between humans and animals. Animals must have been significant in early medieval ideologies and ontologies, otherwise the art could have easily depicted only humans in the art. What did animals signify in early medieval society?

Style I Animal Art in Context

Fragmented and hybrid human-animals clearly were important structuring principles in early medieval perceptions about the body, the self, and connections with the natural world. Selection and patterning of the motifs in the style indicate that a grammar was shared between individuals throughout the geographical distribution of the style. If it was only important that humans and generic animal shapes were portrayed together, we might expect to see different kinds of animals and alternative hybrid motifs manifesting in the art through time or in different cultural contexts within northwestern Europe. While there is geographical and temporal variation in the motifs, most are repeated; the style's iconography does form a coherent, socially embedded visual language.

If the symbolic language was socially embedded and those who used it agreed on the general concepts that it illustrated, can modern readers of the text understand what the language conveys? A more appropriate question would be what *did* the language convey? For a modern archaeologist or a museum visitor, the motifs on a brooch may tell an infinite number of stories. We read images through the lens of our own cultural context, making it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the original meaning intended by the craftsman who made the brooch or the individual or individuals who wore it. Stories, especially ones transmitted through oral performance, can change with each telling.

When examining cultures which leave no written record of belief, semiotic approaches to understanding representation are usually avoided. For early medieval art,

however, such approaches have been utilized since the 1850s (Gaimster 1998). Most authors of these studies selectively chose motifs and correlated these with aspects of later Nordic religion. A common strategy was to identify particular species of animals as attributes or companions of Nordic gods; for example, boars were linked with Frey (Gaimster 1998). However, these analyses never went much deeper than simple attribution.

There are demonstrable iconographic similarities between fifth and sixth century art and the later Nordic myths, but whether these similarities are tenuous connections or actual remnants of an earlier Nordic tradition is difficult to assess. The main obstacle to reconciling early medieval art with pagan Nordic/Germanic religious beliefs is the lack of written sources in the fifth and sixth centuries. Another factor is the tendency of scholars to treat pre-Christian belief systems as if there were one pan-Germanic religion. Belief systems were rooted in local practice (Shaw 2011), and it may be that Germanic animal art represents only one particular worldview: that of elites whose legitimacy was bound up in the warrior ideal. Other cults, ritual practices, and belief systems were certainly practiced, and the varied nature of burial practice may be indicative of that.

The most comprehensive description of Nordic religion is the Eddic literature of the thirteenth century, which may include stories which were first formalized as oral poetry. The *Poetic Edda* includes poems that may date to the 10th century. *Beowulf* can be viewed as an additional relevant text. At best, if *Beowulf* was composed as early as the eighth century as has been suggested, three centuries separate the earliest Migration Period art and a textual source. Eight centuries separate the motifs and the Eddic literature. Obviously, using these texts as an explanatory framework for early medieval ideology and ritual practice should be applied critically. While these sources were written in a Christian society, and were influenced by Christian traditions, they may still provide insights into the early medieval world-view.

The research of Karl Hauck has made advances in the semiotic approach to early medieval art. Using what he called *Kontext-Ikonographie*, Hauck (1985-89) sought to identify recurrent iconographic motifs within early medieval art. His analyses showed how Germanic art adapted aspects of late Roman art within a pagan Germanic ideology.

Central to his interpretations was the dominance of the Norse god Odin, who appears in Nordic mythology as the god who oversees warfare, healing, magic, and poetry (Gaimster 1998).

Other evidence, including runic and philological evidence, suggests that versions of the gods known in the Norse pantheon were recognized at least as early as the fourth century. The linking of the Germanic gods to the days of the week was likely fixed at this time in the lower Rhine (Axboe 2007). Several modern days of the week are linked to the Germanic gods Tyr/Tiw (Tuesday), Odin/Woden (Wednesday), Thor/Thunor (Thursday), and Frigg (Friday). Runes on a C-bracteate from Denmark refer to the "high one," a name later associated with Odin (Gaimster 1998: 37) (Figure 6.2). The runic inscription on the back of a relief brooch from Nordendorf alludes to Odin, Thor, and perhaps Loki. The inscription roughly translates to "*Lodur (Loki), Wodan, Blessing-Donar. I, Leubwini (love-friend) (gave to) Awa*" (MacLeod and Mees 2006: 17-18). The inscription appears to be a love-charm invoking the names of powerful Germanic gods. Alternatively, the inscription could be a denunciation of the gods as pagan magicians: "*Tricksters: Wodan, Battle-Donar. I, Leubwini (gave unto) Awa*" (Fischer 2005). The word *trickster* need not be a seen as a negative declaration; it could also refer to the shape-shifting abilities of the god Odin.

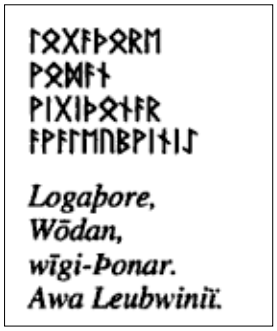


Figure 6.2. Runic inscription on the Nordendorf brooch (after MacLeod and Mees 2006).

Bracteate Iconography

If we are to understand the iconography of Style I, bracteates must be discussed first. Hauck's "contextual iconography" was first applied to bracteates in order to understand the complex scenes found on them. Interpretations on these gold pendants form the basis for understanding Germanic ideology of the fifth and sixth centuries, and are stylistically, thematically, and contextually related to Style I art. Because figures on

bracteates are more coherent than are bodies in Style I art, they lend themselves better to narrative interpretations. Many archaeologists currently working on Style I art and related artifacts agree with Hauck's basic interpretation that the art relates to Odin or a precursor deity (Axboe 2007; Gaimster 1998; Hedeager 2011; Kristoffersen 1995, 2010; Magnus 2001; Shepherd 1998).

Motifs on bracteates, modeled on Roman coins and medallions, developed into increasingly abstract Style I shapes, likely reflecting a more "Germanic" ideology over time. A-bracteates resemble late Roman coins, depicting a bust. B-bracteates show one to three human figures. C-bracteates depict a profile of a human head above a horse along with other animal figures. D- and F-bracteates are decorated with Style I motifs. E-bracteates depict a human head above an animal triskele (Gaimster 1998). Notably, human-animal hybridity appears on bracteates of all categories.

Both C-bracteates and D-bracteates depict animals in Style I. Quadrupedal animals on C-bracteates are divided up into segmented body parts and are defined by contoured lines as defined by Style I phases A and B. The sinuous, ribbon-like animals on D-bracteates are characteristic of Style I phases C and D (Axboe 2007; Magnus 2001). Brooches decorated with Style I ornament are also found in contexts with bracteates, either in graves or in votive deposits (Gaimster 2001).

Hauck identified and linked several motifs on bracteates to later Nordic mythic episodes in his research program "Die Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten." Three main narrative episodes appear on bracteates that may corroborate Nordic religious traditions. Gaimster (1998) provides an excellent analysis of Hauck's interpretations. The first representation shows a man with his hand in the mouth of an animal, which is linked to the story of the wolf Fenrir gnawing off the hand of the god Tyr. This can be seen on the B-bracteate from Trollhätten, Sweden.

The second representation involves a group of three figures and is thought to be adapted from Roman coins in which Victory crowns the Emperor (Gaimster 1998). In the scene, the central figure stands on a platform, while two figures stand at either side. One is accompanied by a bird and holds a spear. The other, dressed in a robe, faces the central figure, who is pierced by a many-barbed object. This narrative has been identified

as the story of the murder of Odin's son Baldr. By dressing in the costume of an old woman, Loki learns that Baldr may be killed if pierced with mistletoe. The image shows Loki, in a woman's costume, watching as Baldr is pierced with the mistletoe, while Odin looks on. Hauck presents a strong argument for the *Drei-Götter* motif being related to the story of Baldr's murder. These particular bracteates also show how Roman iconography could be adapted to fit local myths.

The third motif is found on C-bracteates, which depict a large head above a horse-like animal. A bird usually accompanies the head. Hauck links this motif to the healing aspect of Odin. In the 9th century Merseburg charm, Odin heals Baldr's wounded horse (Magnus 2001). On the bracteates, the head appears to lie next to the horse-animal's neck. In many instances, the head's mouth is open, as if speaking or blowing. Hauck interprets this as healing via godly breath.

Central to these three narratives is the Nordic conception of the end of the world—Ragnarök, which is outlined in the Elder Edda, the *Völuspá*, and the *Gylfaginning* (Magnus 2001). Baldr's death signals the beginning of the last battle, which is foreshadowed by the illness of Baldr's horse. The wolf Fenrir, who after being chained had bitten the hand of Tyr, breaks his bonds in order to battle the gods during Ragnarök. D-bracteates, which show a Style I serpent-like animal, are interpreted as representations of the Midgard serpent, which encircles the earth. At Ragnarök, the serpent defeats Thor. Some D-bracteates even show human hands and feet intermingled with the serpent form, as if the serpent is shown in the act of devouring the god. The B-, C-, and D-bracteates are connected with the destruction and recreation of the world, the uncertainty that is concomitant with that, and the struggles between the gods and the natural world.

What ritual function, if any, did bracteates perform? The most well supported argument is that bracteates were used as apotropaic amulets. Odin's actions depicted on many of the A-, B-, and C-bracteates support this supposition. On these Odin is portrayed in his role as shaman and the bearer of secret runic knowledge. Through these ritualized acts of healing, those who wore the bracteates perhaps felt protected by the powers of Odin. Two bracteates from Køge, Denmark, are inscribed with a runic inscription that translates as "I give luck" (Wicker 2010: 68). The runic inscriptions that accompanied

these healing scenes communicated messages to the gods (Axboe 2007). Bracteates depicting the death of Baldr commemorated the death of the gods and the eventual re-ordering of the world. These bracteates were perhaps worn for similar reasons as the crosses traditionally worn by Christians. Hedeager (2005) suggests that the story of Baldr's death and the episode involving the fettering of Fenrir and the loss of Tyr's hand both originated in the fifth and sixth century, and that the bracteate iconography correlates to the initial period of the Odinic cult.

When found in burial contexts, bracteates are often used as pendants on necklaces in conjunction with beads (Axboe 2001; Gaimster 2001). More rarely, they appear to have been placed in the mouth or hand of the deceased as "Charon's obols" (Axboe 2007). Bracteates follow a curious deposition pattern. In southern Scandinavia, northern Germany, Holland, and Poland, the pendants appear either as loose finds or as components of votive deposits. In Norway, England, central Europe, and the island of Gotland, bracteates appear in burials, primarily those of women (Axboe 2007). This distribution is a reflection of burial practices—in southern Scandinavia, and particularly in Denmark, there is a general lack of early medieval burials. Important symbolic objects like bracteates, brooches, and weapons were not buried in mortuary contexts but rather offered as votive depositions.

Lotte Hedeager (1997, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2011) has written extensively on the nature of Odin's shamanic abilities. To her, iconography on C-bracteates illustrates Odin in shamanic ecstasy as he transforms into an animal shape to journey to the other world. She argues that the cult of Odin and the ideology of transformation were central religious concepts for Scandinavian groups and the Anglo-Saxons, as well as the Langobards, Goths, and Alamanni. The cult of Odin and the southern Scandinavian animal style were adopted by groups who claimed Scandinavia as their place of origin (2008: 389). The validity of these migration myths and origin stories is much debated and questioned (Hedeager 2000; Søby Christensen 2002), but if these groups—specifically the elites—perceived that *Scandza*, or Scandinavia, was their original homeland, the cult of Odin and other Scandinavian beliefs may have been widely adopted, or at least referenced, in material culture.

Analyses of bracteate production support the theory that the elites used the pendants as status symbols and as badges of membership in a particular elite group that had idealized links to a mythic homeland in Scandinavia. As objects that reinforced such links as well as signaled elite status, bracteates were prestige items in long-distance elite gift exchange. Common runic inscriptions include the *ladu*, *laukar*, and *alu*—invitation, onion, and ale—words that refer to ritual feasts where leaders may have given bracteates as prestige gifts (Gaimster 1992). Die-linked bracteates with identical motifs have been identified in different locations, indicating long-distance contacts, for example, between southwest Norway, Gotland, and western Sweden (Behr 2007). Stylistically related bracteates indicate even wider long-distance connections. One such bracteate type is found in Norfolk, England and Schleswig-Holstein and Derenburg, Germany, linking together Anglo-Saxon, continental Saxon, and Thuringian elites through a common, shared knowledge of the bracteate's iconography (Behr 2007: 21).

Behr's analysis of stylistically linked bracteates shows that long-distance communication routes were active arenas of communication. Especially important were coastal routes linking Scandinavia, Frisia, and Anglo-Saxon England, and the land routes that connected Sweden and central Europe (Behr 2007: 24). Bracteates, and other symbolic objects such as brooches likely spread through a number of different mechanisms: as prestige items meant as diplomatic gifts, as gifts from chieftains to members of their retinue, as the work of itinerant craftsmen, or as tokens or badges obtained at religious or political events far from home, through migration or through exogamous marriage (Axboe 2001; 2007; Behr 2007; Gaimster 1992, 2001).

Not all archaeologists or art historians agree with Hauck's interpretations of bracteate iconography. Only a small portion of bracteates actually depict an-Odinic like figure. Some scholars consider Loki's association with Baldr's death a later addition to the myth, thus rendering the interpretation of the *Drei-Götter* motif untenable. Others equate bracteates with fertility and sun symbolism. Wicker (2010) suggests that analyses of bracteates should focus on the social functions bracteates played; bracteates likely functioned in different ways in votive deposits and graves, for example. Furthermore, at the individual level, bracteates could have been read as to produce multivocal meanings.

Counter to Magnus, Hedeager, and others, Wicker (2010: 4) argues "there is no firm evidence that Odin is the major god during the Migration Period."

In his thesis on the cult of Wodan, Shaw (2002) contends that the "Haukian" school has misinterpreted both bracteates and the iconography associated with them. He argues that while 900 bracteates are known, over 9,000 Roman coins and medals are known in Scandinavia (Shaw 2002: 69). The bracteates must have been understood in relation to their Roman models, and as such were understood as symbolizing status associated with Roman military service (Bursche 2001). Their production, he argues, was stimulated by the cessation of Roman coins and medallions entering southern Scandinavia. He finds Hauck's identification of the god Odin implausible, arguing that the bracteates show an understanding of the Roman socio-religious worldview; the gradual change from the original Roman models should be seen as a gradual loss of comprehension of the Roman motifs (Shaw 2002: 25). Ultimately, he claims that northern European ideology did not revolve around the cult of Odin as Magnus (2001) and Hedeager (1998, 2000) have argued, but around the cult of the Roman Emperor.

I would agree with Shaw that correlating motifs and myths separated by 800 years cannot be confidently undertaken without substantial evidence. However, his assertion that Germanic peoples passively copied Roman objects and religious beliefs without adapting them to their own beliefs is too simplistic and does not take into account the syncretic nature of culture-contact situations. His argument is essentially the same as those of early scholars of Style I art: that the ornament and motifs are degenerative late Roman art forms. Obviously this cannot be the case; Style I art is fundamentally different from Roman ornamentation. If it were a degenerate art form, resulting from a gradual loss of understanding, it would be expected that the motifs would change differentially in different areas through time, but this is not evident. Bracteate iconography retains a high level of standardization, even though new motifs were incorporated into bracteate iconography in England and on the continent (Behr 2010). The overall nature of the body, hybridity, and transformative action in Style I art was an active creation situated in a northern European context.

Style I Iconography on Brooches

Style I motifs on brooches and other objects are much less readable than those on the bracteates, yet they are stylistically and thematically related. Both object types have their origins in the last half of the fifth century, and likely were made by the same craftsmen. Two sixth century relief brooches from Hällan, Sweden have D-bracteate designs incised and gilded on the back of their plates. These designs were added before the brooches were completely finished, suggesting that the same craftsman had knowledge of both bracteate and brooch design (Rundqvist 2004).

Bente Magnus (2001) has utilized Hauck's contextual iconography to show that similar themes are explored on east Scandinavian relief brooches. The best parallel for the depiction of Ragnarök among these brooches is the equal-arm brooch from Ekeby, Malsta, Sweden (Magnus 2001: 286-90) (Figure 6.3). On both terminal ends of the brooch is a double mask, interpreted by Magnus as an animal head with a human head in its open jaw (Figure 6.4). From the human head projects a rectangular figure. Above the animal head is another human head, although this one is not shown interacting with the animal head. In the central zone of each arm is a whole animal seen from above. The animal is depicted in a crouched position with a wide-open mouth complete with teeth. Around this quadruped are bent human leg and arms. Interpreted as the severed limbs of male humans, this motif is similar to that seen on some of the D-bracteates. Eight smaller crouched animals are present on the brooch. Other animals are depicted on the outer margins. These have open mouths and sharp teeth. Three of these are hybrids; they incorporate human legs and arms into their bodies.

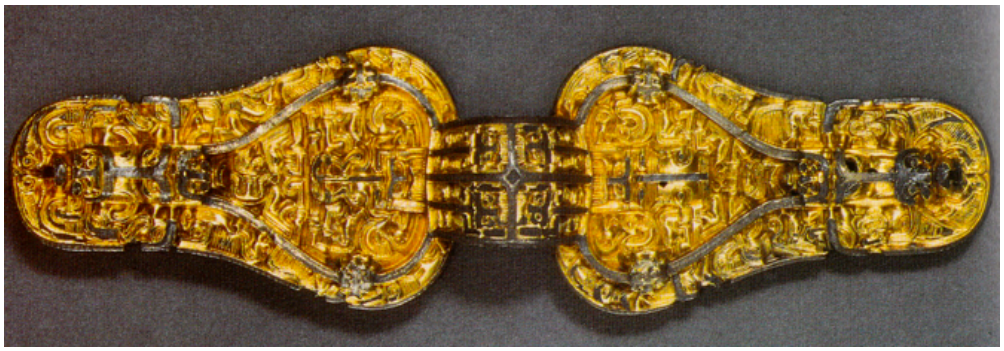


Figure 6.3. The Ekeby brooch.

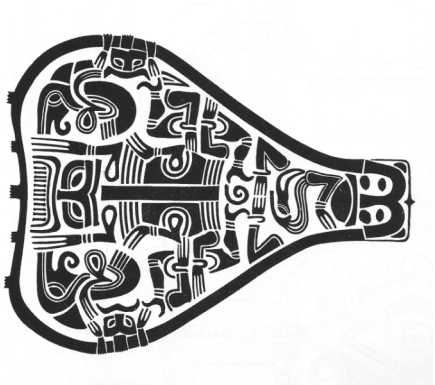


Figure 6.4. The Ekeby motifs (after Pollington 2010).

Magnus' interpretation of the narrative revolves around Odin, the Fenris wolf, and his brood. On the brooch, as in the myth, Fenrir devours Odin in the final battle. Fenrir's brood of wolves devours other gods and each other. The other human head is a follower of Odin or perhaps his son Vidar, who kills Fenrir. As Odin is devoured, his last corporeal act is to expel a breath that, as a shaman, contains his spirit. Every aspect of the brooch communicates the chaos associated with the destruction of the gods. Whether this interpretation matches with any degree of accuracy the intended meaning on the part of the brooch's maker is ultimately unknowable. It does demonstrate that on some Style I brooches, the interactions between humans and animals could be contentious; the breaking down of bodies illustrating a violent transformation.

On most brooches, narrative scenes of specific myths are not depicted so far as the modern observer can detect. Much more prevalent are motifs which reference the fragmentation, dislocation, and re-creation of animal and human bodies. The combination of ambiguous *Tiermenschen*, human face-masks, and the luminosity of gilded chip carving all combine to create an illusion of movement—the figures in the brooch become shape shifters depicted in the liminal moment of metamorphosis.

Leigh (1984), who was one of the first archaeologists to seriously discuss the principle of ambiguity, suggests three possible meanings behind the use of ambiguous shape shifting animals and humans in Anglo-Saxon Style I art. As one possibility, he suggested the ambiguity reflected the Anglo-Saxon predilection for riddles and kennings in literature.

In a series of riddles from the tenth century Exeter Book, readers are urged to "say what I am called" by the speaker of the riddle. In many cases, these involve animals or objects that have human characteristics. Anthropomorphic attributes are used to conceal and disguise the solution to the riddle (Bitterli 2009; Williamson 1982). All of the riddles are meant to fool the reader and force them to make quick associations between animals, humans, and objects. As a result, the riddle are often quite humorous, but they can also reveal what the author thought were important parts of society. The subjects of the riddles have agency; they speak to the reader, often in the first person, and require an active response. As the reader solves the puzzle, the object of the riddle undergoes metamorphosis from what it initially appears to be, to what it actually is. In the same way, the visual puns or riddles in Style I art visualize metamorphosis. Like literary riddles, they require an active response on the part of the reader, resulting in multivocality and the possibility of multiple correct "solutions."

Riddle 72
I was a gray girl, ash-haired, elegant,
And a singular warrior at the same time.
I flew with birds and swam in the sea,
Dove under waves, dead among fish,
And stood on the shore—locking in a living spirit.

This particular riddle has multiple solutions: a quill, the soul, a swan, a sea-eagle, or a ship's figure-head (Williamson 1982: 207-8).

Kennings are analogies used as naming riddles. For example, the sea could be called the whale-road or an arrow a battle-snake (Williamson 1982). Personal names could also be kennings—the most famous example that of the name Beowulf, which combines the words for bee and wolf as a metaphor for a bear. Used primarily in the Nordic world and in Anglo-Saxon England, kennings, like riddles, reveal the long-standing association of animals with the human world. A feeder of ravens could be understood as a warrior, soon to die on the battlefield. Animal attributes were used to describe everything from material culture, the landscape, and even people.

Leigh's suggestion that Style I motifs are visual riddles is probably correct. Aesthetically, the motifs conceal and reveal meaning in ways that surprise the viewer. They ask the reader to puzzle over the solution—is this a man, or an animal? Is it neither, or both? If the motifs are read from a particular direction is the puzzle solved differently? Like a puzzle, the motifs were entertaining to look at and created specific cognitive responses on the part of the reader, prompting the viewer to make connections between the motifs that were not readily apparent.

The second function for Style I ornamentation that Leigh proposed was that of deliberate confusion. In this scenario, the visual riddle was not meant to entertain or challenge, but to confound. He cites other cultures for whom ambiguous images are meant to provide protection from evil spirits. Patterning as protection in ornamentation had been discussed more recently by Gell (1998) and Ingold (2007). Gell suggested that Celtic knotwork presented a maze-like puzzle that enchanted and trapped evil spirits. Wishing to solve the puzzle, the evil spirit was unable to venture further. Here, patterning was part of the apotropaic strategy. Ingold suggests that rather than getting stuck on the surface of the visual puzzle, lines and patterning on apotropaic objects serve to enmesh evil spirits, trapping them as if in a web (Ingold 2007: 57). An alternate interpretation is that the fragmentation of the animal bodies served to make the animals less threatening (Hawkes 1997).

The unintelligible patterning of Style I ornament undoubtedly confounds and enchants the viewer. But whether this was meant to attract or deflect attention is not fully known. Surely the ornament was used as a strategy for both purposes: concealing and revealing meaning to specific individuals, as well as to gods or spirits. The proposed healing motifs on the bracteates would support the use of Style I as an apotropaic ornament.

Leigh's final suggestion followed Hauck's findings: that the transformation shown between human and animal figures was related to the shamanistic qualities of Odin. In order to examine how much of Style I art can be attributed to the cult of Odin or to shamanic ritual practice in general, I will briefly discuss what is currently known regarding early medieval pagan religion.

Germanic Religion and Ritual Practice

The corpus of literature focusing on the archaeology of Nordic/Germanic religions is large (see especially Andrén *et al*. 2006; Carver *et al*. 2010; Ellis Davidson 1964, 1969, 1988, 1993, 1998; Price 2002). Most of what is known about Germanic belief systems comes from a few key historical sources: thirteenth and fourteenth century Icelandic literature, including Skaldic poetry, sagas, and Eddas written in Old Norse in Iceland, such as the *Prose Edda*, the *Poetic Edda*, and Snori Sturlusson's *Edda*; the tenth century eyewitness account of a Viking ship burial written by Ibn Fadlan; the eleventh century *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* written by Adam of Bremen; the twelfth century *History of the Kings and Heroes of the Danes*, written by Saxo Grammaticus (Abram 2011). Also included as sources for Germanic ideology are the heroic poems of *Beowulf* and versions of the story of Sigurd and Fafnir in the *Saga of the Volsungs* (Andrén 2011). Tacitus' *Germania* has also been used to correlate religious practices. Place-names and runic inscriptions lend further evidence to the nature of Germanic religion.

The main Norse deities were divided into two families: the Vanir and the Aesir. The Vanir were fertility gods associated with peace, wealth, fertility, sexuality, water,

and death (Andrén 2011). These include Freyr, his twin sister Freyja, and their father Njord (Ellis Davidson 1969). Nerthus, mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania* as a mother goddess whose hidden idol was pulled in a sacred cart, is cognate with Njord and may have been Njord's partner (Andrén 2011). However, worship of this goddess did not survive into the later Scandinavian Iron Age, which may be a reflection of changes in ideology that took place early in the first millennium AD (Andrén 2011). This change is reflected in the myths, which tell of a great war between the Aesir and Vanir gods sometime in the mythic past. After this war the war-like Aesir gods became predominant in elite ideology, replacing the more peaceful Vanir gods. First among the Aesir gods was Odin, the "All-Father." During the Viking Age, he was especially prominent as war god, and as such chieftains and warriors alike worshiped him. Odin himself was not usually a participant in war, but rather gave sage advice and knowledge to those who called upon him (Schjødt 2008). Odin was both generous and deceitful. He involved himself in the lives of mortal men; providing them with good fortune in politics and war until the time came where he himself caused their deaths in battle in order to collect them for his personal army (Byock 1998). He chose the bravest fallen warriors to gather in his great hall Valhalla, where they would feast until Ragnarök. As a magician, he had special access to knowledge, the secrets of runes, and poetry. During Ragnarök, the wolf Fenrir defeats Odin.

Thor was the thunder god, fond of fighting giants and other monstrous creatures. He protected the worlds of the gods and mankind (Ellis Davidson 1993). In the myths, he drove through the sky in his goat-drawn carriage, throwing his hammer Mjollnir at his foes. For some worshippers, he was a god of fertility because he brought rain with his thunder (Schjødt 2008). One of the most well known myths associated with Thor is depicted on a series of picture stones in Scandinavia. In the myth, Thor is fishing with the giant Hymir in a boat. He attaches an ox head to a fishing line and drops it in the waters where the Midgard serpent lives. An epic tug of war ensues between Thor and the serpent. Thor uses so much strength that he forces his feet through the bottom of the boat. At this point, Hymir cuts the fishing line with an axe (Abram 2011).

On the eighth century picture stone from Hørdum, Denmark, two figures stand in a boat, one pulling on a fishing line and with one foot through the bottom of the boat. The other holds an axe, ready to cut the line. The serpent lurks beneath the boat. Similarly, the eleventh century picture stone from Altuna, Sweden, shows a slightly different scene: A figure, holding a hammer, stands in a boat with his foot pushed through the bottom boards as an interwoven serpent writhes beneath (Abram 2011). My purpose here is not to retell the Nordic myths, but to point out instances in which the later sources can be shown to corroborate earlier representations of those myths. Thor's fishing adventure is one of the most securely identified pre-Christian myths.

Loki, the trickster god, is an ambiguous character in the myths. He is at once the gods' helper and their greatest adversary. He can change shape, becoming small or large depending on the situation. In various episodes he became a mare, a hawk, a seal, and a salmon (Ellis Davidson 1993). Loki often helped the giants steal treasures from the Aesir gods, but usually helped get them back again. He was also a master craftsman, creating magical objects for the gods and inspiring others to do the same. He was considered the father of the Fenris wolf, the Midgard serpent, and Hel. Overall, Loki acted as a catalyst; he was often the instigator of conflicts between the giants and the gods and played an important role in the death of Baldr and the battle of Ragnarök, in which he led an army of giants against the gods (Ellis Davidson 1993). Ragnarök is, in the end, a re-creation story that tells of the renewal of the world of the gods. As the instigator of the final battle, Loki played an integral role in the cyclical re-creation of the world.

In addition to the main gods who appear in multiple myths, Midgard was populated by numerous other gods and goddesses, giants, animals, elves, and dwarves.

In Anglo-Saxon England, place names provide evidence for the existence of Woden (Odin), Thunor (Thor), Tiw (Tyr) and Frigg. These names turn up in combinations with words for grove (*leah*) and field (*feld*), suggesting that the Germanic deities were associated with particular features in the landscape. Woodnesborough, Kent, and Thundersley, Essex are examples of places named after Anglo-Saxon gods (Welch 2011). Two other words, *hearg* and *weoh*, translate as temple and shrine. Hilltops are primary locations for *hearg* place names (Hines 1997; Semple 2011). Yeavering may

provide the best example of an Anglo-Saxon shrine or temple; it is associated with burials and a pit with cattle skull deposits (Pluskowski 2011).

Odin as Warrior God and Shaman

Three main types of stories illustrate his role as a battle god and as the keeper of secret knowledge: his ability to pass boundaries into the other world with the help of guiding companions or spirit helpers; his willingness to sacrifice himself in order to gain knowledge; and his interference in the battles of men, which involved choosing who would be slain and sent to Valhalla. The name Odin encompasses all of these qualities, relating to the words madness, frantic, song, poetry, rage, wrath, and fury, among others (Wallis 2003: 125). These stories appear in the Poetic Edda—namely the poems *Baldrs Draumar*, the *Grímnismál*, the *Hávamál*, the *Völuspá*, and the *Vafþrúðnismál*—as well as the *Saga of the Volsungs* and the *Ynglinga Saga* (Ellis Davison 1993).

Odin could travel to the underworld on his eight-legged horse Sleipnir to learn information about the future. Sleipnir was the "Sliding One," who acted as a spirit guide to the underworld (Price 2004). At times, Odin led the dead to Hel, as he did with Sigmund of the Volsungs. He also traveled to the underworld in order to bring back souls threatened with death (Ellis Davidson 1993). However, in other myths, as in those originating with the Langobards, he is seen as an all-knowing sky god.

Odin could enter into an ecstatic shamanic state and could travel in the form of an animal. Usually he traveled in eagle form, although some poems refer to fish, dragon, serpent, or other beastly bodies (Ellis Davidson 1969). Animal companions, namely his two ravens named Huginn and Muninn—Thought and Memory—brought him news from afar. They were sent out every morning and came back in the evening to tell Odin information as they sat on his shoulders. As companions he also had two wolves, Freki and Geri, the "greedy ones," who are considered his hounds (Pluskowski 2006). In one myth, Odin transforms into a serpent in order to reach a mountain cavern in which is kept casks of the mead of inspiration. Once he attained the mead by taking three large gulps, he flies back to Asgard and spits out the liquid, which contains the inspiration for poetry.

He also disguises himself to enter into a riddle contest with the giant Vafþrúðnir in order to gain the giant's wisdom (Ellis Davidson 1969).

Odin practiced self-sacrifice to gain knowledge. He hung himself from the World Tree Yggdrasil for nine days and nights in order to gain mastery of the runes, pierced by his own spear. His mastery of runes gave him the power of divination, and he often acted as a seer. In Siberian shamanic traditions, prospective shamans must go through an initiation process involving torture, death, and resurrection in order to receive their powers (Ellis Davidson 1969). Odin also plucked out his own eye in order to gain special knowledge. In this story, Odin traded his eye with the Giant Mimir for a drink of water from the well at the bottom of Yggdrasil. Odin is often described as an old, one-eyed man dressed in a cloak and a wide-brimmed hat. It is this Odin who sometimes appeared to mortal kings, as in one story told about King Harald War-Tooth by Saxo Grammaticus. Sometime after Odin traded his eye, Mimir's head was cut off by the Vanir gods; Odin preserved the head and kept it near him so he could consult with it about the future (Ellis Davidson 1969). He could divine the future and could seek the hidden (Price 2004). Odin strove to gain knowledge and access to other worlds through any means necessary.

Odin was the god of war and death. He could control the outcomes of battles by controlling the minds of others (Price 2004). His companions, the Einherjar warriors, were used to enact his will on the battlefield. He also sent female spirits, called Valkyries, to choose who would die in battle. In the myths they could be either protective or destructive spirits. Odin was called on by warriors through war chants to either physically or psychologically bind or unbind themselves or others. Gungnir, Odin's spear, was used to determine the fate of armies; Odin flung it over the army he intended to be defeated. Dying by spear was considered a noble death. As the leader of warriors, he was seen as the ultimate ring-giver. He had a magical ring called Draupnir, which dropped nine gold rings every ninth night.

Odin also inspired battle rage: berserkers were dedicated warriors who fought in a state of ecstatic battle frenzy. Said to wear no armor in battle, they fought with the savageness of wild animals. The term berserker may reference a lack of armor (bare-shirt) or the shape of a bear (bear-shirt) (Byock 1998). Hedeager (2005: 240) suggests

that the berserkers, as followers of Odin, were derived from shamanic bear cults. A warrior could also be an *ulfheðnar*, a man dressed in wolf skins. In the *Ynglinga Saga*, warriors in a berserk-fury are described thus (Simek 1993: 35):

> "Odin's men went (into battle) without armour and were as wild as dogs or wolves. They bit their shields and were stronger than bears or bulls. They killed many men but they themselves were unharmed either by fire or by iron; this is what is called berserk-fury."

In other sagas, heroes were said to transform into wolves or bears. In the *Saga of the Volsungs*, Sigmund and Sinfjölti took on the characteristics of wolves when they wore wolf skins to fight their enemies (Pluskowski 2006), and the hero of the *Saga of King Hrolf Kraki*, Bodvar Bjarki, the "fierce battle-bear," could send his spirit in the form of a bear to fight his enemies (Byock 1998; Ellis Davidson 1993). Both the *Saga of the Volsungs* and the *Saga of King Hrolf Kraki* belong to the *fornalder* group of stories. For the Icelanders who wrote them down, these were "sagas of ancient times" derived from old oral poems (Byock 1998: xii). The English *Beowulf*, is similarly a tale of ancient times and is closely related to the story of Bodvar Bjarki. Both berserkers and *ulfheðnar* were considered to be hybrid animal-men when on the field of battle (Hedeager 2005).

As far as the mythic corpus indicates, Odin was a powerful shape-shifting magician god concerned with the pursuit of knowledge and the construction of his retinue in Asgard. As such, he was most closely associated with the aristocracy—those who led armies, dealt with restricted political and ideological knowledge, and had the time and wealth to indulge in poetry. For those who followed him, Odin could be generous. At the same time, Odin represents the inevitability of life; no matter how many heroes he gathers to his side in Valhalla, he cannot prevent the destruction of the world. Odin reflected the nature of warrior society in that political power could be held if one had a sufficiently strong war band, but eventually, every leader must pass on his leadership or die in its defense, preferably in battle.

Odin, by all accounts in the myths, is a deity associated with males and male activities. Ellis Davidson (1993: 78) suggests that he is often portrayed in the myths as

being hostile towards women and female deities. If Style I-ornamented bracteates and brooches depict Odinic myths and attributes, why are they associated primarily with women? I would suggest two possibilities. First, that the later tales from which we get our information about Odin are more reflective of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, the time period in which larger political institutions formed around powerful male kings. The Odin (or Odin-like deity) of the fifth and sixth centuries was perhaps more concerned with the shamanic aspect of his nature. As discussed below, in Germanic societies magic and sorcery were the considered women's work. Secondly, as pagan myths written down in a Christian context, female roles may have been downplayed or changed to have negative associations. There is no doubt that the cult of Odin evolved during the eight centuries in which it could have been practiced.

Shamanism and the Cult of Odin

Along with Bente Magnus, Lotte Hedeager has worked extensively on correlating early medieval material culture with ritual belief and practice. Her central thesis that the cult of Odin was the central politico-religious structuring element in early medieval Scandinavia is based on Hauck's bracteate research, the Nordic mythic corpus, and her own research of Style I motifs (Hedeager 1999). Hedeager (2011: 82) stresses the transformative aspect of Odin in the myths, taking, for example, the following passage of *Ynglinga Saga 7* as evidence for Odin as shaman:

> Odin could change shape. The body lay just like when asleep or dead, whilst he was a bird or four-footed animal, fish or snake, journeying in a blink of the eye to distant parts, to carry out his own or other men's errands.

An inscription from the seventh or eighth century Eggjum memorial stone in Sogn og Fjordane Norway alludes to Odin's shamanic nature (Shepherd 1998):

> In what form comes Héráss (Odin) to the land of the Goths (men)?
> As a fish swimming out of…the river of the body, as a bird shrieking…

Odin's soul, once released from the body could transform into a number of different animals. This transformation might be seen in Germanic animal art, where in some cases, a figure is seen as an animal when viewed from one direction, but as a human face from another. The zoomorphic figures are depictions of guiding spirits for the soul. In Style I art, birds of prey, especially eagles and ravens, quadrupedal beasts that might be wolves, and boars were particularly important. Serpents and wyrms are also seen in the interlaced motifs. Domesticated animals, with the possible exception of the horse, are not depicted. All of the animals in the art are powerful and dangerous (Hedeager 2004).

In Norse ritual practice, *seiðr* was a type of shamanic magic that involved both ecstatic trance performance and shape shifting (Hedeager 1997). *Hamskrifte* described the process of changing shape that enabled soul journeys (Hedeager 2003; 2005). In the Old Norse sources, shamanic technique involved several types of spirit or soul. The *hugr* referred to the soul or mind and was present in both blood and breath (Hedeager 2005). The *hugr* could leave the body and transform into a human or animal form representing the qualities of the person. Other types of extra-corporeal "souls" could also take on different shapes. The *fylgja* attaches to a person at birth and can take the shape of an animal or woman in times of stress, but the shape is fixed to the person's personality. *Hamingja* was related to the fortune of the family unit and was transferred between family members at death. The related term *hamr* ("skin" or "animal clothing") was the external embodiment of an individual's *hugr*: it could become a bird, bear, wolf, or a woman. Through the transformation of the *hugr* into *hamr*, the person literally was thought to become the animal. (Hedeager 2011: 82-83). During *hamleypa*, or shape changing, the person's physical body was rendered helpless, as was Odin's body in Snorri's description.

