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Fleshing out the body: nakedness and the human body in the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England (5th-7th centuries AD).

Tristan Lake

Abstract

Traditional scholarly narratives have characterised the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples as culturally disinterested in the naked body on account of its limited presence in its art and literature. This thesis demonstrates this to be a misconception partly shaped by nationalistic and social discourses which have encouraged early modern and modern scholarship to diminish and distort the topic of the 'Anglo-Saxon' body and its nakedness. This narrative is further challenged by the presentation and analysis of a catalogue of human representations produced in the 5th-7th centuries. How states of nakedness and undress were represented in this period is explored here and, in turn, it is demonstrated that themes relating to bodily exposure, display and adornment were consistently and frequently explored within the 'Anglo-Saxon' figural repertoire

The 'Anglo-Saxon' character of these figural representations is often spurious as human images present in England in this period were heavily influenced by prototypes produced on the Continent, particularly southern Scandinavia. This thesis therefore explores antecedent and contemporary naked representations from continental northern Europe as well to understand the stylistic and conceptual origin of certain motifs present in England. Subsequently, it is argued that both naked and semi-dressed images symbolised a range of religious, gendered and socio-political concepts. These ideological messages were reproduced, shared and disseminated by elite groups across northern Europe who sought to distinguish their own bodily pre-eminence while governing and regulating the bodies of others as one element in their modes of authority and power.

Fleshing out the body: nakedness and the human body in the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England (5th-7th centuries AD).

PhD Thesis

One volume

By Tristan Lake
Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Archaeology
Centre of Visual Culture
Durham University
2021

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List of abbreviations

Other		**Museum and heritage**	
Fig.	Figure	**AM**	Ashmolean Museum
Fol.	Folio	**HAGM**	Herbert Art Gallery and Museum
Pl.	Plate	**BM**	The British Museum
Taf.	Tafel- Folio or plate.	**CUMAA**	Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
IK	Each bracteate is assigned an IK (ID) number within the primary bracteate inventory *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit: Ikonographischer Katalog*	**HER**	Historic Environment Record
App.	Appendices	**NCM**	Norwich Castle Museum
		NMD	National Museum of Denmark
		NMS	National Museum of Scotland
		PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
		SHM	Swedish History Museum

Statement of copyright

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Leverhulme Trust for providing me with the funding to enable me to carry out my research and also the opportunity to work within the Centre for Visual Arts and Culture at Durham. This allowed me to shape my research within a framework of visual culture, to work within a truly interdisciplinary cohort and participate in the Summer Schools from which I learned a great deal. I am extremely grateful to Professor Ludmilla Jordanova for leading CVAC and for encouraging my ideas and research from the outset and for her support, advice and care. Thank you to the Archaeology PhD cohort for friendship and support. Thanks also go to my supervisor within archaeology, Prof. Sarah Semple, for her expert guidance and for being endlessly kind, supportive, encouraging and enthusiastic.

I was lucky enough to go on two placements during my PhD which were high points of the whole experience for the incredible archaeology I was able to see, the people I met and the skills I learned. I owe these opportunities to Sarah Semple, who both suggested them and went out of her way to organise them for me. For my time at the British Museum I am hugely grateful to Dr Sue Brunning for taking me under her wing, and for everything she showed and taught me during the experience. For my time in Gotland my thanks go to Per Widerstrom for hosting and providing me with an enjoyable experience with many laughs.

For Charlotte, without whose support I could not have finished.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

A state of nakedness is common to all humans at birth, but how this state is interpreted and experienced is contextually, historically and culturally specific (Hollander 1976; 1993; Turner 1980; Barcan, 2004; Masquelier 2005; Lindquist 2012a; Harris and Robb 2013). The body is central to how every stage of life is experienced, and it is unlikely that any culture, past or present, has ever been disinterested in their own, or each other's, bodies. However, 'Anglo-Saxon' society has been presented as something of an anomaly. The scarcity to which the body is alluded to or depicted in the 'Anglo-Saxon' figural and literary repertoire is well recognised (Wilson 1984: 27; Cowdrey 1997: 98; Lang 2001: 49-50; Karkov 2003: 181; Lewis 2003: 21-28; Matthews 2003: 138-46; Wilcox 2003: 276-77; Withers 2003: 1, 13-14; Klein 2012: 46; Webster 2012: 8-9; 38, 40, 82, 84; 2011: 474-75; 2017: 36-37; Owen-Crocker 2010: 316; Brundle 2013: 200; 2019: 116-25; Speake 2019: 241). This has, in turn, cultivated a perception of the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples as culturally disinterested and/or averse to the naked and sexed body (Magennis 1995: Withers 2003: 1-2; Lewis 2003: 21; Wilcox 2003: 276-77; Lapidge et al. 2013: 110; Owen-Crocker 2010: 316; Brundle 2019: 107, 122-23). This thesis seeks to scrutinise in greater detail the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England to acquire a more nuanced understanding of whether this culture was ever truly disinterested in the naked body.

It is important to first define what is understood by nakedness, and the meaning it holds. Contemporary Western societies are clothed societies and therefore nakedness is

typically defined as being without clothing, and consequently carries associations of being lacking and of loss (Masquelier 2005: 1-3). In the Western world, to be naked is often a negative experience, reflecting the enduring and pervading influence of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, specifically the belief that nakedness was humanity's natural state of innocence which then came to symbolise sin and shame (Hollander 1976: 642-44; 1993: 83-85; Lewis 2003: 15-17; Barcan 2004: 7). A further significant influence that has shaped the Western body are the artistic conventions of ideal 'nudity' that originated within the Greek tradition (Barcan 2004: 7). The modern art historical veneration of these forms of representation has popularised a distinction between the 'nude' and the 'naked' (Masquelier 2005: 3). To be 'nude' is to be clothed in art; this state is defined by Kenneth Clark as representing 'a balanced, prosperous, and confident body: the body re-formed', whereas the naked body is something more real; it is wrinkled, ugly, particular, huddled and vulnerable (Bonfante 1989; Clark 1990: 3; Withers 2003: 4; Lindquist 2012a: 3). Underlying this divide is the Judaeo-Christian concept that the naked body is inherently shameful and that by being naked one exposes and lays bare their true self (Masquelier 2005: 3). While nakedness is often perceived as such, it is far from a 'natural' state of being, because most human cultures primarily present themselves in states of dress, either in clothes or in their symbolic equivalents (Hollander 1976: 642-43: Turner, 1980: 112) (discussed below). Accordingly, the state of nakedness is not natural nor customary, but rather an assumed state of being (Hollander 1976: 643). What constitutes nakedness and how this state is assumed within a particular culture is, therefore, ultimately dependent on how the counterpart state of dress is culturally understood (Hollander 1976: 642-47; 1993: 83-87). For instance, within certain cultures how the surface of the body is exposed, groomed, marked and permanently modified serve as the constituting elements of dress and social

display (Turner 1980). The manipulation of the body's surface in this way blurs and challenges how we define these states, their borders and inter-relationships (Masquelier 2005: 5). As a culturally loaded term, nakedness presents certain limitations regarding the suitability of its application to past societies. Within the context of this thesis, nakedness is used largely to signify that the body, or areas of, are undressed, unconcealed, exposed and visible. To this end, the research focus of this thesis is the body and its surface/superficial outward appearance.

Within a materialist framework, the body is the vehicle in which we exist within and interact with the world, it is the site of all sensory and lived experience, where information is received and meaning/knowledge is generated (Merleu-Ponty 1962: 46-47, 72, 146-50, 174-80; Grosz 1994: 87; Joyce 2005: 152). As a sense organ, the skin is central to our phenomenological comprehension of the world and lived embodied experiences (Frie 2007: 61-64). Via the constant interactions of touching and being touched, we are presented with an endless stream of stimulation, e.g. pain, comfort pleasure and intimacy, as well as information regarding our surrounding spatial environment and our physical presence within it (Gowland and Thompson 2013: 37-38; Connor 2004: 36). Thus, the skin is a physical barrier that contains, protects and separates the bodily interior from its environment, but paradoxically it is also a gateway to the perception and embodiment of this exteriority (Carman 2008: 1-3; Cavanagh et al. 2013: 2).

The state of nakedness and its superficial appearance, its anatomy, morphology and physiology, plays a highly influential role in the construction and experience of identity and personhood. On a broader level, visual and functional comparisons with other humans (living /dead/decayed), species, organisms and matter has a profound effect on how we

self-categorise and order the social/natural world around us and our place within it (Bonfante 1989: 544; Barcan 2005: 2; Descola, 2013). Physical appearance is also central to individual identity and identification; it is an ever-changing biographical text which communicates information about one's ancestry, age, sex, health, cleanliness, ableness as well as certain life-experiences, traumas, and interactions with the environment (Masquelier 2005: 6-7; Gowland and Thompson 2013: 15-41; Cavanagh et al. 2013: 2-3). The surface of the body can also be treated as a canvas which can be actively/passively modified, dressed and adorned to communicate a complex symbolic language (Turner, 1980). The surface can serve as an interface where the inner self is outwardly and publicly manifested and where cultural ideologies, social realities and discourses of power can be inscribed, constructed and contested (Turner 1980: 137-9; Schildkrout 2004). In this way, Terrance Turner states that the body acts as a 'symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted' (1980: 112).