Hedeager (2011: 83) sees these different types of spiritual embodiment as symbols of power and as alternative ways of being. In the literature, stories depict kings and heroes actually becoming animals. The Saga of King Hrolf Kraki is good example of this actual transformation: in battle, Bodvar Bjarki physically becomes the embodiment of his name: the fierce "battle-bear." Similarly, Snorri's description of what happens to someone in a berserk-fury mirrors what happens in an ecstatic trance, especially the

perception of being impervious to fire and pain (Simek 1993). An individual could exhibit animal characteristics through his spirit companion (Pluskowski 2006).

A person did not have to be an initiated shaman to become an animal, although there is evidence in the Icelandic literature for ritual specialists. Neil Price has investigated the evidence for *seiðr* in Norse society, defining up to forty different categories of shamanic roles (Price 2011). The word *seiðr* loosely relates to the word "bind", and thus the concepts of "binding/catching/capturing/summoning of spirits or other beings" are thought to be at the root of its ritual practice (Gardela 2008: 49; Price 2002: 64). Gardela (2008) links *seiðr* to spinning and weaving, likening *seiðr* to threads, which, bound together, form a cloth. In *seiðr*, the threads of the mind were sent out as souls or spirits. A bracteate from Gudme, Denmark, portrays a woman holding weaving tools (Wicker 2010). Threads are of course associated with the weaving Norns in Norse myth, the female spirits associated with *wyrd* or fate. These were *Urðr*, *Verðandi*, and *Skuld*—Became, Becoming, and Is-to-be (DuBois 1999; Lindow 2002). They are the women who sat near Yggdrasil and shaped the fates of mankind on their giant loom.

Proper practice of *seiðr* was associated with *völur*—female shamans. Apparently some men could also practice *seiðr*, but Price (2004; 111) suggests they were regarded as categorically different from other men, indicating that gender roles transgressed standard gender boundaries through the shamanic role. Practicing a female magical art was not seen as a male activity in a warrior-based society, despite Odin's role as a sorcerer himself. In fact, Odin learned *seiðr* from the Vanir goddess Freyja, who could transform into a falcon shape and heal the sick (Price 2008; Wallis 2003). *Völur* could act as seers, divining the future. They could also act as healers or induce illness, change weather patterns, assist in hunting rituals, hinder or aid warriors in battle, and transform into animal forms which were embodied extensions of the ritual practitioner's mind and will.

In his attempts to locate these women archaeologically, Price has identified völva in tenth century burials. These women are buried with rich personal adornment, amulets, and most importantly, an iron staff. The iron staff is the link between archaeological and textual evidence for Nordic female shamans (Price 2002). Five of these *völur* graves have been found in Sweden, more than twenty in Norway, and one in Denmark. In the grave at

Frykat, Denmark, seeds of the narcotic henbane plant were found in a pouch (Price 2002). Henbane is of the *Solanaceae* plant family, and when taken as a drug is known to be particularly effective at producing the sense that one has transformed into an animal, by producing feelings of flight and the sensation of growing fur or feathers. (Pearson 2002).

Germanic Shamanism?

Evidence from literary and archaeological sources suggests ritual practitioners resembling shamans existed at least from the tenth century, and likely earlier. Hedeager (2011) specifically sees the later Viking Period *völur* as having roots in Migration Period seeresses. The tradition of female practitioners may date to the earlier Iron Age; Tacitus described a Germanic sibyl named Veleda having influence over the Bructeri (Aldhouse Green and Aldhouse Green 2005).

Shamanism does not constitute an organized religion; rather, shamanism encompasses a range of ritual practices including ecstatic trances, soul journeying to other worlds, divining the future, and undergoing transformation into animal forms. The term shamanism was originally used to describe ritual practices common to arctic and sub-arctic cultures, but it now covers similar rituals practiced in all areas of the world (Price 2001). Aldhouse-Green and Aldhouse-Green (2005: 10) emphasize that shamanic rituals are practiced in cultures that perceive the every living thing and object in the world to be "ensouled" (Aldhouse-Green and Aldhouse-Green 2005: 10-11). Unlike codified religions which may be based on texts, central to shamanic practices is a practice based on mentality. Shamans use their soul to travel to other worlds to conduct action, entering ecstatic trances. They can divine the future. Shamans undergo transformation into animal forms. Animal helpers guide the shaman's journey to the other world. Above all, shamans act as mediators between the worlds.

Aldhouse-Green and Aldhouse-Green note that shamans often undergo initiation rites that involve symbolic dissolution and reconstitution (2005: 15). Specifically, the initiate travels to the underworld, where he is dismembered, devoured, and subsequently

reconstituted by his spirit helpers (DuBois 2009: 65). This transformative initiation is perceived by shamans cross-culturally.

In the cognitive landscape of the shaman, the universe usually is composed of an upper, middle, and lower world. Deities live in the upper world, humans live in the middle world, and the lower world is inhabited by monstrous creatures such as giants. The worlds are connected with a world axis.

Altered states of consciousness, such as a shamanic trance, produce a cross-cultural repertoire of neurophysical phenomena, including geometric grids, zigzags, dots, and spirals. These entopic patterns are affected by cultural context. Mental imagery generated during altered states of consciousness is perceived in several different ways, including fragmentation of the image into component parts, juxtaposition of two images, rotation of images on a horizontal plane, and the replication of images. In an experiment focusing on rock art of the San in southern Africa and engravings of the Coso in North America, Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988) attempted to correlate the art with images produced in shamanic trances. These studies indicated that images in rock art were the material versions of the shaman's trace vision (Lewis-Williams 2001). The art served to permanently situate the visions in the physical world (DuBois 2009).

While recognizing the literary and archaeological evidence of the existence of some sort of early medieval transformative ritual practice, Wallis (2003: 128) has accused Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian scholars of applying the term shamanism uncritically, especially in archaeological contexts. Particularly, he suggests that all of the principle elements of shamanism must be proven to have existed. These are as follows: "agents consistently alter consciousness", "these altered states are accepted as ritual practices by the agent's community", and "knowledge concerning altered consciousness is controlled in effecting certain socially sanctioned practices". (Wallis 2003: 11). Wallis also cautions against homogenizing shamanic practices; evidence for shape shifting cannot alone constitute "shamanism." These approaches, he argues, describe shamanic techniques, not shamanism as it was constituted in social and political contexts. Therefore, if we are to use "shamanism" critically, we must search for it in local contexts and situate ritual practices in arenas of social production.

Several motifs may relate to the ways bodily gestures can enable ritual practice. Human faces are frequent Style I motifs. While the other motifs defy immediate identification, the faces are easy to read; anyone would have recognized these figures as representing facial features (Magnus 2009). The main question regarding these motifs is if they function as heads or masks. Do they represent head of deities, perhaps Odin, as has been interpreted by Magnus (2001) and others? Or are they masks representing the masking practices performed by shamans?

According to Shepard (1996: 132), masks represent mutability, our own intrinsic multiplicity, and are considered by many cultures to be ensouled objects. Heads also are linked to concepts of ancestorhood and personhood. The face communicates information about gender, age, status, personality, group membership through skull modification, and social role (Bonogofsky 2011). Heads or skulls can also be used to represent the while individual. Their use as apotropaic symbols to ward off evil are well attested. For example, the image of the head of Medusa was used as a protective symbol in the classical world.

Amrit (2012) suggests that head cults existed in the Iron Age communities of southern France, as exemplified by the sanctuary at Roquepertuse, where human heads were apparently curated in niches. Human heads also are common motifs in Celtic art; and are often stylistically similar to Style I heads. In the Germanic world, heads had associations with secret knowledge (Ellis Davidson 1988) For example, The decapitated head of Mimir consults with Odin.

Of all the motifs involving heads, the most intriguing are those that include *Heilsbilder*. These particular motifs show a divine or healing breath emanating from the mouth or nostril (Vierck 1967: 135). These healing emanations might also be seen as depictions of animal-human transformation. In many Nordendorfer motifs, animals literally come out of the mouths of humans or deities.

Closely related are the motifs which show hands with extended thumbs. These appear on bracteates, brooches, and guldgubber. These gestures have been interpreted as gestures of adoration, or, when the thumbs are placed in the mouths of the figures, as "seer's thumbs" (Watt 2004: 206). The thumb-in-mouth gesture is known from several

medieval stories as a bodily action that enables ritual practice. The sacred nature of hands probably dates to the Bronze Age; hands appear on the back of Bronze Age Scandinavian spectacle fibulae that are buried in the graves of richly outfitted women (Sørensen 2010). Often the figures shown with the adoration gesture are dancing or leaping in an ecstatic dance (Holmqvist 1960) (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). Where this motif is depicted, it almost certainly represents some type of ritualized body practice.

Figure 6.5. Bracteate showing hand and breath motifs (after Webster 2005).

Figure 6.6. Style I Dancing man motif with thumb gesture (after Hårdh 2004).

Beasts of Battle

Spirit helpers enable shamans to transcend their physical bodies, thus allowing the ritual practitioner to act as an intermediary between worlds. In many cultures, these spirit helpers are animals. For hunter-gatherers, animal guides usually manifest themselves as

the dominant prey species (Price 2002). In early medieval Europe, the warrior culture connoted a different set of animals: the beasts of battle. The wolf, bear, boar, eagle, raven, and serpent were especially important animals in the Germanic worldview. The wolf, eagle, and raven—the traditional beasts of battle—symbolized both the destructive and transformative aspects of the battlefield.

The nature of Style I motifs involving both humans and animal can be interpreted in two broad categories: their interactions can be based on conflict or cooperation. On bracteates, wolves and serpents may be depicted as chaotic monsters responsible for the destruction of the world. Alternatively, horses and birds are depicted as guides. Motifs on relief brooches, drinking vessels, and weapon mounts also include these animals, but do they connote the same sort of human-animal relationships?

Based on records of personal names used during the early medieval period, these relationships were cooperative. Many men's names included animals as a primary or secondary element. The most common animals used in this way were the eagle, horse, snake, wolf, and bear (Jennbert 2012). In later written sources, names had special significance: when someone was named after an animal, they were perceived as becoming that animal and so gained its characteristics (Kristoffersen 2010).
In this section I explore animal motifs in Style I art, specifically by examining bodily action, intra- and inter-species interaction, and the nature of animal-human relationships. I also discuss the representation of each animal on different object types, as well as the use of those animals or their representations in burial and ritual contexts.

Birds of Prey: Ravens and Eagles

Bird forms are easily recognizable on brooches of the fifth and sixth centuries. Curving beaks are depicted prominently, especially on the large square-headed brooches. In most cases it is difficult to identify a specific bird species, but it is certain from the beak shape that the motifs represent birds of prey.

The Common Raven (*Corvus corax*) is a large, omnivorous bird with a thick, flat beak and iridescent black plumage. They are extremely intelligent and social birds, and

their calls sound similar to human vocalizations, which may have led people to believe that they were gods in bird form (Serjeantson and Morris 2011). Corvids also scavenge carrion—including the bodies of slain warriors.

Because of these traits, ravens feature as important animals in many belief systems around the world. Ravens with supernatural communicative and divination skills appear in stories and representations in classical, Celtic, and Germanic societies. An Etruscan bronze vessel depicts a raven in association with Apollo (Serjeantson and Morris 2011), but it was during the Iron Age in temperate Europe that the raven attained its association as a beast of battle. In Celtic societies, both Lugh and the goddesses of war were associated with ravens. The birds sat on Lugh's shoulders and told him urgent tidings of battle. Lugh and the war goddesses were said to take the shape of ravens and prophesy the outcome of battle (Green 1992). Lugh, the Celtic war goddesses, Apollo, and Mithras all kept ravens as companions (Serjeantson and Morris 2011). The presence of raven and other bones in Iron Age and Roman period pits and shafts, suggesting they had a significant role in ideology (Serjeantson and Morris 2011). Ravens and crows may have been kept as pets or familiars, and they may have been associated with the disposal of dead through excarnation.

In Anglo-Saxon and Norse cultures, ravens were the companions of Odin, and one of his names was the Raven God. His relationship with his ravens is best exemplified by the famous passage in the *Grimnismál*:

> Huginn and Muninn, Thought and Memory,
> Fly over the world each day.
> I fear for Thought, lest he come not back,
> But I fear yet more for Memory.

For Odin, ravens were not simply birds associated with battle; they represented cognition and knowledge. Huginn and Muninn were quite literally Odin's embodied mind. Ravens were animals that were "good to think with." Odin's concern for Muninn perhaps reflects the dangerous nature associated with traveling in another form (Hedeager 2011).

Perhaps more importantly to mortal humans was the raven's omnivorous diet. As the "corpse-goose," wound-grouse," and "battle-swallow," ravens represented death (Speake 1980). Adapted to follow predators and scavenge from their kills, ravens have also learned to scavenge from human refuse and the carrion of domestic animals (Jennbert 2007; Parker 1988). Through association with humans, ravens also learned to flock to battlefields, attracted by the noise and the smell of blood. Once there, they feasted on the dead.

In battle, ravens may be seen as a prognosticator of defeat or victory. According to Jesch (2002), in Old Norse sources, ravens were a sign of victory, whereas in Anglo-Saxon poems, they are more commonly associated with defeat. Specifically, in Old Norse poetry, the ravens and victorious warriors engage in a symbiotic relationship: the raven prophesy victory, and the warriors provide the corpses on which the ravens feed.

In early medieval art, ravens can be identified on the C-bracteates, interpreted by Hauck as Odin's raven companions following or guiding him on his spirit journeys. A similar motif appears on the pressblech plate on the helmet from Vendel Grave 1 shows two different bird species accompanying a man on a horse. He also wears a bird-crested helmet. The leading bird with the curved beak is an eagle, and the bird following the human figure is a raven, signified by its flatter beak (Speake 1980).

Birds of prey are represented mostly by their head and beak in Style I motifs. Commonly placed on terminal ends of square-headed and florid cruciform brooches, birds of prey often form parts of human bodies; for example, many motifs show two birds with large, curving beaks framing a human mask, as if they were the human's mustache. The positioning of the two to either side of the human face is reminiscent of Huginn and Muninn alighting on Odin's shoulders (Dickinson 1993).

Eagles may provide more appropriate analogues for the bird figures in this particular motif. The long, curving beak resembles an eagle's hooked beak more so than a raven's flatter beak. In northern Europe, two species of eagle are common: the Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos)* and the White-Tailed Eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla)* (Kulakov and Markovets 2004). They are predatory birds that eat small prey, but they will also scavenge carrion.

As large, predatory birds, eagles represent power. The Roman eagle was a symbol of the legions and represented Rome's military might. Its symbolic value for northern Europeans was much the same, and eagles were important in Merovingian, Ostrogothic, and Lombardic iconography as well (Gräslund 2006; Kulakov and Markovets 2004). In the Norse sources, the eagle was one of Odin's shamanic forms. Along with the raven and wolf, the eagle is considered a beast of battle.

Eagles appear as downward biting beasts on some brooches, as well as whole Style I and Style II figures on shields (Dickinson 2002b).

Wolves

Wolves (*Canis lupus*) were closely connected to both battle and death in European cultures. Wolves appear as one of the beasts of battle, essential to Nordic and Anglo-Saxon descriptions of battle. Generally wolves were seen as destructive, ravenous creatures. However, this wild hunger was not always portrayed in a negative light—in the Old Norse sources, victorious warriors took pride in providing corpses for the wolves (Jesch 2002). Kennings likening warriors as food for the beasts of battle appear in over one hundred variants (Pluskowski 2006b). Legendary wolves were named and played important roles in Scandinavian cosmology. Freki and Geri, the wolf companions of Odin, feasted on slain warriors on the battlefield while he received their souls in Valhalla (Pluskowski 2006b). The most dangerous wolf was the Fenris wolf, who, bound in his fetters, symbolized the inevitability of the destruction of the world.

Although domestic dogs are used to guard against wolves in many cultures (Pluskowski 2006b), the two animals could be linked ideologically. Gräslund (2006) argues that the practice of placing dogs in burials during the later Germanic Iron age implies a belief in the dog as a guide to the land of the dead, linking these dogs to other Indo-European dogs of the dead such as the Greek Cerberus (Gräslund 2006). In Anglo-Saxon England, dogs were placed in both inhumation and cremation graves (Pluskowski 2006). Pluskowski (2006b) questions the extent to which early medieval peoples distinguished between wolves and domestic dogs, suggesting that in some of the burials

where dogs were included, the dogs were substitutes for wolves. Wolf faunal remains are relatively rare in both Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia (Pluskowski 2006b).

There is no reason why the biting quadrupeds in Style I art could not be domestic dogs, but the aggressive nature of the figures makes it more likely that they are wolves. More coherent wolf forms appear in Style II art of the seventh century (Høilund Nielsen 2002), a development that has been linked with the consolidation of war bands under powerful regional leaders. The wolf, like the eagle, was a potent symbol of nobility and military prowess.

Wolves or wolf-like creatures appear as devourers on Style I brooches. In some cases the "downward biting beasts" on square-headed brooches may be ravenous wolves. The Ekeby brooch, which Magnus interpreted as a depiction of Ragnarök, may actually depict a battle scene where wolves are consuming the dead. Style I wolves depicted on brooches may symbolize the wolf as beast of battle, or it may symbolize the victorious warrior, who, having taken up the qualities of the wolf, has defeated his enemies. Pluskowski (2006) argues for an apotropaic interpretation for wolf images in the early middle ages. By likening themselves to wolves, warriors metaphorically transformed themselves into predators and their enemies into prey (Pluskowski 2006). Images of wolves were therefore visual kennings for warriors.

Visual kennings of wolf warriors may be represented on the famous helmet plaques from Torslunda, Öland, Sweden. On one of the plaques, a warrior holds two spears and appears to be leaping away from a figure who is wearing a wolf skin. The wolf warrior holds a spear in his left hand and is reaching for his sword with his right hand The dancing warrior wears a horned helmet; the horns are composed of two bird of prey heads. Similar motifs are seen on two sword scabbards from Germany. On the sword scabbard from Gutenstein, a wolf warrior holds both a spear and a sword. Evidence suggests that a dancing warrior was part of the motif, but the craftsman chose not to include it on the scabbard (Speidel 2004). A silver foil from Obrigheim illustrates the same scene: a wolf warrior holding a sword and spear next to a dancing warrior (Speidel 2004). In England, dancing warriors with beaked horn helmets appear on the Sutton Hoo helmet and on the Finglesham buckle.

Do these motifs represent berserkers, or, more specifically, *ulfheðnar*? Are the wolf warriors wearing animal skins or are they humans transformed into animals in the other world? Roman soldiers were known to wear wolf skins over their armor (Choyke 2010). One interpretation is that the dancing warrior is the spear-god Odin in an ecstatic trance. His ravens are represented in his helmet. One of Odin's *einherjar* accompanies him in wolf disguise, preparing for battle. Price (2004) asserts that the some of the weapon dancers from the Vendel, Valsgärde, and Torslunda helmet plaques are one-eyed, strengthening the interpretation that the dancing warriors represent Odin.

On the Torslunda plaque, the wolf disguise ends at the knees as if it had been constructed from a pelt; the figure is not literally a therianthrope (Figure 6.7). However, Hedeager (2011) argues that the *ulfheðnar* as depicted on the Torslunda, Gutenstein, and Obrigheim plates did take on wolf characteristics and transform into wolves via the expression of their *fylgja*. She argues that warriors whose sword sheaths or helmets were ornamented with animal shapes indicated the actual presence of *fylgja* animals. The ornamentation referenced the animal helper spirits and thus protected the warrior in battle. Pluskowski (2006) argues that the wolf warriors were not perceived to actually shape shift, but took on wolf characteristics such as howling, behave ferociously, and go into trance-like states during battles.

Figure 6.7. Torslunda plaque (after Gaimster 1998).

Bears

The Eurasian Brown Bear (*Ursus arctos arctos*) is commonly associated with northern shamanisms, and its body is a sacred object (Glosecki 1986b). In some cases the bear is itself divine (Russell 2012). A bear's resemblance to a human—its stance, eating habits, facial expressions, and vocalizations—make it an obvious spirit helper (Hedeager 2011). Hibernation marks bears as liminal animals; their ability to disappear for the winter gives them shaman-like qualities: they can visit the underworld and return unharmed (Glosecki 1989b). Bears have not been identified in Style I art, although they do figure in figural depictions during the Vendel period. Two bears flank a man on one of the Torslunda helmet plaques. The bears appear to be attacking the man, who thrusts his sword into the beast to his left. Glosecki (1986b) suggests that this motif may represent a shamanic initiation, where spirit helpers dismember and devour the initiate.

An alternative theory put forward by Hedeager (2011) is that the Torslunda plaque depicts an initiation rite for a would-be berserker warrior; as a rite of passage he would kill a bear and drink its blood, thereby gaining its strength and the ability to transform into a battle bear. Hedeager notes this is the process that led to Bodvar Bjarki's initial transformation. Berserkers borrowed the strength of the bear for their ecstatic battle fury, and both Bodvar Bjarki the were-bear and Beowulf represent the superior power of the bear through their heroic exploits. Besides wolves, bears were the top predators in northern Europe.

Bear phalanges were included in ten Anglo-Saxon cremation graves from Elsham Wold, Spong Hill, and Sancton (Bond and Worley 2006). Since bears were likely extinct in Britain by the fifth century, these bones represent imports of bearskins from the continent. Bearskins were therefore rare and expensive items in Anglo-Saxon communities, yet the cremations themselves are not exceptionally rich, nor are they exclusive to mature males, as one might expect given the association of bears with power (Bond and Worley 2006). However, if bears were associated with *seiðr*, then the inclusion of bearskins in the graves of women may be evidence that women in Anglo-Saxon society played active roles in the belief system. Bear phalanges and claws have

also been found in Scandinavian inhumations (Glosecki 1986b). Bear bones, along with goshawk bones, were found in the burial mounds at the royal site of Uppsala, Sweden (Hedeager 2011).

The bear seems as important as the wolf in both Nordic and Anglo-Saxon cultures. So why does the animal only appear on the Torslunda plaque? Hedeager (2011: 95) suggests that perhaps the bear was too sacred, and depicting it figurally was taboo. Bears were treated with great respect among the Saami; they sacrificed and consumed bears in ritual feasts after which the bones were properly buried as if the bear were human (Russell 2012). Perhaps this ritual treatment of the bear reflected a greater perception of bears as sacred throughout Scandinavia. However, since the quadrupeds in Style I art are so ambiguous, there is every possibility that some of the motifs represent bears.

Boars

Boars are not part of the beast of battle triad, but they were symbols of war in the early medieval period. Boar heads appear on Style I objects, usually as part of embedded figures. Boars appear on personal items worn by women and men: buckles, clasps, harness mounts, brooches, and pendants (Pluskowski 2010). Boars appear on defensive weapons, such as helmets and shields, but not normally on offensive weapons. This association suggests an apotropaic function associated with the Vanir god Freyr. Freyr had a boar companion named Gullinborsti (Golden-Bristles) who has been associated with the sun (Glosecki 1986a; Pluskowski 2006).

Boar helmets are mentioned in Beowulf as protective objects (lines 303-305; 1448-54) (Niles 2008):

> Boar-shapes flashed
> above their cheek-guards, the brightly forged
> work of goldsmiths…

> To guard his head he had a glittering helmet
> that was due to be muddied on the mere bottom
> and blurred in the upswirl. It was of beaten gold,
> princely headgear hooped and hasped
> by a weapon-smith who had worked wonders
> in days gone by and adorned it with boar-shapes;
> since then it had resisted every sword.

Boar-crested helmets are worn by warriors depicted on the Vendel and Sutton Hoo helmets. An actual boar-crested helmet was found at Benty Grange, Derbyshire, England. The boar itself is iron, but it is adorned with silver-gilt studs and garnet eyes (Niles 2008).

Wild boars are powerful and tenacious, and one of their most admirable characteristics is that they will attack with force even when outnumbered—a heroic trait for a warrior to possess (Glosecki 1996). For this reason, boars were also venerated in Celtic Europe. They commonly appear on coins on top of standards or on standing on top of human heads, as if on a helmet or cap (Green 1992).

Wild boars and domestic pigs have another outstanding quality: they provide excellent nutrition. In Valhalla, a magic pig called Saehrímnir was eaten every night, only to regenerate itself the next day.

Serpents, Dragons, and Wyrms

Serpents are common in early medieval art, especially in interlace motifs in the ribbon-like Style II. Like many of the other animals included in the early Germanic animal styles, the snake is a natural shape shifter. It sheds its skin, can crawl underground, and appears to take other animals within itself as it swallows its prey whole (Hedeager 2011). Serpents were categorized with dragons and other worm-like creatures (Pluskowski 2010).

The Midgard Serpent Jörmungandr played an important role in Ragnarök; it released its tail and poisoned the atmosphere. Odin also could change into a snake shape. Other serpent-like beings, such as dragons, battle the heroes Sigurd and Beowulf.

Horses

The horse is the only domesticated animal represented in Style I ornamentation—if the wolf and wild boar motifs are not actually representations of dogs and domestic pigs. The domestic horse, while not wild, is large and powerful, and can travel on long journeys. They form a separate category from other domesticates that are used for food. Horses are depicted as psychopomps in many cultures (Amrit 2012). Odin's horse Sleipnir could travel to the world of the dead; in Siberia, eight-legged horses were considered steeds of shamans (Ellis Davidson 1969). As discussed above, horses were treated in elite Germanic burials as companions, perhaps as guides for their dead master.

Transforming Beasts?

In this chapter, I have considered several ways in which Style I animal art was used and perceived:

1) Style I art represented wealth and status; as such, objects decorated with the ornament were used by elite individuals of both sexes, but primarily by women on bracteates and brooches.

2) Style I art was aesthetically pleasing and entertaining; ambiguous animal-men and entangled beasts were visual riddles, the equivalent of the Old English riddles of the Exeter Book and metaphorical kennings.

3) Style I art was apotropaic; the unintelligible intermingling and juxtaposition of animal bodies simultaneously attracted and held the attention of evil spirits, deflecting any ill intent. Secondarily, the mesmerizing decoration could be a good luck symbol.

4) Style I art (and Style II) represented concepts integral to Germanic/Scandinavian/Anglo-Saxon belief systems. Specifically, the animals depicted

in the art were linked to the Germanic gods, especially Odin, the shape shifting god of war and knowledge.

> 4a) Style I animals (wolf, eagle, raven, serpent, boar, bear, horse) referenced the transformative aspects of Germanic religion. Odin as shaman was the main referent for the art, and many of the animals depicted were associated with warrior culture.
>
> 4b) A form of the Old Norse *seiðr* practice was likely practiced in the fifth and sixth centuries given the continuity of representations (and therefore likely myths) from the fifth to the eleventh century AD. Based on concepts of the soul, or *fylgja*, shamans and/or warriors performed ecstatic rituals in which they transformed into their animal counterparts.

Given the evidence outlined in this chapter, is it plausible that the transformative interactions between human and animal figures in Style I art were related to the shamanistic qualities of Odin? The only testable hypothesis based on archaeological data is the first statement that Style I art was associated with women who had access to wealth, and had some social status. However, this is the most simplistic and obvious explanation. The other hypotheses are all suggested by archaeological, literary, and stylistic evidence, but they cannot yet be thoroughly tested. However, I wish to examine the relationship between humans and animals in early medieval society further. Specifically, I would like to discuss why animals were important structuring concepts with in early medieval societies.

Animals in Metal and Mind

Much research has been conducted attempting to link Norse concepts of *seiðr* with the archaeological evidence of the fifth through eighth centuries. In her most recent publication, Lotte Hedeager (2011: 91) asserted that the "…perception of the world

expressed in Iron Age figurative art is unthinkable without a shamanistic belief system in which *fylgja* and shape changing are the central concepts." Yet we could ask the question: if the literary corpus of Old Norse literature did not exist, would archaeologists still place as much emphasis on the presence of a shamanistic belief system?

Animal Theory

As Levi-Strauss (1963: 89) famously asserted, animals are "good to think" with. Animals are commonly used as metaphors to describe aspects about humans, and these comparisons help people categorize different individuals or groups, usually through the attribution of human characteristics onto animals or animal characteristics onto humans (Russell 2012). Shepard (1996) contends that the human mind is the result of long and sustained interactions with human and non-human animals. As human relationships structure perception, so do animal-human relationships. Animal metaphors may be used to illustrate concepts of correct or incorrect social behaviors (Choyke 2010: 199). Thinking with animals allows humans to conceptualize their position in the world relative to the natural world.

Human-animal relationships are altered given the economy a group practices. Russell (2012) argues that as human economies become more agricultural, the separation between humans and animals results in an inequality. For example, hunter-gatherers consider other animals to be equals and use animal metaphors to represent themselves, while farmers use animal metaphors to create distance from non-human animals. Russell cites Bradley's (2001) discussion of the domestication of images, in which he correlated the use of therianthropes to the late Mesolithic hunting-and-gathering cultures of Europe and more stylized, separate images of humans or animals to the early farming cultures of the Neolithic. Bradley specifically mentions the Mesolithic rock art of Scandinavia, which includes images of animal-men. However, in his assertion that therianthropes only occur with non-farming groups, he ignores the ambiguous art of both the Iron Age and the early medieval period. Groups whose economy was based on cattle, sheep, and pig could have worldviews that included diverse conceptions of human-animal relationships.

Russell (2012: 17) suggests that perhaps it was only after agriculture was well established that people could begin to cognitively transgress the human-animal boundary which was essential to early domestication processes.

However, animal in the Germanic art styles are not domestic animals. Anglo-Saxon economy was based on pig, sheep, and cattle husbandry, and hunting did not contribute significantly to the diet (Crabtree 1995: 21). Animal motifs have never been interpreted as cattle or sheep. Representations of suids are most likely of wild boars, not the domesticated pig. Also notably absent is the deer, one of the most commonly hunted animals in northern Europe (Hedeager 2011). The images are not likely related to hunting magic, as is the case with Saami shamans and their elk spirit helpers (Price 2002).

Why are the animals represented in the ornamentation species that are dangerous, aggressive, and wild? Many of these species may no longer have been common in the environment in the fifth and sixth centuries; they represented rarity and the wild as well as their predatory nature.

Style I art is an art of the predator that expresses the ideology of the elite warrior culture. Wolves, eagles, ravens, and boars were creatures that symbolized danger and potential predation. Wolves and boars could attack, maim, and kill humans, and eagles and ravens ate dead flesh. To humans, the mouths, teeth, and eyes of predators are instinctually frightening. Gaping mouths of predators frequently appear in myths and legends and animal representations, likely as a "remnant of the hardwired visceral fear of dying by carnivore" (Trout 2011: 73). Many human societies utilize these features in imitations of predators to either strike fear into others or to take those qualities into themselves. Trout (2011) suggests that predators are hard-wired into the cognitive ecology of humans because humans must fear to manage their fear and have manipulated that fear to become the top predator themselves. Predatory animals local to the areas in which human groups have lived have been perceived by human groups as holding four distinct, but overlapping roles: as monster, as deities, as anthropomorphic kin or protectors, and as explanatory role models.

Wolves, the primary predator for those living in northwestern Europe, can be seen to embody most of these roles: Fenrir is the monstrous wolf that devours the world with

by setting his gaping maw against earth and sky; he also devours Odin, who thus becomes the "feeder of wolves" in several ways (Pluskowski 2003). Apocalyptic monsters transgress human order and domination (Pluskowski 2003); the breaking of Fenrir's bonds and his consumption of Odin are classic examples of that transgression.

Odin is intricately bound to wolves, although they do not appear as deities themselves. Wolves may act as guiding animal spirits to shamans, and many people were named after wolves, suggesting a link of kinship. Finally, wolves, above all else, were emulated. They were to be feared, certainly, but they possessed qualities that were coveted by those living in a warrior culture.

The Midgard Serpent was also a monstrous creature that transgressed the human order; he kills Thor and poisons the sky at Ragnarök. The Midgard serpent represents what Jones (2000) call a human "an instinct for dragons," an innate fear of the predatory animals that stalked our hominin ancestors. Dragons are hybrid creatures made up of the snake, the big cat, and the raptor. He argues that dragons are universal monsters, although they can alter in form. Even in environments where big cats predatory snakes exist, Jones suggests that the dragon lingers in the mind as part of humans' cognitive ecology. Interestingly, he links the appearance of dragons in myth with another near-universal object: the world tree, which is representative of the trees to which our primate ancestors fled in times of danger.

In Germanic legend there exist several dragons: The Midgard Serpent Jörmungandr; Nidhogg, the serpent that drinks the blood of the dead and continuously gnaws on the roots of Yggdrasil, the Norse World Tree; Fafnir, the dragon featured in the *Saga of the Volsungs*; and the dragon in *Beowulf*, who manages to kill the eponymous hero. Serpents, called wyrms, feature in Anglo-Saxon legend. These guard the burial mounds filled with treasure (Simpson 1980). Legless serpents are sometimes incised or stamped into cremation urns.

In addition to playing roles in transgressing human order, especially as players in destruction myths, monsters "expose the radical permeability and artificiality of all our classificatory boundaries" (Gilmore 2003: 19). Monstrous creatures often appear in myth and art as composite animals that seem grotesque in their hybridity. As hybrid creatures,

many monsters are created out of the fragmentation of human classificatory systems. Dislocation of animals and their recombination into monsters is another way in which world order is transgressed. Monsters and dangerous animals live in liminal places—borderlands, deep-water, marshes, and mountains—places humans tend to avoid. Monsters are created in the wilderness of the mind (Gilmore 2003). The wastes of the wilderness were represented as lonely and dangerous places, where one could come upon grotesque creatures (Pluskowski 2010).

In Christian societies, hybrid human-animals are seen as inherently evil because they blur boundaries between species. Hybridity and the process of transformation are seen as transgressions of natural order (Shepard 1996). Early Christians separated animals from humans ideologically in order to establish dominance over the natural world (Salisbury 2011; Tolkien 1984). Seen in this light, any dim memories of shamanic rituals from the early medieval period were construed to be works of the devil. This is one of the primary reasons that werewolves became such an enduring concept in medieval Europe (Bynum 2001; Salisbury 2011). The shaman shape shifter became the monster.

This view is certainly illustrated in the baptismal vow made by the Saxons and Thuringians in the presence of St. Boniface in the ninth century (MacLeod and Mees 2006; Simek 1993):

> I forsake the devil.
> And I forsake all devilish sacrifices.
> And I forsake all devil's work and words, and Thunær and Woden and Saxnôte, and all the monsters who are their companions.

When Christianity became widespread in northern Europe, animal-human hybrids largely disappeared from personal ornament. However, representations of ambiguous animals are incorporated in the Celtic Christian tradition, especially in illuminated manuscripts. According to Salisbury (2011), in her count of animals in illuminated manuscripts, animal-human hybrids reappear as marginalia during the twelfth century. The presence of marginalia shows that even belief in a human-dominated world cannot

prevent people from thinking of themselves in relation to other animals. Such hybrid creatures allow people to understand themselves as animals with animal characteristics (Salisbury 2011).

Animals as monsters serve as conceptual frameworks for understanding chaos and human ontology. Dangerous animals are not always associated with negativity, however. In non-Christian belief systems, hybridity may allow order to be maintained through the use of power harnessed from animals. To harness that power, ritual practitioners, such as shamans, attempt to become one with the animal whose characteristics they wish to embody. With animal powers, they have the ability to heal or harm. Through this transformation, shamans could be said to become monsters because they cross the human-animal boundary (Hamel 1969; Trout 2011).

One way to facilitate shamanic transformation is to physically clothe oneself as the animal using pelts or masks. This assists ritual specialists perceive that they have transformed or merged with their animal helper (Russell 2012). Clothing oneself as an animal is not a matter of disguising the human body; rather, the physicality of the animal part allows the transformed person to adopt the perceptions and attitudes of the animal. The mask reveals the true spirit of the animal (Conneller 2004; Ingold 2000). According to Shepard (1996: 132), animal masks "often depict animals who are marginal in habitat or masters of metamorphosis. Wearing animal masks results in a cathartic mimesis, where the masks reconcile mingled human and animal qualities. Masking practices allow for the belief that other forms may be hiding latent within the human body.

In both Old English and Old Norse the word for mask is associated with Odin. *Grimnir*—"the masked"—is a kenning for Odin (Back Danielson 2010). Felted masks representing bears or wolves have been found in the early medieval deposits at Hedeby, Germany. These masks could have been used to facilitate mimetic performance.

Human-animal transformations may also be used to initiate people into specific roles. In some cultures, initiation ceremonies include ritual transformations in which newly adult individuals attain the characteristics of emulated species. (Russell 2012). Similarly, warriors may utilize altered states of consciousness to attain physical or psychological characteristics of aggressive species. These ceremonies usually involve

individuals performing the part of the animal in a way that they become the animal. Mimetic performances in which warriors use pelts, amulets, or other objects (such as an animal-style decorated shield) caused a transformation not only in perceived shape or appearance, but also in psychology. Those who believed they were bears or wolves became impervious to fear and pain (Trout 2011), just as real wolves or bears were perceived as fearless. Such a metamorphosis also enabled the warrior to become a predator of man in battle (Trout 2011).

In Anglo-Saxon England, the defensive appendages of rare animals were occasionally buried with the dead, indicating they were used in life. Perforated raptor claws, wolf, fox, or dog teeth, boar's tusks, and beaver teeth have all bee found in graves, albeit rarely (Crabtree 1995). As amulets or pendants, these remains represented the most characteristic part of wild, aggressive animals. Other wild animal parts were present in cremation graves. Red deer, roe deer, hare, fox, goose, small birds and fish could be included (Bond 1996). Along with the bear claws found in cremation cemeteries, the inclusion of raptor, canid, and boar remains in graves indicates that the "beasts of battle" held symbolic significance in mortuary ritual. Faunal remains of these species, particularly of the wolf, bear, and beaver, rarely appear in settlement contexts; they were likely extremely rare or locally extinct in Britain (Crabtree 1995). Horse and dog remains are similarly rare in settlement contexts and likely held personal significance to those buried. Domestic pig, cattle, and sheep were more likely to be food gifts or as disposable portable wealth, particularly the cattle (Bond and Worley 2006).

Amulets that incorporate body parts of animals can serve two functions: an individual can take on the aspects of the animal or can be protected against that animal. In the case of a boar's tusk, the traits transferred might include power or ferocity. The boar's tusk could also signify the hoped-for protection of its associated deity, Freyr. The alternative function of an amulet is to protect the wearer against that animal (Russell 2012). This specific function seems less likely in northern European contexts, where in each case, the amulet represents an animal lauded for its aggressive traits. In the case of Anglo-Saxon England, the exception is the beaver tooth, representing an animal whose

appeal to Anglo-Saxon audiences is not known. Perhaps, like some amulets, the rarity and novelty of the object itself provided the protective function.

Understanding the monstrous roles predatory animals can play in the human imagination brings us closer to understanding Style I art. It is, overall, an art of dangerous, wild animals. Yet, all of the animals come into close contact with humans. Ravens, and wolves, especially, may linger on the edges of settlements looking for scavenging opportunities. As beasts of battle, ravens, eagles, and wolves transcend bodily boundaries. It does not take a great leap of imagination to conceptualize humans becoming parts of animals as they are being consumed. The symbiotic relationships between humans and animals in battlefield ecology primed the mind for the possibility that humans could transform into animals and yet safely return.

One aspect of Style I art is that not only are there human-animal hybrids, but to a lesser extent, there are animal-animal hybrids, which could be classified as grotesque monsters. Which were conceptually more important? Did both types of hybrid relate to human-animal transforming processes? What is the degree to which the animal motifs in Style I art incorporate aspects of actual known animals from the early medieval environment, and to what extent are the animals imaginary?

In a study of a similarly cryptic animal art tradition from pre-Columbian Panama, Cooke (2002) describes the way in which ambiguous animals nonetheless retain identifiable characteristics: antlers for the white deer and scales for crocodilians, for example. Like Style I animal art, the composite animals painted on Gran Coclé ceramics may be opposed, alternated, bifurcated, or repeated. More importantly, a shamanic interpretation has been given to many of the images, especially to the dancing bipedal hybrids. These figures appear as if in a ecstatic trance, wear animal masks, seem to be exhaling breath, and have “inner essence symbols” made up of spiral designs (Cooke 2002: 123). The similarity in the treatment of human and animal bodies in both art styles suggest that such constructions could be related to worldviews in which the boundary between animals and humans is permeable, resulting in art styles which encapsulate the transgression of human-animal boundaries.

Another analogy for Style I art is the use of theriomorphic imagery on Shang ritual bronzes vessels of Bronze Age China (Kesner 1991). Monster masks, called *taotie*, share a themes of ambiguity with Style I animal faces. The ornament on the bronze vessels is chaotic as in Style I ornament. One motif depicts an animal or monster face devouring a human head, often interpreted as a "metaphorical rendering of shamans with their animal familiars consuming the shamans' earthly bodies in trance to transport them to the other world" (Russell 2012: 24). The shamanic image on the vessel depicts human-animal transformation and perhaps even enables it (Kesner 1991). To this interpretation we can compare Magnus' reading of the animal-devouring-head motif on the Ekeby brooch. It may be more accurate to argue for a reading of that particular brooch that involves general animal-human relationships rather than a specific mythical episode.

Combined with the alcohol that was served in the vessels, the images of animal helpers and shamanic transformations perhaps were used in rituals to achieve a state of altered consciousness (Russell 2012). Also present in the art are split masks composed of two separate animal profiles, as are man-between-beast motifs (Chang 1976; 1981).

Kesner (1991) argues that the decoration on Shang bronzes shaped the visual environment in favor of the elites. The *taotie* mask motif and other ambiguous figures created a psychological response in the viewer based on fear. Associated with ritual activities of the elites, the art reified the legitimacy of the ruling class. Kesner describes the art as a symbolic coercion of specific groups through the surface decoration of ritual paraphernalia. In Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon society, the use of predators on prestige objects such as brooches and drinking horns conferred a special status to those who used them in public display.

I argue that the motifs in Style I art represent two different, but not mutually exclusive, conceptions of world order:

1) Animals are portrayed as dangerous animals that devour humanoids, either in a battlefield context in which warriors are consumed, or in the mythical context of Ragnarök, where animal monsters devour deities and the world alike. Both of these

contexts figure the transgression and fragmentation of bodily boundaries and world order. Yet the animals are not demonized; they too have admirable qualities and serve to send humans and gods to their next mode of existence.

2) Animals are portrayed as beasts one might emulate through bodily and mental transformation. By fragmenting the human body and reintegrating it with an animal body, humans may take on desired characteristics. People are viewed as human animals able to cross liminal boundaries. Ritual practice of shamans may be depicted in the art. The ornamentation visually expressed a worldview in which humans could take on animal qualities.

How were these conceptions of animal-human relationships actually used as expressions of identity? How were they perceived in ritual contexts or as part of every day life?

Animal motifs in Style I art, such as paired and intertwined animals and ambiguous animal and human masks share a theme of dislocation and shape shifting. Kristoffersen (1995; 2000; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001) has suggested that brooches with animal art enabled shamanic transformation because the art itself referenced the act of transformation between animal and human forms. The presence of such hidden, restricted motifs suggests that the decoration was formulaic. If this was the case, the messages signaled may have been controlled and maintained exclusively by the elite. Much like elites in Bronze Age China reified their position through *taotie* motifs, groups utilizing the ambiguous Style I motifs could legitimize their status.

Visually, the ambiguous figures of style I art are presented as reversible, embedded, or as split representations. Especially for Style I, the type of animal may not have been as important as the idea of an animal itself (Kristoffersen 1995).
Faces and masks are well-defined. Human brains are equipped with areas dedicated to facial recognition, resulting in near-automatic detection of faces (Battaglia et al. 2012). Specifically, the *en-face* masks call to mind transformation, where the human face looks outward, but each half is and animal in profile. Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen (2001)

suggest that the viewing a Style I motifs involved Gestalt-forming mental processes which required the viewers to solve the visual puzzle. The illusion of movement results in rapid selective attention to alternate components (Battaglia et al. 2012) which may result in altered mental states, from absorption, concentration, lack of self-awareness, and focused attention, to hypnotism (Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001). These types of cognitive responses may have induced trance-like states, especially if the brooch was viewed in firelight; the flickering light would enhance the illusion of movement, giving the brooch a numinous quality.

If we take the shamanic Odin cult as a possible referent for these objects, it could be that the ambiguity of the art and the reflectivity of the metal object on which it was rendered were meant as hypnotic aids for shamanic rituals, producing a specific cognitive response in the viewer (Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001). The visual illusion of movement that is created by the highly reflective surface of the relief carving and the entangled motifs contributed to the potential transformative magic symbolized by the object. Brooches with such motifs may have enabled shamanic transformation because the art itself referenced the act of transformation between animal and human forms. If we return to the idea of the idea of complex ornamentation being protective because it confuses spirits (Gell 1998; Ingold 2007), perhaps the ornamentation functioned to let ritual practitioners *into* the space created by the motifs. The lines of animal bodies served as a way to attract and ensorcel rather than confound.

Both Kristoffersen (1995) and Hedeager (2011) stress that the animal motifs are not representations of animals, they *are* animals: the act of depicting them creates them; they come into being. As an active object, animals on a brooch may protect the individual who wore them (Kristoffersen 1995). Similarly, Hedeager (2011: 67) argues that the dislocated nature of animal bodies in the ornamentation is not meant to be depictions of actual animals, but rather representations of "the animals' mentality, that is, their significance is embedded in the form of artistic representation." Central to this was the thought that an image equaled the object represented (Glosecki 1996: 9). That is, an eagle on a brooch *was* the eagle, a boar on a helmet *was* the boar.

If animal motifs created a physical representation of shamanic practices, which moment did they represent: the final product or the process? Are they images of visions shamans had it trances? Bynum (2001: 28-32) argues that in terms of conceptualizing the intermingling of animals and humans, hybridity and metamorphosis (or becoming an animal) are two distinct concepts. Hybridity is a visual signal of simultaneous "two-ness," whereas metamorphosis is a process, representing a "one-ness left behind or approached." A transforming process can even be thought of as a series of deaths that occur as the individual is transformed. Therefore, hybridity cannot be the end process of metamorphosis because "metamorphosis breaks down categories by breaching them; hybrid forces contradictory or incompatible categories to coexist and serve as commentary each on the other" (Bynum 2001: 31). The two concepts highlight different ways of questioning identity and ontology.

Since many Style I motifs depict figures in action, I would argue that the process of human-animal transformation is being depicted. This supports the idea that brooches and other objects decorated with the style could be aids for shamanic ritual. The ornamentation expresses a worldview that sees fluidity between the natural and supernatural.

For motifs that depict the conflict between humans and animals, the intermingling may be a material visual metaphor for battle. Lundborg (2006: 43) has interpreted the binding aspect of Germanic animal art as reflecting literary tropes involving binding as a metaphor for killing and battle. Not only do animals intermingle with and consume the body parts of fallen warriors, they also perform gripping actions. Andrén (2011) has similarly correlated the appearance of visually complex animal ornament with the earliest skaldic poetry.

Women as Ritual Practitioners?

If Style I animal art expressed a cosmology that saw boundaries between animals and humans as permeable, who managed and disseminated that knowledge? It has been hypothesized that women who performed religious rituals may have been associated with

Style I motifs (Lindtsrøm and Kristoffersen 2001). Brooches with these motifs may have been used as tools by women who held spiritual power. This hypothesis is based on the roles played by women in *seiðr*, as well as interpretations of depictions of a goddess or priestess on pendants and gold foils. In these representations, a woman is often depicted wearing an oversized relief brooch. Because the relief brooch is enlarged and emphasized, some scholars have interpreted the object as a significant ritual tool (Arrhenius 2001). Psychological studies have shown that women have a greater acuity for processing environmental stimuli subconsciously, and thus they may have been well-equipped to manipulate the cognitive ambiguity between human and animal as represented in the art (Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001: 77).

It is unlikely, however, that all women who possessed these brooches were ritual practitioners; yet, the brooches could have referenced the spiritual nature inherent in a specific group or identity, such as mature, fertile women or the female leaders of the community. Women may have played a large role in the curation and dissemination of the ideology embedded within Style I art. Since the objects were designed to simultaneously express and disguise meaning, they may have acted as tools to introduce ideological concepts to the uninitiated (Dickinson 2002). Animal motifs may have referred to legends, parables, myths, symbols and rites, and appropriate social roles and behaviors (Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001: 79).

If material culture was used in this way, it suggests that women in early medieval society held power in ideological structures and were instrumental in the creation and maintenance of ideological concepts.

Conclusion

Style I art was used most intensively in the later fifth century when competing groups struggled for power in northwest Europe (Kristoffersen 1995). Based on iconographical evidence, it appears that some aspects of the Norse ideological tradition existed in early medieval Germanic paganism. The iconography and ideology related to Odin was developed by elites in Scandinavia and was referenced by other elites

throughout northwest Europe, likely to legitimize their claims to political and ideological power; and indeed, kings often claimed descent from Odin in their royal genealogies (Axboe 2001; Magnus 2001). Style I art, which expressed a worldview that referenced Odin and the cognitive boundaries between human and animal, embodied a common elite ideology that was almost certainly maintained though political alliances, intermarriage, and the use of a common symbolic language (Hedeager 2000: 45).

In this chapter I have considered the use of bodies as representations of dividual and individual identity. I have also summarized the major arguments concerning the meaning and purpose of Style I art, mainly that the motifs refer to a pre-Viking Odin, the shape-shifting god of battle and knowledge. While I have demonstrated that there appear to be links between the iconography of the fifth and sixth centuries and the warrior ideology associated with the beasts of battle, it must be emphasized that these are tenuous connections; the motifs of Style I could change given the context. In fact, that is what the iconography invites the viewer to do, to actively participate in the reading of the images.

CHAPTER 7 – ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EXPRESSION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES

To understand how Style I animal art contributed to the shaping of identity in the early medieval period, objects with the style must be placed in context. In this chapter, 11 cemeteries dating to the fifth and sixth centuries at 10 locations in England were analyzed in order to understand the connections between gender, age, personal identity, and Style I objects.

Previous analyses of the relationship between personal identity and grave goods in Anglo-Saxon England have shown that age and gender were the primary structuring principles for identity formation (Flowers 2005; Stoodley 1999a). Specifically, there are particular age thresholds at which a gendered assemblage is given. For females, the general trend is to receive the full assemblage of dress fasteners, jewelry, and personal equipment only after the age of 12, with the majority of these individuals being over the age of 20. Some object types, such as ornate square-headed brooches, are restricted to mature adults over the age of 17.

This chapter examines the correlations between gender, age, and the inclusion of Style I brooches to see if there is a specific identity beyond socio-economic status being expressed via the mortuary ritual.

From the data analyzed in this chapter, five models will be evaluated:

Model 1:

Style I-decorated objects express wealthy elite status. Individuals associated with these objects will have wealthier than average grave good assemblages.

Model 2a:

Style I-decorated objects express traditional ideology; they are worn or used by the heads of households or kin groups. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with other objects symbolically linked to ideal male or female roles, such as keys or weapons.

Model 2b:

Style I-decorated objects express traditional ideology; they are worn or used by the heads of households or kin groups in order to emulate or legitimize their connections with Scandinavia or the Continent. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with imported objects or objects associated with foreign elites.

Model 3a:

Style I-decorated objects are linked with belief systems. Individuals associated with these objects will be buried with other objects that are apotropaic in nature.

Model 3b:

Style I-decorated objects were used by individuals who were associated with or practiced shamanism. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with other apotropaic objects or those later associated with shamanic practices.

Data has been collected from published cemetery reports. I have utilized site reports of modern excavations. In several cemeteries, specialists have determined sex and age based on skeletal markers. In other cemeteries, where this was not always possible, gender was assigned according to associated grave goods. While this is not ideal, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are generally strictly gendered; that is, dress fasteners in combination with jewelry and personal objects are nearly always associated with females.

In addition to analyzing cemetery reports, I have examined many of the Style I-decorated artifacts in museums to familiarize myself with the motifs and the visual impact of early medieval metalwork. Photographs were taken of these objects. I was also able to physically examine the Style I objects from Great Chesterford at the British Museum. I have also viewed comparative material at museums in Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, and Norway.

The cemeteries used in the study are distributed across the Anglo-Saxon settlement area (Figure 7.1). All of the cemeteries date from the mid or late fifth century

to at least the early seventh century. In some cases, as at Butler's Field, the cemeteries continued to be used in the seventh century; data from these burials was not used. Over 1567 inhumation graves were analyzed, although most attention was placed on the female-gendered grave good assemblages, of which there were 517. Cremations were not analyzed because grave goods and skeletal materials in an urn may not correspond to the same individual. Style I objects from cremations were noted, but not included in the analysis. Only objects with identifiable Style I motifs were included in the analysis; objects which were likely to have been decorated in the style but were too deteriorated have not been included.

Figure 7.1 Map of cemeteries used in analysis

Table 7.1. Summary Information for Cemeteries used in Analysis

Cemetery	County Location	Cultural Affiliation	Date of Main use	No. of Style I Objects	No. of Inhumations
Mucking I	Essex	Saxon	5th-7th	4	64
Mucking II	Essex	Saxon	5th-7th	12	282
Springfield Lyons	Essex	Anglian		2	114
Great Chesterford	Essex	Anglian	5th-6th	15	161
Empingham II	Leicestershire	Anglian	5th-6th	7	135
West Heslerton	North Yorkshire	Anglian	5th-6th	24	185
Berinsfield	Oxfordshire	Saxon	5th-6th	7	100
Watchfield	Oxfordshire	Saxon	5th-6th	6	43
Butler's Field	Gloucestershire	Saxon	5th-7th	25	128
Blacknall Field	Wiltshire	Saxon	5th-6th	14	104
Wasperton	Warwickshire	Saxon	5th-6th	21	215

MUCKING I AND II, ESSEX

There are two cemeteries and a settlement at Mucking. The site is situated on a gravel terrace above the Thames estuary. Cemetery II contains at least 282 inhumations and 463 cremations, totaling 745 burials. Mucking II was used between c. 425 and the early seventh century (Figure 7.2). Cemetery I is an incomplete burial ground. It contains 64 inhumations and dates to the same time period as Mucking II (Figure 7.3). The site was excavated between 1965 and 1978. The cemetery reports for both cemeteries were published by Sue Hirst and Dido Clark in 2009.

The settlement at Mucking was occupied from the fort half of the fifth century to the early eighth century. 53 post-built structures and 203 *Grubenhäuser* have been excavated at the site.

The authors suggest that Mucking is an important site because it is the largest known sample of inhumations dating between 525 and 550, and therefore the people buried in the cemetery have a unique mix of Germanic and late Roman cultural affinities. They suggest that the settlement at Mucking represents either a federate settlement or an early migrant settlement.

Figure 7.2. Mucking I cemetery plan (after Hirst and Clark 2009).

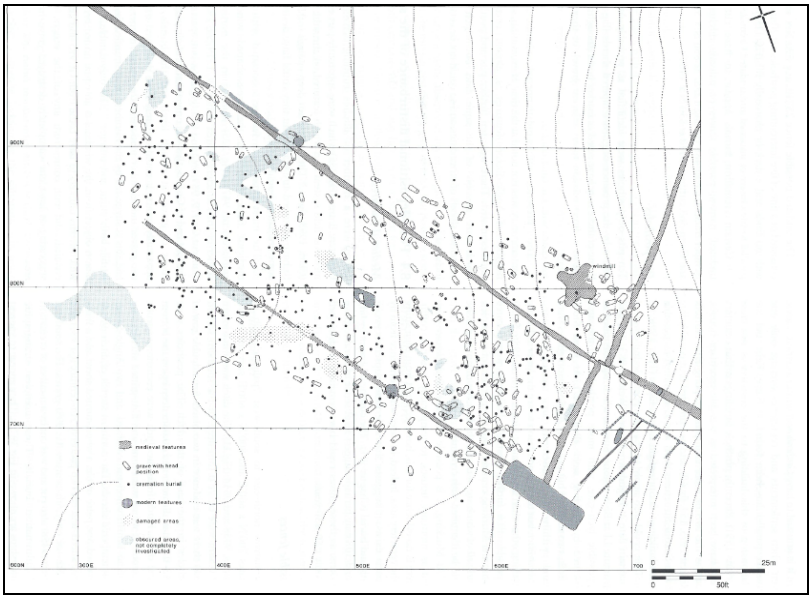


Figure 7.3. Mucking II cemetery plan (after Hirst and Clark 2009).

Mucking I

Female-Gendered graves

16 individuals were assigned a female gender largely based on the presence of brooches, beads, and personal objects. Of the 16 female-gendered graves, 75% (12) included brooches. In total there are 24 brooches of 11 different types.

Table 7.2. Brooch Types at Mucking I

Brooch Types at Mucking I	
Annular	1
Applied Saucer	2
Armbrustfibel	1
Button	4
Cruciform	2
Disc	4
Equal-Arm	1
Penannular	1
Roman	2
Small-Long	2
Small Square-Headed	4
Total	24

Of the 12 brooch burials, 11 were associated with adult and 1 with a child. Further age determinations could not be made given the poor bone preservation.

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 4 objects at Mucking I. 16.6% of brooches were decorated with Style I ornament. These are the 2 pairs of small square-headed brooches in graves 99 and 102. Related to the Style I objects are 2 applied brooches with face masks in grave 249.

Table 7.3. Style I-decorated Objects at Mucking I

Style I Objects at Mucking I	No. of Objects	Grave Numbers	Gender
Small Square-headed brooch	4	Graves 99, 102	Female

Of the 16 females buried at Mucking I, 12.5% had access to Style I objects. These Style I brooches date from the sixth century. Both individuals buried with the Style I square-headed brooches were adults.

Grave Wealth

Graves 99 and 102 both contained 2 Style I decorated objects. On average, these burials had 6 artifact types. Non-Style I brooch burials had average of 3.8 object types. Associated with the square-headed brooches in grave 99 were beads, a silver finger-ring, 2 button brooches, an antler or bone comb, a firesteel, iron shears, a knife, a possible purse, and a glass bowl. In grave 102 were a pot, a pin, and beads. The zoomorphic motifs on these brooches are very stylized. Both pairs are related to Kentish brooch forms.

Mucking II

Female-Gendered graves

86 individuals were assigned a female gender at Mucking II based on the presence of brooches, beads, and personal objects. Of the 86 female-gendered graves, 74.4% (64) included brooches. In total there are 122 brooches of 15 different types.

Table 7.4. Brooch Types at Mucking II

Brooch Types at Mucking II	
Annular	8
Applied Saucer	27
Bow	3
Button	7
Cast Saucer	5
Cruciform	5
Disc	20
Equal-Arm	2
Lozenge-Shaped	2
Penannular	10
Quoit	2
Small-Long	23
Small Square-Headed	6
Supporting Arm	1
Total	122

The majority of the 63 brooch burials were associated with adults. Further age determinations could not be made given the poor bone preservation.

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 12 objects at Mucking II. 2 applied saucer, 1 great square-headed, and 3 small square-headed brooches have Style I ornament. 4.8% of brooches were decorated with Style I ornament. All of these brooches, with the exception

of the great square-headed brooch, were found in 6 female graves. The great square-headed brooch was found in a possible male grave. It was fragmentary and was being used as a pendant. 4 strap fittings have Style I masks. These are in 2 female burials. A belt plate with Style I animals surrounding a garnet is included in female-gendered grave 281. In male grave 600, the shield boss apex disc is decorated with Style I motifs.

Table 7.5. Style I-decorated Objects at Mucking II

Style I Objects			
Applied Saucer	2	Grave 589	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	1	Grave 643	Male?
Square-Headed Brooch	3	Graves 814, 843	Female
Strap Fittings	4	Graves 639, 767	Female
Belt Plate	1	Grave 281	Female
Shield Boss Apex Disk	1	Grave 600	Male

Of the 86 females buried at Mucking I, 6.9% had access to Style I objects. All of the Style I objects were associated with adults except for grave 589, which may have contained a child.

Grave Wealth

Style I graves at Mucking II contained 1 to 2 Style I objects. The average number of artifact types for female adult graves in Cemetery II was 3.8. The female Style I burials had an average of 5.1 object types per graves, including rare objects such as glass claw beakers. Male grave 600 is a sword, shield, and spear grave. It also contains a bucket with human mask vandykes.

At Mucking II, the Style I zoomorphs are very abstract, but there seems to be a preponderance of Style I masks, and closely related motifs, such as the masks on button brooches.

SPRINGFIELD LYONS, ESSEX

The Springfield Lyons cemetery is located near Chelmsford in Essex (Figure 7.4). The cemetery was excavated between 1986 and 1991 by the Essex County Council Archaeology Section. The results were of the excavation were published by Susan Tyler and Hilary Major in 2005.

On the site are a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and a Bronze Age round house enclosed by a circular ditch and rampart. An Iron Age sword and scabbard has been found at the site, as has evidence of Roman settlement activity nearby. The authors of the report contend that the Bronze Age ditch was still noticeable in the early Anglo-Saxon period and that it was used to demarcate the northern boundary of the cemetery. A late Saxon settlement is situated to the south of the ditch and includes evidence for timber buildings. Springfield Lyons is a mixed rite cemetery with 143 cremations and 114 inhumations. Artifacts indicate the cemetery was in use between 450 and 700 AD.

The cemetery was not completely excavated; burials could exist to the west. The depth of the inhumation graves is shallow; some have probably been plowed away. Bone preservation is not good. 45 total inhumations are accompanied by a grave good assemblage. Both brooch and weapon burials are present, as is a rare burial of a horse head (grave 8577).

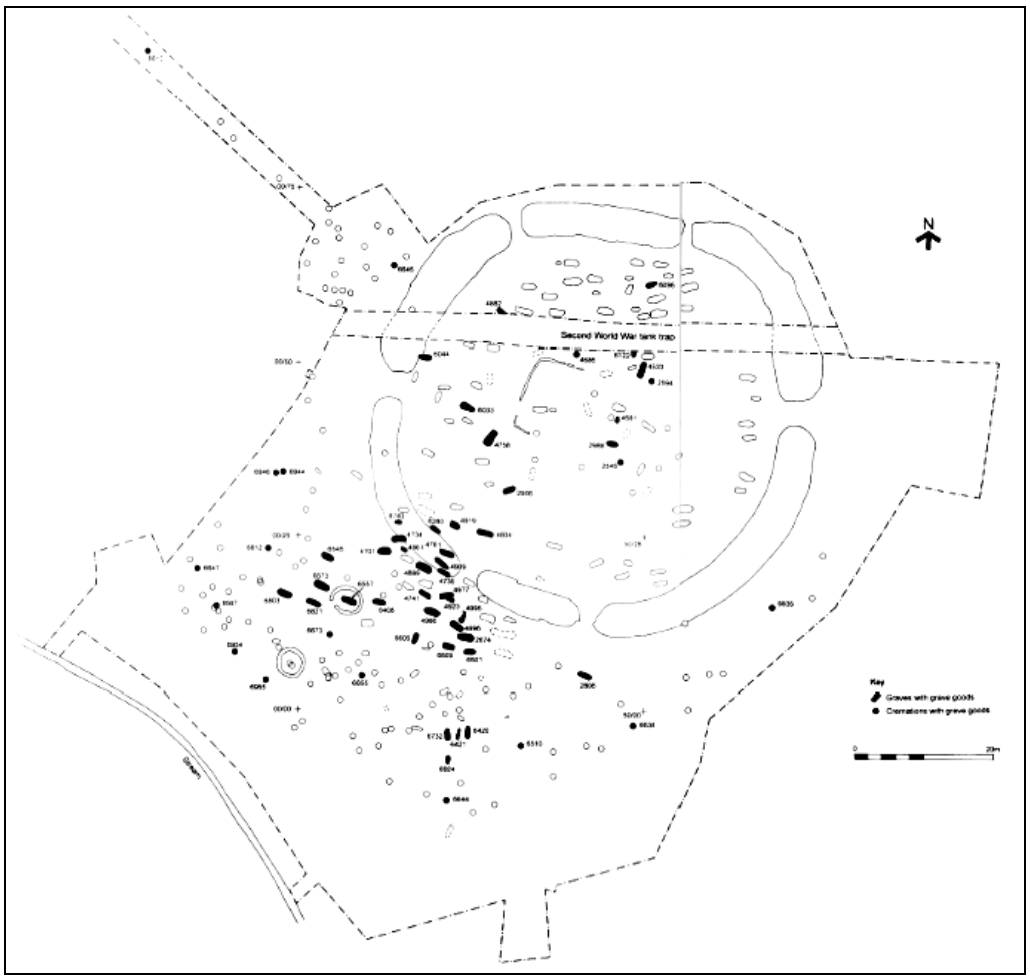


Figure 7.4. Springfield Lyons Cemetery Plan (after Tyler and Major 2005: Fig. 7).

Female-Gendered graves

21 individuals have been assigned a female gender on the basis of grave goods in inhumations. To be considered a female, one or more of the following must have been present: pairs of brooches (single brooches are sometimes given to males), beads worn as a necklace or a bracelet (single beads are often associated with weapon graves, especially those with swords), keys, finger-rings, and chatelaines. One brooch burial does not satisfy those requirements as it included only a single cruciform brooch with a horse-head terminal.

Obviously, sexing of individuals using only grave goods will sometimes lead to inaccurate data. In the case of Anglo-Saxon graves, such inaccuracy will be minimal due to the strong tendency to gender females with brooches and jewelry.

Of the 21 female-gendered inhumation graves, 76% (16) included brooches. There are 31 brooches in the inhumations, consisting of 6 types. 1 cremation contained a disc brooch, and 1 ungendered inhumation contained a cruciform brooch.

Table 7.6. Brooch Types at Springfield Lyons

Brooch Types	
Annular	3
Cast Saucer	2
Composite Saucer	1
Cruciform	3
Disc	6
Small-Long	16
Total	31

Age data are not available for the graves at Springfield Lyons.

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates very few objects at Springfield Lyons. 1 belt buckle plate has Style I ornament, but this does not belong to a female-gendered grave. Another object, from female-gendered burial 6573, is a copper alloy openwork plate with two confronting stylized bird beaks. This may be a Style I object. A third object comes from a female-gendered cremation grave. It is a triangular copper alloy belt fitting with chip-carved running animals; interpreted as either hounds or hares. Of the 3 objects decorated with possible Style I ornament, none are brooches. However, a fragment of a florid cruciform brooch with Style I decoration was found in an unstratified deposit. It is likely that this came from a disturbed inhumation.

Other zoomorphic ornament decorates cruciform and small-long brooches. 5 cruciform brooches have horse-head terminals, and 2 small-long brooches have downward-biting beasts.

Table 7.7. Style I-decorated Objects at Springfield Lyons

Style I Objects at Springfield Lyons	No. of Objects	Grave Number	Gender
Buckle Plate	1	Grave 4761	Male
Openwork Plate?	1	Grave 6573	Female
*Belt Fitting?	1	Cr. Grave 4686	Female

Of the 21 females at Springfield Lyons, only 4.76% were associated with potential Style I objects; none of these are brooches. Of 15 males identified at the cemetery, 6.6% were buried with Style I objects. The buckle plate deposited in grave 4761 was decorated with style I chip carving around 5 inlaid garnets. It was no longer used on a buckle and may have been kept as a keepsake.

Grave Wealth

Despite the lack of Style I objects, the inhumations had a respectful amount of grave goods. The average number of artifact types for non-Style I inhumations was 3.3. Style I inhumations had an average of 6 object types per grave. Grave 4761 had 4 types of objects and grave 6573 had 8. The male in grave 4761 had a bucket, firesteel, and a knife in addition to the buckle plate. The female in grave 6573 was the richest female in the cemetery. She was buried next to a ring ditch that had the grave of a male in the center. The authors of the report suggest they may be related. The woman was buried with a silver ring, a necklace of glass and amber beads, an iron ring, 2 annular brooches, 2 keys, an iron pin, a buckle, the copper alloy plate with confronting bird heads. She was buried in a coffin and there were indications that a marker was placed on the grave.

Included in the grave fill were fragments of red ochre, which does not occur naturally in the area.

Clearly Style I-decorated objects were not as popular at Springfield Lyons as at other cemeteries, although the presence of the florid cruciform fragment suggests that ornate Style I brooches were used by individuals who were buried or visited the site. More prevalent are zoomorphic heads on the terminals of cruciform brooches. Horse symbolism is more visibly expressed that Style I animals, and this may have something to do with the horse head burial. The horse head was buried in a horse-head shaped pit and included remnants of a harness. The horse was placed near the entrance of the Bronze Age enclosure ditch.

GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX

The cemetery at Great Chesterford was excavated between 1953 and 1955 in advance of construction (Figure 7.5). The cemetery report was written by Vera Evison in 1994. Located near the Roman town of Great Chesterford, the cemetery is situated on the River Cam. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, ritual activity at Great Chesterford also included the cremation of Romano-British individuals. Groups of 3 and 5 Roman cremations urns are in the vicinity of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery The Roman burials are not disturbed, so it seems that the Anglo-Saxon community was aware of the prior mortuary activity.

161 adults were inhumed; 21 were cremated. 83 non-adults were buried in the cemetery. Of the adult inhumations, 42 could be sexed as male and 63 could be sexed as female. Some graves are arranged around 3 tumuli.

Two horse burials were excavated. They were buried whole; 1 partially burnt horse was located near the grave of a relatively well-equipped woman (55), and a second more complete horse was buried with a man in grave 142. The man was also buried with a spear and shield.

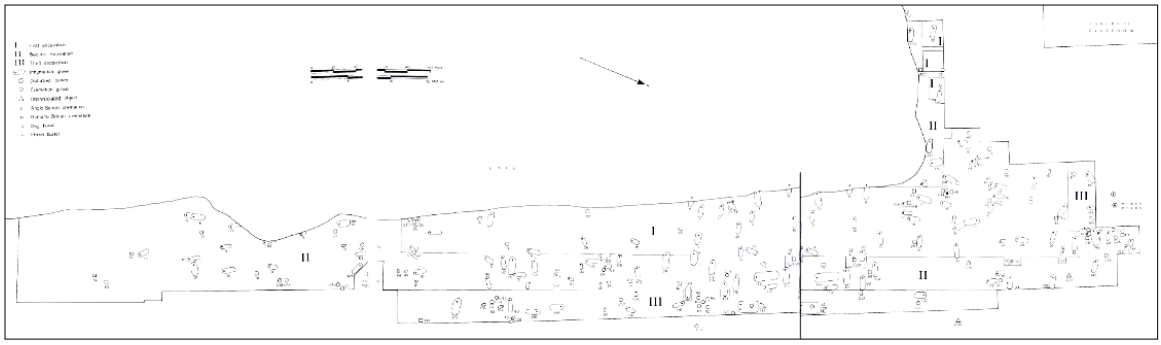


Figure 7.5. Great Chesterford Cemetery Plan (after Evison 1994).

Female-Gendered graves

63 individuals were osteologically sexed as females or probable females. 53 of these females were given a grave good assemblage that was gendered as female. Of the 53 female-gendered graves, 68% (36) included brooches. There are a total of 66 brooches of 11 different types.

Table 7.8. Brooch Types at Great Chesterford

Brooch Types at Great Chesterford	
Annular	2
Applied	4
Bow	2
Cast Saucer	8
Cruciform	5
Disc	6
Great Square-Headed	2
Penannular	3
Radiate	1
Small-Long	29
Square-Headed	4
Total	66

The majority of brooches were buried with mature individuals, but some young children were buried with brooches (Figure 7.6).

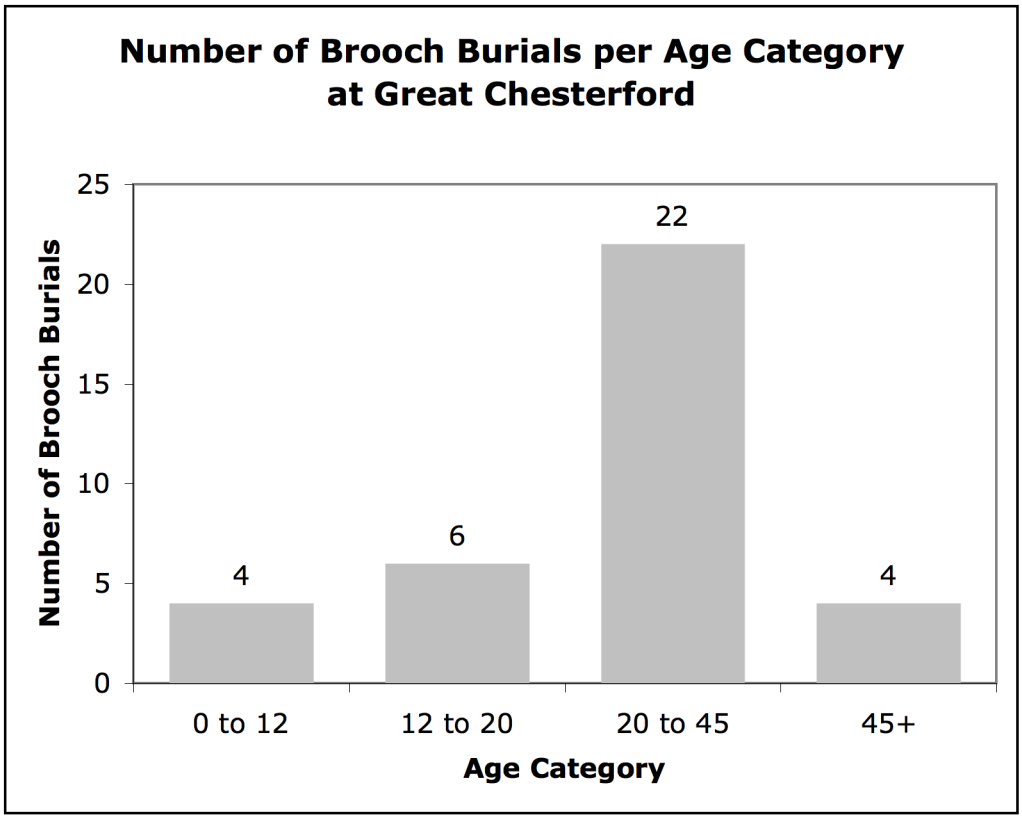


Figure. 7.6 Number of burials per age category at Great Chesterford

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 15 objects at Great Chesterford. 12 of these are included as part of 7 female-gendered assemblages. The remaining objects come from male graves. Female Style I objects include 10 brooches and repoussé mounts for 2 buckets. Style I objects in male graves include a wrist clasp, a strap end, and a spear shaft.