Equally important is how the body physically moves, acts, gestures and presents which, according to Marcel Maus, is a form of social display that is learnt and contextually/culturally specific (Maus, 1973: 76; Martin 2014: 27-28). This physical and symbolic body language is thought to play a significant role in the formation of identity and in producing social differences (Martin 2014: 27-28). Thus, it is important to recognise that the body is not simply a blank slate that is passively inscribed and imprinted with pre-existing cultural meanings. Equally, it had often been assumed in archaeological scholarship that the objects and costume articles displayed on or in proximity to the body functioned as social symbols with pre-formed meanings that were primarily responsible for constructing and expressing a person's identity (Gell 1998: 6; Joyce 2005: 142-45; Martin 2014: 28; Martin and Weetch 2017: 8-10). In recent decades, there has been a shift within the

discipline where the actions and performances of the body are also recognised as contributing to the formation and embodiment of corporeal identities (Joyce 2005: 145-47; Martin 2014: 28). For example, the body acquires its meaning via the everyday acts of un/dressing, the contexts where we appear dressed/naked, how we conceal, emphasise, and ornament the surface of the body and enable or hinder its movements (Hollander 1976: 642-47; Joyce, 2005: 142-49; Lindquist 2012a: 2; Martin 2014). In this regard, nakedness and dress are not two separate states of being, their meaning, perception and experience are entirely dependent on their co-existence and interplay (Hollander 1976: 642-47; Masquelier 2006: 1-7; Martin 2014: 27-28). As such, the more importance a culture or context confers on costume and clothing, the more meaningful and powerful their absence becomes (Hollander 1976: 643).

Within a clothed society, nakedness is the non-normative state linked to specific occasions, contexts (ritual/theatrical/domestic) and audiences (Hollander 1976: 643; Bonfante 1989: 544; Cover 2003: 56-57). Nakedness is often perceived as a special, liminal and transformative state as it requires stepping outside of and deconstructing one's dressed identity (Masquelier 2006: 1-7; Bonfante 1989: 544; Lindquist 2012a: 2). Since nakedness is rarely assumed or perceived in daily life, the exposure of the body can produce powerfully visceral and affective responses like lust, disgust, adoration, admiration, pity, shame, shock, humiliation and embarrassment (Bonfante 1989: 544-6; Withers 2003: 1; Lindquist 2012a: 2). For this reason, the state of nakedness tends to be individually, interpersonally, contextually and culturally regulated. For example, in many cultures, including our own, nakedness is perceived as a social threat due to its associations with the sexual and reproductive body. Within such cultures, dress fashions, representational practices, social mores, taboos, architecture, and law, for example, may serve to mask and diminish the

visual and physical presence of the body/specific bodies in certain spaces (Cover 2003: 66-70; Górnicka 2016: 111-42). However, since the body is a vehicle that enables expressions of agency and autonomy, the body inevitably serves as a site of resistance whereby the socio-political discourses and relations of power that influence bodily identities and behaviours are contested and subverted (Punday 2000: 509-12; Masquelier 2005: 5-6; Val, 2016: XI-II; Wicks 2016: 1-16). Collectively, these are some of the social, biological and cultural factors that influence how a body, and its outward appearance, is understood and experienced. The intersection of these elements means that the meanings and experiences associated with nakedness are, within a single culture, multiplicitous, shifting and often contradictory as they are dependent on the person, body, context, and audience (Barcan 2004: 1-10). While the naked body is prone to censorship, it is apparent that the scholarly notion that the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples were culturally disinterested in the body is untenable; as arguably it is through the body that culture is manifested and embodied (Csordas 1994: 269).

Now the naked body and its significance and meaning have been established, the focus of this thesis can be explored. Here, I reconstruct what, if any, meaning was attributed to 'Anglo-Saxon' naked bodies. In the study of past societies, human imagery is one of the richest sources of insight into the lived body and how corporeal identities, embodiments, performances and ideologies were generated, naturalised, experienced and contested (Joyce 2005: 142-50). Images do not simply reflect these aspects, but play an active role in influencing and affecting these processes by serving as a supplementary symbolic canvas and extension to the body (Joyce 2005: 142, 144). As artistic representations, naked images can circumvent tensions that surround real undressed bodies and, therefore, hold a physical and constant public presence within a clothed society (Smith 1996: 1-9; Lindquist 2012: 3-4). Like dress, the portrayal and embodiment of nakedness undergo fashion changes driven by

internal and external cultural influences, the changing portrayal of the body functions as both a driver and reflector of these developments (Hollander 1976: 646; Bonfante 1989: 547-58). As has been argued for 'the nude', art enables the stylisation, distortion and exaggeration of the body, so that the peculiarities inherent to each individual's naked body can be omitted and overwritten (Hollander 1976: 646; Bonfante 1989; Robb 2015: 174-76). In turn, conventionalised and idealised forms or 'costumes' of nudity can be modelled that communicate body ideals which, depending on their specificity, can be universally applicable or highly exclusive (ibid.). As contemporary research has shown, the medieval Christian repertoire and classical artistic traditions also demonstrate how nakedness and states of undress and exposure may serve as a symbol or metaphor for a wide range of concepts and abstract ideas, e.g. innocence, purity, vulnerability, shame, barbarity, rebirth, truth, naturalness, the soul, otherness, magic, transformation and liminality (Smith 1966: Hollander 1976; Bonfante 1989; Mathews 2003: 138-47; Karkov 2003: 181-95; Lindquist 2012a).

The 5th-7th centuries AD represents a pivotal transitional period regarding the art historical narrative of the Western body. During Late Antiquity, classical forms of idealised nudity were declining in popularity and by the 3rd-4th centuries the Emperor was no longer represented naked (Brown 1991: 437-38; Hallett 2005: 264; Stewart 2013; Hebblewhite 2017: 40-41). As Christianity was adopted as the state religion in Rome in the 4th century, new forms of stylised naked representation were popularised as a Christian visual culture emerged and expanded (Smith 1966: Himmelmann 1985: 44-45, 123-25; Stewart 2013). Many of these models initially drew upon, adapted and redeployed nude prototypes (Smith 1966: 220-21; Jensen 2000: 171-78; Stewart 2013). Between Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, the conventions that celebrated bodily beauty were gradually displaced by

conventions that exaggerated the shameful, ugly and vulnerable character of the Christian body (Lewis 2003: 16). These foundational models would be further developed and supplemented throughout the medieval period within western Europe (Himmelmann 1985: 44-45, 123-25; Mathews 2003: 138-45; Lindquist, 2012a). This shift marks the basis for the Western distinction between the 'naked' and the 'nude'. Christian representations of nakedness were introduced to 'Anglo-Saxon' England following the adoption of Christianity in the late 6th-7th centuries (see Coatsworth 1978; Hawkes 1996: 88-90, 1997a; Withers and Wilcox 2003; Thompson 2004: 152-56). Before this, full-bodied semi-naturalistic human images are recognised as holding a minor position within the zoomorphic dominated visual culture in England in the 5th-7th centuries (Wilson 1984: 27; Hawkes 1997b: 311-12; Webster 2003: 11; 2011: 474-75; 2012: 8-9, 38, 40, 82; 2017: 36-37; Brundle, 2013; Marzinzik 2013: 116; Behr et al. 2016: 92). While the naked image was well represented in Roman Britain, the collapse of the Roman administration had a drastic impact on artistic production and elite patronage which seemingly resulted in the drastic decline of its portrayal in non-organic materials (Henig 1995: 167-73; Cleary 2011:22; 2013: 471-74; Gerrard 2013: 207). Subsequently, the 5th-7th centuries in England is a period situated between the end and beginning of two major artistic traditions that have had a drastic influence on Western bodies, their representation and lived embodiments.

However, the visual culture of the 5th-7th centuries is not completely devoid of human or naked representation. As the Western Roman Empire dissolved in the 5th-6th centuries, artistic investment and production massively accelerated and expanded within southern Scandinavia and northern Germany (Pesch 2012; Behr 2015). The visual materials devised in this area were mass-produced and widely disseminated across northern Europe. This included eastern England, where they made a strong impression on the region's visual

culture (Haseloff 1981; Pesch 2012: 645-51; Behr 2010a; 2015; Dickinson 2009; Webster 2003: 14-6; 2011: 460-74; Brundle, 2019). The rapidly expanding Scandinavian figural repertoire drew heavily upon late antique Mediterranean models for inspiration, including 'nude' prototypes (Holmqvist 1951: 59; Hauck 1970; Axboe and Kromann 1992; Roth 1986: 9; Gaimster 1998: 37). As such, certain derivative models reflect an alternative tradition of naked representation which could, in some capacity, be considered a divergent trajectory in the art historical narrative of the 'nude'. Yet, the presence and importance of the naked body within this visual culture are currently understudied in modern scholarship as the bodies are heavily stylised, schematic or abstract in appearance (Mannering 2008: 64-65; 2017: 71-87). This has ultimately discouraged the study of their bodily appearances, both clothed and naked (ibid.). This preference for abstract forms of representation also partly accounts for the way in which this period/region has been overlooked within the dominant narratives of European art, which have traditionally focused on more naturalistic conventions of representation e.g. classical/medieval Christian (Wicker 2017: 27-29; Cross 2020: 422-26). In addition to these visual materials, a small sample of naked representations dating to the 7th century are known from England (Webster 2012: 38, 40; Pestell 2012; Brundle, 2013; 2019: 118-22; Wallis 2020: 418-19). This attests to at least some interest in representing the naked body in this period. It is necessary, however, to examine whether more representations can be located in early medieval England and, if so, to consider their cultural significance. In turn, this resource has the potential to support the writing of a new chapter in the art historical development of the Western body. A further disjunction can be observed between the study of 'Anglo-Saxon' human imagery with archaeological research that has explored naked representations and ambiguous anthropomorphic art from other

times and places. This thesis simultaneously offers a case study in early medieval visual culture but also a case study of global archaeologies of the body and its representation.