Table 7.9. Style I-decorated Objects at Great Chesterford

Style I Objects	No. of Objects	Grave No.	Gender
Applied Brooch	2	Grave 103	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	2	Graves 2B, 126	Female
Saucer Brooch	2	Grave 120	Female
Square-Headed Brooch	4	Graves 62, 145	Female
Bucket Mount	2(5)	Graves 9, 145	Female
Spear Socket Band	1	Grave 51	Male
Strap End	1	Grave 157	Male
Wrist Clasp	1	Grave 54	Male

Of the 63 females at Great Chesterford, only 11% had access to Style I objects. 15% of brooches associated with females were decorated with Style I decoration. Most of these objects were given to adults, but 2 square-headed brooches were given to female infant in grave 62 (Figure 7.7). Of 42 males in the cemetery, 7% were associated with Style I art.

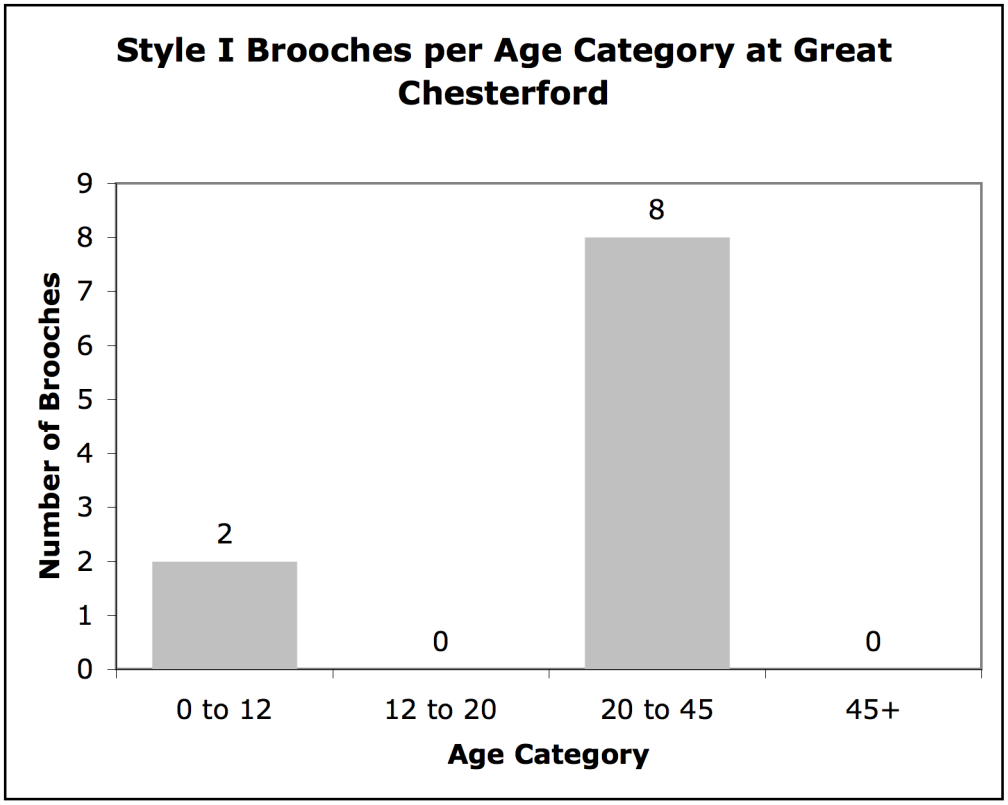


Figure 7.7. Style I brooches per Age category at Great Chesterford.

Grave Wealth

The female-gendered Style I grave good assemblages do not have more object types in them than do other brooch burials. This is unusual. Brooch burials have 4.06 object types on average in the assemblage, and the Style I assemblages have 4.0 types on average. However, graves 9 and 145 are two of the richest graves in the cemetery. These are the graves with the Style I bucket mounts. The richest grave in the cemetery in terms of object types is grave 18, which only had two disc brooches.

Figure 7.8. The animal motif on the spear from Great Chesterford.

EMPINGHAM II, LEICESTERSHIRE

The cemetery at Empingham II was excavated in 1974 and 1975 ahead of construction of the Rutland Water reservoir. The cemetery report was written by Jane Timby in 1996.

The cemetery lies north of the River Gwash and had been used as an agricultural field. The cemetery borders an Iron Age trackway which was likely visible at the time of use; the cemetery plan does not appear to have multiple focal points, the burials spread along the trackway (Figure 7.9). A series of cemeteries is in the locality; a smaller cemetery had 14 inhumations, and another might exist where several unaccompanied grave goods have been recovered. Several small Anglo-Saxon settlements were probably located in the vicinity, as evidenced by *Grubenhäuser*. The cemetery was in use from the late fifth to the early seventh century.

A total of 135 inhumation burials and 1 cremation were recovered. Remains of 153 individuals were recorded. 98 were adults, 24 were sub-adults, and 31 were children.

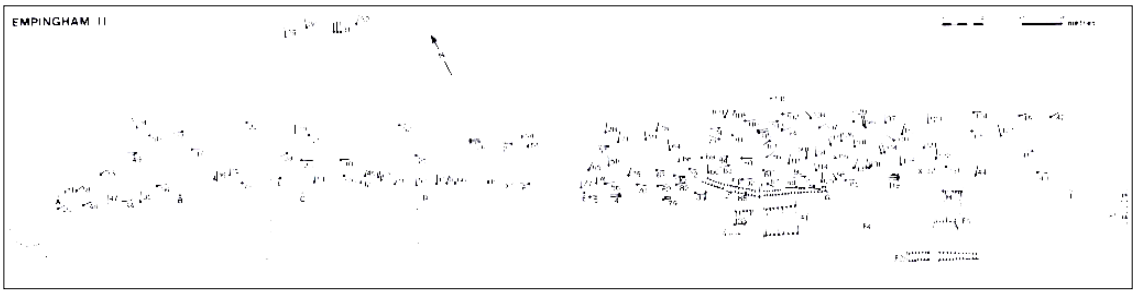


Figure 7.9 Empingham II Cemetery Plan (after Timby 1996: Fig. 3).

Female-Gendered graves

52 individuals were osteologically sexed as females or probable females, broke into the following categories: 38 were adults, 7 sub-adults, and 7 children. Of those 52 individuals, 43 were given a female-gendered burial. To these can be added 5 unidentifiable individuals and 6 possible males. All of these individuals had strongly female-gendered grave goods. 50 individuals were buried with a feminine brooch burial, 94% of the total female-gendered group.

From these 50 burials, 98 brooches were recovered, representing 8 types. Wearing annular brooches was very common at Empingham II. At least 2 males also wore annular brooches.

Table 7.10. Brooch Types at Empingham II

Brooch Types	
Annular	51
Collar Stud	1
Cruciform	6
Disc	5
Florid Cruciform	6
Penannular	1
Small-Long	12
Swastika	16
Total	98

Although brooches were popular across all age categories, Empingham II follows the general Anglo-Saxon trend; brooches were seen as appropriate for mature females (Figure 7.10).

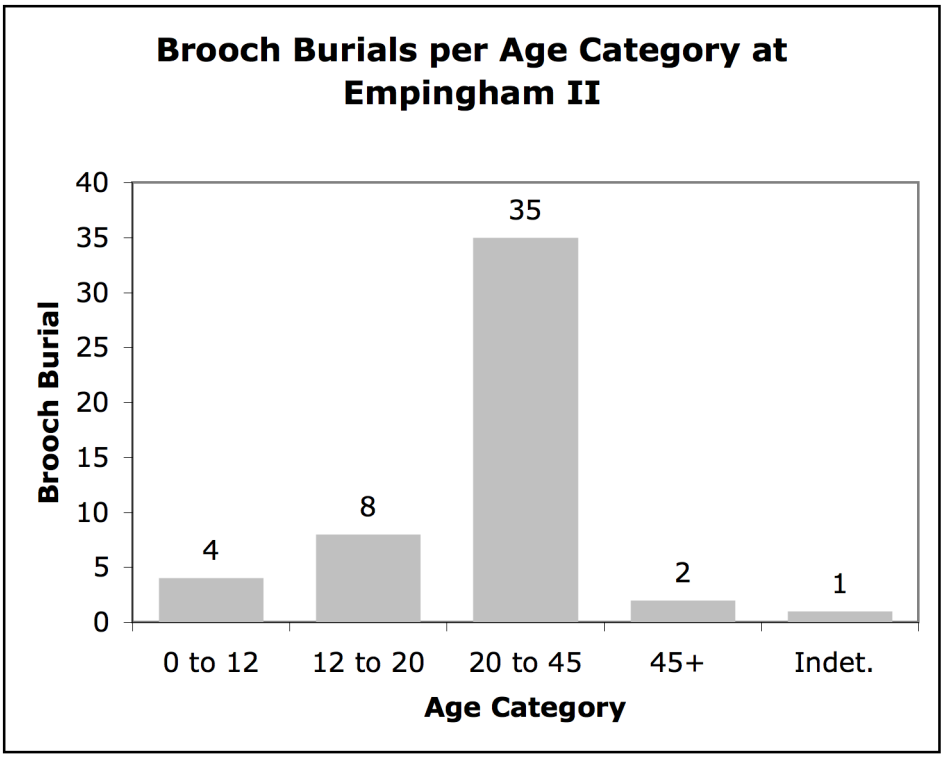


Figure. 7.10. Brooch burials per age category at Empingham II

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 7 objects at Empingham II. 6 of these are florid cruciform brooches in 6 female-gendered assemblages. The other object is a shield boss apex disc from grave 112, which belongs to a mature male.

Table 7.11. Style I-decorated Objects at Empingham II

Style I Objects	No. of Objects	Grave No.	Gender
Florid Cruciform Brooch	6	Graves 49A, 73, 81, 85A, 100, 129	Female
Shield Boss Apex Disc	1	Grave 112	Male

Of the 63 probable females at Empingham II, only 9.52% had access to Style I objects. Of the 56 males, only 1.7% used a Style I object. All Style I decorated objects at Empingham were associated with individuals aged 17-45.

Grave Wealth

All of the burials that included Style I decorated objects were well furnished. Only one florid cruciform brooch was included per grave. On average, these burials contained 7.6 object types. Associated with the florid cruciform brooches were other brooches, pins, beads, ivory rings for bags, spindle whorls, and keys. The average number of artifact types in other brooch burials was 6.2. Other wealthy burials existed in the non-Style I brooch assemblage group.

The florid cruciform brooches are excellent examples of Style I; all feature face masks and 3 exhibit the Nordendorfer motif (73, 81, 100). In this motif, the a fan- or triangular-shaped extends from the mask on the footplate. In these examples, Style I animals fill the triangular zone (Figure 7.11).

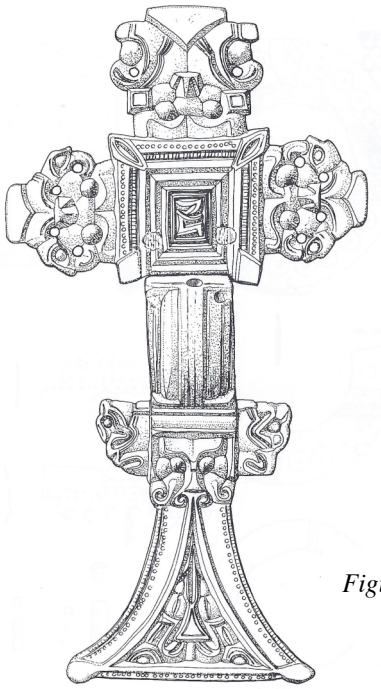


Figure 7.11. Florid Cruciform brooch from Empingham II.

WEST HESLERTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

West Heslerton is a cemetery of 185 inhumation burials and 15 cremations. It was excavated between 1977 and 1985. The cemetery report was assembled by Christine Haughton and Dominic Powlesland and was published in 1999.

The cemetery is situated in the Vale of Pickering between the Yorkshire Wolds and the North Yorkshire Moors. The site itself includes a Neolithic/Bronze Age hengiform enclosure and round barrows (Figure 7.12). Some of the Anglo-Saxon burials were buried with respect to the monuments.

The cemetery was in use from the end of the fifth to the early seventh century. The excavators estimate that the total number of people buried in the cemetery was approximately 300.

Isotopic studies have shown that some individuals may have been first generation immigrants from Scandinavia. Interestingly, the four individuals who were identified as migrants were the only females in the cemetery buried without Germanic brooches, the very type of artifact usually cited as evidence of Germanic ethnicity (Budd et al. 2004). Perhaps these women did not stress their origins as much as non-immigrants did. Many of the other individuals in the cemetery had migrated to the site from places throughout Britain, supporting the supposition that increased mobility was a phenomenon across northern Europe in general during the early medieval period.

In a subsequent study, researchers concluded that while there was both a local group and a non-local group, social status as indicated by the burial of weapons or Germanic jewellery was not associated with origin. Weapon burials occurred in both groups, although the only sword burial, which was also associated with a fabric type common in northern Germany, was of a non-local individual and may represent a founder burial. The only other restricted artifact was the wrist-clasp, which occurred in three non-local burials. The researchers could not determine the exact origin of the non-local group, but the association with wrist-clasps suggests western Scandinavia. The non-local group was composed of both sexes as well as juveniles, suggesting that family groups immigrated to this site (Montgomery et al. 2004).

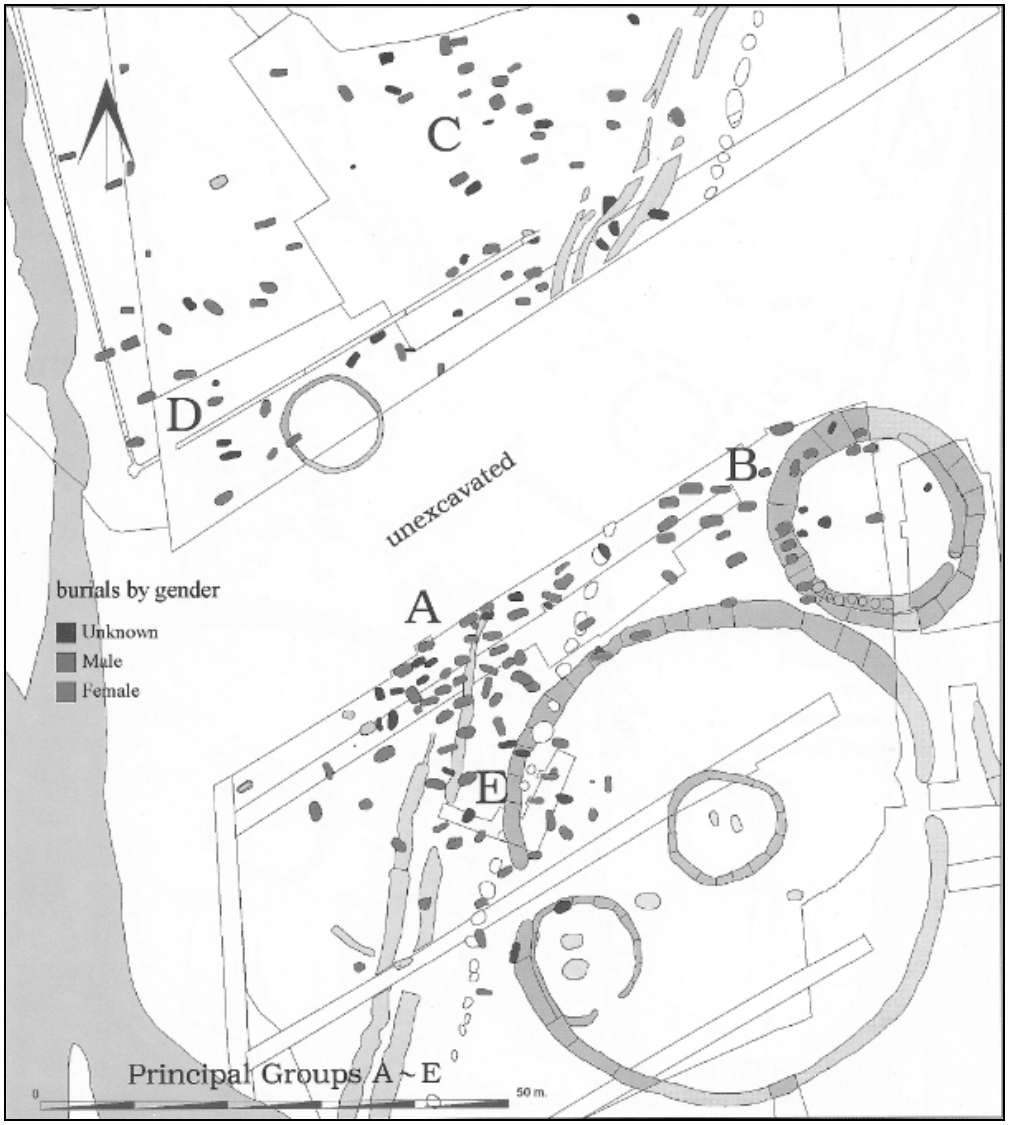


Figure 7.12. West Heslerton cemetery plan (after Haughton and Powlesland 1999: Fig 51).

Female-Gendered Graves

88 were assigned a female gender based on surviving skeletal data and grave goods. 54.5 % (48) of the female-gendered burials had brooches in the grave good assemblage. The graves are well furnished, with 136 brooches representing eight brooch types.

Table 7.12. Brooch Types at West Heslerton

Brooch Types	
Annular	103
Bow	1
Cruciform	12
Equal Arm	1
Openwork	3
Penannular	3
Small-Long	8
Square-Headed	5
Total	136

Although 13 individuals with brooches could not be aged, enough data exist to show that brooches were associated with mature individuals (Figure 7.13).

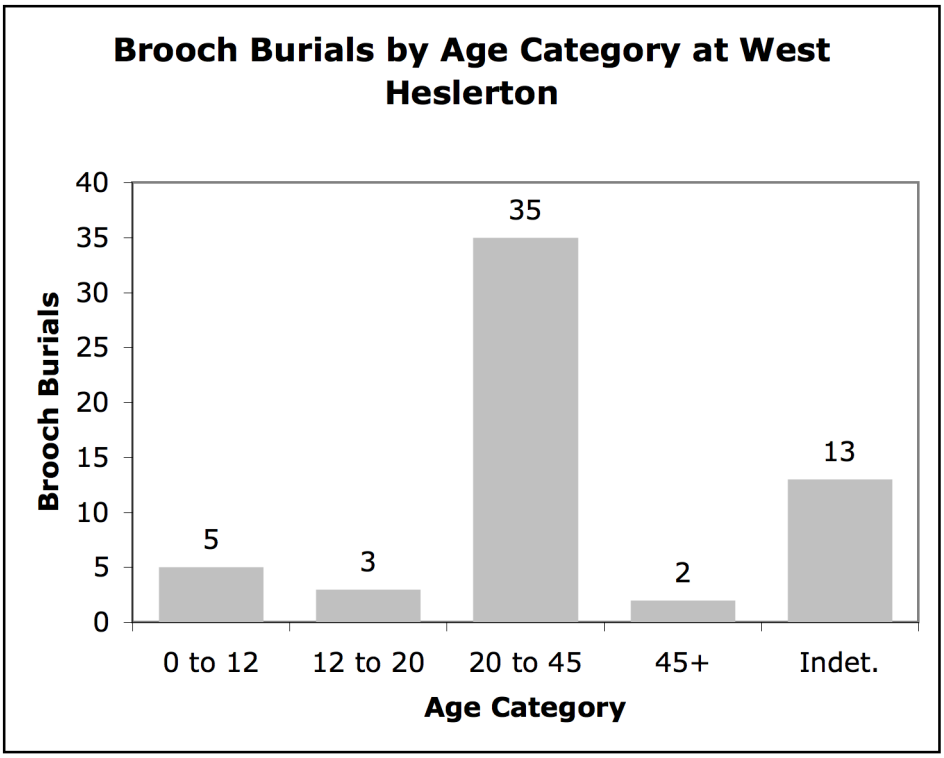


Figure 7.13. Brooch burials by age category at West Heslerton

Style I Objects

24 Style I-decorated objects were recovered from 13 female-gendered graves. Graves could include between 1 and 4 Style I objects. 15 of these were wrist clasps making 7 complete pairs and half of a pair.

Table 7.13. Style I-decorated Objects at West Heslerton

Style I Objects	No. of Objects	Grave No.	Gender
Cruciform Brooch	5	Graves 62, 86, 95, 143, 177	Female
Florid Cruciform Brooch	1	Grave 29	Female
Great Square-Headed	2	Graves 14, 123	Female
Square-Headed	1	Grave 147	Female
Wrist Clasp	15	Graves 45, 47, 50, 60, 177	Female

Of the 88 females at West Heslerton, 4.7% were given Style I objects. Of all brooches, 6.6% were decorated with Style I ornament. Style I objects were only given to mature adults (Figure 7.14).

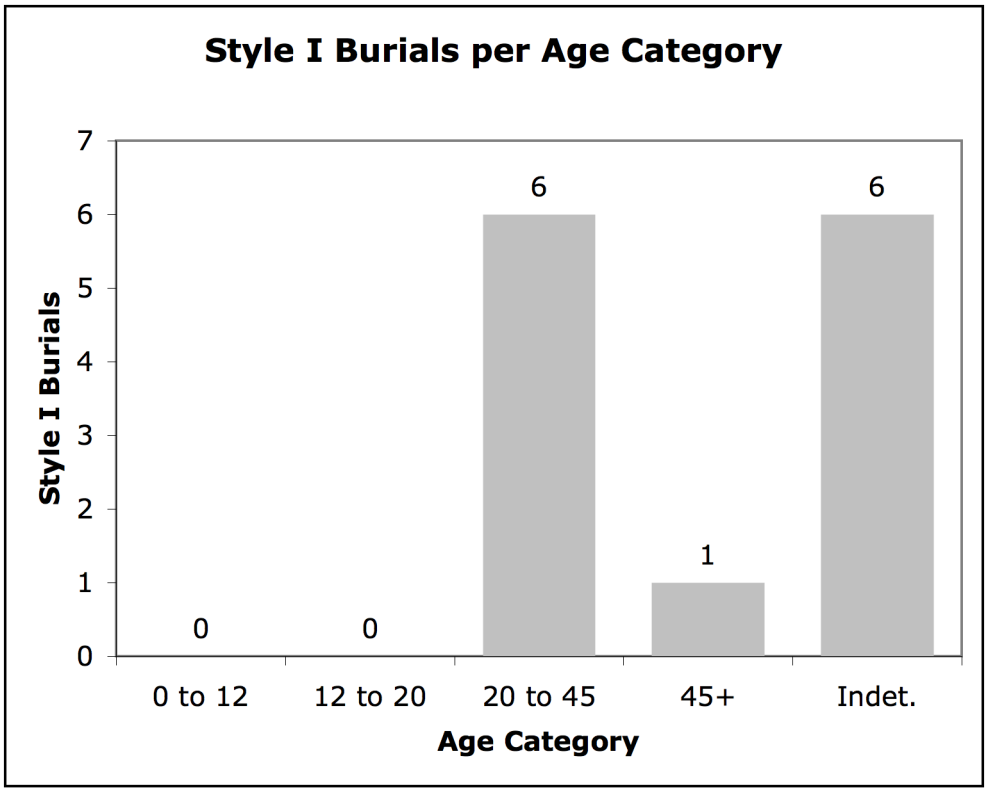


Figure 7. 14. Style I burials per age category at West Heslerton

Grave Wealth

The Style I burials included, on average, 5.07 objects types in the assemblage. Associated with these objects were pots, latchlifters, purses, and whetstones. The average number of artifact types in other female-gendered burials was 4.2.

Most of the Style I decoration on the wrist clasps was fairly abstract chip=carving of leg-like lines. 4 of the 5 cruciform brooches had very small areas of Style I decoration.

The cruciform brooch from grave 177 was notable. The footplate was decorated with a Nordendorfer motif; on the back of the footplate was a short runic inscription that read: NEIM, a nonsense word that might be apotropaic.

BERINSFIELD, OXFORDSHIRE

Berinsfield is located near Wally Corner, Oxfordshire. The cemetery is situated on the north bank of the Thames and is near the Roman town of Dorchester, as well as several late Roman period cemeteries (Figure 7.15). A possible settlement site with Anglo-Saxon features, including a well and several possible *Grubenhäuser*, is located one kilometer north of the cemetery. The cemetery was discovered at a gravel extraction pit and was excavated in 1974 and 1975. The excavators estimate that the burials represent as little as one half of the original burials. The cemetery report was written by A. Boyle, A. Dodd, D. Miles and A. Mudd in 1995.

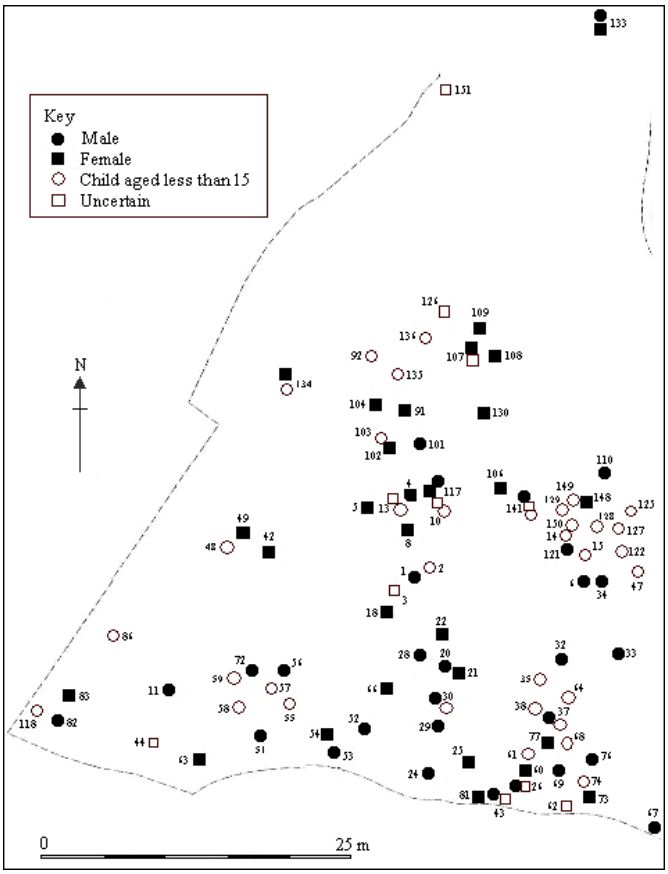


Figure 7.15. Berinsfield cemetery plan (after Boyle et al. 1995: Fig. 32).

118 individuals were recovered from 100 inhumations and 4 cremations. The burials were aligned along a Roman ditch system and are oriented S-N and W-E. The cemetery dates from the mid-fifth to the late sixth century or early seventh centuries. An early fifth century supporting-arm brooch and an equal-armed brooch are indicative of the earliest post-Roman settlement phase in Britain; both derive from the Anglo-Saxon continental homelands. Graves may be organized in family or household groups (Sayer 2010).

Female-Gendered graves

36 individuals were given a female-gendered grave good assemblage. Of these, 22 had been osteologically sexed as females or probable females. One individual with a female-gendered grave good assemblage was sexed as a possible male. 11 other females were identified based on bone markers, but these individuals were given no grave goods or neutral grave goods, such as a belt and knife. A total of 46 individuals were female or were given female-gendered artifacts.

Of the 36 female-gendered graves, 63.8% (23) included brooches. In total there are 46 brooches of 10 different types.

Table 7.14. Brooch Types at Berinsfield

Brooch Types	
Applied	4
Button	2
Disc	12
Equal Arm	1
Great Square-Headed	2
Romano-British	1
Saucer	15
Small-Long	7
Square-Headed	1
Supporting Arm	1
Total	46

Most brooch burials were those of adults, but a high portion (39%) were those of children and adolescents (Figure 7.16).

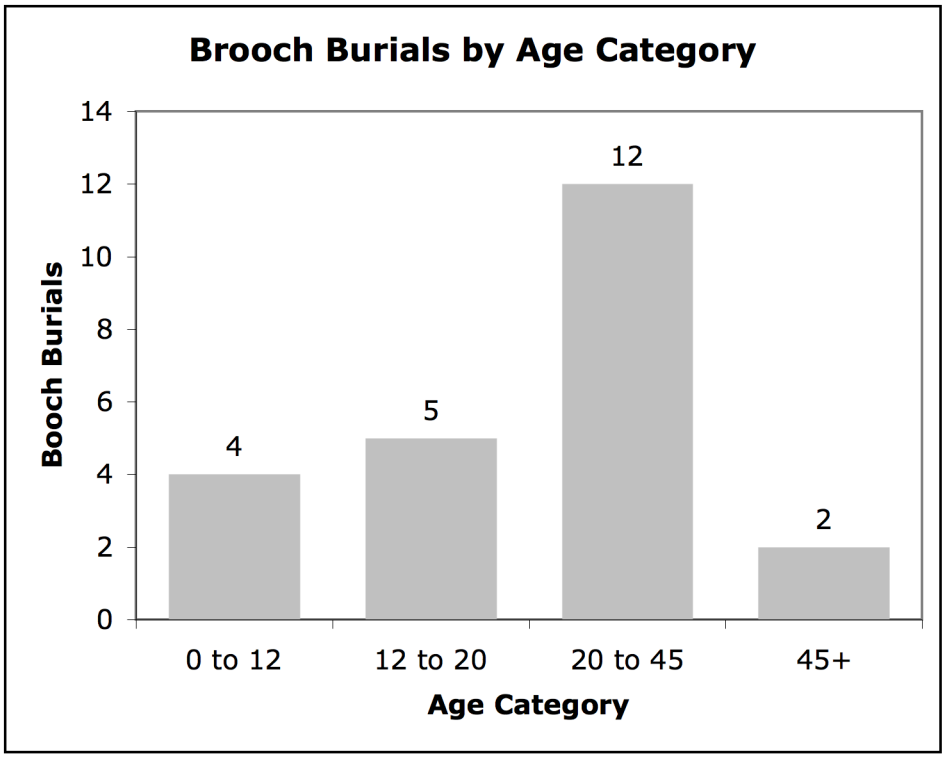


Figure. 7.16. Brooch burials by age category at Berinsfield

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 7 objects at Berinsfield. 6 of these are included as part of 3 female-gendered assemblages. The other is a belt plate from a grave of a 9-year-old probable male.

Table 7.15. Style I-decorated Objects at Berinsfield

Style I Objects at Berinsfield	No. of Objects	Grave Numbers	Gender
Applied Saucer Brooch	2	Grave 130	Female
Cast Saucer Brooch	2	Grave 102	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	2	Graves 102, 107	Female
Belt Plate	1	Grave 128	Male

Of the 46 females at Berinsfield, only 6.5% had Style I objects. Of all brooches, 13 % are decorated with Style I ornament. Both of the Great square-headed brooches were associated with females aged 15-20 (Figure 7.17).

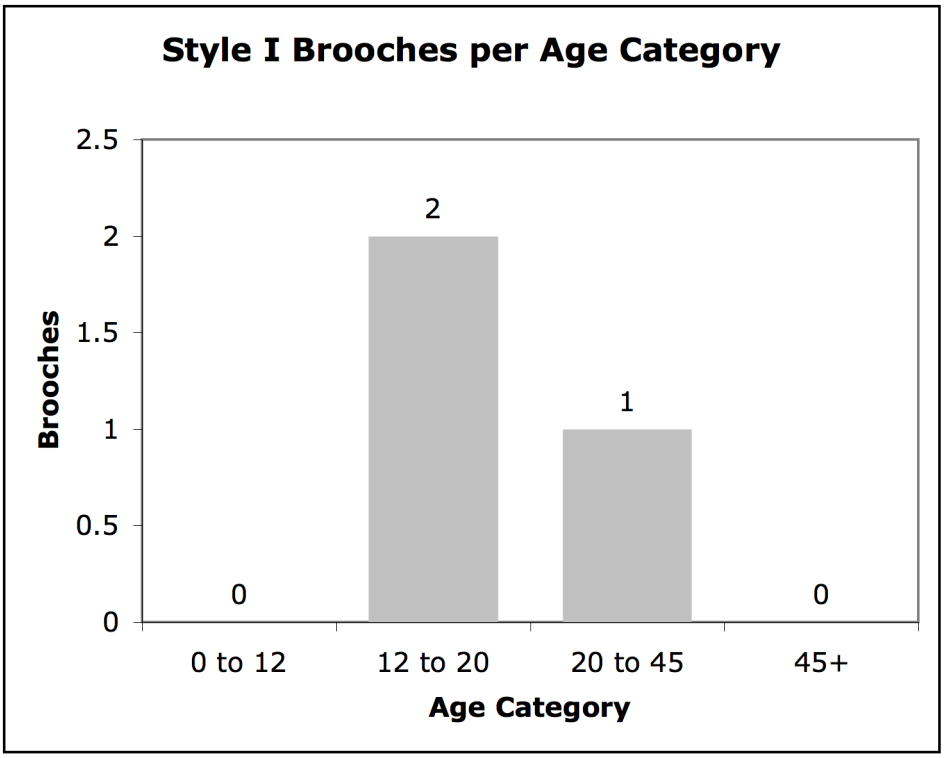


Figure 7.17. Style I brooches per age category at Berinsfield

Grave Wealth

Graves 102 and 107 were well furnished, while grave 130 was an average burial except for the two Style I-decorated applied brooches. The Style I burials contained between 1 and 3 Style I objects. Associated with the ornate brooches in graves 102 and 107 were buckets, ivory bag rings, girdle items. For the Style I brooch burials, the average number of artifact types in the grave good assemblage was 6. The average number of artifact types in other brooch burials was 3. Style I was associated with wealth, but other brooch burials could be wealthier, as is the case with grave 54, which had 9 object types.

The brooch in grave 107 was broken sometime before being placed in the grave. It was used as a shoulder brooch along with a saucer brooch, instead of acting as a cloak fastener as in Grave 102.

WATCHFIELD, OXFORDSHIRE

Watchfield cemetery is located south of the river Thames in Oxfordshire (Figure 7.18). It was discovered in 1983 during construction and was excavated in 1983 and 1989. The cemetery report was published by Christopher Scull in 1992.

Before the Anglo-Saxon period, the area had been plowed during the Late Roman period. 43 inhumations and 2 cremations were excavated or recorded; it is likely that other burials were not recovered. The cemetery dates from c. 475-600 AD.

Although it is a small, relatively non-descript cemetery, Watchfield is notable for one grave in particular, grave 67. This grave contains a case for a balance and weights. Included in the case was a runic inscription that has been translated roughly to "(*These are*) *army* (*account*) *books: Wusa* (*kept them*). "

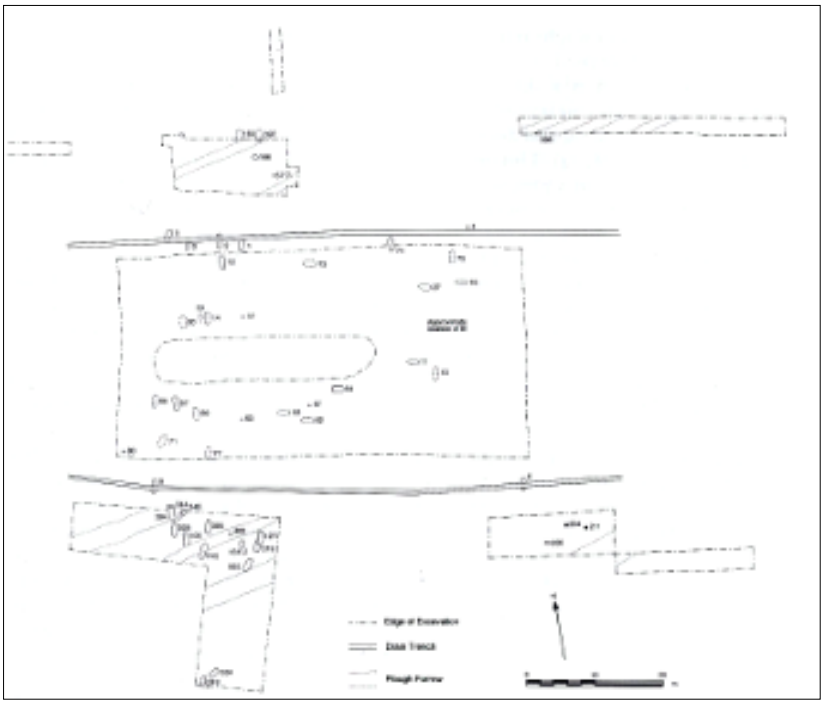


Figure 7.18. Watchfield cemetery plan (after Scull 1992: Illus. 25).

Female-Gendered graves

16 females were identified on the basis of osteological analysis and associated grave goods. Of those 16 individuals, 14 were given a female-gendered grave good assemblage. 75% (12) of females were given brooches. These graves include a combination of dress fasteners, jewelry, and personal equipment. In the 12 brooch burials there are 18 brooches of 5 different types.

Table 7.16. Brooch Types at Watchfield

Brooch Types at Watchfield	
Bow	2
Button	3
Composite Saucer	2
Disc	6
Saucer	5
Total	18

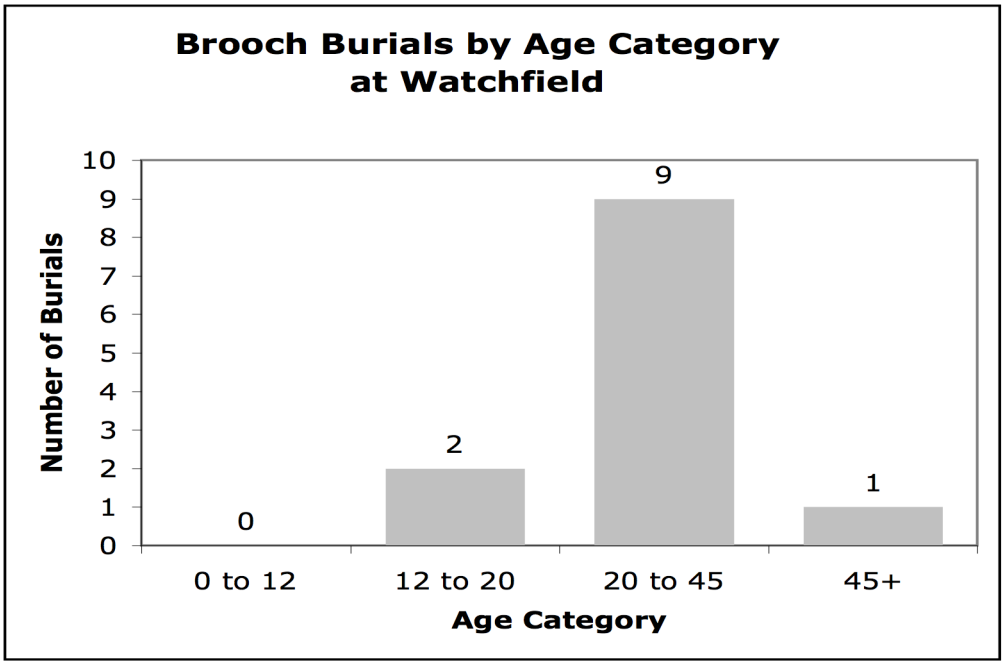


Figure. 7.19. Brooch burials by age category at Watchfield

Mature individuals were the most likely to have brooch burials (Figure 7.19).

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 6 objects at Watchfield in 3 graves of adult females. 33% of all brooches were decorated with Style I ornament. The four cast saucer brooches from graves 75 and 305 have very incoherent Style I motifs: bent leg and toe motifs, separate hip and limbs all in *Tiersalat* ornamentation. The composite saucer brooch from grave 315 is more recognizable as representing animals; a series of animals surround the central panel (Figure 7.20).

Table 7.17. Style I-decorated Objects at Watchfield

Style I Objects at Watchfield	No. of Objects	Grave Numbers	Gender
Composite Saucer	2	Grave 315	Female
Saucer	4	Graves 75, 305	Female

Of the 16 females buried at Watchfield, 18.75% had access to Style I objects. All of the individuals buried with these brooches were over the age of 20. None were over the age of 45.

Figure 7.20. Composite saucer brooch from grave 315 (after Scull 1992: Illus. 60).

Grave Wealth

All of the burials that included Style I decorated objects were well furnished. Each burial had two matching brooches decorated with Style I animal art. On average, they had higher numbers of artifact types than the other graves in the cemetery. The average number of artifact types in other burials was 3.3, while in the Style I brooch burials the average was 4.6. Unlike other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, there were no outstandingly rare or valuable grave goods associated with these burials. Pins, tweezers, knives, and buckles were present in the graves.

BUTLER'S FIELD, LECHLADE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, was excavated in 1985 and contained 219 inhumations in 199 graves and 29 cremations. The cemetery was in use between the mid-fifth to the late seventh century. The grave catalogue was written by Angela Boyle, David Jennings, David Miles, and Simon Palmer in 1998. A second volume regarding the cemetery was published by the same authors in 2011.

The cemetery lies near the confluence of the rivers Thames and Leach, near the Roman settlement at Cirencester. Remains of a Roman villa have been excavated near the cemetery. Two phases are represented at the cemetery. A Migration Period phase of the late fifth and sixth century, and a final phase of the seventh century. Of the 219 inhumations, 128 have been assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries (Figure 7.21). The excavators estimate a population of 27 people per generation for three generations over the use period of the cemetery (Boyle et a. 2011).

An Anglo-Saxon settlement is located 300 meters south of the cemetery; six Grubenhäuser and three post-built structures were identified. The settlement 227was likely where the individuals buried in the cemetery lived.

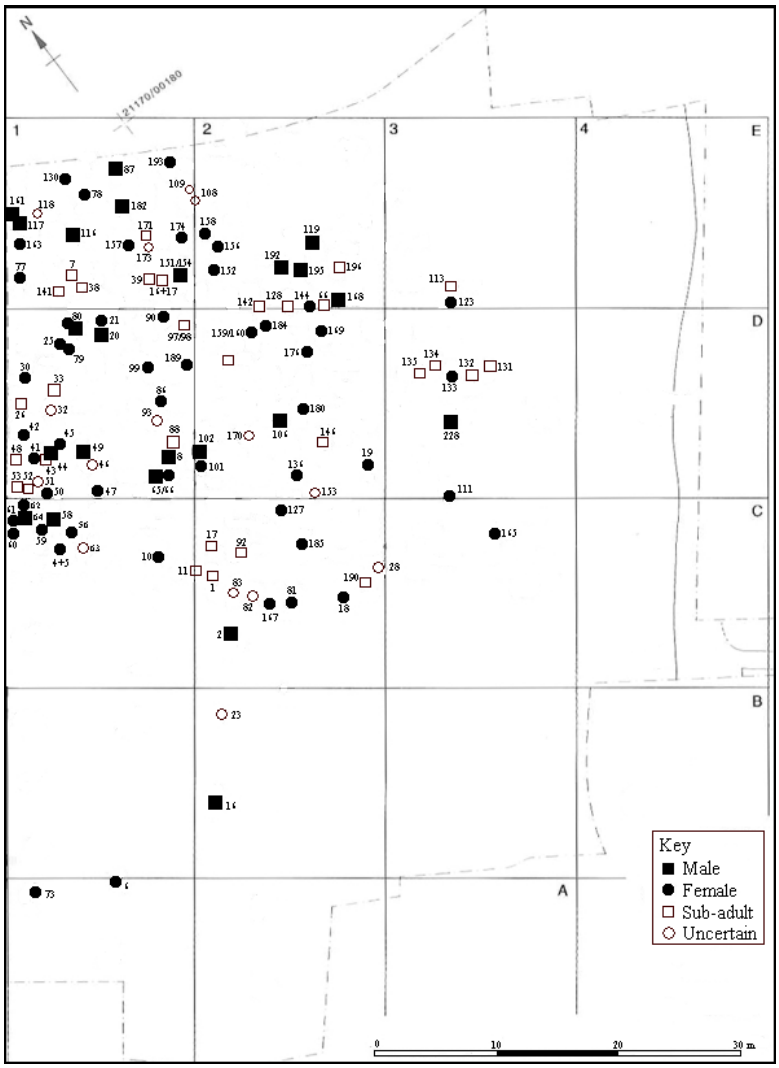


Figure 7.21. Butler's Field site plan showing sixth-century graves (after Boyle et al. 1998: Fig. 3.2).

Female-Gendered graves

Excellent bone preservation at Butler's Field has allowed for the sexing and ageing of most individuals. In the Migration Period phase of the cemetery, there were 13 infants, 17 aged 2-5, 17 aged 5-10, 27 aged 10-18 and 75 adults. 51 adult females were identified. 6 of the adolescents were likely female, as well as 12 of those under age 10.

69 total individuals were sexed as female or given a female-gendered assemblage. Of these, 66.6% (46) were buried with brooches. In total there are 78 brooches of 10 different types. Females in this cemetery were particularly well outfitted.

Table 7.18. Brooch Types at Butler's Field

Brooch Types	
Applied	8
Button	1
Disc	19
Face Mask	2
Great Square-Headed	1
Keystone Garnet Disc	1
Penannular	11
Saucer	32
Small-Long	3
Total	78

Many females at Butler's Field were afforded brooches. More individuals in the 45+ age category wore brooches as grave goods than is usual in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Figure 7.22). Notably, in the second phase of the cemetery dating to the seventh century, brooches were not found in female graves. The absence of dress fasteners suggests a change in costume at that time.

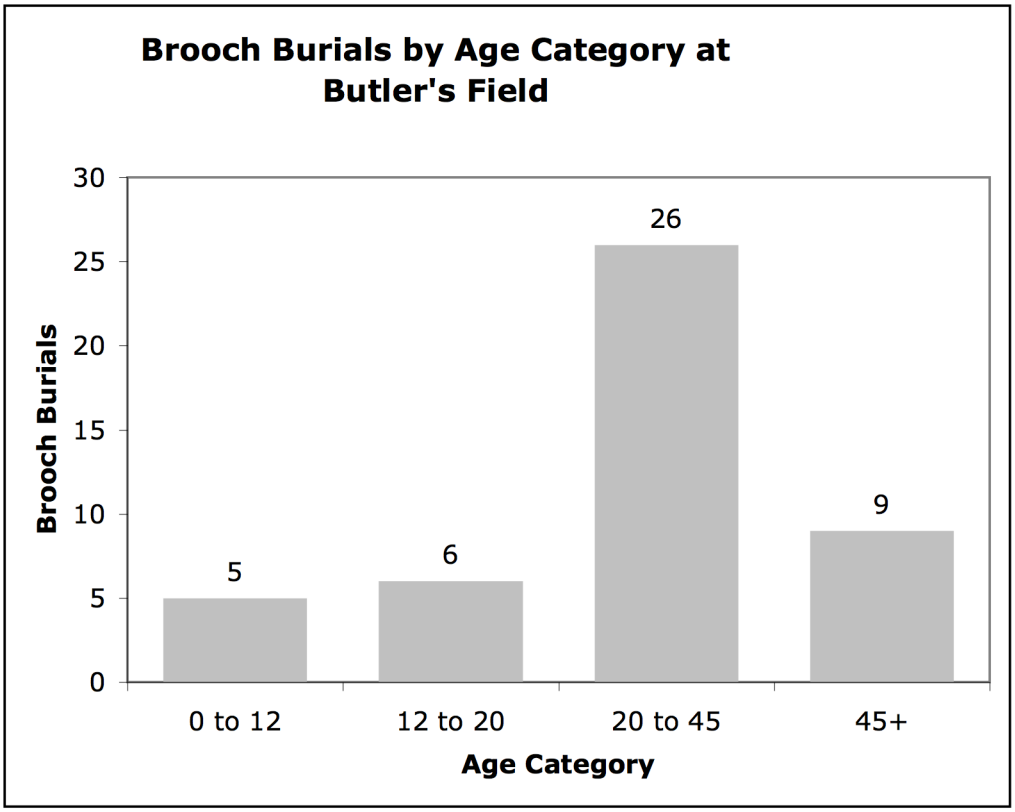


Figure. 7.22. Brooch burials by age category at Butler's Field

Style I Objects

In terms of Style I, Butler's Field is rich cemetery. Style I animal art decorates 25 objects at Butler's Field. There is also 1 Style II Keystone garnet disc brooch in grave 17. 24 of the Style I objects are brooches; the other is a mount. The Style I objects come from 13 female-gendered graves. No males were buried with Style I objects.

Table 7.19. Style I-decorated Objects at Butler's Field

Style I Objects at Butler's Field	No. of Objects	Grave Numbers	Gender
Applied Saucer Brooch	2	Grave 90	Female
Cast Saucer Brooch	19	Graves 10, 11, 18, 47, 50, 78, 111, 130, 144, 159	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	1	Grave 18	Female
Face Mask Brooch	2	Grave 136	Female
Mount	1	Grave 180	Female

Of the 69 female-gendered individuals at Butler's Field, 18.8% were given Style I objects. 1.4% of the individuals were given Style II objects. Of all brooches, 29.4% are decorated with Style I ornament. Notably, a girl aged 11 was given 2 Style I-decorated saucer brooches (Figure 7.23).

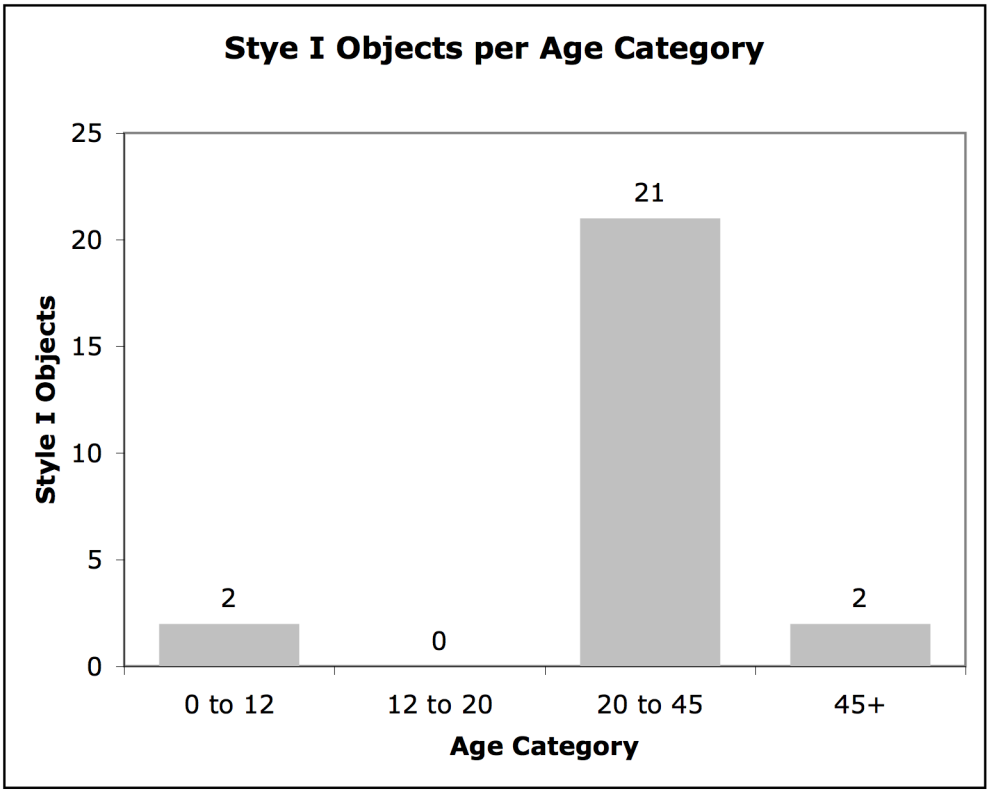


Figure. 7.23. Style I objects per age category at Butler's Field

Figure 7.24. Face Mask brooches from Grave 136 at Butler's Field.

Grave Wealth

All of the burials that included Style I decorated objects were well furnished. These burials contained between 1 and 3 Style I objects. On average, they had higher numbers of artifact types than the other graves in the cemetery. For the Style I brooch burials, the average number of artifact types was 7.69. The average number of artifact types in other brooch burials was 5.29. Associated with the ornate brooches were keys, buckets, spindle whorls, and toilet sets. Grave 18 was exceptionally rich. The 25-30 year old female was buried with 1 great square-headed brooch and 2 saucer brooches with Style I ornament; 527 beads including 266 amber and 120 gold-in-glass beads; 3 silver finger-rings, a belt, a mounted beaver incisor used as a pendant, a wooden and leather container, a spindle whorl, an antler comb, an bag with an ivory rim, a toilet set, 3 Roman coins, and a limestone fragment of a Roman altar.

BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY, WILTSHIRE

The Blacknall Field cemetery is located in Pewsey, Wiltshire. It was discovered in 1968 by a local farmer and excavated between 1969-1976. The results were of the excavation were published by F.K. Annable and B. N. Eagles for the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in 2010.

Geographically, the cemetery lies in the Avon valley, which is an important routeway. Blacknall Field lies near to the hypothesized frontier between Anglo-Saxons and Britons in the fifth and sixth centuries.

104 inhumations and 4 cremations were excavated and the authors expect that the majority of the graves were recovered. The graves were arranged in polyfocal groups, which the authors suggest indicate kin-based burial plots (Figure 7.25). The cemetery dates between 475 and c. 550 AD. This early date suggests Blacknall Field served some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements in the region. Grave goods indicate connections with Kent, the Upper Thames valley, East Anglia, and Sussex. Artifact style and dress fashion are typically "Saxon" in character.

The graves are well furnished, with eleven brooch types as well as rare weapons: four swords and a *francisca* throwing axe. Spears and shields are also well represented in the male graves. Physical examination of the male skeletons has shown that some individuals received wounds from weapons, which the authors link with interaction between Anglo-Saxons and Britons in the Avon valley.

Swords and ornate brooches point to high status graves. There are nineteen weapon burials, including four richly outfitted sword graves (Härke 2010).

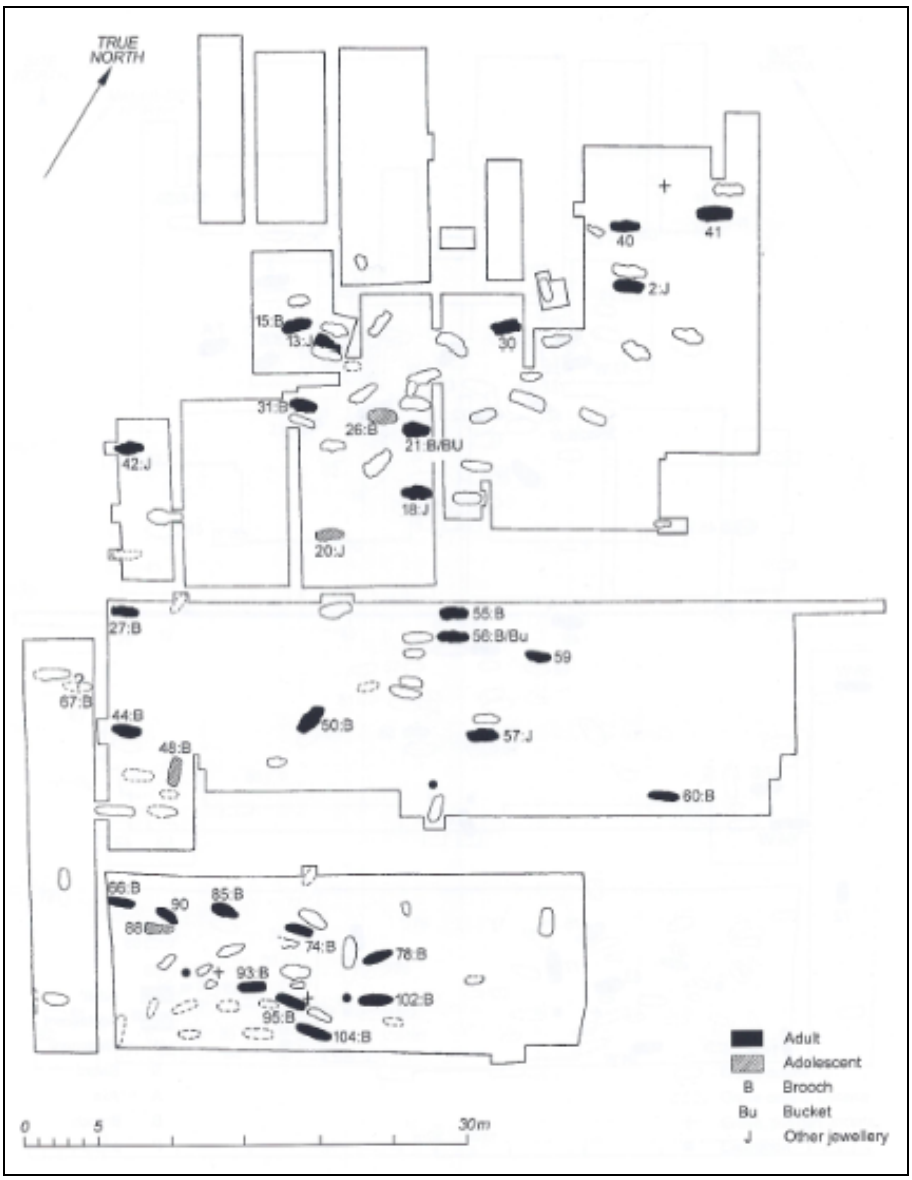


Figure 7.25. Blacknall Field Cemetery Plan, showing female graves (after Annable and Eagles 2010).

Female-Gendered graves

28 individuals were osteologically sexed as females or probable females, although 40 individuals were given a grave good assemblage that was gendered as female. 2 females were not given any grave goods. These graves include a combination of dress

fasteners, jewelry, and personal equipment. 9 of these were children whose biological sex could not be determined. Interestingly, one of the graves that has a female-gendered grave good assemblage was originally determined to be a possible male based on height; the individual was over 6 feet tall. DNA analysis has however, confirmed that the individual is biologically female.

Of the 40 female-gendered graves, 65% (26) included brooches. In total there are 52 brooches of 11 different types, which suggests that there was a wide range of choices that could be made regarding dress fastenings.

Table 7.20. Brooch Types at Blacknall Field

Brooch Types	
Annular	1
Applied Saucer and Disc	9
Button	5
Cast Saucer	8
Disc	5
Equal-Arm	2
Great Square-Headed	1
Penannular	4
Quoit	1
Small-Long	13
Square-Headed	3
Total	52

As with other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, specific costumes as indicated by brooches are restricted by age. Changes in brooch types at 12 and 20 seem to indicate major life stage boundaries (Figure 7.26). Wearing brooches, especially in pairs, was associated with maturity.

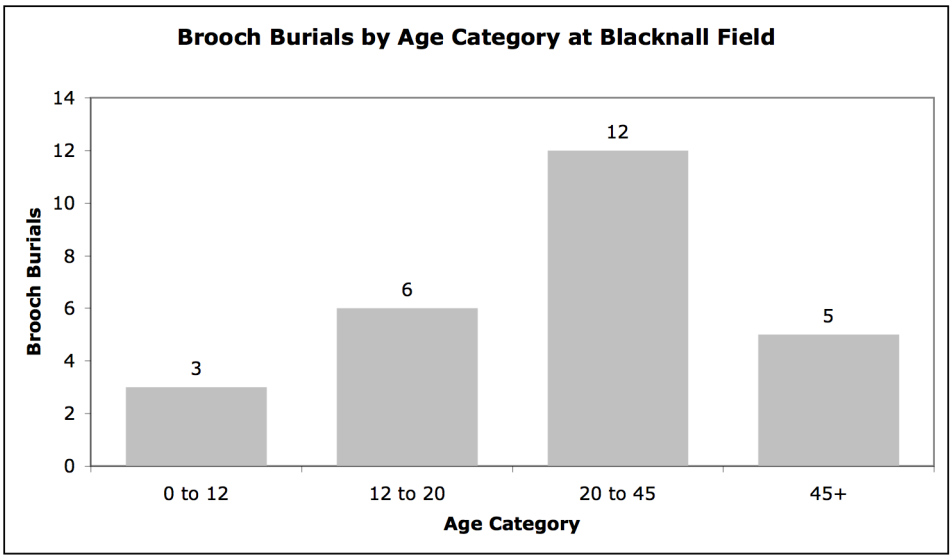


Figure. 7.26. Brooch burials by age category at Blacknall Field

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 14 objects at Blacknall Field. 12 of these are included as part of 6 female-gendered assemblages. The remaining objects come from grave 22, which belongs to a mature male. His rich assemblage, which includes a sword, spear, and shield, includes a Style I-ornamented belt buckle and sword scabbard mount. Related to the Style I objects are 5 button brooches; these depict face masks that are very similar to those found on brooch terminals.

Table 7.21. Style I-decorated Objects at Blacknall Field

Style I Objects at Blacknall Field	No. of Objects	Grave Numbers	Gender
Applied Saucer Brooch	4	Graves 55, 60	Female
Cast Saucer Brooch	4	Graves 21, 56	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	1	Grave 21	Female
Square-Headed Brooch	3	Graves 19, 31	Female
Sword Scabbard	1	Grave 22	Male
Belt Plate	1	Grave 22	Male

Of the 42 females at Blacknall Field, 14.3% had access to Style I objects. These Style I brooches date from the early- to mid-fifth century, as do the scabbard mount and belt buckle from Grave 22. Of all brooches, 23% are decorated with Style I ornament. Style I brooches were only given to those over the age of 21. The number of style I brooch burials declines after the age of 45 (Figure 7.27).

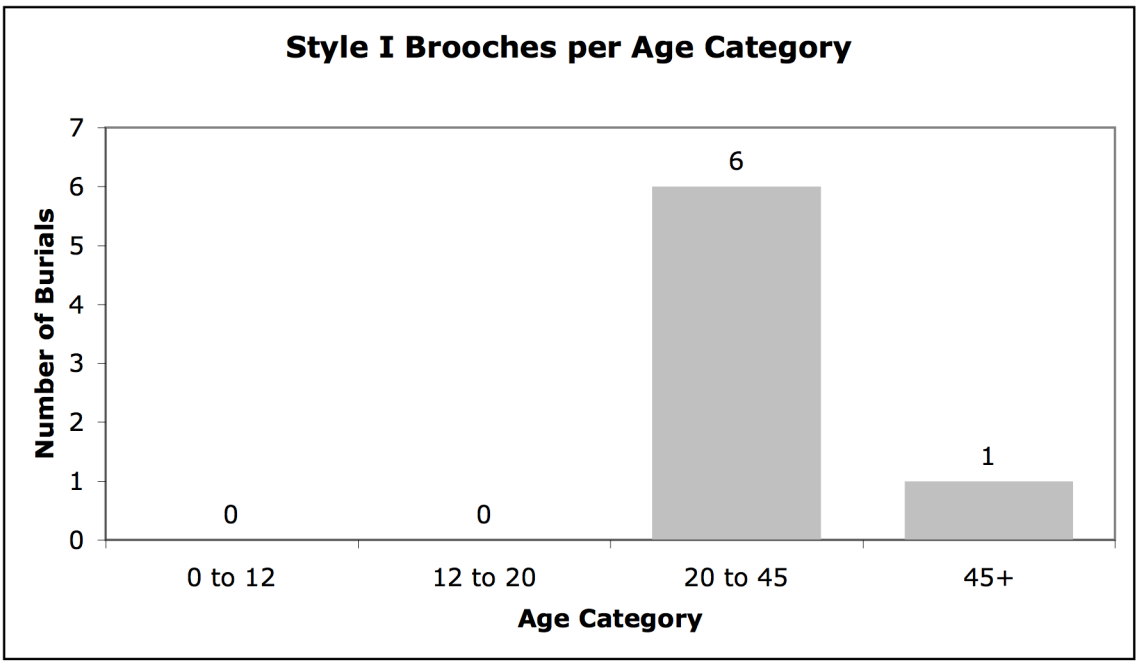


Figure. 7.27. Style I brooches per age category at Blacknall Field

Grave Wealth

All of the burials that included Style I decorated objects were well furnished. These burials contained between 1 and 3 Style I objects. On average, they had higher numbers of artifact types than the other graves in the cemetery. Associated with the ornate brooches were purses, toilet sets, a silver finger ring, and wooden and copper alloy buckets. For the Style I brooch burials, the average number of artifact types in the grave good assemblage was 4.3. The average number of artifact types in other brooch burials was 2.9. Clearly, Style I was associated with wealth, but other brooch burials could be

wealthier, as is the case with Graves 15, 50, and 57. Wealthy burials almost always contain some sort of vessel or a purse group.

The Style I brooches exhibit classic animal motifs; chasing animals, biting beasts, face masks, disembodied legs, *en-face* masks, and even *gestus* and breath motifs (Figure 7.28). At Blacknall Field, besides being richer than other graves, not much else is noticeable in the way of other "ritual" or amuletic objects. As stated above, the individual in grave 19 was very tall. Flowers may have been placed in graves 55 and 56. One of the brooches in grave 56 was burnt sometime before the burial. The other notable aspect about the brooch burials is that graves 21 and 22, a female grave with 2 saucer brooches and a great square-headed brooch, and the male weapon burial with the Style I-decorated scabbard and belt plaque were buried next to each other and may be related in some way. They both belong to a group of 5 graves dating to the mid-sixth century; they represent the final phase of burials at Blacknall Field.

Figure 7.28 Great Square-headed brooch from grave 21.

WASPERTON, WARWICKSHIRE

Situated on the River Avon in central England, the cemetery of Wasperton was excavated between 1980 and 1985 by Birmingham University's Field Archaeology Unit. Also excavated were ten hectares of surrounding landscape, including Roman and prehistoric features. 241 burials were recorded in the completely excavated cemetery, providing researchers with a close look at the dynamic choices individuals made regarding burial practice in the 4th through 7th centuries A.D. in the Avon valley. Both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burial traditions are present in the cemetery, making this site significant to current discussions of migration, acculturation, and identity. The cemetery report, including results of technical analyses, was published by Martin Carver, Catherine Hills, and Jonathan Scheschkewitz in 2009.

The cemetery was placed in a landscape already full of features, including Neolithic ring ditches, a Bronze Age barrow and rectilinear enclosure, and Iron Age dwellings. Corn-driers, querns, and baking ovens indicated a period of intensive grain processing in the later Roman period. Finally, a cemetery was founded in the 4th century inside of an earthwork enclosure, which was used until the 7th century (Figure 7.29). Both culturally Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burial rites were performed. Many features were placed in the landscape in relation to older features, such as a Bronze Age mound, which would have been visible throughout the usage of the site.

The excavators have concluded that the cemetery sequence represents a continuous place of mortuary significance, with long-lived, polyfocal plots that may represent family groupings. While the sequence began with Roman activity, intrusive burials of the Anglo-Saxon period do not disturb the earlier burials. In fact, it seems that the new cultural group was allocated a portion of the cemetery by those maintaining the site.

Of 215 inhumations, only 54 contained osteological remains, most in poor condition. Most designations of gender in the catalogue are based on associated artifacts. Radiocarbon dating indicates that activity in the cemetery began in AD 125-350 (95% probability), and lasted for 180-420 years (98% probability).

An analysis of oxygen and strontium isotopes was completed on twenty burials. The results indicated that while most individuals had local origins, some individuals in both early and late phases of the cemetery appeared to have origins in the Mediterranean. Analyses of this type have the potential to reveal much about population movement in early medieval Britain.

Culturally Anglo-Saxon furnished burials appeared c. 480 and continued to be made until the early 7th century when a few moderately wealthy individuals are buried. Ritual activity was likely continuous at the site, as later burials consistently respect the layout of previous burials.

At Wasperton, Carver sees a community that held diverse ideological views, and that both British continuity and Germanic intrusion likely occurred. While the first culturally Anglo-Saxon graves are intrusive, Carver sees no sign of abrupt change or violent takeover in the cemetery.

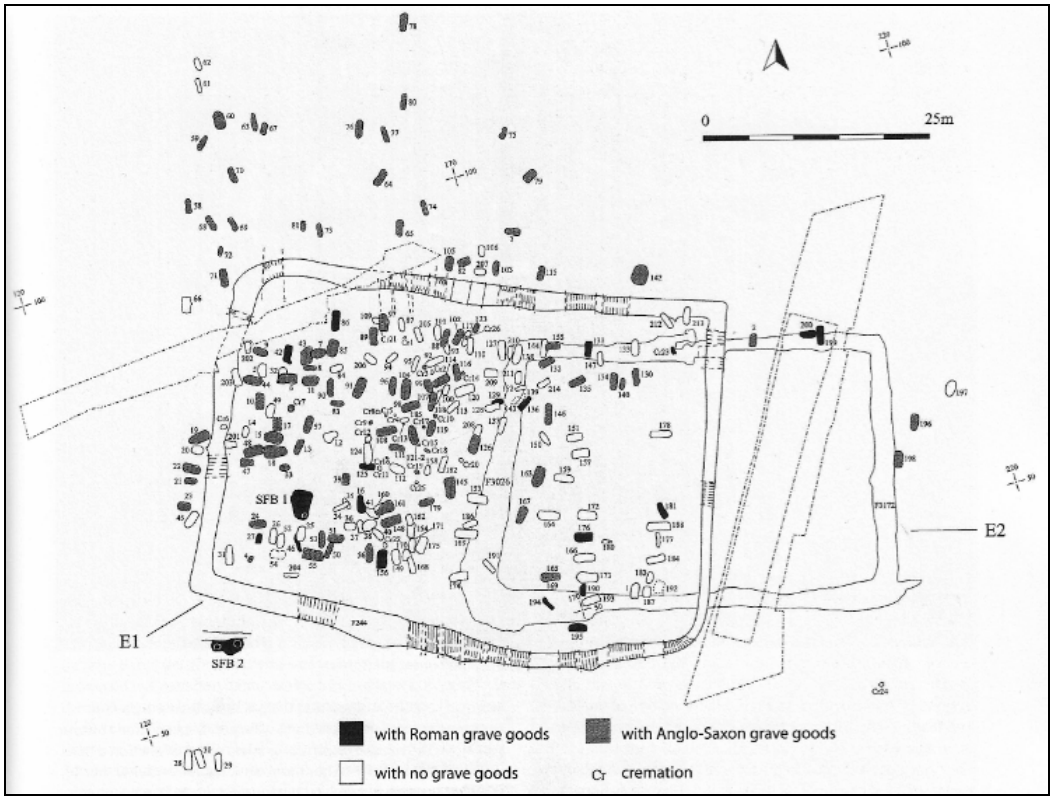


Figure 7.29. Wasperton cemetery plan (after Carver et al. 2009).

Female-gendered Graves

47 individuals were given a female-gendered burial. Bone preservation was fairly poor. Two female cremations from the Anglo-Saxon period were also excavated; these both contained burned brooches. One of these, an equal-arm brooch, is from an early cremation in the sequence and may represent one of the first culturally Anglo-Saxon individuals at the site.

Of the 47 inhumation burials, 76.5% (36) included brooches. 2 burials included a pair of wrist clasps. In total there are 65 brooches of 11 different types.

Table 7.22. Brooch Types at Wasperton

Brooch Types	
Annular	6
Applied Saucer	11
Button	1
Cast Saucer	15
Composite Disc	1
Cruciform	5
Disc	8
Equal-Arm	0
Great Square-Headed	4
Penannular	2
Small-Long	12
Total	65

Specific costume style as indicated by brooches was probably restricted by age, as at other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the region. However, at Wasperton, bone preservation did not allow for ageing of individuals. Grave shape, grave good assemblage type, and artifact positioning indicate that most of the individuals buried with brooches were adults. The individual in grave 24 was aged to be a young adult; she was one of 4 buried with a Great square-headed brooch.

Style I Objects

Style I animal art decorates 21 objects at Wasperton. 20 of these objects are included as part of 14 female-gendered assemblages. 19 are brooches, and 1 is a unique semi-circular biting-animal-head pendant (Figure 7.30). 29% of brooches were decorated with Style I ornament. Also present is a Style I-decorated shield boss from grave 64, which belongs to a male. Related to the Style I objects are 5 cruciform brooches with horse head terminals; while not stylistically Style I; they do depict animals.

Table 7.23. Style I-decorated Objects at Wasperton

Style I Objects			
Applied Saucer Brooch	4	Graves 70, 114, 155	Female
Cast Saucer Brooch	11	Graves 2, 4, 11, 18, 97, 163	Female
Great Square-Headed Brooch	4	Grave 24, 43, 50, 65	Female
Pendant	1	Grave 85	Female
Shield Boss	1	Grave 64	Male

Of the 47 females at Wasperton Field, 29.7% had access to Style I objects. Of all 65 brooches, 29.2% are decorated with Style I ornament. 1 brooch, a composite disc brooch, was decorated with Style II ornament and represents one of the last burials at the cemetery (grave 198). From evidence at other cemeteries, it can be expected that all burials with Style I objects were from young adult and adult graves.

Figure 7.30. Pendant from grave 85.

Grave Wealth

Most of the burials that included Style I decorated objects were well furnished and they included 1 or 2 Style I items. Grave 85, the grave with the most object types, may originally have had 3 Style I brooches; the decoration on the foil of the two applied brooches in the grave is too deteriorated to identify.

On average, Style I burials had higher numbers of artifact types than the other graves in the cemetery. For the Style I brooch burials, the average number of artifact types in the grave good assemblage was 4.2. The average number of artifact types in other brooch burials was 2.5. Oddly, the 4 burials with great-square headed brooches were relatively poor in terms of other grave goods. Associated with the Style I brooches were pots, tweezers, silver finger rings, keys, and spindle whorls. The Style II burial had only two object types: the brooch and 2 silver beads.

Some burials without Style I objects were wealthy, particularly those with cast saucer brooches without Style I decoration. Another wealthy burial, grave 15, included keys and an old Roman brooch worn as a pendant.

The Style I motifs included: running legs, crouching animals with human heads, downward biting beasts, face masks, and disembodied limbs. The pendant from grave 85 is very unique. In the center of a semicircle is a mask, and on either side is a curving crouched animal. At either end of the semicircle is a downward biting beast, whose jaws meet together to close the circle. The pendant hung from a worn suspension loop.

The shield boss disc apex decorated with style I ornament was divided into 3 zones, each of which had a Style I animal. These curve around the garnet at the center of the disc.

The individual in grave 18, which contained 2 Style I saucer brooches may have been decapitated, based on the placement of human teeth. The only other oddity may be that the Great square-headed brooch from grave 43 showed signs of burning.

Good preservation of textiles on the backs of brooches has allowed specialists to reconstruct the costumes worn by some of the individuals. Many wore a *peplos* dress held up by pairs of brooches; many also had the remains of veils caught up in the brooch pins. Graves 24 and 43 give us the best picture of costume at Wasperton (Walton Rogers 2009). The individual in grave 24 wore a wool twill cloak was over a linen garment with tablet woven edges. 2 saucer brooches attached the linen garment at the shoulders and a great square-headed brooch attached the cloak together. Amber beads were strung between the saucer brooches.

In grave 42, an individual wore a grey-black goat hair cloak over a wool *peplos* and a linen under dress. She also had a head veil. Two small-long brooches held up her peplos and her cloak was attached with a burnt Great square-headed brooch. However, she wore no beads.

Graves 64, a male grave with the Style I shield disc apex, and 65, a female with a great-square headed brooch and numerous amber beads, were both buried in the sixth century outside of the main cemetery. Both of these burials are included in SG 8, a cluster of graves surrounding a possible Bronze Age or Anglo-Saxon barrow. They may form part of a family or kin group. 4 other burial plots may respect barrows or mounds; these also date from the sixth century. SG 11 includes 2 burials, including the burial with the composite disc brooch dating to the early 7th century.

Discussion

Of the more than 1500 individuals buried in inhumations at these 11 cemeteries, only 5.36% (n=84) were associated with Style I ornament. Of these 84 individuals, 74 were female and 10 were male. All of the Style I brooches were associated with women, with the exception of a possible male at Mucking buried with a great square-headed brooch.