Scholarly neglect of the naked image is not unique to the 'Anglo-Saxon' period, but instead extends to the entirety of the Middle Ages. The academic disregard of medieval naked bodies has been partly due to their perceived 'inferior' technical and aesthetic qualities, with the master narrative of the Western body primarily focused on the classical nude throughout the 18th -20th centuries (Lindquist 2012a: 1-7). Moreover, an assumption that the Christian Church's ascetic and body negative ideologies repressed the naked body has redirected scholars interested in bodily imagery to other and supposedly 'more fertile' visual cultures (Withers 2003: 6). In recent decades, however, the eurocentric elevation of the 'nude' has been challenged, so too has the concept of the 'naked'/'nude' distinction (Lindquist 2012a: 3-7). This has, in turn, paved the way for the exploration of alternative conventions and narratives, including medieval Christian models. These are no longer artistically underappreciated as simple and truthful portrayals of real and unsightly naked bodies, but rather comparable to the 'nude', in that both exaggerate the appearance of the body to communicate a set of culturally specific bodily ideologies (Lewis 2003: 16; Lindquist 2012a: 3-7). The supposed inability or desire to represent the naked body in this period has also been challenged and currently, the naked body is recognised as an important part of the medieval Christian repertoire with alternative and non-ecclesiastical conventions of naked representation also explored (e.g. Miles 1989; Grössinger 1997; Withers and Wilcox 2003; Jones,2002: 252-56; Freitag 2004; Lindquist 2012a/b; Harris and Robb 2013). This new wave of scholarship includes a growing body of literature that has considered the role and symbolism of the naked image in the Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' period (e.g. Caviness 1998; 2009; Hawkes 1996: 88-90; Withers and Wilcox 2003; Thompson 2004: 150-55; Karkov

2005; Keefer 2005; Mittman and Kim 2008; 2013; Oswald 2010; Saunders 2010; Monk 2012; 2014; Farina 2013; Barajas 2013). These works have demonstrated that the experience and meanings of nakedness were highly diverse, shifting and contextually dependent, the body possessed considerable emotive charge and was central to a range of cultural conversations relating to identity, law, gender, sexuality and religion. Yet, these studies have given little consideration to the potential influence of the bodily attitudes and representational practices of the pre-Christian period on those in subsequent centuries. Contrastingly, it has been argued that the Christian repertoire was largely unaffected by pre-existing conventions as there was no extensive prior practice of representing the body (Wilson 1984: 27; Hawkes 1997b: 311-12; Webster 2003:11; 2011: 474-75; 2012: 8-9; 38, 40, 82, 84; 2017: 36-37). This has given the impression that the church was able to introduce its motifs and associated corporeal ideologies to a society that was indifferent to the body, at least artistically, with little resistance or negotiation.

The recent interdisciplinary focus on Christian bodies has demonstrated the merit in re-examining the surviving visual and literary record for glimpses and allusions to naked bodies that have gone unnoticed. However, this scholarship has also ultimately perpetuated the narrative that the naked body was rarely represented throughout the 'Anglo-Saxon' period and that the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples were disinterested or averse to the undressed or sexual body (Magennis 1995: 15; Withers 2003: 1-2: Lewis 2003: 21-4; Mathews 2003: Karkov 2003: 181-82; Wilcox 2003: 276-77; Kim and Mittman 2008: 179; Monk 2014: 24; Owen-Crocker 2010: 316-17). These broad characterisations are particularly problematic as the reticence to the body observed in the Christian period primarily reflects the values of the monastic communities who have exerted a significant influence on the images and texts that have survived (Magennis 1995: 2, 16; Wilcox 2003: 276-77; Oswald 2010: 18-22, 64-5).

Consequently, the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period has been alienated from current debates within medieval studies surrounding the body on the, potentially false, premise that there is a void of available visual materials. To understand the corporeal subjectivities and ideologies that are specific to the pre-Christian period, it is fundamental that the available representations receive focused analysis. Only then, within the context of future research, can the process of conversion and its impacts, a watershed moment for the development of the Christian, Western and medieval body, be properly comprehended.

Finally, recent work has included recognition that, at times, the scholarship of the 19th-20th centuries disregarded and even censored medieval bodies. In comparison to the socially acceptable 'nude', medieval bodies appeared too real, rude, sexualised and ugly, and then, in subsequent decades and even centuries, often disagreed with contemporary and modern sensibilities surrounding the human body (Withers 2003: 4-6; Lindquist 2012a: 1-3). The perception of the medieval period as a time when the Christian church was at its purest has been particularly influential in censoring contradictory evidence (Caviness 1998: 171). As such, there is an observable history of scholars avoiding 'Anglo-Saxon' naked imagery and textual sources that allude to sexual behaviour to present and preserve a more 'respectable' vision of the 'Anglo-Saxon' past (Frantzen 1990; Caviness 1998; Withers 2003: 1-3; Mathews 2003: 140; Freitag 2004: 15-45). Furthermore, the 'Anglo-Saxon' period marks the beginning of English history and so its study has often been manipulated and distorted to suit modern nationalistic agendas (see Niles, 2015). It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider not only the extent to which the naked image was represented in the 5th-7th centuries, but to also examine the role antiquarian and modern scholarship has played in shaping notions of an 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural disinterest/aversion in the naked body.

1.2) Temporal and spatial research focus

This thesis focuses on the 5th-7th centuries. This period is marked by several key socio-political developments that reflect the transition from Late Antiquity to the early medieval period. The beginning of the 5th century witnessed the collapse of the Roman administration of Britain (Cleary 2002; 2011; Jones 1998; Gerrard 2013). This process had a drastic effect on the social, economic and cultural complexity of the Romano-British population, a shift that is now well-attested in the changing complexity of the archaeological record (Cleary 2002: 136; 2011: 14; Jones 1998: 3-4; Härke 2010: 12; Gerrard 2013: 7-8). The ensuing power vacuum resulted in a loss of political cohesion and it is thought that competing petty warlords carved up former Roman territories (Yorke 1990:2, 13; Jones 1998: 120; Gerrard 2013: 250-53). In the second half of the 5th century, the burial practices, settlement archaeology, as well as the material and visual culture of eastern England underwent several changes (Hills 2003: 85-109; Härke 2011: 9-13; Gerrard 2013: 8, 179-207). These materials and practices are comparable to those present across the North Sea in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. This archaeology has traditionally been viewed as evidence for the mass settlement of continental 'Germanic' migrants (see Hills 2003: 73-109; Gerrard 2013: 8-9; Harland 2019). In recent decades, new models have offered alternative explanations for the archaeological shift within eastern England (Hodges 1989; Higham 1992; Lucy 2000: 155–86; Hills 2003; Härke 2011: 11-16; Gerrard 2013:5; Behr 2015; Harland 2019: 954-55, 65). This includes smaller-scale models of migration and the establishment of international contacts across the North Sea which encouraged the resident populations in England to adopt 'Germanic' objects, images, identities and ideologies (ibid.). What exactly this 'Germanic' identity and ideology constituted and the extent to which it was actively adopted

and upheld by the people in eastern England and across northern Europe has also been increasingly queried (see Harland 2019) (see App. Table 1.1).

Between the mid-5th-mid 6th centuries, there is limited archaeological evidence in eastern England to indicate the existence of paramount regional elites nor a highly stratified socio-economic hierarchy (Scull 1993; 2011). This situation changes in the late 6th-7th centuries as there is greater evidence for further social differentiation and the centralisation of power (Scull 1993: 76-77; 2011: 849). This includes higher visibility of settlement hierarchy, the presence of richly furnished princely burials, e.g. Sutton Hoo, Prittlewell and Taplow, and the development of elite administered emporia sites which functioned as specialised commercial and long-distance trading centres (ibid. Pestell 2011: 560-62; Hamerow 2012: 72, 102-09). Surviving textual sources indicate these developments coincide with the emergence of kingdoms (Yorke 1990). The increasing presence of the Roman church in England at the very end of the 6th century is recognised for its role in fostering this early kingship and vice versa (Yorke 1990: 172-77; Higham 1997: 1-4; Blair 2005: 9, 49-51). This marks the beginning of the conversion period as the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples became nominally Christian by the late 7th century (Blair 2005: 9).

This thesis explores the representation of the naked body within the modern English counties that roughly conform to the political boundaries traditionally associated with the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria (Fig. 1). Their precise boundaries are unclear, but they roughly conform to central southern England, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, the Midlands and the area to the north of the river Humber (Arnold 1997: XVII). This geographical parameter subsequently encapsulates some areas that scholars associate with what is termed in later early medieval documents as the

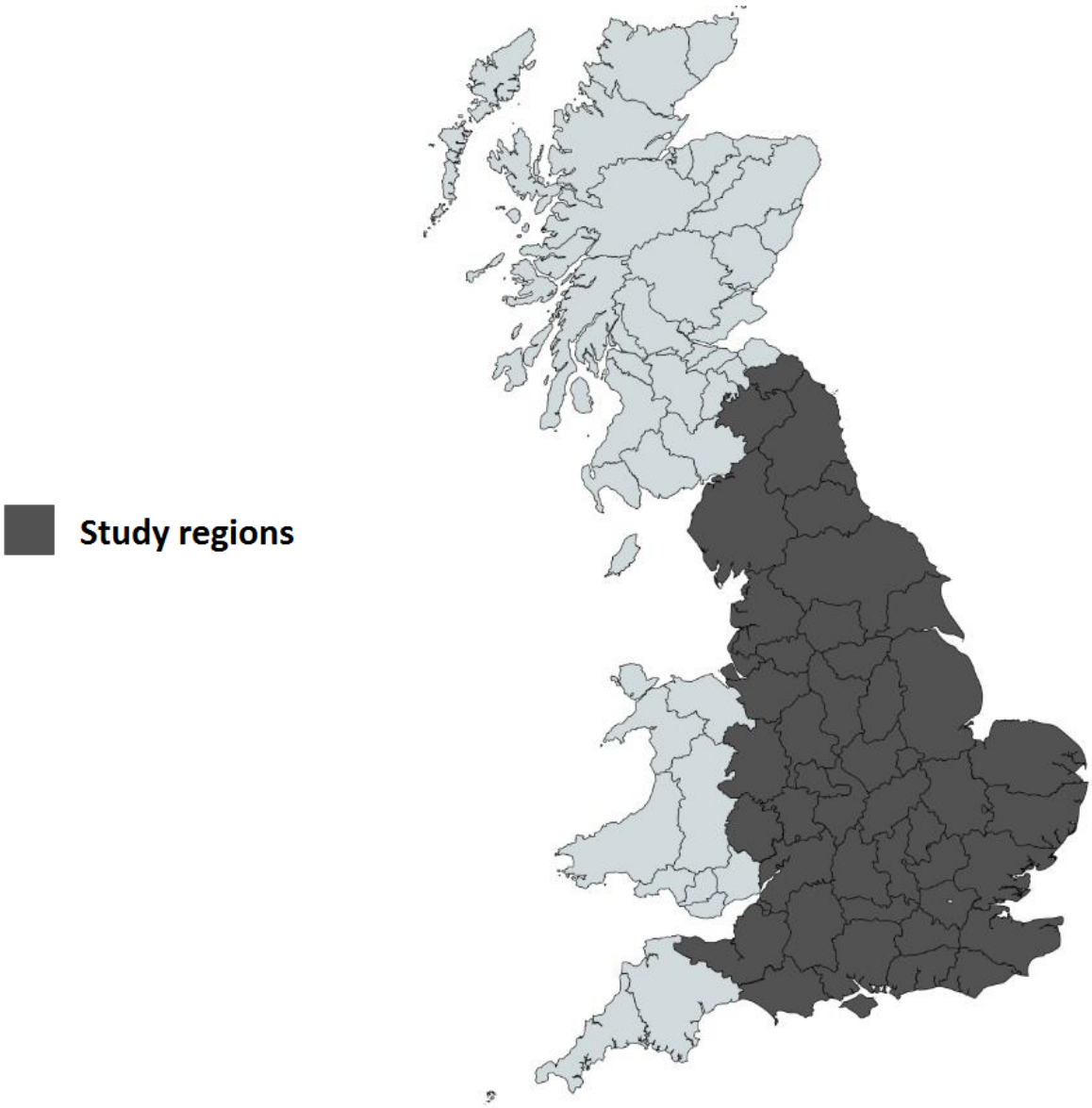


Figure 1.1 Map of regions covered within this thesis.

Adventus Saxonum or the Saxon migration and the political boundaries of the primary 'Anglo-Saxon' Kingdoms. The relationship of these kingdoms to the political and social organisation in the 5th century is not properly understood, but it is speculated that 5th-century structures and dynamics influenced the emergence of these political units (Scull 2011). These seven kingdoms provide a rough geographical limit for this thesis. The key socio-cultural developments within these regions, as opposed to omitted areas, are also more clearly outlined in surviving early medieval texts. These writings have been critically synthesised and considered within the context of the archaeological record to produce a richer understanding of these areas (e.g. Yorke 1990; Carver 1992; Arnold 1997; Harrington and Welch 2014). The regional parameters of this thesis thus cover the areas of England that are most aptly understood from an interdisciplinary archaeological and historical perspective.

1.3 Sample selection

This thesis presents and analyses a catalogue of human representations carried on metalwork objects produced between the 5th-7th centuries and discovered within archaeological contexts in the regions outlined above. While representations of the naked body are the primary focus of this thesis, the data set has been supplemented with animal-human hybrid images, clothed bodies and visually ambiguous schematic figures. Some of these figures are considered within this thesis as potentially represented in a state of undress, whereas others serve as comparative materials. Since the body is often represented ambiguously in this period, an exact number of definitively naked images featured within this thesis cannot be provided. However, the core data set includes 163

entries which are presented in full in the appendices. This thesis also provides a selective critical overview of various collections of human images produced in Scandinavia and Northern Germany between the 3rd-7th centuries. The processes and methodologies utilised in the analysis of these data sets are outlined in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. In addition, the historiography (Chapter 2) features and discusses a sample of artistic renderings of 'Anglo-Saxon' figures and deities produced between the 14th and 19th centuries. These have been selectively deployed to strengthen our understanding of how 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies were conceived and portrayed in this period.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

The aims of this thesis are rooted in the questions posed by both the antiquarian and more modern study of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and art (see Chapters 2-4).

- To explore the extent to which the body was represented naked/semi-naked in the 5th-7th centuries AD.
- To consider the social role and symbolic meaning of the naked body in the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period and how it changed over time, to understand why it was represented.
- To evaluate whether the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples were truly disinterested in, or averse to, the naked body.

To meet these aims the following objectives have been identified:

- To produce a historiography of the treatment of the human body and nakedness in Anglo-Saxon studies across the 16th-19th centuries, particularly how leading figures

within this field have approached the topic of the naked human form. The role of modern scholarship in perpetuating/overturning this narrative will also be considered in a subsequent review of recent literature.

- To identify and collate representations of the human body produced in the 5th-7th centuries and depicted in various stages of undress.
- To formally and comparatively analyse the images within this catalogue to better understand the iconographic properties and stylistic conventions that underly the portrayal of the naked body.
- To explore the iconographic origins and development of certain motifs within Iron Age Scandinavia, between the 3rd-6th centuries AD, which were subsequently exported and adopted in England. To consider the symbolism and socio-political significance of these images in their Scandinavian context as a comparative case study.
- To interpret the prominent motifs and key artistic developments in England, to draw upon additional evidential sources to better understand why the naked body was represented and how the body was experienced and culturally encoded with meaning by 5th-7th-century populations.

1.5 Key terms and definitions

This section defines several key terms used within this thesis and their definitions (App. Table 1.1), 'naked' and other relevant terms relating to the body are defined in detail in Chapter 4. Period labels, their date ranges and their associated regions are also outlined in App. Table 1.2. In the period under study, many of the materials and images produced

across western, central and northern Europe have traditionally been categorised and assigned ethnic labels (e.g. ‘Anglo-Saxon’, ‘Germanic’, ‘Pictish’, ‘Celtic’, ‘Frankish’) (Hills 2011: 7). In recent decades, the ethnic character of these objects/images and the people that bore them have been increasingly questioned (Hills 2011: 7-8). These ethnic labels have also shaped the periodisation of the timeframe under study (App. Table 1.2). This reflects a broader problem of periodisation whereby periods are often defined by a specific narrative or structure often influenced by modern political and nationalistic discourse, thus how the period is conceived within current scholarship is also irrelevant to the past populations (Lucas 2018). The terms ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and ‘Germanic’ are particularly prevalent within this thesis and are further elaborated upon in App. Table 1.1. This thesis is largely unconcerned with exploring concepts of ethnicity concerning the naked body. However, ethnic labels are occasionally deployed within this work as they carry a particular use in an art historical context by offering a certain level of specificity when referring to particular materials, regions or time-periods and their associated scholarship. This contrasts with terms which imply broader horizons such as ‘early medieval’, ‘late antique’, ‘post-Roman’ or less precise references to large geographical areas such as ‘northern/western/central Europe’ or regions defined by modern state boundaries (Crawford et al. 2011: XXIII). Ultimately, this thesis tries to deploy labels that help simplify the argument, order the data, provide regional specificity and indicate cultural/material changes while also being aware of the limitations and implications of each term/label.

1.6 Organisation of thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 is a historiography that explores the emerging field of 'Anglo-Saxon' studies in the 16th-19th centuries. It demonstrates that the topic of the 'Anglo-Saxon' body was often censored, volatile and, at times, politically dangerous and that the legacy of this scholarship was ultimately harmful to modern studies of the body. Chapter 3 reviews the small portfolio of modern literature, from the 20th century onwards, which has considered the portrayal of the human body in the 5th-7th centuries. Here it is recognised that the naked image is currently thought to have a limited presence within the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England, but that certain ambiguous and abstract forms of anthropomorphic representation have been understudied regarding their states of dress/nakedness. Chapter 4 introduces the primary visual materials and covers the process of data collection. It also outlines the methodological and theoretical approach to the study and interpretation of these images. The primary sources of human representation found in England that date to the 5th-6th centuries were motifs and art styles conceived in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. Following directly on, Chapter 5 explores the changing portrayal of the naked image in Scandinavia and northern Germany between the 3rd-6th centuries AD. This enables a stronger understanding of the iconographic conventions and traditions surrounding the naked image which subsequently aids the analysis of the human images present in England in the 5th-6th centuries which are presented and analysed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 then presents and analyses the images that date from the late 6th-7th centuries. Chapter 8 discusses the major findings and trends from Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and considers the symbolism and social function of various naked representations. Chapter 9 provides a summary of the thesis, its key findings and their

implications for the study of the body in the early medieval period. Areas of future research are also identified.

Chapter 2

Anglo-Saxonism and the naked body: a historiography

2.1 Introduction

This historiographical study explores how scholars, between the 16th-19th centuries, have approached the topic of nakedness regarding the pre-Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples.[1] This chapter demonstrates that scholarly considerations of nakedness have been repeatedly shaped by contemporary cultural attitudes to the body as well as a wider set of socio-political and nationalistic discourses. These developments have impacted our current understanding of the early medieval body and are in some instances responsible for it failing to materialise in modern scholarship (see Chapter 3).

2.2 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies in the 16th-17th centuries

The 16th century saw a rising academic interest in the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples and their continental 'Germanic' origins. New ideas of Englishness were emerging which emphasised the importance of the 'Anglo-Saxon' migration and settlement in shaping modern England. A primary figure in this new scholarship was William Camden (1551-1623) and his work *Britannia* (1586), and his subsequent writing *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine* (1605).[2] Camden's work emphasised the distinctive contributions of the ancient British, Roman and 'Anglo-Saxon' ethnic groups to British history (Niles 2015: 80-85). In

[1] Within this chapter the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is used for convenience. However, the scholarly usage of this term was not popularised until the 19th century. Prior to this development, the terms 'Saxon', 'Gothic', 'Germanic' and 'Teutonic' were used instead (see Niles 2015 and App. Table. 1.1).