For the national sample, 12.49% of females or those given a female grave good assemblage were associated with Style I objects. These included applied saucer, composite saucer, cast saucer, cruciform, florid cruciform, small square-headed, great square-headed, and face mask brooches. Wrist clasps, bucket mounts, strap ends, belt plates and a mount were also decorated with Style I art in the female graves.

Of the 10 male graves, only 1 included a Style-I decorated brooch. Other objects included a wrist clasp, 2 shield boss apex discs, a spear mount, a sword scabbard, a strap, a buckle, and two belt mounts.

Table 7.24. Summary of Style I Burials

Cemetery	No. of Style I Objects	No. of Individuals	Gender	% of F Burials
Mucking I	4	2	F	12.5
Mucking II	12	8	F, M*	6.9
Springfield Lyons	2	2	F, M	4.76
Great Chesterford	15	10	F, M	11
Empingham II	7	7	F, M	9.52
West Heslerton	24	13	F	4.7
Berinsfield	7	4	F, M	6.5
Butler's Field	25	13	F	18.75
Watchfield	6	3	F	18.8
Blacknall Field	14	7	F, M	14.3
Wasperton	21	15	F, M	29.7
Total	137	84		x=12.49

* possible M

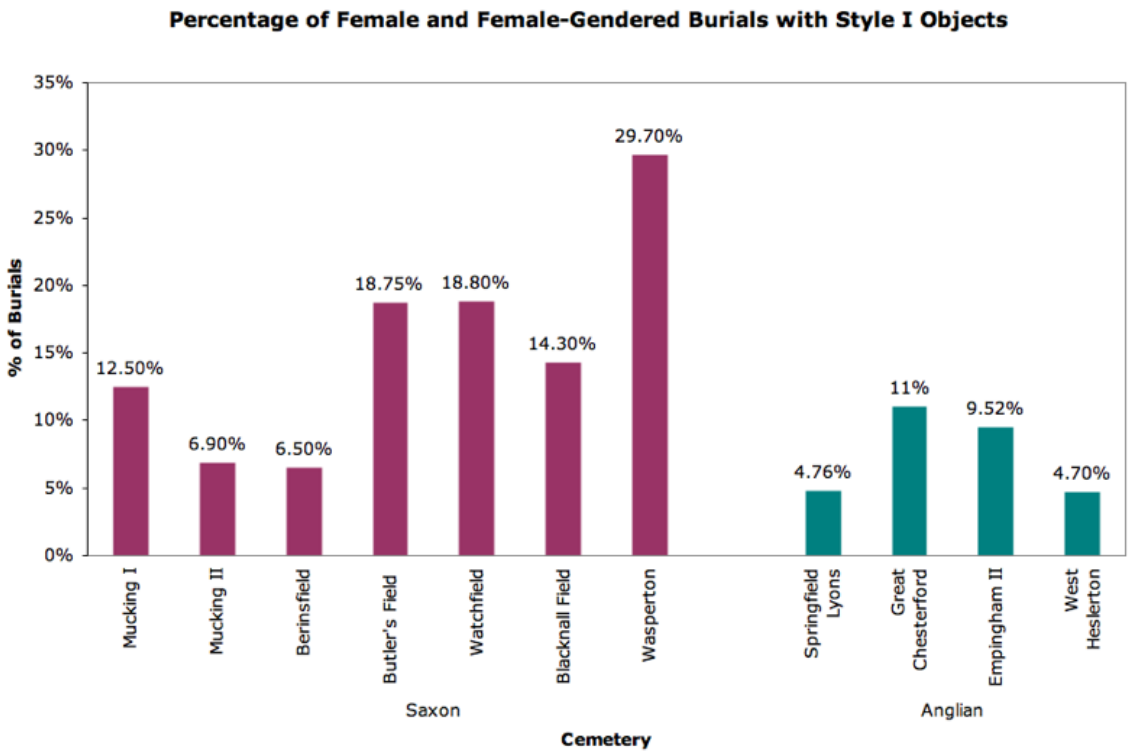


Figure. 7.31 Percentage of female and female-gendered burials with Style I objects

Only a few individuals per generation in each of these cemeteries were buried with these objects, although this varies; between 4.76 and 29.7 percent of females in a cemetery were given Style I brooches (Figure 7.31). In culturally "Saxon" cemeteries, more women were buried with Style I-decorated brooches than were individuals in "Anglian" cemeteries. Butler's Field, Watchfield, Blacknall Field, and Wasperton had especially large numbers of women wearing Style I-decorated objects.

Where present, saucer, cruciform, and square-headed brooches were usually associated with Style I ornament, but florid cruciform and great square-headed brooch types had special significance; they were always decorated with Style I ornament and were placed in wealthy graves of mature adults.

A strong correlation exists between age and inclusion of brooches. If the 26 burials for which age data was unavailable are excluded, 74.5% of the individuals in Style I burials were between 20 and 40 years of age (Figure 7.32).

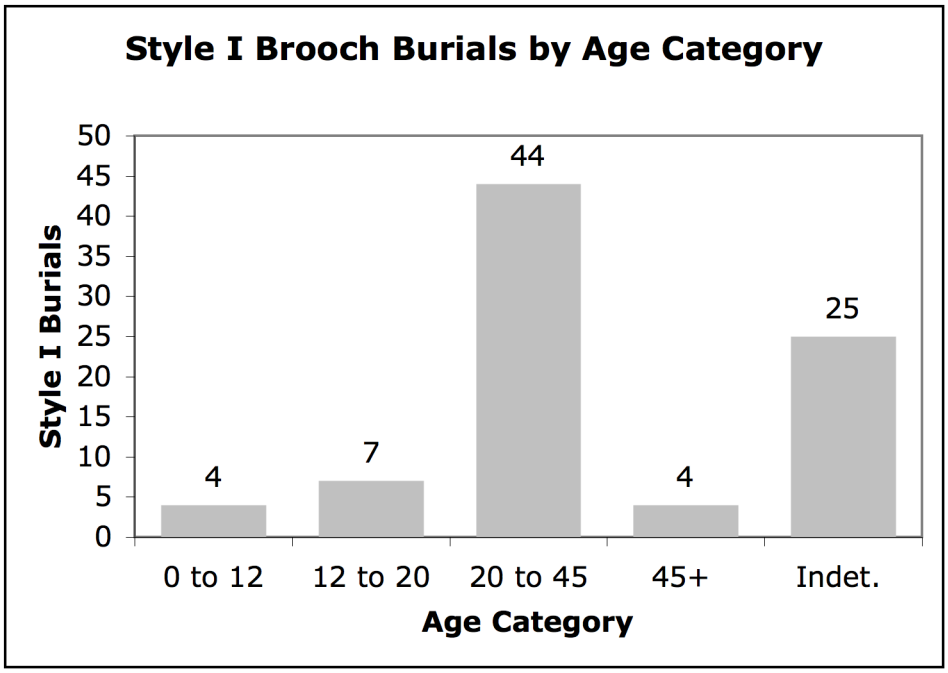


Figure 7.32 Style I brooch burials by age category

Style I brooch burials tend to be wealthier than other brooch burials, with more artifact types included in the grave good assemblage. At every cemetery this was the case, except at Great Chesterford, where non-Style I burials had, on average, slightly more objects.

The average number of artifact types in Style I burials for all of the cemeteries was 5.5. In female or female-gendered graves without Style I-decorated objects the average was 3.85. The wealthiest Style I graves could include up to three Style I brooches (Figure 7. 33).

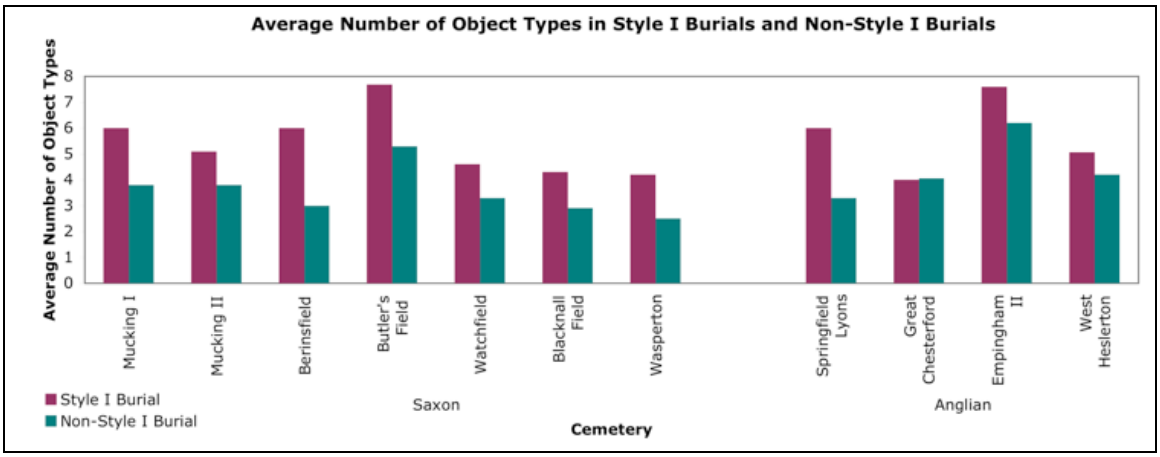


Figure 7.33 Average number of object types in Style I burials and non-Style I burials

How was Style I Art used in Social Contexts?

At the beginning of the chapter, I proposed to investigate 5 models regarding the ways in which Style I art helped structure social identity.

Model 1:
Style I-decorated objects express wealthy elite status. Individuals associated with these objects will have wealthier than average grave good assemblages.

Burials with Style I objects tend to be wealthier than other burials. On average, individuals buried with such objects were buried with more object types. These often included other Style I-decorated items. A Style I-decorated object represents wealth in and of itself. Among brooches, great square-headed and florid cruciform are the largest and most conspicuous brooch types. Their surface gilding represents an expenditure of precious raw materials and a high level of expertise would have been required to make these ornate objects, likely making them quite valuable (Figure 7. 34).

While a Style I burial may represent the wealthiest burial in the cemetery, as is the case at Butler's Field, this is not always the case. At some cemeteries, non-Style I burials are wealthier in terms of artifact type count. This is the case at Great Chesterford, where the wealthiest female–gendered grave only contained a pair of fairly plain disc brooches.

Style I burials could be of average wealth or poorer than the rest of the graves as well. At Wasperton, 4 graves, each containing a great square-headed brooch, were relatively poor in terms of the inclusion of other artifact types.

Grave good assemblages with Style I ornament also included objects rare in other graves, such as glass vessels, ivory-handled bags, keys, and metal-bound wooden buckets. These objects, especially the vessels, are considered elite objects.

Figure 7.34. Part of the assemblage from Berinsfield grave 102 (after Hills 1980).

As the average number of artifact types show, the grave containing Style I objects are indeed generally richer than other burials. This approach is too simplistic, however, and there are a number of ways in which the count of objects is misleading. Grave goods were not necessarily the property of the individuals they were buried with; they may have been given as gifts at the graveside. Similarly, the wealth reflected may not reflect the wealth of the individual, but of a partner or family group. Finally, counting object types, while a frequently used and simple method, only accounts for the diversity of the grave good assemblage (Owen-Crocker 2005). The method does not account for the increasing value given to multiples of an object. For example, the woman in grave 18 at Butler's Field was buried with over 500 beads, including 120 gold-in-glass beads. Yet these were counted as 1 along with the others. In this method, a great square headed brooch and an iron penannular brooch have the same value. Yet to rank them based on modern ideas of what was "valuable" is perhaps more biased.

Considering the biases of the object count statistics, it is clear that Style I objects were considered high-status items based on the effort it took to make them, the artifacts

they are associated with, and the visual display they presented.

Model 2a:
Style I-decorated objects express traditional ideology; they are worn or used by the heads of households or kin groups. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with other objects symbolically linked to ideal male or female roles, such as keys or weapons.

The majority of Style I-decorated objects were buried with adults aged over 25. When the burials of individuals where age data was not recorded are excluded, 74.5% of the individuals were between 20 and 40 years of age.

Objects such as keys and latchlifters are associated with Style I burials, but they are also present in other burials as well. Purses and toilet implements are commonly associated with Style I burials.

A group of two graves at Blacknall Field provide the best support for this model. A female with 2 saucer brooches and a square-headed brooch was buried next to a man with a Style-I decorated sword scabbard and belt plaque. The authors of the excavation report tentatively suggest that these graves may be that of a couple. If they were related, they might represent the heads of a household.

Certainly for males, Style I-decorated objects were associated with martial activities. The sword scabbard, spear shaft, and shield boss apex discs confirm this. Other objects decorated belts. A wrist clasp and a great square-headed brooch were the only female-gendered items buried with males. It should be noted that the great square-headed brooch at Mucking II was not being used as a brooch; it had been perforated and was suspended as a pendant.

It must not be overlooked that part of the significance of a brooch is that it contributes to an overall costume. Unfortunately, textile only rarely survives on the back of brooches. Where it does, the evidence suggests that Style I brooches sometimes were part of elaborate costumes consisting of a dress, a peplos gown, a thick cloak, and a veil.

Style I brooches likely played a large role in facilitating the construction of proper, traditional costume.

Model 2b:
Style I-decorated objects express traditional ideology; they are worn or used by the heads of households or kin groups in order to emulate or legitimize their connections with Scandinavia or the Continent. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with imported objects or objects associated with foreign elites.

As discussed above, Style I-decorated objects were primarily worn or used by mature adults. Besides the Style I objects themselves, which each have their stylistic and symbolic links to Kent or Scandinavia, few obvious imports were recorded in the Style I burials. A glass bowl from grave 99 at Mucking I was an import from the Rhineland or France. Ivory rings for purses were imported, but these were unlikely to symbolize ancestral connections. A young girl was buried with a *Perlrandbecker* in grave 11 at Butler's Field. She was also buried with 2 Style-I decorated saucer brooches, which otherwise are buried with adults. The *Perlrandbecker*, a copper alloy bowl, was imported from the Meuse valley.

I would argue that the Style I brooches complete traditional costumes and enhance their visual impact. For example, wrist clasps were sued to fasten the sleeves of the traditional Anglian costume. More ornate objects functioned the same way, but did so in an exaggerated way.

Most of the Style I brooches show signs of wear. Some were fragmented. Others were clearly old when buried. The curation of Style I objects suggest they were well regarded as heirlooms. Much like heirlooms in our society, these objects likely represented traditional ideas of the past and the individuals who had worn them before. More than any other artifact in graves (besides weapons), Style I brooches had histories—they were likely closely associated with major life events.

Model 3a:

Style I-decorated objects are linked with belief systems. Individuals associated with these objects will be buried with other objects that are apotropaic in nature.

Not only are Style I burials associated with diverse artifact assemblages, they are associated with some unusual artifacts as well. The rich grave good assemblage of the woman buried in grave 18 at Butler's Field is a good example. Hers is the richest assemblage in the data set. In addition to her brooches and other common personal items, she was buried with a mounted beaver incisor used as a pendant, a wooden container, a spindle whorl, a fossilized shell, an antler comb, a bag with an ivory rim, 3 Roman coins, and a fragment of a Roman altar. The beaver tooth is not a common Anglo-Saxon find and is considered an amulet. The shell, Roman coins, and the altar piece may also represent items that had apotropaic functions. The altar fragment is not listed on the published grave plan, so it might have been a residual item, but there was no evidence of other Roman ritual activity on the site. Grave 78, a Style I burial, contained the perforated tooth of a canine. These are the only two animal tooth burials in the Migration Period phase at Butler's Field.

At other cemeteries, Style I burials are sometimes associated with unusual objects: the female in grave 6573 at Springfield Lyons was buried with red ochre. Hers was the richest female-gendered grave at the cemetery; and her grave was likely marked with a post or similar structure. Some brooches show signs of having been burnt before burial. The individual in grave 18, who had 2 saucer brooches with animal ornament, was likely decapitated. Grave 177 at West Heslerton contained a brooch with an apotropaic inscription on the backside.

Most Style I burials had no such oddities besides the Style I objects themselves. The motifs on the objects were typical Style I motifs. In many cases, especially with the saucer brooches, the style was reduced to limb motifs such as running legs. In others, such as some of the florid cruciform, great square-headed and face mask brooches, the animal art was well executed.

Model 3b:

Style I-decorated objects were used by individuals who were associated with or practiced shamanism. Individuals associated with these objects will be mature adults, and will be buried with other apotropaic objects or those later associated with shamanic practices.

According to literary and archaeological evidence from Scandinavia, women were the practitioners of shamanic ritual practice in the early medieval period. While it is true that Style I objects were overwhelmingly buried with females, this is likely a function of the objects available to decorate. Most women had brooches whereas it was not common for males to have full sets of weapons. As with model 3a, there is no conclusive evidence that the women wearing such objects were practicing ritualists. However, there need not be any; perhaps the brooches were all the equipment that was necessary to induce altered states of consciousness.

Conclusion

Individuals buried with Style I-decorated objects tended to be mature adult females. They tended to have more diversity in their grave good assemblages; and in many cases they were wealthier than other individuals. These individuals were likely to be buried with high-status items, such as vessels and purse items, as well as items with links to the Continent. The brooches, especially, show signs of curation, use, and care. In conjunction of the costume, brooches were likely important objects in the expression of traditional ideals.

While some amulets are found in association with Style I-decorated items, they were not exclusive to them. No evidence found in the burials suggested that the brooches enabled ritual practice. Models 3a and 3b are not supported by the available evidence.

The use of Style I animal ornament varied between communities, suggesting that social roles were produced in local contexts, and may have varied with the amount and nature of interaction between Anglo-Saxon and local British populations. The greater frequency of Style I brooch burials in the Saxon cultural area suggests that the expression

of a traditional, non-native Germanic identity was especially important to signal in the western regions of Anglo-Saxon England; relationships between Saxon individuals and groups may have needed continual reinforcement in communities that were near non-Germanic groups. In Anglian cemeteries other objects associated with Scandinavia, such as wrist clasps, likely signaled a Germanic identity.

Kristoffersen's (2000) analysis of Style I art in Norway provided similar results: women given relief brooches were mature women buried with objects considered appropriate for heads of households, such as textile equipment and symbolic keys. Unfortunately, Style I-decorated objects were not often buried in graves in Sweden or Denmark. This absence does not signify an absence of significance for the brooches, but rather the absence of inhumations in general. In Denmark, Style I-decorated brooches were deposited with bracteates as votive hoards (Gaimster 1998).

Although gender, age, and social status appear to be the principle aspects of identity expressed through the use of Style I-decorated objects in Anglo-Saxon England, the style also signaled position in familial hierarchies. The objects that were decorated with the style also held personal significance; events, relationships, a sense of connection with the past, and personal style were embodies in the biography of the object. The results of John Hines' (forthcoming) research project *Anglo-Saxon England c.580–720: The Chronological Basis* will aid in the dating of individual graves. With a new chronology for Anglo-Saxon England, relationships between individuals buried in a cemetery may be identified.

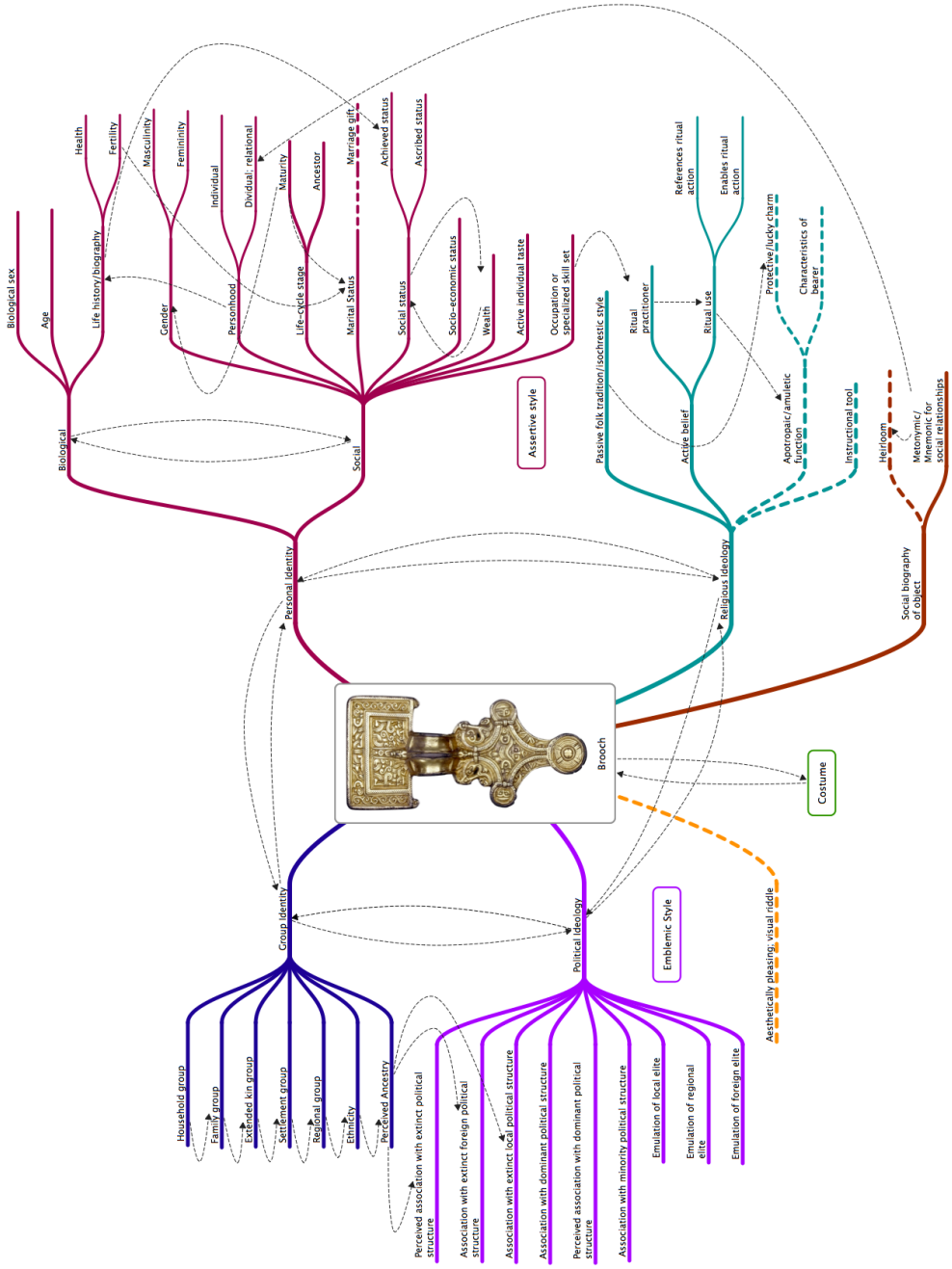
On an ideological level, the style could be used to signal real or perceived links to extant or extinct social structures as well as to local or foreign groups. The representations were likely seen as good luck signs or symbols of protection. The motifs may have referred to well-known stories and myths related to an Odin-like deity.

Figure 7.35 illustrates the ways in which Style-I decorated objects were used to manipulate, emphasize, and legitimize identity. Possible identities and ideologies signaled form four major groupings: personal identities relating to biological sex, social gender, and active individual identities; group identities relating to familial ties and social

proximity to others; political ideology relating to real or perceived associations to local and foreign political groups; and religious ideology relating to belief systems.

This "identity map" does not show all of the connections that link different aspects of identity, nor does it illustrate all of the variations that exist in the four categories. Instead, the map represents the complex relationship that forms between brooches and people. A single aspect of identity cannot be singled out as the most important aspect; like Style I art, there are multiple readings of this cryptic text.

Figure 7.35. Identity map showing possible identities signaled by a Style I-decorated brooch.



Style I Art and the Production of Identities in the Early Medieval North

Style I held meaning for local elites in Scandinavia, northern Europe, and England from the mid-fifth through the sixth century. At the end of the century, its symbolic value lessened, and other modes of expression became more common. In the last half of the sixth century, Style II developed and spread across a large part of Europe. Høilund Nielsen (2002) has argued that Style II did not develop out of Style I where it was used locally, but originated in Scandinavia as did Style I, spreading throughout much of Europe in a second wave of Germanic ornament.

Where Style I is an art of fragmentation, Style II is one of integration. Animals regain the coherency of their bodies, and many are identifiable as wolves, horses, eagles, or serpent-like dragons. In fact, the identifiable animals in Style II ornament are often used to identify features of animals in Style I art. The two styles portray the same basic forms of animals, but they do so in completely different ways. Creatures still gnaw at each other, but often they bite their own bodies. As the style developed, many animals lost their limbs entirely and are formed from ribbon-like torsos and biting heads. The impression of Style II is an intertwining of bodily forms, rather than dislocation. In later phases of Style II, interlace takes over as the main motif, and in instances where it is used, animals become once again difficult to recognize.

While these two styles overlap, in some areas there was an abrupt shift between the two. For instance, at Butler's Field, Style I was used widely throughout the sixth century. At the end of the Migration Period phase, one female individual was buried with a Style II keystone garnet brooch. After that, in the "Final" phase of the cemetery, animal ornament disappears from the cemetery. Moreover, brooches as a whole disappeared from the grave good assemblages during the first few decades of the seventh century. In their place, women were buried with garnet cabochon pendants other necklace jewelry ultimately derived from Byzantine fashion. A new clothing style is likely, based on the

lack of dress fasteners. The *peplos* dress was probably replaced by a long, sleeved gown based on continental costume.

In Anglo-Saxon England, Style II appears overwhelmingly on items used or worn by males. Females were no longer associated with animal ornament. Why would there be such a complete and rapid change of costume fashion? Why was animal art perceived to be inappropriate for females so suddenly? Why was it relevant to those living in the fifth and sixth centuries?

Style I-decorated objects asserted a belief in a particular ideology and an identity associated with that ideology (Figure 8.1). Like wearing a Christian cross, wearing a great square-headed brooch marked that individual as someone who had subscribed to a particular belief or was part of a specific community. Wearing the brooch may have both strengthened the individual's perception of herself and contributed to the perceptions that others formed about her. The brooch, and the costume it helped constitute, also enabled the creation of social proximity or distance; others who subscribed to similar beliefs would be symbolically linked through dividual relations. The shape shifting motifs of the style created distance between the emitter and the receiver of the visual message if the receiver could not decipher the motifs. This may be one of the reasons why early medieval peoples found meaning in an ornament that reflected the period's social uncertainty and confusion (Bruns 2003: 37).

Figure 8.1. Berinsfield grave 102 (after Boyle et al. 1995).

Both gender and age were strongly marked in Anglo-Saxon mortuary ritual. Females, particularly, were given grave good assemblages that highlighted gender. Gender roles were probably reinforced during the fifth and sixth centuries in response to the fragmentation and reorganization of political structures (Halsall 2004). Identity was likely based on familial relationships rather than on larger political structures; women therefore acted as important agents in the negotiation of kin-based connections via marriage.

As bearers of tradition, it was important for females to express gender identity in an obvious manner. The *peplos* costume enabled this: large plate brooches provided an ideal surface for both ornate decoration and the visuality needed to express identity. These objects were effective in signaling identity; great square-headed and florid cruciform brooches became so effective as decorative surfaces that their size eventually hampered their intended function as fasteners by becoming larger. Brooches in all regions where Style I was used show wear and repair (Hines 1997); they were clearly passed down to younger women, perhaps through familial lines. A brooch's status as an heirloom was not linked solely to its material value, otherwise it might have been melted down. Brooches held meaning and were used as metonyms for relationships.

Sometime during the late sixth century, those dividual relationships were not as crucial. New groups had rooted themselves into local social structures and had successfully legitimized their existence. Perhaps the old-fashioned female costume was no longer seen as relevant, and therefore costumes and jewelry from the continent became more common. Concomitant with this was the ascendancy of regional male leaders (Welch 2011). Emphasis was placed on regional elites who claimed descent from the Germanic gods. No longer was it important for elite females in small farming villages to signal their role as the bearers of tradition.

Hedeager (2000; 2011) has argued that the disappearance of Style I is directly linked to the stabilization of early medieval kingdoms, the creation of stable populations, and the introduction of Christianity. In this model, Style I was an art style that reflected the myths and legends that enabled the contextualization of political instability. Thus, religious belief was based on stories of an all-knowing god, interaction between gods and

animals who were considered powerful and aggressive, and the chaos associated with Ragnarök. Leaders of war bands would have been closely connected with this ideology. Moreover, belief in the warrior ideology would have created the relationships and connections that would have been necessarily in the consolidation of power and the eventual emergence of early medieval kingdoms.

The visual and material expression of the oral myths essential to the warrior ideology would have been crucial to their active creation and dissemination. Style I motifs expressed the stories materially by essentially giving the beasts featured in them corporeal bodies. At the same time, myths or stories depicted on metalwork could be reinterpreted and manipulated given the ambiguous and flexible nature of the motifs.

The fragmentation and reintegration of animal and human bodies in the art reflected the nature socio-political relations of the fifth century. As some groups were relocating to different parts of Europe and political organization was deconstructed in others, elite individuals nonetheless maintained contacts with each other. These contacts could have been maintained through exogamous marriage and meetings at the central places such as Uppåkra and Gudme (Behr 2010). The style served to connect and legitimize elite authority during a time when groups struggled for power.

Authority is often negotiated through ideology and visual media. These propaganda strategies can operate in several ways: by minimizing conflicts, by representing the interests of the elites as universal, by legitimizing the present social state through naturalization of existing systems, and by making the current social structure seem part of the natural order (Kesner 1991: 46). I would argue that Style I art was primarily a tool for legitimization: it both reified warrior culture and the necessity of political conflict, and contributed to the idea that the elites had always had access to such power.

Style I art referenced and actively contributed to new ideas about the nature of elite status, conflict, and novel social relationships. The use of ambiguous animals in the ornament was an ideal way to frame such concepts. Humans have always formulated ideas about themselves in terms of the animal "other," by categorizing out-groups as dangerous non-human beasts, identifying with the animals themselves via emulated

attributes, or by juxtaposing animals, the wilderness, and chaos with the legitimacy of human (elite) order. The reification of authenticity and legitimization became socially embedded within the animal ornament.

Ingold (2000) contends that representations showing animals and humans in action relates to animistic cosmologies in which the world is in a constant state of creation, whereas static, or totemic, representations of animals and humans reflect the world as it always has been. The art of the early medieval period does just that: it expresses the creation and destruction of social order through the actions and interactions of humans/deities and animals. Active movement is one of the primary organizing principles in Style I art, and one of the aspects that distinguishes it stylistically and ideologically from the more static ornamentation of both late Roman art and Christian art.

While Style II interlace motifs are thematically related to Style I motifs, to a modern observer they might seem to be mindlessly repeated. Style II continued to be in use until the late seventh century, when styles associated with Christianity become more prevalent (Hedeager 2011). During this time, Style II was depicted mainly on weapon accessories, belt mounts, and other martial items associated with males.

The best examples of this phenomenon are the burial in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo and the Staffordshire Hoard. Both assemblages contain valuable gold objects decorated in Style II ornament and both express a concern for martial activities.

During the late sixth and seventh centuries, a series of "princely burials" were constructed. These were richly outfitted and are usually associated with the emergence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Between 597 and 690, the kingdoms were also undergoing conversion to Christianity (Welch 2011). The men buried in these lavish graves were presented as warrior kings, and some of these individuals have been tentatively identified as kings known from historical sources. The artifact assemblages in these graves show the breath of connections that were being made across Europe. At Sutton Hoo, grave goods indicated links with Celtic Britain, Scandinavia, Francia, and the Byzantine region.

The Style II motifs and figural art on the helmet, shield, purse lid, belt buckle, and shoulder clasps referred to the same concepts as did Style I. Powerful animals such as birds of prey, wolves, and boars appear but the motifs avoid filling all available space.

There is also less emphasis on hybridity; animals and humans interact, but in most cases do not cross bodily boundaries through transformation.

The Staffordshire Hoard, discovered by a metal detectorist in 2009, is the only known Anglo-Saxon gold hoard. The hoard dates to the seventh century. Containing over 3940 gold, silver, and copper alloy pieces, the hoard contains no Style I objects but at least 27 Style II objects (Alexander 2011; Leahy and Bland 2009). Although the hoard contains 11 pounds of gold, none of the objects can be associated with females. The objects are all martial in character: sword hilt plates, pommel caps, and hilt collars, among others. Notably, the weapons themselves were not included; only the decorative plates. The hoard may represent weapons taken from a defeated army; if so, the votive deposit represents a tremendous sacrifice.

Boars, eagles, serpents, and biting quadrupeds appear on the Style II-ornamented objects, even on a gold cross that was one of three objects not specifically marital in character. The biting quadrupeds on some of the Staffordshire Hoard pieces are nearly identical to Style II motifs that eventually appear in illuminated manuscripts.

Both the Sutton Hoo boat burial and the Staffordshire Hoard illustrate the marked social transition that occurred during the seventh century. These were organized warriors who expressed their status through their weaponry and their associations with an established king; women were no longer the primary bearers of symbolic media.

Gradually, as Anglo-Saxon kingdoms stabilized and expanded in the late seventh and eighth centuries, Germanic animal art lost much of its symbolic meaning and was no longer useful to elites laying claim to power. Christian iconography was adopted, and only in Scandinavia, where pagan beliefs still persisted. These styles, associated with the Vikings, abstracted the animals to such an extent that they eventually resembled plants. After 1200 AD, when the Scandinavian kingdoms converted to Christianity, the long line of animal styles faded out of use.

Conclusion

Because of its polysemous motifs, Style I art seems to have been a ritualized, restricted text, likely controlled by those who could decipher it—the ornament effectively concealed meaning from the uninformed. The fragmentary nature of animal and human bodies may have reflected the cultural context of the time, where social identities were fragmented and reconstituted in the wake of the collapse of the Roman Empire.

These objects likely communicated complex messages, perhaps relating to the ideological beliefs shared by northern European peoples. Some Style I motifs may have referenced beliefs related to the shamanic activities of the god Odin. Odin's transformation might be seen in the art, where in some cases a figure is seen as an animal when viewed from one direction but as a human from another. Such symbols could refer to myths, social roles, and religious lessons and rites. Some objects may have been used as apotropaic symbols and good luck charms.

If not directly related to ritual, a Style I brooch may have been worn as an expression of an individual's real or idealized links to elite groups in Scandinavia. Artifacts decorated with Style I art likely embodied a common elite ideology that was maintained through political alliances, intermarriage, and the use of a common symbolic language.

This analysis suggests that Style I-decorated objects became appropriate to wear and display after an individual reached maturity. Strongly associated with gender, transformative motifs referenced traditional cultural norms and legitimized the existence of new familial, political, and cultural groups. Most importantly, this study has shown that while the construction of identity followed regional trends, it was situated foremost in local contexts.

In the seventh century, Style I art became less ambiguous and developed into Style II, which is more commonly associated with male objects. At this time, male graves became more elaborate and the standard female dress accessories of the fifth and sixth centuries, including brooches, went out of fashion in women's burial costume. This change occurs along with the stabilization of Germanic kingdoms across northern Europe

and the introduction of Christianity. When emergent political structures became more permanent, an ambiguous art style controlled by women was no longer needed to maintain a common elite identity that signaled political affiliations and traditional ideologies.

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APPENDIX A – ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERIES USED IN ANALYSIS

Appendix A lists summary information for the 11 cemeteries analyzed. Cemeteries are listed alphabetically.