[2] Six editions of Britannia were published by William Camden, the sixth edition (1610) was the first English translation (Levy, 1964:70). Due to access issues, this thesis relies on the updated edition published by Edmund Gibson in 1695.

doing so, Camden highlighted the importance of the 'Anglo-Saxon' period, its peoples, culture and particularly its language, as an essential contributing element to Modern English identity and society (Niles 2015: 85; Smiles 2009: 109; Richardson 2004: 111-12). An additional antiquarian of note for his contribution to the study of the 'Anglo-Saxon' past is the Anglo-Dutch born Richard Verstegan (1550-1640), author of *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605).[3] Whereas Camden emphasised the mixed cultural origins of modern English society, Verstegan argued the 'Anglo-Saxon' migrants displaced and decimated the native British populace, thus the modern English population was essentially 'Germanic' (Niles 2015: 86-88). Consequently, Verstegan's work has been credited as the first to elevate the 'Anglo-Saxon' ethnic group above all other British peoples in the formation of modern England. Verstegan was also at the forefront in overturning pre-existing myths surrounding the origins of the British peoples (Hamilton 1999: 2). John Speed (1551/2-1629) is another historian, and cartographer, relevant to this study, particularly his work *History of Great Britaine Under the Conquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans* (1611). To provide a richer understanding of the 'Anglo-Saxon' past, all three authors drew upon classical and medieval texts that referenced various 'Germanic' peoples. Tacitus' *Germania* (1st century AD) was regularly employed, having been recently rediscovered in the 15th century and published in English in 1598 (Niles 2015: 88). This ethnographic study listed and described the customs and habits of the 'Germanic' tribes settled beyond the northern frontiers. This text would play a pivotal role in the development of a 'pan-Germanic' northern European identity, often referred to as 'Gothic' or 'Teutonic' (Horsman 1981: 10-11, 14-17; Kidd 1999: 215; Niles 2015: 88). The work of Camden, Verstegan and Speed heavily contributed to this

[3] This thesis utilises the second edition published in 1628.

emerging scholarship by positioning the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples within this 'Germanic' ethnic collective by evoking notions of a shared ancestral past and cultural identity, including pre-Christian religious beliefs and myths (Kidd 1999: 219-22; Niles 2015: 81-88; O' Donoghue 2014: 31-32).

The idea of an 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural identity was partly shaped in this period via scholars juxtaposing the 'Anglo-Saxons' with the ancient Britons and Picts. Therefore, before exploring scholarly ethnographic accounts of the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples in greater detail, it is necessary to consider how these other groups were represented in this period. Descriptions and depictions of the ancient Britons and Picts regularly featured states of nakedness in the late 16th -17th centuries. This is visible in the work of both Camden and Speed who, utilising several classical authors and the 6th-century British monk Gildas (c. 500-c.570), described the Iron-Age Britons and 5th-century AD Picts as naked, semi-naked and animal skin wearing barbarians (Camden 1695: 33-6, 99-100,103,113-14; 1605: 12,208; Speed 1611: 167, 178-82; 195, 281; Hingley 2008: 48). More than simply being descriptive, the writings of both authors reiterated the sentiments of their source materials which characterised this nakedness as a symbol of barbarity, savagery and a lack of civility and cultural advancement (Camden 1695: 33-35; 1605: 12, 208-09; Speed 1611: 178-82). Speed reasoned that the absence of Christianity and its moralising influence was partly responsible for the cultural tolerance of these 'shamefully indecent' fashions (1611: 178). Subsequently, the Roman colonisation was seen to have had a positive civilising effect on these peoples by encouraging the adoption of textile fashions (Speed 1611: 179-82; Camden 1605: 12, 208-9; Hingley 2008: 49; Sandset 2018: 111-12). The comments of Camden and Speed were both influenced by a wider discourse emerging in the late 16th and 17th centuries which paralleled the ethnographic accounts of classical authors with contemporary colonial encounters with

'naked savages' present in America, Africa and Asia (Hingley 2008: 46; Smiles 2009; Gaudio 2009: 24; Frénée-Hutchins 2016: 86-88; Moser 2018: 80-85). These colonial encounters provided real-life models that inspired a visual re-imagining of the ancient Britons as 'naked savages' with tattooed skin, painted bodies and adorned with various forms of jewellery and dress articles (Fig. 2.1) (Smiles 2009: 106-07, Moser 2018: 71, 83-84; Hingley 2008: 45-46). These attributes were intended to give the bodies a certain monstrous or grotesque quality to accentuate the threatening and alien quality of the pagan and primitive peoples who existed beyond the known world (Gaudio 2008: 77; 2009: 24). In turn, the Britons and Picts were increasingly presented as simple savages who, akin to the various peoples encountered by the British in the new world, benefitted from the 'civilisation' brought via colonisation (Frénée-Hutchins 2016: 86; Sandset 2018: 111-2; Colburn 2019: 200). The link between clothing and cultural development is exemplified in Lucas de Heere's (1534-1584) *Description of Britain* (1575) which contains a depiction of a pair of naked ancient Britons who precede a pair of well-dressed Elizabethan English men present on later pages (Fig. 2.2). Underlying this contrast is the distinction between the ancient Britons and medieval English and their respective levels of cultural and technological development. While some contested the negative portrayal of the British in this manner, their stereotypical representation would ultimately leave a stronger imprint on the antiquarian imagination in the 17th century (Moser, 2018: 81-4; Frénée-Hutchins, 2016: 86; Hingley and Unwin, 2006: 125). This development would have further negative consequences as links were increasingly being drawn between the ancient Britons and the modern populations in Wales, Ireland and Scotland (Camden 1605: 12: Smiles 2009: 110-11; Chapman 1992: 205). These areas were perceived as the 'Celtic fringes' and its inhabitants were branded as unruly



Figure 2.1 Illustrations and engravings of Picts and ancient Britons produced in the late 16th-17th centuries. A) A drawing of a Pictish warrior holding a human head by John White (c. 1580s) (BM 1906,0509.1.24); B) A drawing of a Pictish woman by John White (C.1580s) (BM 1906,0509.1.27); C) A drawing of a Pictish man by John White (C.1580s) (BM 1906,0509.1.26); D) A drawing of an ancient British man by John White (c.1580s) (BM 1906,0509.1.28); E) A drawing of an ancient British woman by John White (c.1580s) (BM 1906,0509.1.25); F) A drawing of an 'Ancient Britaine' (Speed 1611: 180); G) 'The true picture of a young daughter of the Picts' by Theodor de Bry (Harriot and De Bry 1590).

A) 

B) 

Figure 2.2 Illustrations from Lucas de Heere's *Description of Britain* (1575). A) Two ancient Britons (British Library, Add MS. 28330. Fol. 8v); B) Three men wearing Elizabethan era attire: a member of the Parliament, a knight of the Order of the Garter and a guardsman (British Library, Add MS. 28330. Fol. 31r).

and resistant towards modern English imperial ambitions, thus they were seen as continuing to oppose civilisation in the same fashion as their Roman resisting ancestral progenitors (Camden 1605: 12; Smiles 2009: 110-11). As a result of Camden and Verstegan, the educated English elite was increasingly grounding their 'Englishness' in the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement and the migrants who displaced the native naked Britons (Smiles 2009: 110-11).

In the late 16th -17th centuries, the types of fashions associated with a specific culture or group were thought to be a direct reflection of their quality, character and achievements (Gaudio 2009: 24-26, Moser 2018: 83-84). Arguably, these implications influenced the study of 'Anglo-Saxon' dress. Since 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries were not extensively excavated until the 19th century, preceding scholars often relied on textual sources that referred to the costume habits of continental 'Germanic' peoples. For instance, Camden draws upon the early medieval writings of Widukind of Corvey (c.925-after 973) and Paul Diaconus (c. 720s-



Figure 2.3 '*The Arrival of the First Ancestors of English-men out of Germanie into Brittaine'*, engraved by Verstegan (1605: 117).

c. 796) to infer 'Anglo-Saxon' male dress was comprised of a close-coat and loose linen garments with broad trims comprised of multiple colours (Camden 1695: 127-28). This costume is described again in his subsequent work, followed by a description of later 'Anglo-Saxon' fashion as 'gallant' with coats worn to the mid-knee (1605: 209). Verstegan also provides an account of 'Anglo-Saxon' dress, but he does not state the sources where he derived his information. He states that the standard male costume was composed of a cloak worn alongside a long coat that had a wide skirt and elaborately decorated borders

(Verstegan 1605: 56). Verstegan appears to supplement this costume with some anachronistic and unfounded additions by describing the wearing of bowed and pointed shoes and the wielding of halberds and crossbows (1605: 56-57). Verstegan's fantastical description is also visually represented within his work, in which the 'Anglo-Saxon' colonisers are depicted arriving in Britain in a well-dressed and noble fashion, these figures are also portrayed in fictitious headpieces (Fig. 2.3) (Verstegan 1605: 117). While these descriptions of early 'Anglo-Saxon' dress were severely limited, they adequately distinguished the clothed 'Anglo-Saxons' from the naked Britons and Picts. This is observable on the frontispiece of Speed's work which depicts a semi-naked ancient Briton alongside an elaborately dressed 'Saxon' (1611) (Fig. 2.4). A similar juxtaposition is visible on William Hoyle's engraving featured on the cover of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), a compilation of poems concerning the topography of England and Wales (Fig. 2.5). The fantastically and anachronistically dressed 'Saxon' represents the mythical figure Hengist. He is present alongside a female personification of Britain who visually resembles the discussed depictions of ancient naked Britons (Trubowitz 2012: 1-2). The portrayal of the 'Anglo-Saxons' as respectably dressed contrasts with the writings of Tacitus who described the 'Germanic' peoples as frequently naked in daily life and in battle and ritual contexts (Taci. 6.9, 8.3, 17.2, 17.25, 20.1-3, 24.2). While Verstegan, Speed and Camden draw upon the writing of Tacitus, only Speed's account refers to Tacitus' comments on nakedness (Speed 1611: 286-87). Speed also recounted Tacitus' description of standard female 'Germanic' dress which was composed of a sleeveless garment that exposed the breasts and arms (1611: 286-87; Taci. 17.25). Interestingly, Verstegan also mentioned this costume, but without reference to the exposed breasts and, perhaps for this reason he also rejects the possibility that this costume was worn by 'Anglo-Saxon' women (1605: 56). Presumably, this

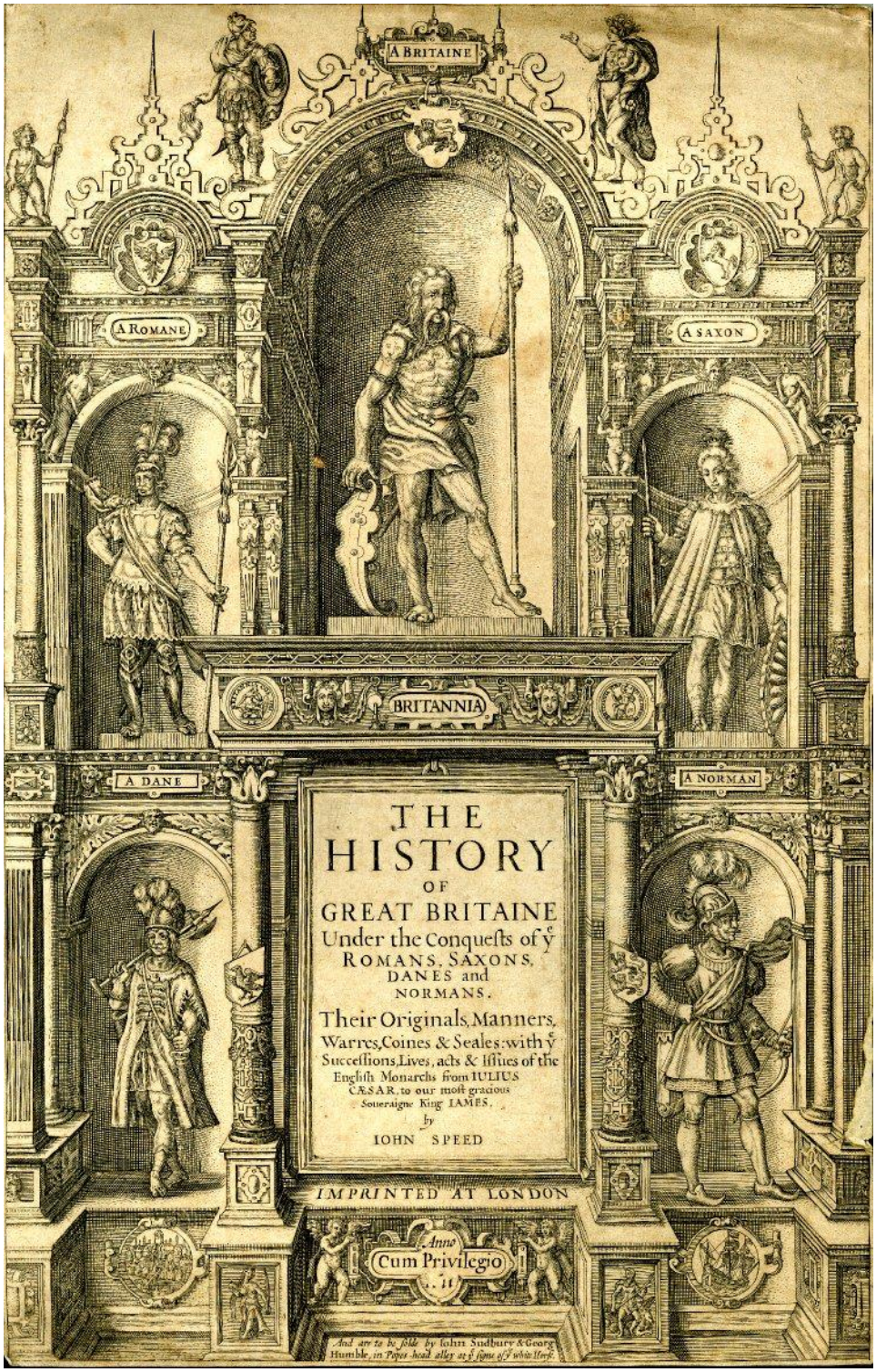


Figure 2.4 Title page to John Speed's *The History of Great Britaine,* 1611 (BM 1896,1230.213). John Speed's accompanying publication to this volume *Theatre of The Empire of Great Britaine, Presenting an exact geography of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1611) featured the same frontispiece.



Figure 2.5 William Hole's frontispiece of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, a series of poems dedicated to the topography of England and Wales (Drayton 1612). Pictured are the four conquerors of Britain, Brutus (top left), Julius Ceasar (top right), Hengist as the 'Anglo-Saxon' (bottom left) and William the Conqueror (bottom right). Great Britain is allegorised as a goddess-mother placed in the centre of her male subjugators (Trubowitz 2012: 1-2).

omission was influenced by Verstegan's mission to celebrate the 'Anglo-Saxons' and their 'Germanic' origins. By contrast, Speed's history attempted to promote a cohesive British history and identity and so did not elevate any particular cultural contribution (Frénée-Hutchins 2016: 86). Having said this, Speed ultimately constructed a profile of 'Anglo-Saxon' dress that drew upon the same sources as Camden and Verstegan (1611: 287-88). It was, therefore, possible to overlook the writings of Tacitus while focusing on alternative classical and medieval sources to produce a more appealing account of 'Anglo-Saxon' fashions. Consequently, an ethnographic juxtaposition of the clothed 'Anglo-Saxon' and naked ancient British and Pictish peoples emerged from this scholarship, the development of this idea in subsequent centuries will be explored below.

2.3 The divine body in the 16th-17th centuries

This section considers the scholarly conception of the divine bodies that belonged to the 'Anglo-Saxon' pre-Christian pantheon. The appearances of these deities were touched upon by the three scholars under discussion (Verstegan 1605: 68-81; Camden 1695; 130-33; Speed 1611: 287-88). Since Old English texts provide little insight into pre-Christian religious beliefs, these antiquarians relied on classical and medieval sources which alluded to various aspects of Norse and 'Germanic' paganism (Bremmer 2000: 148; Greenway 2008: 68-71; Gibson 2013: 99-101). Of note are a series of illustrations present in Verstegan's work, engraved by himself, that depict the gods that the English days of the week were named after (Bremmer 2000: 156; Gibson 2013: 104; Niles 2015: 97-100) (Figs. 2.6-2.8). The proper nouns Saturday, Sunday and Monday were not originally derived from 'Germanic' deities, but continental scholars exploring 'Saxon' paganism in the 15th century

A)



B)



C)



D)



Figure 2.6 Verstegan's engravings of Friga (A) (1605: 76); Thor (B) (1605: 74); and Wodan (C); (1605: 72). Verstegan's engravings were influenced by a woodcut produced by the Swedish antiquarian Olaus Magnus (1490-1557) in *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (A Description of the Northern Peoples) (1555) (Fig. 2.6d) (1555:100). In turn, Olaus' engraving was derived from an engraving by Johannes Magnus (1488-1544) in *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (History of all Kings of Goths and Swedes) (1554). The depiction of these three gods was partly influenced by the writings of the Danish historian Saxon Grammaticus (c. 1160- c. 1220) and primarily by the descriptions of the idols of Thor, Odin and Freyr at the temple of Uppsala (Sweden) recorded by the German medieval chronicler Adam of Bremen in the 11th century (O' Donoghue 2014: 32; Gibson 2013: 103).



Figure 2.7 Verstegan's engravings of Seater (A) (1605: 78); Sun (B) (1605: 69); Moone (C) (1605: 70). Verstegan's models were derived from Conrad Bote's (1475-1501) *Cronecken der Sassen* (Saxon Chronicle). This work included an engraving of Seater/Crodus (Fig. 2.7D) (Bote 1492: 37) and Moona (Fig. 2.8E) (Bote 1492: 50). Johannes Pomarius' (1544-1578) *Chronica der Sachsen und Niedersachsen* (Chronicle of Saxony and Lower Saxony) (1588) also appears to have inspired Verstegan. This work included an engraving of Seater/Crodus (Fig. 2.7F) (Pomarius 1588: 28); Sunna (Fig. 2.7G) (Pomarius 1588: 49); and Moona (Fig. 2.7H) (Pomarius 1588: 45).

A)



B)



Figure 2.8 Verstegan's engraving of Tuisco (A) (1605:71). Verstegan was influenced by an engraving produced by Peter lötner (1490-1546) featured in Burkard Waldis' (1490-1566) *Ursprung und Herkummen Der Zwolf Ersten Alten König und Fürsten Deutscher Nation* (Origin and Provenance of The First Twelve Old Kings and Monarchs of the German Nation) published in 1543 (Waldis 1543. Pl.1).

partly invented and mistakably attached to these days the gods Seater, Sunne and Moone, Verstegan subsequently adopted and popularised these 'deities' amongst English antiquarians (Bremmer 2000: 156-57; Niles 2015: 97-100). Verstegan's engravings or his written descriptions were not original as they drew heavily on pre-existing models produced by German and Scandinavian antiquarians (Fig. 2.6d, 2.7d-h, 2.8b). Nonetheless, Verstegan's images were widely circulated and regularly modified in subsequent centuries.They had a profound influence on how the pantheon was conceptualised within the cultural imagination in the early modern period (O'Donoghue 2014: 32). Verstegan's depiction of the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon includes instances of full-nudity and partial bodily exposure. For example, the sun is depicted nude, but the visibility of the body is obscured by the careful placement of the wheel and plinth (Fig. 2.7 b, g). Tuisco is described by Verstegan as wearing an animal skin. However, it has been presented in the style of a Roman toga thus revealing his right pectoral (1605: 71) (Fig. 2.8a). An additional classical influence is observable regarding the muscle cuirass worn by Friga, although the abdomen muscles have been omitted (Fig. 2.6a). Interestingly, Verstegan's model was derived from the work of Olaus Magnus, a Swedish scholar who described Friga as a goddess who shamelessly vaunted her sex (O'Donoghue 2014: 32). The muscle cuirass may, therefore, have served to communicate Friga's proclivity for nudity in a moderated manner, thus she is represented dressed but in an article that suggestively and transparently emphasised her underlying breasts and nipples. Vergestan also describes the physical appearance of additional deities. Of note is the god Flint who is described as wearing a sheet that partially covered his otherwise naked body (1605: 80) (Fig. 2.9). Verstegan names three additional idols, Prono, Ridegast and Siew, but states they, and other Saxon deities, are too 'worthless' to describe (1605: 81). These three named deities and a female idol referred to as Venus are