BERINSFIELD, WALLY CORNER	
County	Oxfordshire
Region	Upper Thames
Years excavated	1974-75
Excavation unit	Oxford Archaeological Unit
Archive location	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Source	A. Boyle, A. Dodd, D. Miles, and A. Mudd 1995
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	1.5 km east of the river Thames and 300 m northwest of the river Thame on gravel terrace
Proximity to cultural features	Aligned on Roman ditch system; 1 km north of Neolithic cursus and henge; north of the Romano-British town of Dorchester
Cemetery layout	Polyfocal: possible household groups
Date Range	Mid-fifth to late sixth or early seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	50-75%; damage by gravel quarrying
Number of inhumations	100
Number of individuals in inhumations	114
Number of adults inhumed	80
Number of subadults inhumed	33
Number of cremations	4
Number of individuals in cremations	4
Total number of individuals	118

BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	
County	Wiltshire
Region	Upper Avon Valley
Years excavated	1969-1976
Excavation unit	The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works
Archive location	Wiltshire Heritage Museum, Devizes
Source	F. K. Annable and B. N. Eagles 2010
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	I km south of the river Avon in the Pewsey Vale
Proximity to cultural features	Located on Early Iron Age settlement site
Cemetery layout	Polyfocal
Date Range	*c*. 475-550 AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	>75%
Number of inhumations	104 or 105
Number of individuals in inhumations	102
Number of adults inhumed	51
Number of subadults inhumed	50
Number of cremations	4
Number of individuals in cremations	4
Total number of individuals	106

BUTLER'S FIELD, LECHLADE	
County	Gloucestershire
Region	Upper Thames
Years excavated	1985
Excavation unit	Oxford Archaeological Unit
Archive location	Corinium Museum, Cirencester
Source	A. Boyle, D. Jennings, D. Miles, and S. Palmer 1998; 2011
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	On north bank of the river Thames, near confluence with the river Leach, on gravel terrace
Proximity to cultural features	Aligned on Romano-British ditch
Cemetery layout	No apparent large groupings; family- or kin-based groups
Date Range	Migration phase: late fifth to late sixth century AD Final phase: seventh to early eighth century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	50-75%
Number of inhumations	200
Number of individuals in inhumations	223
Number of Migration Phase inhumations	113
Number of individuals in Migration Phase inhumations	128
Number of adults inhumed in Migration Phase	76
Number of subadults inhumed in Migration Phase	52
Number of cremations	29
Number of individuals in cremations	29
Total number of individuals in the Migration Phase	157

EMPINGHAM II	
County	Rutland
Region	East Midlands
Years excavated	1974-75
Excavation unit	Department of the Environment's Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments
Archive location	Leicestershire Museums, Arts and Records Service; Jewry Wall Museum
Source	J. R. Timby 1996
Cultural affiliation	Anglian
Proximity to geographical features	0.75 km north of the river Gwash
Proximity to cultural features	Southern border of cemetery aligned to a late Iron Age or early Roman trackway. Overlays several Iron Age ditches and pits. Anglo-Saxon settlements to the south of cemetery.
Cemetery layout	Linear along trackway
Date Range	Late fifth to early seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	>75%
Number of inhumations	135
Number of individuals in inhumations	152
Number of adults inhumed	98
Number of subadults inhumed	54
Number of cremations	1
Number of individuals in cremations	1
Total number of individuals	153

GREAT CHESTERFORD	
County	Essex
Region	East Anglia
Years excavated	1953-1955
Excavation unit	F. K. Annable and V. I. Evison on behalf of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments
Archive location	British Museum, London
Source	V. I. Evison 1994
Cultural affiliation	Anglian
Proximity to geographical features	East of the River Cam
Proximity to cultural features	Northwest of the Roman town of Great Chesterford; Roman tumuli
Cemetery layout	Some graves dug into and surrounding Roman tumuli
Date Range	*c*. 450-600 AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	50%?
Number of inhumations	161
Number of individuals in inhumations	171
Number of adults inhumed	88
Number of subadults inhumed	83
Number of cremations	31
Number of individuals in cremations	31
Total number of individuals	202

MUCKING I	
County	Essex
Region	Lower Thames
Years excavated	1966-1969
Excavation unit	Tom and Margaret Jones
Archive location	British Museum, London
Source	S. Hirst and D. Clark 2009
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	On gravel terrace on the north shore of the Thames Estuary
Proximity to cultural features	Iron Age and Roman occupation sites; Romano-British burials; cemetery situated on western edge of fifth to eighth century Anglo-Saxon settlement
Cemetery layout	No apparent groupings
Date Range	Early fifth to early seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	35%
Number of inhumations	63
Number of individuals in inhumations	64
Number of adults inhumed	20
Number of subadults inhumed	16
Number of cremations	0
Number of individuals in cremations	0
Total number of individuals	64

MUCKING II	
County	Essex
Region	Lower Thames
Years excavated	1969-1973
Excavation unit	Tom and Margaret Jones
Archive location	British Museum, London
Source	S. Hirst and D. Clark 2009
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	On gravel terrace on the north shore of the Thames Estuary
Proximity to cultural features	Situated between two Romano-British ditches; probable Bronze Age barrow; cemetery situated between focal areas of fifth to eighth century Anglo-Saxon settlement
Cemetery layout	Polyfocal: possible household groups
Date Range	Early fifth to early seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	~95%
Number of inhumations	276
Number of individuals in inhumations	282
Number of adults inhumed	122
Number of subadults inhumed	95
Number of cremations	463
Number of individuals in cremations	463
Total number of individuals	745

SPRINGFIELD LYONS	
County	Essex
Region	East Anglia
Years excavated	1986-1991
Excavation unit	Essex County Council Archaeology Section
Archive location	Essex County Council Archaeology Section
Source	S. Tyler and H. Major 2005
Cultural affiliation	Anglian
Proximity to geographical features	West of the River Chelmer
Proximity to cultural features	Neolithic causewayed enclosure, Bronze Age enclosure ditch,
Cemetery layout	Centered on Bronze Age enclosure ditch
Date Range	*c*. 450-700 AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	~75%
Number of inhumations	114
Number of individuals in inhumations	114
Number of adults inhumed	N/A
Number of subadults inhumed	N/A
Number of cremations	143
Number of individuals in cremations	143
Total number of individuals	257

WASPERTON	
County	Warwickshire
Region	West Midlands
Years excavated	1980-1985
Excavation unit	Warwickshire Museum
Archive location	Market Hall Museum, Warwick
Source	M. Carver, C. Hills, and J. Scheschkewitz 2009
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	Located east of the River Avon
Proximity to cultural features	Area around cemetery includes: Neolithic hengiform enclosure, Bronze Age burial mound, Bronze Age ditched enclosure, Iron Age farmsteads, late Roman corn driers, ovens, wells; cemetery located within and around Romano-British rectangular enclosure
Cemetery layout	Polyfocal: possible household groups
Date Range	Multi-period: fourth to seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	100%
Number of Anglo-Saxon inhumations	91
Number of individuals in Anglo-Saxon inhumations	91
Number of adults inhumed	27
Number of subadults inhumed	7
Number of Anglo-Saxon cremations	25
Number of individuals in cremations	25+
Total number of individuals	116+

WATCHFIELD	
County	Oxfordshire
Region	Upper Thames
Years excavated	1983, 1989
Excavation unit	Oxford Archaeological Unit
Archive location	Oxfordshire County Museum, Woodstock
Source	C. Scull 1992
Cultural affiliation	Saxon
Proximity to geographical features	East of the River Cole in the Vale of the White Horse
Proximity to cultural features	Early-middle Iron Age settlement; Romano-British building 0.7 km to southeast
Cemetery layout	No apparent groupings
Date Range	*c*. 475-600 AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	>50%
Number of inhumations	43
Number of individuals in inhumations	43
Number of adults inhumed	27
Number of subadults inhumed	16
Number of cremations	2
Number of individuals in cremations	2
Total number of individuals	45

WEST HESLERTON	
County	North Yorkshire
Region	Yorkshire
Years excavated	1977-1987
Excavation unit	Humberside Archaeological Unit and the North Yorkshire County Council Archaeology Section
Archive location	Hull Museum, Hull and Archaeological Data Service, York
Source	C. Haughton and D. Powlesland 1999
Cultural affiliation	Anglian
Proximity to geographical features	At foot of Yorkshire Wolds; stream to north of cemetery
Proximity to cultural features	Encroaching on late Neolithic hengiform enclosure and timber circle and early Bronze Age barrows; north of West Heslerton Anglo-Saxon settlement
Cemetery layout	Polyfocal, up to fifteen groups
Date Range	Late fifth to early seventh century AD
Percentage of cemetery excavated	75%
Number of inhumations	185
Number of individuals in inhumations	175 (some grave cuts empty)
Number of adults inhumed	104
Number of subadults inhumed	34
Number of cremations	15
Number of individuals in cremations	15
Total number of individuals	190

APPENDIX B – GRAVES WITH STYLE I-DECORATED OBJECTS

Appendix B lists summary information for the 84 inhumation graves that included Style I-decorated objects. Detailed information is also given for each Style I-decorated object. For females, an interpretation of the mortuary costume is given. Graves are listed by cemetery. Information was compiled from cemetery reports listed in Appendix A. For some objects, information was also collected from specialist reports, including for shield boss apex discs (Dickinson 2005), square-headed brooches (Hines 1997), buckle and belt plates (Marzinzik 2003), and textiles (Walton Rogers 2007).

BERINSFIELD, WALLY CORNER, OXFORDSHIRE

Berinsfield 102	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	15–20
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.72 m
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Rushes placed over body, perhaps as a mat
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right curved; left straight
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Calculus on left molars; abscess
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch, 2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Copper alloy tongue-on-shield buckle and fittings
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	105 amber; 7 metal-in-glass; 2 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Copper alloy hoop and fragments from wooden bucket
Pottery	—
Other	Iron object

Great Square-headed Brooch 102/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	148 mm
Classification	Hines Group I
Date produced	*c*. 510-550 AD
Style I motifs	Face mask headplate border, biting beasts, long-nosed masks on bow and footplate
Placement	Left shoulder, footplate pointing down diagonally to right
Associated textile	Fine ZZ tabby front and back; outside a ZZ twill, and a fringe of coarse thread

Cast Saucer Brooches 102/2 and 102/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin spring on 102/2
Diameter	102/2: 58 mm; 102/3: 59 mm
Classification	Dickinson Group 10
Date produced	Later sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Chasing animals, described as degenerate
Associated textile	Fine ZZ tabby; possible tablet weave

Costume Interpretation for Grave 102
Peplos dress of possible woolen twill fastened by matched pair of cast saucer brooches, a tabby-woven linen garment (a hood or shawl?) fastened to peplos by great square-headed brooch. Large bead festoon between the two cast saucer brooches.

Berinsfield 107/1	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	15–20
Orientation	SSE–NNW
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Charnel deposit in grave (partial mandible of 107/2)
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Crossed over stomach
Leg position	Turned to left with left leg slightly flexed
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD

Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	Cast saucer brooch; iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	4 amber; 6 metal-in-glass; 1 faience; 1 copper alloy disc
Toilet equipment	Copper alloy brush holder; toilet set with 3 scrapers
Bag	Ivory bag ring (elephant)
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	Copper alloy weaving tablet?
Vessels	—
Pottery	3 Romano-British sherds from fill
Other	Possible iron clasp

Great Square-headed Brooch 107/1/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin spring
Condition	Footplate terminal lobe broken in antiquity
Length	91 mm
Classification	Hines Subgroup iii; motif in headplate may be derived from Berinsfield 102
Date produced	*c*. 510-550 AD
Style I motifs	Biting beasts, inward-facing masks on footplate side lobes, eyes in headplate frame, animal mask below bow
Placement	Right shoulder, footplate point up to the right
Associated textile	Coarse ZZ twill on front, fine ZZ twill on back, ZS tablet weave with diagonal pattern

Costume Interpretation for Grave 107/1
Broken great square-headed brooch and cast saucer brooch used to fasten a peplos dress edged with a tablet weave. Broken great square-headed brooch probably a replacement for a lost or broken cast saucer brooch. Bead festoon between great square-headed and cast saucer brooches.

Berinsfield 128	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	*c*. 9
Orientation	S–N
Stature	—
Location in cemetery	Northern group

Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Propped against side of grave
Arm position	Extended with hands on thighs
Leg position	Right flexed to right; left extended
Date of burial	Early mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	5 wormian bones in lambdoid suture
Style I-decorated objects	Copper alloy belt plate
Weapon	Iron spearhead
Belt	D-shaped copper alloy buckle; belt plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	26 Romano-British sherds from fill
Other	Lump of iron slag placed near head

Belt Plate 128/3	
Material	Copper alloy set with red glass
Condition	Complete
Dimensions	23 x 24 mm
Classification	Marzinzik Type II.14b
Date produced	*c*. 525-550 AD
Style I motifs	Animal ornament around central red glass setting
Placement	Above left hip
Associated textile	Folded ZZ tabby; leather from strap or belt

Costume Interpretation for Grave 128
n/a

Berinsfield 130	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–40
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.55 m
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Flecks of charcoal in fill (possible remains of charred logs)
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right

Arm position	Right extended, hand under right pelvis; left flexed, hand on left pelvis
Leg position	Right extended; left slightly flexed
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Osteoarthritis in vertebrae; 2 wormian bones in lambdoid suture
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Possible pin fragments
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	8 amber; 7 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Applied Saucer Brooches 130/1 and 130/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; catchplate and pin missing on 130/1, catchplate and iron pin spring present on 130/2
Condition	Decoration fragmentary on 130/1, almost completely destroyed on 130/2
Diameter	43 mm
Classification	Dickinson Group 3.2; probable imports from SE Midlands
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	"Kempston Cross" cruciform design with masks and limb motifs between cross arms
Placement	130/1 on right upper chest; 130/2 on left upper chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 130
Probable peplos dress attached with two applied saucer brooches. Beads likely suspended between the applied saucer brooches.

BLACKNALL FIELD, WILTSHIRE

Blacknall Field 19	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	DNA (originally thought to be male based on stature)
Age	40+
Orientation	SW-NE
Stature	1.86 m ± 4.66 cm
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to right
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Unusual wear on anterior dentition
Style I-decorated objects	Miniature square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	Small-long brooch
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Miniature Square-headed Brooch 19/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Complete but very worn
Length	74 mm
Classification	Kentish type
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Profile head in headplate central zone with arm raised in front with projecting thumb; rampant beasts at top of footplate; central lozenge panel contains contorted stylized animal
Placement	Left shoulder

Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 19
Peplos dress fastened by unmatched miniature square-headed and small-long brooches.

Blacknall Field 21	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	40+
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on left side
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	Bent across pelvis
Leg position	Flexed
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch; 2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Oval iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	4 amber
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Iron plate, strips, and rivet from possible iron-bound wooden bucket; Copper alloy bound wooden bucket
Pottery	Probable Anglo-Saxon sherds in fill
Other	Iron fittings; copper alloy hoop; animal bone in fill

Great Square-headed Brooch 21/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Cracks across footplate, 1 arm and lappet detached
Length	170 mm
Classification	Hines Group VII
Date produced	*c*. 510-550

Style I motifs	Headplate with 12 mask projections; headplate central panel with zoomorphic animal; mask above bow; downward biting beasts below bow; Median ridge of footplate terminated by animal masks; footplate lobes with human masks
Placement	Horizontally across chest below saucer brooches, footplate towards left shoulder
Associated textile	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 21/2 and 21/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; fragment of pin present on 21/2
Condition	Complete but 21/2 abraded on rim; 21/3 possibly repaired on back
Diameter	55 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Middle panel divided into quadrants, each with a stylized animal
Placement	21/2 on left upper chest; 21/3 on right upper chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 21
Peplos dress fastened by cast saucer brooches, accompanied by an outer-garment attached with a great square-headed brooch.

Blacknall Field 22	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	45+
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.75 m ± 3.94 cm
Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Sword scabbard mouth band, belt plate
Weapon	Iron sword, spear, shield

Belt	Oval copper alloy buckle and plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	Red deer antler sword bead
Vessels	Fragment of hoop with vandykes from bucket (missing)
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy edge binding; iron strip; animal bones in fill

Sword Scabbard Mouth Band 22/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete; possible wear
Dimensions	69 mm
Classification	Menghin Type 1a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	Upper panel with S-Scroll decoration; lower panel with 2 beaked zoomorphs facing a central mask; mask bites the border between the panels
Placement	Held in left arm
Associated textile	Leather associated with scabbard; textile impression on chape

Buckle Plate 22/4	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver sheet on back; garnet setting
Condition	Complete
Dimensions	55 mm
Classification	Marzinzik Type II.14a
Date produced	500-550 AD
Style I motifs	2 crouching animals around a rectangular garnet setting, heads in opposite corners
Placement	At waist
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 22
N/A

Blacknall Field 31	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.65 m ± 3.72 cm

Location in cemetery	Northern group
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Left bent towards skull; right extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Linear enamel hypoplasia; severe lumbar osteophytosis; mild to moderate osteoarthritis
Style I-decorated objects	2 miniature square-headed brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	62 amber
Toilet equipment	Toothpick, nail cleaner and ear scoop suspended from copper-alloy ring
Bag	Purse collection of fragmentary iron loops, rings, and strips
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Pyritic nodule near purse group

Miniature Square-headed Brooches 31/1 and 31/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	31/1 repaired with copper alloy sheet; 31/2 heavily worn
Length	73 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 510-550 AD
Style I motifs	Central panel with animal heads in profile forming an en-face mask; downward biting beasts below bow; open-jawed animal on footplate; masks on lobes
Placement	31/1 on left upper chest with footplate pointing up; 31/2 on right shoulder with footplate pointing down
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 31
Peplos dress fastened by matching miniature square-headed brooches, with bead festoon between the brooches.

Blacknall Field 55	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35+
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.59 m ± 3.72 cm
Location in cemetery	Southern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended, crossed at ankles
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Linear enamel hypoplasia
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	Ear scoop and 2 probes on copper alloy ring
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Animal bone in fill

Applied Saucer Brooches 55/1 and 55/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; fragment of iron pin present on 55/2; rock crystal cabochon
Condition	Damaged foils; possible repair to 55/1
Diameter	66 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	5 chasing animals around a rock crystal cabochon; triangular face masks on outer borders
Placement	55/1 on left shoulder; 55/2 on right shoulder
Associated textile	Fine Z-spun ?linen fibers on back of both brooches

Costume Interpretation for Grave 55
Fine linen peplos dress fastened by applied saucer brooches.

Blacknall Field 56	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	30
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.56 m ± 3.72 cm
Location in cemetery	Southern group
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Extended, crossed on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Linear enamel hypoplasia
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	Silver finger ring
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	4 amber
Toilet equipment	Ear scoop and 3 probes on copper alloy ring
Bag	Purse ring frame of copper; 2 rings; nail; iron rod; 2 iron strips
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Copper alloy bound wooden bucket
Pottery	—
Other	Animal bone in fill

Cast Saucer Brooches 56/1 and 56/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; fragment of iron pin present on both
Condition	56/1 had been burnt before burial
Diameter	56/1: 43.5 mm; 56/2: 42.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	7 Style I legs in middle field

Placement	Together at neck: 56/1 at left; 56/2 at right
Associated textile	Fine plain ZZ weave in layers on back of 56/1; Fine Z-spun fibers on 56/2

Costume Interpretation for Grave 56
Fine peplos dress fastened by cast saucer brooches.

Blacknall Field 60	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	21
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southern group
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on left side
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	Right hand placed on pelvis; left extended
Leg position	Slightly flexed
Date of burial	*c*. 530 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron dress pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	86 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Applied Saucer Brooches 60/1 and 60/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; fragment of iron pin present on both; blue glass cabochon
Condition	Foils fragmentary; rim detached on 60/2
Diameter	60/1: 70 mm; 60/2: 64 mm
Classification	n/a

Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	3 chasing animals; Style I legs in border around blue glass cabochon
Placement	Together at neck: 56/1 at left; 56/2 at right
Associated textile	60/1: ZZ wool twill, also remnants of tablet braid or bead thread; 60/2: Z threads under brooch

Costume Interpretation for Grave 60
Fine wool peplos dress fastened by applied saucer brooches. Bead festoon between applied saucer brooches.

BUTLER'S FIELD, LECHLADE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Butler's Field 10	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–30
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.74 m
Location in cemetery	Southern portion
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to right
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Bony growths on lumbar vertebrae
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	
Belt	Iron buckle fragments
Knife	—
Beads	307 amber; 34 gold-in-glass; 3 glass; 1 calcareous
Toilet equipment	Brass pin on ring
Bag	—
Girdle group	2 iron keys
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Anglo-Saxon potsherd in fill
Other	Animal bone in fill: cattle tibia

Cast Saucer Brooches 10/1 and 10/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pins
Condition	Complete
Diameters	51 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 525-575 AD
Style I motifs	Outer panel of legs and alternating body parts around a field of zigzags and a central star
Placement	10/1 on right shoulder; 10/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	10/1: ZZ tabby on front, ZZ diamond twill on back; 10/2: ZZ tabby on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 10
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches with bead festoon between. Probable head veil represented by textile remains on front of brooch 10/1.

Butler's Field 11	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	6–8
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	—
Location in cemetery	Southern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to right
Arm position	Flexed, hands resting towards body
Leg position	Right flexed; left extended
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	4 wormian bones in lambdoid suture
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Copper alloy pin on ring
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	21 amber; 1 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Copper alloy bound wooden bucket; brass *Perlrandbecken* bowl
Pottery	Anglo-Saxon potsherd in fill
Other	Animal bone in fill: cattle tibia; unidentified animal bone in brass bowl

Cast Saucer Brooches 11/1 and 11/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Diameters	46 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD

Style I motifs	3 crouching quadrupeds
Placement	11/1 on right shoulder; 11/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	11/2: Z twill and ZS thread on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 11
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches with bead festoon between. Pin placed in center of chest.

Butler's Field 18	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–35
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.60 m
Location in cemetery	Southern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Filled and lined with stone; traces of coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right arm flexed to left chest; left flex to left shoulder
Leg position	Right extended; left slightly flexed
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch; 2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	Bronze pendant, bronze scutiform pendant; 3 silver finger rings
Belt	2 Copper alloy rectangular plates from probable belt fitting, belt fitting; iron buckle and plate
Knife	Iron knife (in bag)
Beads	18 glass behind head and on neck; 266 amber, 127 gold-in-glass, 118 glass, 1 crystal, 2 calcareous all on chest
Toilet equipment	2 copper alloy picks on wire ring; 2 silver-coated copper tubes; double-sided composite bone or antler comb
Bag	Ivory (elephant) bag ring; 2 iron rings; 2 bronze rings; 2 looped iron rods; probable padlock key; 2 copper alloy Roman coins
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	Bone spindle whorl
Vessels	Copper alloy bound wooden vessel

Pottery	—
Other	Mounted beaver incisor and fragment of suspension ring; fragment of a second beaver tooth; iron object; possible iron pin or nail; iron bar; flint flake; iron nails; iron tack; shaped limestone block from Roman altar

Great Square-headed Brooch 18/5	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	152 mm
Classification	Hines Group I
Date produced	*c*. 525-550 AD
Style I motifs	Masks in headplate border; animals in headplate central zone; downward biting beasts below bow; footplate bar with masks at terminals
Placement	Left chest, footplate pointing up towards left shoulder
Associated textile	ZZ twill on brooch pin

Cast Saucer Brooches 18/3 and 18/4	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Diameters	18/3: 52 mm; 18/4: 51.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 525-575 AD
Style I motifs	Style I legs alternating with torso motifs
Placement	18/3 on right shoulder; 18/4 on left shoulder, partially under great square-headed brooch
Associated textile	18/3: ZZ twill; 18/4: ZZ warp-faced tabby

Costume Interpretation for Grave 18
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches with large bead festoon between. Peplos may have had a decorated border. Great square headed brooch used to fasten a cloak. Under-dress perhaps cinched with belt along with an ivory bag at the waist.

Butler's Field 47	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–40
Orientation	SW–NE

Stature	1.66 m
Location in cemetery	Southwest portion
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	Cremation 234 in grave fill
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right flexed, hand on thigh; left extended
Leg position	Flexed to right
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Cast saucer brooch
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Bronze buckle plate; iron buckle and copper alloy buckle plate; D-shaped bronze buckle loop
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	14 amber; 1 glass
Toilet equipment	2 copper alloy pins and 1 scoop on wire ring
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron fragment; iron pin/nail; 2 copper alloy sheet fragments; Anglo-Saxon sherds in fill; flint flake in fill; animal bone in fill: sheep molar

Cast Saucer Brooch 47/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; blue-green glass; corrosion from iron pin
Condition	Complete
Diameter	45 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 525-575 AD
Style I motifs	6 Style I legs around inset glass
Placement	18/3 on right shoulder; 18/4 on left shoulder, partially under great square-headed brooch
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 47
Possible peplos gown, although only one brooch was included in the grave good assemblage. A single brooch could indicate a mantle dress held up at one shoulder.

Butler's Field 50	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	17–20
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.56 m
Location in cemetery	Southwest portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right extended by side; left flexed, hand on pelvis
Leg position	Probably extended (cut by Grave 55)
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	2 wormian bones in lambdoid suture
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	5 amber; 1 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Flint

Cast Saucer Brooches 50/1 and 50/2	
Material	Copper alloy; corrosion from iron pin
Condition	Complete
Diameters	50/1: 51 mm; 50/2: 50.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	3 quadrupeds surrounding central boss
Placement	50/1 on right shoulder; 50/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	50/2: ZZ textile on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 50

Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches.

Butler's Field 78	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–30
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.60 m
Location in cemetery	Northwest portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Tilted slightly to right
Arm position	Right slightly flexed, hand resting on thigh; left flexed across waist
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	3 wormian bones in lambdoid suture; inca bone; open metopic suture; 6 lumbar vertebrae; 4 sacral vertebrae; partial sacral spina bifida occulta; possible retention of upper left deciduous canine
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	Silver finger ring
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	156 amber; 4 glass; 1 crystal; 1 copper alloy ring
Toilet equipment	Copper alloy brush tube and fragment of wire ring; tweezers
Bag	—
Girdle group	2 probable iron keys; iron rings and rods, brass fittings, iron loop and rings, and sheet brass fragments all from possible chatelaine
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Anglo-Saxon sherds in fill
Other	Perforated canine (wolf?) tooth; copper alloy binding fragments

Cast Saucer Brooches 78/2 and 78/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pins
Condition	Complete

Diameters	46 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	3 crouching quadrupeds surrounding central boss
Placement	78/2 on right shoulder; 78/3 on left shoulder
Associated textile	78/2: ZZ tabby on front, Z threads on back; 78/3: Z threads on front

Costume Interpretation for Grave 78
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches. Tabby on front of 78/2 may be from headdress.

Butler's Field 90	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	30–35
Orientation	SSW–NNE
Stature	1.57 m
Location in cemetery	Northwestern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right flexed across waist; left extended by side
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	1 wormian bone in lambdoid suture; open metopic suture; extra bone on proximal right ulna
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	22 amber; 2 gold-in-glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	(all objects placed in pelvis in possible bag)
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Animal bone in fill: sheep bone

Applied Saucer Brooches 90/1 and 90/2	
Material	90/1 brass; 90/2 copper alloy; repoussé foil on both
Condition	Base plates fragmentary; fragmentary foil
Dimensions	50 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	4 masks; 4 quadrupeds
Placement	Placed with other objects in pelvis in possible bag
Associated textile	90/1: ZZ twill on back; 90/2: ZZ tabby on front, ZZ twill on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 90
Dress accessories appropriate for a peplos gown, but not worn.

Butler's Field 111	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	45+
Orientation	SSW–NNE
Stature	1.62 m
Location in cemetery	Southeast portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right extended; left flexed, hand on waist
Leg position	Flexed to right
Date of burial	Early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Osteophytes on thoracic and lumbar vertebrae; extra growth on phalanges
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron buckle fragments
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	2 copper alloy picks with iron wire
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—

Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 111/1 and 111/2	
Material	Copper alloy; iron pins
Condition	Complete
Diameters	111/1: 45.5 mm; 111/2: 4.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	2 quadrupeds around a central boss
Placement	111/1 on right shoulder; 111/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	Degraded textile on back of 111/2

Costume Interpretation for Grave 111
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches.

Butler's Field 130	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	20–25
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.57 m
Location in cemetery	Northwest portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right flexed across chest; left flexed across waist
Leg position	Flexed to left
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	6 wormian bones in the lambdoid suture; 1 in coronal suture
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Copper alloy pin
Other jewelry	Silver spiral finger ring
Belt	Iron oval buckle fragment
Knife	—
Beads	109 amber; 4 glass; 1 calcareous; 1 coiled wire bead
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	Iron ring and keys; bronze wire ring
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—

Pottery	—
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 130/1 and 130/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin survives on 130/1
Condition	Complete
Diameters	130/1: 42.5 mm; 130/2: 43 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	Style I heads, legs, and bodies in outer panel
Placement	130/1 on right clavicle; 130/2 on left clavicle
Associated textile	130/2: ZZ on back of brooch

Costume Interpretation for Grave 130
Peplos gown fastened by cast saucer brooches.

Butler's Field 136	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	20–25
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.62 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Extended by side; left hand on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid to late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Spina bifida occulta; 2 wormian bones in coronal suture
Style I-decorated objects	2 face mask brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	28 amber; 1 gold-in-glass with copper alloy fitting
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	2 possible keys

Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Face Mask Brooches 136/1 and 136/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver foil applied on base plate; iron pins detached
Condition	Complete
Dimensions	136/1: 43 x 53 mm; 136/2: 44 x 49.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 525-600 AD
Style I motifs	Human face with protruding eyes, nose, and cheeks; 2 opposed animals above head
Placement	136/1 by right arm (disturbed); 136/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	136/1: Z-spun textile on back, Z-spun textile on front

Costume Interpretation for Grave 136
Peplos gown fastened with face mask brooches; possible textile remains of an under dress.

Butler's Field 144	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–35
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.67 m
Location in cemetery	Northeastern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to right
Arm position	Flexed across chest
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Late sixth to early seventh century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Hooked iron pin
Other jewelry	8 silver-wire necklace rings, 6 strung with single amber bead; spiral silver finger ring
Belt	—
Knife	—

Beads	20 amber; 1 calcareous; 6 amber described above
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 144/1 and 144/2	
Material	Gilded brass; iron pin survives on 144/1
Condition	Complete
Dimensions	78 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 600 AD
Style I motifs	Style I heads around central zone
Placement	144/1 on right shoulder; 144/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	144/1: ZZ twill on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 144
Peplos gown fastened with cast saucer brooches.

Butler's Field 159	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–30
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.61 m
Location in cemetery	Northeastern portion
Grave shape	Irregular
Grave structure or furniture	Double burial with 160; 159 placed above 160
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right flexed, hand on pelvis; left extended by side
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	1 wormian bone in coronal suture; osteoma on the occipital bone; osteophytes on thoracic and lumbar vertebrae; left tibia and fibula have healed fracture resulting in the left tibia being 15 mm shorter than the right tibia
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches

Other brooches or pins	Copper alloy pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron oval buckle and plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	5 amber; 1 crystal
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Cast bronze ring from possible bag
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron fragment; animal bone in fill: pig humerus

Cast Saucer Brooches 159/1 and 159/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete; 159/2 catch repaired in antiquity
Dimensions	45.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 525-575 AD
Style I motifs	Running legs and bars representing hips
Placement	159/1 on right clavicle; 159/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	159/1: ZZ twill; 159/2: ZZ twill; tablet weave between twill and brooch

Costume Interpretation for Grave 159
Peplos gown with decorated tablet weave fastened with cast saucer brooches.

Butler's Field 180	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	20–25
Orientation	SSW–NNE
Stature	1.57 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Double burial with 160; 159 placed above 160
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Slightly flexed by sides, hands on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Mid to late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Probable healed fracture on right metatarsal III

Style I-decorated objects	Copper alloy mount
Other brooches or pins	Brass pin
Other jewelry	Coiled copper alloy finger ring
Belt	Iron buckle and plate
Knife	—
Beads	21 amber; 6 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Cast bronze ring from possible bag
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy strip; iron fragment

Copper alloy Mount 180/1	
Material	Copper alloy with silver foil
Condition	Worn on endplates; probably originally a bridle mount
Dimensions	80 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid to late sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Asymmetrical mount with semi-circular and square endplates with masks attached to a lozenge-shaped central plate
Placement	On right shoulder, with semi-circular endplate pointing up
Associated textile	ZZ tabby; leather on front

Costume Interpretation for Grave 180
Peplos gown fastened with copper alloy mount and pin.

EMPINGHAM II, RUTLAND

Empingham II 49A	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	17–25
Orientation	ESE–WNW
Stature	1.60 m
Location in cemetery	Western end
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Double burial with infant 49B
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to left
Arm position	Right flexed, hand on pelvis; left extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 550-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental caries
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 Annular brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	120 amber; 18 glass; 1 crystal
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	Iron chatelaine of 2 iron rings and latch keys
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron band; copper alloy fragments

Florid Cruciform Brooch 49A/1	
Material	Copper alloy (leaded bronze); soldered decoration composed of white metal, probably silver
Condition	Broken into 3 pieces in antiquity; mended at least twice
Length	140 mm
Classification	Mortimer Type Z1b; Leeds and Pocock Type V(c)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 AD
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on knobs, mask and undecorated sub-rectangular fan on footplate
Placement	By left hand and beads; contained in pouch?
Associated textile	Textile remains on pin not identified

Costume Interpretation for Grave 49A
Cruciform brooch, annular brooches, wrist claps, and beads all placed by left femur in possible pouch.

Empingham II 73	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–35
Orientation	NW–SE
Stature	1.67 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern end
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Slightly flexed, hands on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental caries
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 swastika brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	Silver scutiform disc pendant
Belt	D-shaped buckle; copper alloy buckle plate
Knife	Iron knife with horn handle and leather sheath; bone knife
Beads	138 amber; 31 glass; 2 coral
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Ivory bag ring (elephant)
Girdle group	Iron chatelaine with 3 or 4 latch keys
Textile equipment	Shale spindle whorl
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Possible iron knife or tool; 2 copper alloy rings; iron ring; iron strap; copper alloy fragments

Florid Cruciform Brooch 73/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; soldered decoration composed of white metal (lead and tin); gilding unusual in that pure gold was used; iron pin.
Condition	Complete; repair to reinforce top nob due to thinness of casting
Length	160 mm

Classification	Mortimer Type Z3; Leeds and Pocock Type V(1)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 AD
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on nobs and lappets; human mask and triangular terminal on footplate; terminal has zoomorphic ornament inside
Placement	Diagonally across left shoulder with headplate at lower end
Associated textile	Textile remains on pin not identified

Costume Interpretation for Grave 73
Probable peplos dress attached with 2 swastika brooches. Sleeved dress with sleeves fastened with wrist clasps. Beads likely suspended between the swastika brooches. Cruciform brooch may have fastened an over-garment.

Empingham II 81	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	30–40
Orientation	NW–SE
Stature	1.70 m
Location in cemetery	Middle section
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine, torso twisted to left
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right flexed, hand on right hip; left extended
Leg position	Extended, ankles crossed
Date of burial	Late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental caries
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	Annular brooch, 3 wrist clasps
Other jewelry	—
Belt	D-shaped buckle; copper alloy buckle plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	1 amber, 18 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	1 sherd
Other	Iron fragment

Florid Cruciform Brooch 81/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; white metal decoration
Condition	Broken in antiquity above the bow, mended at least once; worn
Length	145 mm
Classification	Mortimer Type Z3; Leeds and Pocock Type V(1)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 Ad
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on nobs and lappets; human mask and triangular terminal on footplate. Terminal has zoomorphic ornament inside. Similar to Brooch 73/1
Placement	Diagonally across left shoulder with head at lower end
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 81
Incomplete collection of dress fasteners: only 1 annular brooch present and one sleeve missing one half of a sleeve clasp. Probable peplos dress fastened with an annular brooch. Sleeved dress with sleeves fastened with wrist clasps. Beads likely suspended between the brooches. Cruciform brooch may have fastened an over-garment.

Empingham II 85A	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.71 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern end
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Double burial with 85B, a female aged 13-15
Body position	Placed on left side to left of 85B
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right bent across body; left parallel to side
Leg position	Slightly bent, crossed at ankles
Date of burial	Late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Moderate to severe dental calculus
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps; pair of wrist clasp overlays
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Copper alloy fittings from buckle
Knife	—

Beads	42 amber; 12 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	Iron object possibly from chatelaine
Textile equipment	Copper alloy needle
Vessels	2 fragments of glass from a flask/bottle and possible window
Pottery	Pot
Other	Iron band; animal bones: sheep/goat ulna and other sheep/goat or pig fragments

Florid Cruciform Brooch 85A/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver-alloy plate; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	122 mm
Classification	Mortimer Type Z1; Leeds and Pocock Type V(h)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 AD
Style I motifs	Human masks on knobs; birds on footplate terminal; geometric decoration in center headplate panel
Placement	Vertically on left shoulder
Associated textile	Textile remains on pin not identified

Costume Interpretation for Grave 85A
Probable peplos dress attached with 2 annular brooches. Sleeved dress with sleeves fastened with wrist clasps. Beads likely suspended between the annular brooches. Cruciform brooch may have fastened an over-garment.

Empingham II 100	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	30–40
Orientation	SE–NW
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Eastern end
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned slightly to right
Arm position	Possibly by sides
Leg position	Semi-flexed, bent to the left
Date of burial	Late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—

Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	Possible pendant formed from folded silver alloy sheet
Belt	Iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife with possible leather sheath; 1 iron knife with preserved horn
Beads	43 amber
Toilet equipment	Tweezers
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron ring

Florid Cruciform Brooch 100/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver-alloy foil; iron pin
Condition	Complete but well worn
Length	173 mm
Classification	Mortimer Type Z3; Leeds and Pocock Type V(i)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 AD
Style I motifs	Bird motifs on knobs; zoomorphic motif in central headplate panel; zoomorphic decoration in triangular footplate below mask; catch for pin fashioned in the shape of a fish
Placement	Diagonally across right shoulder
Associated textile	Textile remains on pin not identified

Costume Interpretation for Grave 100
Probable peplos dress attached with 2 annular brooches. Sleeved dress with sleeves fastened with wrist clasps. Beads likely suspended between the annular brooches. Cruciform brooch may have fastened an over-garment.

Empingham II 112	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.68 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern end
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—

Body position	Placed on left side, bent forward at waist
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Flexed, hands in front of pelvis
Leg position	Slightly bent
Date of burial	*c*. 500-550 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental caries; periodontal disease; severe osteoarthritis in right femur; slight osteoarthritis in left femur
Style I-decorated objects	Shield boss apex disc
Weapon	Spearhead, shield
Belt	Iron buckle and buckle plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Shield Boss Apex Disc 112/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Diameter	22.5 mm
Classification	Dickinson Type a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	Hybrid animal-man with head thrown back and back leg bent to meet head
Placement	Above right shoulder behind body

Costume Interpretation for Grave 112
N/A

Empingham II 129	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal (but with female gendered grave goods)
Age	25–35
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	1.75 m
Location in cemetery	Eastern end
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on right side
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Bent upwards, hands in front of face
Leg position	Slightly bent

Date of burial	Late sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	17 amber; 3 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron nail

Florid Cruciform Brooch 129/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver-alloy foil; iron pin
Condition	Pin had broken off in use and was attached to clothing with thread
Length	134 mm
Classification	Mortimer Type Z1b; Leeds and Pocock Type V(c)
Date produced	*c*. 550-600 AD
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on knobs, mask and undecorated sub-rectangular fan on footplate; similar to brooch in grave 49A
Placement	Horizontally across neck
Associated textile	Textile remains on pin not identified

Costume Interpretation for Grave 129
This individual was determined to be male based on osteological evidence, although the grave good assemblage is female. However, there are no brooches present that would be used to hold up a peplos dress. Possible sleeved garment fastened at sleeves with wrist clasps, a small festoon or necklace of beads, and a cruciform brooch used to fasten a cloak.

GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX

Great Chesterford 2B	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	Adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southern end
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	Disturbs grave 2A
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Arms flexed
Leg position	Legs bent to right
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Tooth loss; osteoarthritis; degenerative disc disease
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 saucer brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Possible bronze belt ring
Knife	—
Beads	81 amber; 27 glass; 2 crystal
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	2 nails; bronze tube in fill

Great Square-headed Brooch 2B/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver plated terminals and lobes; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	153 mm
Classification	Hines Group XVI; Leeds type B1
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Downward biting beasts below bow
Placement	Horizontal on chest with headplate near right shoulder
Associated textile	ZS diamond twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 2B

Peplos dress attached with saucer brooches; great square-headed brooch likely fastened cloak or over-garment

Great Chesterford 9	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	15–25
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.56 m
Location in cemetery	Central section
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Stone in right top corner
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Extended, right hand on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 475-525
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Traumatic degenerative disc disease and osteophytosis; sixth thoracic vertebrae flattened
Style I-decorated objects	Bucket mounts
Other brooches or pins	2 small bronze bow brooches; pair of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Strap end
Knife	Knife fragments
Beads	5 amber; 4 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	Double girdle hanger
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Copper alloy bound wooden bucket
Pottery	—
Other	Hobnail; bronze ring; 3 nails

Bucket Mounts 9/1	
Material	4 copper alloy triangular sheets with repoussé decoration
Condition	Fragmentary
Dimensions	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Late fifth to early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Legs and heads
Placement	Bucket placed above head

Associated textile	n/a

Costume Interpretation for Grave 9
Peplos dress fastened with small bow brooches, but not associated with Style I ornament. Sleeved dress fastened with wrist clasps.

Great Chesterford 51	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	45+
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.80 m
Location in cemetery	Northern end
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Stones at edge of grave by right leg
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Arms flexed over waist, left hand over right
Leg position	Legs extended
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental abscesses; osteophytes on thoracic vertebrae; new bone growth on left radius and right ulna
Style I-decorated objects	Spear socket band
Weapon	Iron spearhead; iron spike
Belt	Iron oval belt buckle and plate
Knife	Iron knife fragments
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron plate fragment; bronze strip fragments; bronze sheet fragments; bronze ring; tweezers; bone pin; nail fragments

Spear Socket Band 51/1	
Material	Gilt bronze band
Condition	Complete
Length	20 mm
Classification	Swanton Group H3
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	4 animals, facing left; each with front claw, back leg, triple-lined body, beak
Placement	Spearhead under left arm
Associated textile	n/a

Costume Interpretation for Grave 51
n/a

Great Chesterford 54	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	45+
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.72 m
Location in cemetery	Northern end
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Tooth loss; osteoarthritis
Style I-decorated objects	Silver gilt wrist clasp
Weapon	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Flat iron plate; iron shaft; iron razor

Wrist Clasp 54/4	
Material	Silver gilt copper alloy
Condition	Eye half of pair
Length	40 mm
Classification	Hines Form C1
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	2 bird heads with curving necks with additional heads within curves; on border 2 confronted animals
Placement	300 mm above head
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 54
Wrist clasp above head; costume interpretation n/a

Great Chesterford 62	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	Adult or juvenile
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Northern end
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on right side
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Flexed
Leg position	Flexed to right
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 small square-headed brooches
Other brooches or pins	Annular brooch; iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife fragments
Beads	55 amber; 27 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	2 iron rings; iron fragments; animal bones in fill: roe deer and ox

Small Square-headed Brooches 62/1 and 62/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	62/1: 49 mm; 62/2: 50 mm
Classification	Kentish
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	2 profile masks below bow
Placement	62/1 on right shoulder; 62/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	ZZ twill on both brooches

Costume Interpretation for Grave 62
Peplos dress fastened by matched pair of small square-headed brooches.

Great Chesterford 103	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.64 m
Location in cemetery	Central section
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Prone
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right under body; left missing
Leg position	Slightly bent
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Tooth loss and dental caries; new bone growth around pubic bones and right femur
Style I-decorated objects	2 copper alloy applied brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron rust form possible belt buckle
Knife	—
Beads	41 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Iron fragments from possible purse mount
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	2 bronze rings

Applied Saucer Brooches 103/1 and 103/2	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Fragmentary foil
Diameters	41 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	Fragmentary Style I ornament
Placement	Both to right of left arm
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 103
Objects not placed on body but appropriate for peplos dress.

Great Chesterford 120	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.56 m
Location in cemetery	Near edge of lake
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	Flexed over waist
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 450-500 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Tooth loss and dental caries; hyperostosis; osteophytes on vertebrae; left sacro-iliac joint fused; Schmorl's nodes on L2, L3, L4
Style I-decorated objects	2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	6 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 120/1 and 120/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Rim broken on 120/2
Diameters	37.1 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Late fifth to early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	4 running legs
Placement	120/1 on right shoulder; 120/2 on left shoulder
Associated textile	ZS linen twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 120
Peplos dress fastened by matched saucer brooches.

Great Chesterford 126	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	25–35
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.67 m
Location in cemetery	Central section
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Right flexed over waist; left missing
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 saucer brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	1 amber; 4 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Iron purse mount fragments
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Great Square-headed Brooch 126/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Broken and mended with bronze plate behind the foot before burial
Diameters	115 mm
Classification	Related to Leeds Type B3 and Hines Groups I, IV, VIII
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Mask headplate border; downward biting beasts; human hand under beaks; masks on lobes
Placement	Horizontal with headplate to right

Associated textile	ZZ tabby and ZS twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 126
Peplos dress fastened by matched saucer brooches; outer garment fastened by great square-headed brooch.

Great Chesterford 145	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.60 m
Location in cemetery	Northern end
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Flexed over waist, right above left
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 500-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Dental carries; spondylolsis
Style I-decorated objects	2 square-headed brooches; triangular repoussé bucket mount
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin fragment
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	1 amber; 1 crystal; 9 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Black burnished pot
Other	Iron ring

Square-headed Brooches 145/3 and 145/4	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Broken and mended with bronze plate behind the foot
Diameters	68 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD

Style I motifs	Headplate panel with eyes and legs; downward biting beasts below bow; animal motifs in lozenge panel in footplate
Placement	145/3: on right chest, foot up; 145/4: on left chest, foot up
Associated textile	ZZ twill

Triangular Repoussé Bucket Mount 145/2	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Worn on edges
Diameters	43 mm
Classification	N/A
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Leg in top corners; mask in center field; smaller mask below
Placement	Above right clavicle
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 145
Peplos dress fastened by matched square-headed brooches, bucket mount perhaps used as pendant on bead string.

Great Chesterford 157	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	W–E
Stature	1.68 m
Location in cemetery	Central portion
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Flexed over waist, right above left
Leg position	Slightly bent, crossed at ankles
Date of burial	*c*. 475-525 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Tooth loss; osteoma on skull; spondylolsis; osteochondritis dissecans on tibia
Style I-decorated objects	Strap end
Weapon	Iron spearhead
Belt	Strap-end (as above)
Knife	Iron knife

Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron pin; iron purse mount

Strap End 157/3	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Diameters	39 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Fifth century AD
Style I motifs	Crouching zoomorph in rectangular panel
Placement	Near right humerus
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 157
N/A

MUCKING I, ESSEX

Mucking I 99	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	WSW–ENE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southern area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 small square-headed brooches
Other brooches or pins	2 button brooches; iron pin
Other jewelry	Silver spiral finger ring
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	29 amber; 59 glass; 5 coal/shale; 2 metal
Toilet equipment	Composite comb
Bag	Iron pursemount/firesteel; 3 iron rings
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	Iron shears
Vessels	Glass bowl
Pottery	—
Other	—

Square-headed Brooches 99/1 and 99/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	99/2 has damaged footplate
Length	n/a
Classification	Kentish Series III
Date produced	*c*. 530- AD
Style I motifs	Headplate inner panel with limb; animal heads on footplate
Placement	99/1: on right shoulder with headplate towards feet; 99/2: at left shoulder with headplate towards feet
Associated textile	99/1: ZZ linen tabby on front and back; 99/2: ZZ tabby on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 99
Peplos dress fastened by matched square-headed brooches.

Mucking I 102	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult or adolescent
Orientation	WSW–ENE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southern area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin
Body position	Supine, turned slightly to right
Skull position	Central
Arm position	At sides, hands on pelvis
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 small square-headed brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	3 amber; 2 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Carinated round-bellied bowl
Other	—

Square-headed Brooches 102/2 and 102/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	102/2 has incomplete pin and catchplate; 102/3 has damage to bow and footplate
Length	n/a
Classification	Kentish Series III
Date produced	*c*. 530- AD
Style I motifs	Headplate inner panel with limb; animal heads on footplate

Placement	102/2: on right shoulder with headplate towards feet; 102/3 at left shoulder with headplate towards feet
Associated textile	102/2: Z tabby; 102/3: Z textile

Costume Interpretation for Grave 102
Peplos dress fastened by matched square-headed brooches and pin.

MUCKING II, ESSEX

Mucking II 281	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Young adult
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southern limit of cemetery
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Possible wooden coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Belt buckle plate
Other brooches or pins	Button brooch; fragments of possible second brooch
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Silver-plated buckle and buckle plate (different from Style I plate)
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	1 amber
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Fragment of iron rivet/pin

Belt Plate 281/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; garnet setting
Condition	Slightly worn
Length	n/a
Classification	Marzinzik Type II.14a
Date produced	*c*. 500-550 AD
Style I motifs	2 opposed animals around garnet setting
Placement	On central chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 281
Possible peplos dress attached with button brooch and fragmentary brooch, or with just a single button brooch at neck; belted at waist.

Mucking II 589	
Sex	Female?
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	SSW–NNE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Central area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 copper alloy applied brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Stain indicating possible wooden vessel
Pottery	—
Other	—

Applied Saucer Brooches 589/1,2 and 589/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; white metal
Condition	Foil fragmentary
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Fragmentary Style I ornament
Placement	At foot of grave; disturbed
Associated textile	589/3: ZS twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 589
Grave disturbed, but evidence for probable peplos dress fastened with applied brooches.

Mucking II 600	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Young adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Central area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin (oak); possible grave marker
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	Flexed, hands on waist
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Shield boss apex disc
Weapon	Iron spearhead; iron sword; shield boss and fittings
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Vessels	Copper alloy bound bucket (ash), 9 extant (of original 10) triangular vandykes with human masks; ash cup
Pottery	—
Other	—

Shield Boss Apex Disc 600/5a	
Material	Silvered copper alloy disc; central portion gilded
Condition	Complete
Diameter	n/a
Classification	Dickinson Type a/b
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Profile head and foreleg; bird head
Placement	On lower legs
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 600
n/a

Mucking II 639	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southeast area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin (oak)
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	Right ?; left extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 pendant strap fittings
Other brooches or pins	2 saucer brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Fragmentary iron buckle loop
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	Fragmentary iron key
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Grain remains

Pendant Strap Fittings 639/3 and 639/4	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	639/3: headplate and footplate worn; 639/4: headplate broken, footplate worn
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Headplate and footplate terminated by Style I masks connecting a lozenge-shaped inner zone
Placement	On chest; 639/4 above 639/3
Associated textile	639/3: Leather, ZZ wool twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 639
Peplos dress fastened with saucer brooches; strap fittings fixed to leather strap on chest

Mucking II 643	
Sex	Male?
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southeast area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Fragmentary great square-headed brooch (in bag)
Weapon	Fragmentary copper alloy binding from sword chape
Belt	Iron oval buckle; fragments of second iron buckle
Knife	—
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Fragmentary bit or chain link; leather and textile bag

Great Square-headed Brooch 643/5	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; white metal on back
Condition	Pierced at bottom of footplate for suspension; only left and bottom portion of footplate survives
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Masks in surviving footplate lobes; animal mask at termination of footplate bar; animals in the inner zone
Placement	In organic bag at waist
Associated textile	ZZ twill with 2 shades of brown; fine ZZ twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 643
n/a

Mucking II 767	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult or adolescent
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Southeast area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 pendant strap fittings
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	D-shaped iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	1 amber
Toilet equipment	Toilet set with 3 implements on ring; iron scraper
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy fragment

Pendant Strap Fittings 762/1 and 767/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; unlike the strap fittings in 639, these were used as brooches: iron lugs and pins were attached to the backs
Condition	Headplates and footplates worn; corners broken
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Headplate and footplate terminated by Style I masks connecting a lozenge-shaped inner zone; each side of lozenge shape bordered 2 opposed pairs of limbs
Placement	767/1: on upper right chest; 767/2: on upper left chest
Associated textile	767/1: ZZ linen tabby on front, ZZ wool twill on back,

	tablet twists; 767/2: ZZ tabby, S twill, patterned tablet weave

Costume Interpretation for Grave 767
Woolen twill peplos dress decorated with tablet weave braid fastened with strap end brooches.

Mucking II 814	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult or adolescent
Orientation	SSW–NNE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Northwest area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Flexed over waist
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Fragmentary small square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	Button brooch; iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron stud; oval iron loop

Square-headed Brooch 814/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin and spring
Condition	Footplate terminal broken off; headplate worn
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD

Style I motifs	Mouth and eyes below bow
Placement	At right waist
Associated textile	Tablet weave with diagonal pattern; twill under braid

Costume Interpretation for Grave 814
Dress fastened with pin and button brooch on middle chest, square-headed brooch below. Dress bordered with decorated tablet weave.

Mucking II 843	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult or adolescent
Orientation	SSE–NNW
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Central area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin; possible posthole for grave marker
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Extended at sides
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 small square-headed brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin with copper alloy head
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron buckle and belt plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	11 amber and glass; 2 silver tubes with gilded bands
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Iron pursemount/firesteel; bronze ring
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	Quartz crystal spindle whorl
Vessels	Glass claw beaker; glass bowl
Pottery	—
Other	Iron fragments

Square-headed Brooches 843/2 and 843/3	
Material	Silver gilt copper alloy; iron pin and spring
Condition	Complete, but very worn
Length	n/a
Classification	n/a

Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 claws/limbs in headplate inner zone; downward biting beasts on bow; forked tail in footplate inner zone
Placement	843/2: at right upper chest, foot towards shoulder; 843/3: at left upper chest, foot towards shoulder
Associated textile	843/2: ZS twill on back, pin goes through tablet weave with diagonal pattern; 843/3: ZZ weave on back, ZSZS tablet weave with diagonal pattern

Costume Interpretation for Grave 843
Peplos dress fastened with square-headed brooches through tablet weave border; dress pin below brooches.

SPRINGFIELD LYONS, ESSEX

Springfield Lyons 4761	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult or adolescent
Orientation	22
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Group 2; on edge of Bronze Age enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	n/a
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Buckle plate (with no associated buckle, likely buried in purse)
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Pursemount/firesteel
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Copper alloy and iron bound wooden bucket
Pottery	—
Other	—

Buckle Plate 4761/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; 5 garnet inlays: 2 square, 1 diamond, 1 triangular, 1 circular
Condition	Complete; slight damage on edge
Dimensions	28 x 23.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 animals facing each other around central setting
Placement	In purse
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 4761
n/a

Springfield Lyons 6573	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	28
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Group 4; southwest of Bronze Age enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Coffin mark; possible posthole for grave marker
Body position	n/a
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Mid-sixth century
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Openwork plate
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches
Other jewelry	Silver ring
Belt	Iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	18 amber; 39 glass
Toilet equipment	Iron pin/spatula
Bag	—
Girdle group	2 iron keys
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron ring; red ochre and charcoal fragments in fill

Openwork Plate 6573/4	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Poor; wear along lower right edge; portion at top of plate may have broken off
Dimensions	34 x 31 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early to mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 confronting birds heads in crescent-shape
Placement	At waist near buckle and leather stain
Associated textile	Wood fragments on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 6573
Peplos dress fastened with annular brooches; openwork plate near waist, perhaps as part of belt.

WASPERTON, WARWICKSHIRE

Wasperton 2	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	N–S
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG12; east of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	Nailed wooden coffin
Body position	n/a
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Later sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Copper alloy oval buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	9 amber; 2 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	5 coffin nails

Cast Saucer Brooches 2/1 and 2/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Both damaged: rims partially missing; central zones partially missing
Diameters	42 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	7 running legs
Placement	On chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 2
Probable peplos dress fastened with cast saucer brooches.

Wasperton 4	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG2; southwestern corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Late sixth to early seventh century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	Silvered copper alloy disc
Belt	D-shaped iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	30 amber; 2 glass
Toilet equipment	2 tweezers (possibly in bag at waist)
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Patch of burnt seeds, bones, and charcoal near beads

Cast Saucer Brooches 4/1 and 4/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Damage to rims; pin holder on 4/1 replaced
Diameters	44 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Later sixth century AD
Style I motifs	10 running ?legs
Placement	On chest
Associated textile	Leather fragments on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 4
Peplos dress fastened with cast saucer brooches and iron pin.

Wasperton 11	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG6; northwest corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	n/a
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin/bed
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	2 copper alloy pins
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron buckle and belt plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	Ear scoop; tube
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 11/1 and 11/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silvered stud; iron pin
Condition	Pin holder replaced on both
Diameters	11/1: 53 mm; 11/2: 52 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	8 running legs
Placement	11/1 on left chest; 11/2 on right chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 11
Peplos dress fastened with cast saucer brooches and iron pins. Textile on belt suggests a belted dress worn inside of the peplos.

Wasperton 18	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG5; western end of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Head either disturbed or decapitated
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Saucer brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 copper alloy pins
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	2 amber
Toilet equipment	Copper alloy brush holder with remnants of bristles
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy ring

Cast Saucer Brooches 18/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Pin holder replaced
Diameters	45 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 crouching animals around central boss
Placement	On chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 18
Possible peplos or mantle dress fastened by single saucer brooch.

Wasperton 24	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Young adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG2; southwestern corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Flexed
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Later sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 saucer brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	63 amber; 1 quartz crystal
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Globular pot
Other	Copper alloy fitting; copper alloy spacer

Great Square-headed Brooch 24/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Worn on edges and on decoration
Diameters	150 mm
Classification	Hines Group 1
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Animal heads on outer border; 2 animals in central border; indistinct body parts in inner border; downward biting beasts below bow; footplate divided by bar with

	masks at each end, footplate with animal ornament on inner panel
Placement	Horizontally on chest, headplate to right
Associated textile	2/2 woolen twill; tablet weave; linen/hemp 2/2 diamond twill.

Costume Interpretation for Grave 24
Linen peplos fastened by saucer brooches; wool twill cloak fastened by great square-headed brooch.

Wasperton 43	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG6; northwestern corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 small-long brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Great Square-headed Brooch 43/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Worn on edges and on decoration; footplate

	fragmentary: terminal and right side lobe missing; right half of brooch may have been burnt
Diameters	135 mm
Classification	Hines Group VIII
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Masks on headplate border; animals in footplate inner zone; downward biting beasts below bow; footplate bar with mask at lower end; inner footplate filled with animal motifs
Placement	On right chest with footplate pointing up towards shoulder
Associated textile	Wool twill and linen/hemp tabby

Costume Interpretation for Grave 43
Textile on small-long and great square-headed brooches indicates a dress of linen diamond twill worn underneath a woolen peplos. A cloak of coarse diamond twill made of grey/black goat hair was fastened by a great square-headed brooch. A linen tabby veil was worn on the head.

Wasperton 50	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	N–S
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG2; southwestern corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Irregular rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	1 amber bead
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—

Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Great Square-headed Brooch 50/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Worn on edges and on decoration
Diameters	134 mm
Classification	Hines Group VI
Date produced	*c*. 525-550 AD
Style I motifs	Pairs of animals in second headplate panel; mask above bow; downward biting beasts below bow; footplate median bar with masks at either end; inner footplate lozenge filled with limbs
Placement	On right chest with footplate pointing up towards shoulder
Associated textile	Fine Z threads

Costume Interpretation for Grave 50
Grave may be disturbed; woman wearing a great square-headed brooch at right shoulder.

Wasperton 64	
Sex	Male
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG8; west of possible barrow; north of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Later sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Shield boss apex disc
Weapon	Shield boss and fittings

Belt	Iron buckle and plate
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Shield Boss Apex Disc 64/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; garnet
Condition	Complete
Diameters	56 mm
Classification	Dickinson Type b
Date produced	Late fifth to sixth century AD
Style I motifs	3 figures in separate zones around garnet setting
Placement	Shield placed over face
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 64
n/a

Wasperton 65	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG8; west of possible barrow; north of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Later sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	Disc brooch
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	135 amber; 20 glass; 1 fossil (crinoid)

Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy catchholder (from second disc brooch?); stud

Great Square-headed Brooch 65/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Worn on headplate edges and on right side
Diameters	133 mm
Classification	Hines Group XXIV
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	8 protruding masks on headplate border; mask and animal limbs in headplate border; downward biting beasts below bow; animal parts on footplate main panels
Placement	On left chest with headplate pointing towards shoulder
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 65
Peplos gown fastened by disc brooches and a cloak fastened by great square-headed brooch.

Wasperton 70	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG9; in center of possible barrow; northwest of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	n/a
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Later sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a

Style I-decorated objects	Applied brooch
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron oval buckle
Knife	—
Beads	214 amber; 14 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron pin from brooch?

Applied Saucer Brooch 70/1	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Fragmentary foil, damaged rims
Diameters	56 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 animals in middle field
Placement	On left side of body
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 70
Probable peplos gown fastened with applied saucer brooches, only one surviving.

Wasperton 85	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG6; northwest corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a

Style I-decorated objects	Pendant
Other brooches or pins	2 applied brooches (may have originally had Style I decoration)
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	1 amber; 11 glass
Toilet equipment	2 copper alloy pins on wire ring
Bag	Leather bag indicated by staining?
Girdle group	Iron key
Textile equipment	Antler spindle whorl
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Silver object

Pendant 85/3	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Bottom of pendant worn
Width	42 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Biting animal/bird heads descending in a semi-circle with inner panel composed of 2 animals descending away from central mask
Placement	Center of chest with beads
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 85
Peplos dress fastened with applied brooches, bead necklace and pendant between.

Wasperton 97	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG1; northwest corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Wooden coffin/chamber
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a

Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	2 copper alloy pins
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Yew wood possibly associated with a bucket
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy object that may be purse frame or buckle

Cast Saucer Brooches 97/1 and 97/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Portions of rims broken
Width	97/1: 55 mm; 97/2: 56 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Chasing animals around central field
Placement	97/1 on left chest; 97/2 on right chest
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 97
Peplos dress fastened with cast saucer brooches.

Wasperton 114	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG6; northern area of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Central
Arm position	Extended

Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron D-shaped buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	15 amber; 11 gold-in-glass; 57 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Applied Saucer Brooches 114/1 and 114/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Fragmentary foils; 114/2 badly damaged
Width	114/1: 43 mm; 114/2: 40.5 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Fragmentary Style I motifs
Placement	114/1 on left chest; 114/2 on right chest
Associated textile	Linen tabby; tablet weave under 114/2

Costume Interpretation for Grave 114
Linen tabby peplos dress fastened on tablet weave border with applied saucer brooches.

Wasperton 155	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG1; northeast corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Slightly to left

Arm position	Right flexed, hand at left shoulder; left extended
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	Late fifth to early sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 applied brooches
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	Silver finger ring
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	75 amber; 41 glass; 1 quartz crystal
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Applied Saucer Brooches 155/1 and 155/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Fragmentary foils; 155/1 foil badly damaged; 155/2 rim damaged
Width	155/1: 56 mm; 155/2: 60 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Late fifth century AD
Style I motifs	Non-matching: 155/1: T-shaped masks around central zone; 155/2: masks and crouching animals around central zone
Placement	155/1 on left chest; 155/2 on right chest, below chin
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 155
Peplos dress fastened with non-matching applied saucer brooches.

Wasperton 163	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	SG3; southeastern corner of rectangular enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular

Grave structure or furniture	Possible coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	Sixth century AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	1 iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron D-shaped buckle; iron oval buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	2 amber; 71 glass; 2 jet
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Globular pot
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 163/1 and 163/2	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Wear on rim edges
Width	29 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Late fifth to early sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Feet between spirals
Placement	163/1 on right chest; 163/2 on left chest
Associated textile	Z twill

Costume Interpretation for Grave 163
Peplos dress fastened with cast saucer brooches.

WATCHFIELD, OXFORDSHIRE

Watchfield 75	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	35–40
Orientation	S–N
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Eastern edge
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Block of limestone over right humerus; second block below right leg
Body position	Supine, torso tilted to left
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Flexed
Leg position	Slightly flexed to left
Date of burial	*c*. 525-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Abnormal upper canines; dental carries; abscess; tooth loss; osteoarthritis on vertebrae; fractured clavicle
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Fragmentary iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	79 amber; 10 glass
Toilet equipment	Tweezers
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Cast Saucer Brooches 75/83.96 and 75/83.101	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Rims worn
Dimensions	45 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 zones of *Tiersalat* motifs
Placement	75/83.96 on left clavicle; 75/83.101 on right clavicle
Associated textile	Z textile on both brooch pins

Costume Interpretation for Grave 75
Peplos dress fastened with matched saucer brooches.

Watchfield 305	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	35–45
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.72 m
Location in cemetery	Southwestern area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Flexed, left hand over pelvis
Leg position	Extended, left leg crossed over right
Date of burial	*c*. 525-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 cast saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	23 amber
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy ring

Cast Saucer Brooches 305/89.99 and 305/89.100	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Worn; lugs on both brooches repaired
Dimensions	305/89.99: 38 mm; 305/89.100: 39 mm
Classification	n/a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	*Tiersalat* motifs
Placement	305/89.99 on right clavicle; 305/89.100 on left clavicle
Associated textile	Z-spun linen on backs of both brooches

Costume Interpretation for Grave 305
Peplos dress fastened with matched saucer brooches; amber bead festoon

Watchfield 315	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Skeletal
Age	20–25
Orientation	S–N
Stature	1.67 m
Location in cemetery	Southwestern area
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right flexed, hand over pelvis; left extended by side, hand on femur
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 525-575 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	2 composite saucer brooches
Other brooches or pins	Iron pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	—
Toilet equipment	Pick and scraper, originally on iron ring; brush casing with copper alloy ring
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Copper alloy ring; pierced Roman bronze coin

Applied Saucer Brooches 315/89.144 and 315/89.145	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Fragmentary foils; catchplate, lug, and rims detached on both brooches; both brooches repaired in antiquity
Dimensions	75 mm
Classification	Dickinson Group 3.3
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Animals in central circular zone around central boss

Placement	315/89.144 on left clavicle; 315/89.145 on right clavicle
Associated textile	Z-spun linen on backs of both brooches

Costume Interpretation for Grave 315
Peplos dress fastened with matched applied saucer brooches.

WEST HESLERTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

West Heslerton 14	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	30–40
Orientation	N–S
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on right side
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Flexed
Date of burial	*c*. 550-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Moderate alveolar absorption
Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	—
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	7 amber; 1 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Bucket-shaped pot
Other	—

Great Square-headed Brooch 14/73AB	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver applied to side lobes and foot terminal, corners of headplate
Condition	Broken and repaired with rectangular pieces of sheet copper alloy; repair plates decorated.
Length	149 mm
Classification	Leeds Type B1/B8; Hines Group XIV/XXII
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Animal limbs on headplate; downward biting beasts below bow, masks on terminal lobes; divided foot bar interpreted as depiction of sword
Placement	Horizontal on chest, footplate pointing to left

Associated textile	Linen tabby on front, twill on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 14
Garment fastened by great square-headed brooch.

West Heslerton 29	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Staining indicating coffin
Body position	n/a
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 500-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Florid cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron buckle
Knife	—
Beads	4 amber; 9 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Bowl
Other	—

Florid Cruciform Brooch 29/105BB	
Material	Copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Broken footplate
Length	139 mm
Classification	Åberg Group V
Date produced	Mid to late sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Masks on headplate knobs; animal heads on small lobes below bow; full face mask on footplate with

	beaked nostrils; crescent shaped fan below mask
Placement	On chest, headplate to left and pointing up
Associated textile	Twill on back of brooch

Costume Interpretation for Grave 29
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches with over-garment fastened by a florid cruciform brooch.

West Heslerton 45	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	Right extended; left flexed to chest
Leg position	Flexed to left
Date of burial	*c*. 550-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; iron dress pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	D-shaped iron buckle; D-shaped iron buckle with copper alloy strap end
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	109 amber
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	3 latchlifters with iron ring
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Wrist Clasps 45/14CO and 45/14CP	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	45/14CO: 38 x 15.5 mm and 38 x 22 mm; 45/14CP: same
Classification	Hines Type B18a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Style I eyes at either end of spiral decoration
Placement	45/14CO at right wrist; 45/14CP at left wrist
Associated textile	45/ 14CO: tablet weave on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 45
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches, sleeved gown attached at tablet-woven wrists with wrist clasps.

West Heslerton 47	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Propped up at end of grave
Arm position	Right flexed across chest; left flexed to abdomen
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 550-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; iron dress pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	D-shaped copper alloy buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	135 amber; 3 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	3 latchlifters with iron ring
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	Wooden bowl/cup (willow or poplar) repaired by copper alloy sheets

Pottery	—
Other	Iron ring

Wrist Clasps 47/16DM and 47/16DL	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	47/16DM: 42 x 25 mm and 44.5 x 19 mm; 47/16DO: same
Classification	Hines Type B18a
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Animal motif on central zone
Placement	47/16DM at left wrist; 47/16DO at right wrist
Associated textile	45/ 14CO: tablet braid on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 47
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches and dress pin, sleeved gown attached at tablet-woven wrists with wrist clasps.

West Heslerton 50	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Placed on right side
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 450-550 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	1 wrist clasp
Other brooches or pins	4 additional wrist clasps
Other jewelry	Scutiform pendant
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	10 amber; 53 gold-in-glass; 9 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—

Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Wrist Clasp 50/20EH	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	37.5 x 15 mm
Classification	Hines Type B18a
Date produced	Fifth to sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Eyes at either end of spiral decorative zone
Placement	Placed under chin along with other wrist clasps and beads
Associated textile	—

Costume Interpretation for Grave 50
Unknown; wrist clasps used as pendants in bead necklace.

West Heslerton 60	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	?
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	Folded across stomach
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 450-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; copper alloy dress pin
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	24 amber; 22 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—

Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Wrist Clasps 60/43FO and 60/43/FP	
Material	Gilded copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	60/43FO: 38.5 x 19 mm and 39 x 21 mm; 60/43FP: same
Classification	Hines Type B20
Date produced	Fifth to sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Male clasps have a crouching animal in main zone
Placement	60/43FO at right wrist; 60/43FP at left wrist
Associated textile	60/43FO: tabby and linen tablet weave

Costume Interpretation for Grave 60
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches and dress pin, sleeved gown attached at tablet-woven wrists with wrist clasps.

West Heslerton 62	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult?
Orientation	SW–NE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	North of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	Right flexed across stomach; left across chest
Leg position	Extended
Date of burial	*c*. 450-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	n/a
Style I-decorated objects	Cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps; wrist clasp
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	27 amber; 3 gold-in-glass; 5 glass; 1 shell

Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Organic purse
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Glass cullet; copper alloy object; copper alloy sheets; 2 copper alloy rings; copper alloy wire link

Cruciform Brooch 62/46GT	
Material	Copper alloy; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	120 mm
Classification	Åberg Group II
Date produced	Late fifth to mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on 2 small side lobes below bow
Placement	On chest; headplate to left, footplate pointing to right shoulder
Associated textile	Z-spun threads on back of brooch

Costume Interpretation for Grave 62
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over-garment fastened with cruciform brooch.

West Heslerton 86	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Mature adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Just north of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 450-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	High degree of dental attrition
Style I-decorated objects	Cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	Pendant

Belt	Lace tag
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	144 amber; 1 silver-in-glass; 1 gold-in-glass; 20 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Pursemount
Girdle group	4 latchlifters with ring
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron staple; iron object; copper alloy studs

Cruciform Brooch 86/921AI	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	134 mm
Classification	Åberg Group IV
Date produced	Late fifth mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Beaked creatures on 2 small side lobes below bow
Placement	On right shoulder, headplate up and near neck
Associated textile	2/2 twill and 2/2 woolen fabric

Costume Interpretation for Grave 86
Peplos dress fastened by annular brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over-garment fastened with cruciform brooch.

West Heslerton 95	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Just north of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Possible coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	n/a
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Slightly flexed
Date of burial	*c*. 500-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Severe dental attrition; hyperplastic lines
Style I-decorated objects	Cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 small-long brooches; 2 pairs of wrist clasps

Other jewelry	Iron disc
Belt	Iron buckle and belt plate; iron ring/buckle fragments
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	111 amber; 17 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	Pursemount
Girdle group	4 latchlifters with ring
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	Biconical urn
Other	Iron staple; iron rod; iron fragments; calcite fragments

Cruciform Brooch 95/226EE	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete
Length	113 mm
Classification	Åberg Group IV
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Style I eyes on 2 small side lobes below bow
Placement	On left shoulder, footplate pointing down to right
Associated textile	Tabby and 2/2 twill on front; woolen 2/2 twill on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 95
Peplos dress fastened by small-long brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over-garment fastened with cruciform brooch.

West Heslerton 123	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	50+
Orientation	NW–SE
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	West of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Irregular oval
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Slightly flexed
Leg position	Flexed to left
Date of burial	*c*. 550-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Osteoarthritis; osteoporosis; dental attrition; dental cries and abscesses

Style I-decorated objects	Great square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	2 openwork brooches
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Ovoid iron buckle
Knife	Iron knife
Beads	10 amber; 3 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Iron ring; unassociated cremated phalanx and pin in fill

Great Square-headed Brooch 123/606BC	
Material	Gilded copper alloy; silver overlay on headplate corners, side and terminal lobes; iron pin
Condition	Complete
Length	141 mm
Classification	Leeds Type B1/B8
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Feet, legs, and eyes in outer headplate panel; downward biting beasts below bow; animals in central footplate zone and 2 smaller lobes featuring eyes; terminal lobe has mask
Placement	Behind skull
Associated textile	Woolen 2/2 diamond twill; Tablet braids and possible veil preserved by contact: woolen tablet braid and loose tabby

Costume Interpretation for Grave 123
Probable peplos dress fastened by openwork brooches. Gauzy head veil with tablet weave worn over the head. It is unclear why the great square-headed brooch was behind head.

West Heslerton 143	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Just north of hengiform enclosure

Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	Probable coffin
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to left
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	Flexed to left
Date of burial	*c*. 450-550 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Osteoarthritis; severe dental attrition
Style I-decorated objects	Cruciform brooch
Other brooches or pins	Annular brooch; disc brooch; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other jewelry	—
Belt	Iron buckle and plate
Knife	—
Beads	5 amber; 19 glass; copper alloy ring
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	3 latchlifters
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	—

Cruciform Brooch 143/924AG	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete; highly corroded
Length	140 mm
Classification	Åberg Group IV
Date produced	Late fifth mid-sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Beaked animals on 2 small side lobes below bow
Placement	Horizontally between other brooches
Associated textile	Loose woolen tabby on front; woolen 2/2 twill on back

Costume Interpretation for Grave 143
Peplos dress fastened by annular and disc brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over-garment fastened with cruciform brooch.

West Heslerton 147	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	Adult
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a

Location in cemetery	West of hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Flexed on right side
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	Extended
Leg position	Flexed
Date of burial	*c*. 450-600 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	—
Style I-decorated objects	Square-headed brooch
Other brooches or pins	Annular brooch; penannular brooch; 2 pairs of wrist clasps; possible annular brooch
Other jewelry	—
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	32 amber; 2 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Whetstone fragment in fill

Square-headed Brooch 147/904AI	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Complete; appears worn
Length	118 mm
Classification	Leeds Type C2
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	Headplate has central mask flanked by bird heads; bird heads on side lobes below bow; full mask below bow; bird heads below mask
Placement	On jaw between other brooches, headplate to left
Associated textile	Fine linen tabby on back; woolen 2/2 twill pinned by brooch pin; woolen tablet weave

Costume Interpretation for Grave 147
Woolen peplos dress fastened by annular and penannular brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over-garment fastened with square-headed brooch.

West Heslerton 177	
Sex	Female
Sex identification method	Grave goods
Age	30–35
Orientation	W–E
Stature	n/a
Location in cemetery	Within hengiform enclosure
Grave shape	Sub-rectangular
Grave structure or furniture	—
Body position	Supine
Skull position	Turned to right
Arm position	n/a
Leg position	n/a
Date of burial	*c*. 500-650 AD
Pathology/Epigenetic traits	Moderate alveolar absorption
Style I-decorated objects	Cruciform brooch; 2 pairs of wrist clasps
Other brooches or pins	2 annular brooches
Other jewelry	9 bucket pendants
Belt	—
Knife	—
Beads	45 amber; 1 gold-in-glass; 16 glass
Toilet equipment	—
Bag	—
Girdle group	—
Textile equipment	—
Vessels	—
Pottery	—
Other	Wire loop; iron fragments

Cruciform Brooch 177/13AA	
Material	Copper alloy
Condition	Broken and repaired below headplate
Length	138 mm
Classification	Åberg Group IV
Date produced	Sixth century AD
Style I motifs	2 animals in central headplate panel; 2 beaked animals below bow; foot and hip in triangular panel below footplate mask; eyes and eyebrows on corners of triangular footplate; runes on back spell NEIM
Placement	On chest, headplate to right, footplate pointing down to left
Associated textile	Fine linen tabby on back; woolen 2/2 twill pinned by brooch pin; woolen tablet weave

Costume Interpretation for Grave 177
Woolen peplos dress fastened by annular brooches, sleeved gown fastened at wrists with wrist clasps, probable over0garment fastened with cruciform brooch.