Figure 2.9 The ‘Saxon’ idol of Flyns/Flynt (Bote 1492: 236). This illustration likely served as Verstegan’s source and inspiration for his written description of Flint.

represented in the work of Conrad Bote which influenced Verstegan’s engravings (Bote 1492: 38, 245) (Fig. 2.10) These are the only additional ‘Saxon’ idols illustrated within this source, all of which are omitted from Verstegan’s work. While Verstegan described the nakedness of Flynt, the idols he deemed ‘worthless’ and unworthy of discussion were those that were represented fully naked (Fig. 2.10). Given that Verstegan rejected the breast-baring dress described by Tacitus, the complete omission of the Venus idol and its naked female venerators may represent a similar aversion to the naked female body. The influence

A)



B)



C)



Figure 2.10 The ‘Saxon’ idols omitted by Verstegan. A-B) A Venus idol displayed on a moving cart alongside additional naked female cultists (A) Bote 1492: 38; B) Pomarius 1588:33); C) Three idols from Lower Saxony (Oldenburg, Ridegast of Mecklenburg, Siew of Polaber) (Bote 1492: 245).

of Verstegan's sensibilities in his work is also evident in his description of Moone who he described as a strange and ridiculous cross-dresser wearing a short woman's coat, a hat with long ears and pyked shoes (1605: 70-71) (Fig.2.7c). It would seem, therefore, that only certain instances of nudity were deemed acceptable when describing 'Anglo-Saxon' divinities and idols.

An additional deity of interest covered in the work of Camden, Speed and Verstegan is Freyr (Fricco/Frisco), a male fertility deity that belongs to the Norse pantheon. Within the writings of Adam of Bremen, an 11th-century medieval German chronicler, the idol of Freyr at the Temple of Uppsala, Sweden, was described as featuring a large erect phallus (A.B. 4.26). This detail is present in Camden's and Speed's work, but Verstegan's account is more ambiguous as he had confused Fricco with Friga (Speed 1611: 288; Camden 1695: 130; 1605: 76-77). The root of this confusion lies in the similarities between the names of Fricco (Freyr) and Frico (Frea/Freyja), the incestuous twins of the Norse pantheon, as well as the mistaken conflation of Frea (Freya) and Friga (Frigg) (O'Donoghue 2014: 34; Gibson 2013: 105). Consequently, Friga absorbed the priapic quality of Fricco and is described by Verstegan as the powerful hermaphrodite wife of Wodan (1605: 76-77). Friga's dual nature is evident in their representation in which they are presented as a woman wielding a man's sword and bow (1605: 76-77) (Fig. 2.6a). This confusion is also present in the work of Aylett Sammes, a British antiquarian, whose work *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* also featured an illustration of Friga (1676) (Fig. 2.11). While Sammes' work made separate references mention to Fricco and Friga, it continued to conflate Friga, Freya, and Fricco resulting in Friga adopting Fricco's priapic qualities (1676: 444-49). Sammes drew links to a hermaphroditic version of Venus worshipped by the Romans known as *Venus Barbata* (Bearded Venus) and suggested this model may have even influenced the hermaphroditic



Figure 2.11 An engraving of Wodan, Thor and Friga featured in Aylett Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* (1676: 466).

qualities of Friga (1676: 447-48). Sammes' illustration of the three idols at Uppsala adapted Verstegan and Magnus' design, but now Friga was represented in an entirely male guise (Fig. 2.11). This suggests Sammes based his depiction of Friga on Adam of Bremen's description of Freyr at Uppsala (1676: 446-47). Yet, he has censored the phallus by presenting Fricco in a skirted garment or cloth. The combination of this garment, the reclining pose and the musculature of the torso also strongly implies a classical influence.

The scholarship of the late 16th-17th centuries made important contributions to the conceptualisation of 'Anglo-Saxon' divine bodies with states of dress and nakedness being an important and often troubling component in their characterisation and portrayal. As stated by Maria Gibson, this scholarship introduced and shaped a pantheon whose identities

were grounded in a 'warrior masculinity, undermined and enlivened by concerns with sexual identity, transformation and authority' (Gibson 2013: 105). Unsurprisingly, these dimensions limited the appeal of this subject amongst academics in this period (ibid.). In addition to the demonstrated unease surrounding the naked body, the writings of Camden, Verstegan and Speed also express contempt and disgust for a wide range of practices and beliefs associated with 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism (Camden 1605; 12; 1695: 129-31; Verstegan 1605: 67-81; Speed 1611: 287-88). In light of this, the willingness to accept the namesake of Friday as a hermaphrodite while also stating Friga's marital status to Wodan and their high position within the pantheon is somewhat surprising. Hermaphrodites were not perceived positively in this period, often perceived as marvels, horrors, monsters and curiosities associated with androgyny, effeminacy and transgressive sexualities (Gilbert 2002: 4). However, the various distasteful sexual aspects associated with these 'false idols' was partially offset by the scholarly narrative constructed from various classical and medieval texts that suggested the 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Germanic' peoples were strong believers in monogamy, chastity and fidelity (Verstegan 1605: 56-58; Camden 1695: 129-30; Speed 1611: 287-88). Similarly, the pagan 'Anglo-Saxons' were framed positively for their zealous worship of their gods which, in turn, made them ideal practitioners of Christianity following their conversion in the late 6th-7th centuries (Camden 1605: 12; 1695: 129-31, Sweet 2004: 190). Nonetheless, these attempts to mitigate the negative pagan qualities of the Anglo-Saxons did not alter the general perception of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons as offensively immoral and unworthy of historical and antiquarian study in the 17th century (Sweet 2004: 191; Gibson, 2013: 105-07). Consequently, while the gods were associated with states of nakedness in the 16th-17th centuries, interest in this topic was highly niche during this time.

2.4 Anglo-Saxon bodies in the 18th century

The most significant and original contributions to the study of 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies in the 18th century were those produced by the antiquarian Joseph Strutt (1749-1802). Of note to this study are his works the *View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England* (Vol. 1) (1775); *The Chronicle of England* (Vol. 1-2) (1777-78), and *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the people of England* (Vol. 1) (1796). Since the later work was published at the very end of the century it is perhaps best considered as part of the scholarship of the 19th century, but it will be discussed here. Strutt was a pioneering social historian who sought all available evidential sources, including texts, images and archaeology, to produce the most accurate historical reconstructions of the customs and habits of past cultures (Moser 2018: 87; Sweet 2004: 58, 214; Butler 1999: 328-38). The popularity of Strutt's work was partly rooted in its incorporation of elaborate and detailed self-composed engravings (Sweet 2004: 58, 214). These engravings were occasionally direct reproductions or alterations of images produced by the cultures under study. In other instances, they were reconstructions based on other evidential sources combined with his imagination (Niles 2015: 171; Campbell 2016: 82-83). For the 'Anglo-Saxon' period, Strutt's reconstruction of dress relied on a small number of surviving texts, coin portraits and several Late Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts from the Cottonian, Bodleian, Harleian libraries (Sweet 2004: 214). By drawing upon this visual evidence and other textual sources relating to costume, Strutt provided a highly detailed and original account of Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' dress (1775, 1777-1778, 1796). While not strictly an Anglo-Saxonist, Strutt played an important role in popularising the notion that modern English national identity had its origins in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period (Sweet 2004: 214-15; Niles 2015: 171). In his attempt to enhance the appeal of the Anglo-Saxon past, Strutt sought to challenge and

reframe the enduring and common conception that 'Anglo-Saxon' society was barbarous and uncivilised (Sweet 2004: 215). The following discussion considers the presentation of the naked and dressed body within the work of Strutt. As will be seen, Strutt's approach to this topic is at times contradictory and inconsistent. Before exploring this further, it is worth considering the different intellectual frameworks that influenced Strutt's attitudes.

As in the preceding century, 18th-century scholarship generally perceived the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples as primitive and, consequently, the 'dark ages' as an unappealing period of study (Burrow 1981: 112: Sweet 2004: 190-91, 199-200; Niles 2015: 341-42). Similar sentiments are present in David Hume's (1711-1766) highly influential *The History of England* (1754–61). Within this work, Hume stated the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers were descended from the vile, violent and ignorant 'Germanic' peoples who were little removed from their 'original state of nature' (Hume, 1770: 17, 32, 251, 236).[4] Hume's negative portrayal of the 'Anglo-Saxons' and their 'Germanic' origins was partly charged with an anti-English sentiment intended to appeal to his Scottish readers (Burrow 1981:112-14; Niles 2015: 342). Hume's work also reflected an intellectual approach to history that became popular in the 18th century known as 'Scientific Whiggism'. This historiographical framework advocated that all cultures are advancing through comparable stages of development towards higher levels of civilisation and enlightenment (Burrow 1981: 112-4). To Enlightenment-era scholars who venerated the achievements of the classical world, the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement of England and its undoing on the Roman efforts to civilise and Christianise the British populace was perceived as a step backwards in progress (Sweet 2004: 191). However, as British imperial achievements began to dwarf those of Rome, the

[4] From volume 1 of the 1770 edition.

scholarly exaltation of the classical world was somewhat diminished in the second half of the 18th century as English historians and antiquarians acquired the confidence to embrace their native histories (Burrow 1981: 111; Sweet 2004: 215). This also coincided with the Enlightenment interest in primitivism which encouraged the study of 'primitive' peoples, past and present, in their so-called 'states of nature' (Sweet 2004: 215). To certain scholars, the simplicity associated with 'primitive' peoples was increasingly presented as austere and hardy in a noble and idealised fashion. By contrast, it was alleged that higher stages of civilisation encouraged depravity, immorality and excessiveness (Burrow 1981: 112-14). This shift cast the primitive 'Germanic' peoples in a more positive light. Thomas Percy's (1729 – 1811) popular and well-received publication of *Northern Antiquities* (1770), an English translation of Paul-Henri Mallet's (1730-1807) *L'I*ntroduction *l I'histoire de Dannemarc* (1755-1756), also contributed to the changing perception of the 'Germanic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' past. The Swiss-born Mallet provided an idealised account of the ancient Scandinavians, their customs and habits, and offered a previously unparalleled level of insight into their mythological beliefs by drawing upon Icelandic medieval texts such as the *Poetic Edda* (Horsman 1976: 391; O'Donoghue 2014: 80-83). Within this work, the naked primitive character of the 'Germanic' peoples was also acknowledged (Percy 1770: X). As will be discussed below, this translation played an important role in the emergence of the Gothic Romantic movement and the appreciation of northern European medieval literature, mythology and poetry in the second half of the 18th century (O'Donoghue 2014: 80-83). Following this shift in perception, the 'Anglo-Saxon' migrants were recognised as liberators who rid Britain of the corrupt and debauched Roman administration (Sweet 2004: 215).

Returning to Strutt, his work also drew upon these contemporary, and somewhat contradictory, ideals of progress and primitivism when discussing 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies in

states of dress and nakedness. For example, references to the nakedness of the 'Germanic' peoples described by Tacitus are present in Strutt's discussion of the 'Ancient Saxons' and 'Ancient Germans and Saxons' (Strutt 1775: 23; 1777: 339-40). The label 'Ancient Saxons' also refers to and incorporates the early 'Anglo-Saxon' pre-Christian settlers (Strutt 1775: 23; 1777: 339-40). Strutt also drew upon Tacitus, suggesting that the 'Anglo-Saxons' may have held public ceremonies featuring naked male youths dancing with weaponry (Strutt 1775: 50-51). As such, Strutt displayed little reluctance in suggesting that the 'Ancient Saxons' may have regularly assumed a state of public nakedness either on the Continent or in England following the migration. This is further demonstrated by one of his engravings which depicts an assortment of partially naked 'Germanic' men and women (Fig. 2.12). The 'Ancient Saxon' is pictured on the far right-leaning on a spear, as in the work of Camden, Strutt based his appearance on the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris and Paulus Diaconus (Strutt 1775: 23; 46-7; 1777: 339-40) (Fig. 13a). Strutt's recognition of this 'primitive' nakedness is unsurprising as his account of the early 'Anglo-Saxons' acknowledges various 'savage' and 'ignorant' qualities and traits. However, he also tries to positively frame some of these primitive elements. For instance, he exults their immense physical prowess, valour and love of liberty, and that they also upheld commendable values relating to family, chastity, marriage and fidelity (Strutt 1777: 353-57). These ideas were becoming firmly embedded in the notion of a 'Gothic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural identity (Burrow 1981:111; Niles 2015: 306).

While presenting the early 'Anglo-Saxon' and ancient 'Germanic' peoples as noble savages, Strutt also acted to distance the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers from their primitive 'Germanic' origins (for discussion on the concept and origin of the 'noble savage' see Ellingson 2001). For Strutt, dress was a direct reflection of how far a culture had advanced

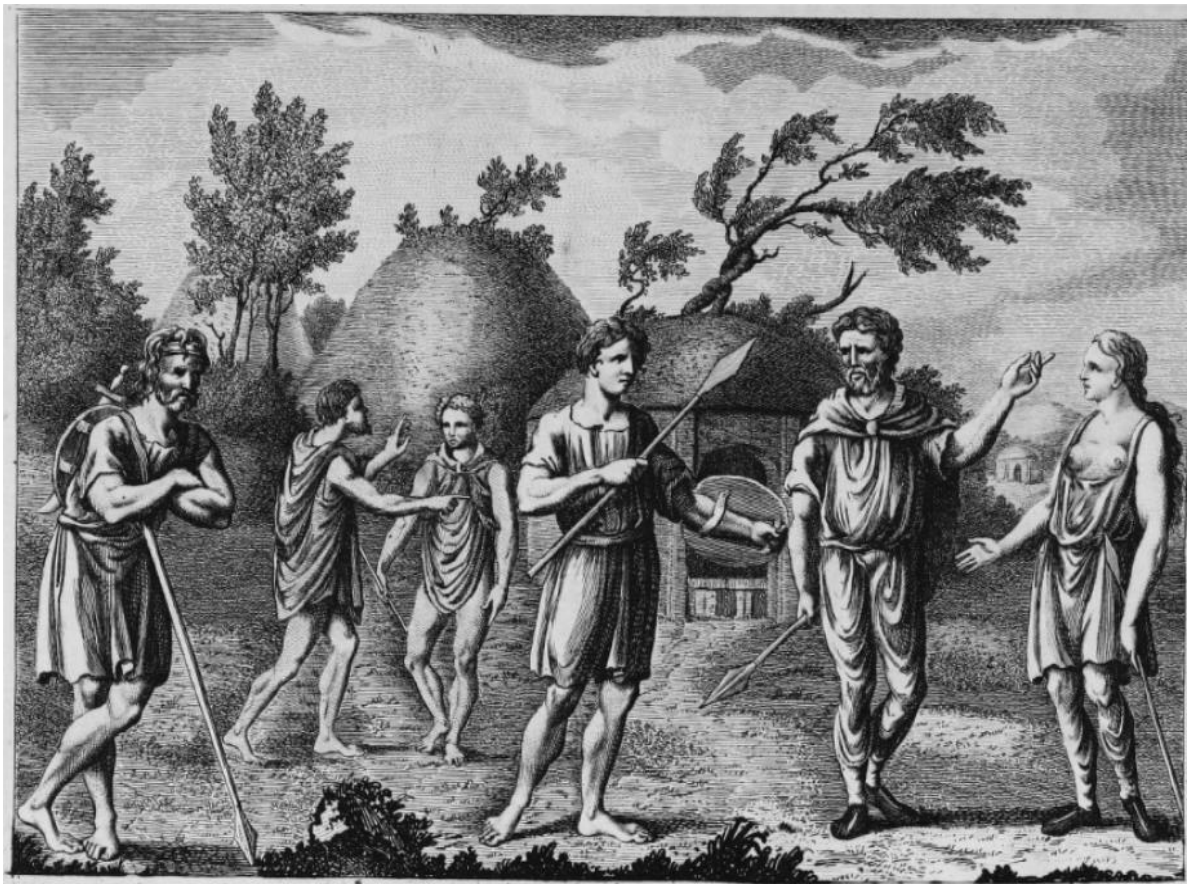


Figure 2.12 Strutt's engraving of the 'Ancient Germanic' and 'Ancient Saxon' peoples (Strutt 1777. Pl.XVIII).

technologically and progressed towards a state of civilisation. It is notable, therefore, that Strutt advocated, without any supporting evidence, that it was likely that the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers arrived in England wearing forms of dress that surpassed those attributed to the continental 'Saxon' and 'Germanic' peoples (Strutt 1777: 341). A similar suggestion is also visible in one of his engravings which does not portray the early 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers in England wearing the dress of the 'Ancient Saxons', but in costumes adapted from late 'Anglo-Saxon' illuminated manuscripts (Fig. 2.13). Thus, Strutt's engravings imply that 'Anglo-Saxon' fashions had rapidly advanced by a few hundred years during and following the settlement of England. A defining feature of Strutt's work was his extensive coverage of



Figure 2.13 The Anglo-Saxon camp in front of Tong Castle (Kent) (Strutt 1777. PL. XI). The castle is an anachronistic representation of the fabricated fortress of Hengist.

the dress of the Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' period (predominantly in Strutt 1796: 1-86 and also in 1775: 46-48; 1778: 237-42). Within these works, Strutt further cultivated a divide that differentiated the pre-Christian (uncivilised) from the Christian (civilised) 'Anglo-Saxons'. Following Christianisation, it was argued that the guidance of the Church prompted a revolution in textile production resulting in costumes that were far more elaborate, diverse and complex (Strutt 1777: 341- 42; 1778: 237-42; 1796: 1-2, 24). Strutt's argument was largely speculative and derived from the bias of surviving sources that provided insight into the fashions and textile production of the Christian period. Strutt's admiration and exultation for these fashions are apparent through his various written praises (1796: 1-3, 14-15). The 8th century is marked out as a time when male and female costumes were

displaying signs of luxury, magnificence, modesty, and decency. These fashions are said to reflect a burgeoning cultural genius that signalled the Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples were progressing to a higher state of civilisation (Strutt 1796: 1-2; 14-15). Strutt's desire to elevate the 'Anglo-Saxon' past is made further apparent in his negative appraisal of the Norman conquest of which he states their 'cruel tyrannical policy, abolished the ancient customs of the country' (Strutt 1796: 88). Strutt further states that the Norman conquest made little advancement in textile production as this was an area that the 'Anglo-Saxon' people excelled in (Strutt 1796: 88-89). Despite Strutt's earlier attempts to positively portray the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons, his final work omitted them altogether (1796). Arguably, the primitive costumes associated with the 'ancient Saxons' weakened the notion that 'Anglo-Saxon' fashion was a measure of their cultural genius, but it is unclear whether Strutt actively omitted the less sophisticated pre-Christian phase for this reason. Regardless, while Strutt's work introduced 'Anglo-Saxon' customs and habits to a broader audience, the image of the 'great ancestors' he sought to bring to light for their noble nature and past glories were primarily the better dressed, and thus more civilised, Christian 'Anglo-Saxons' (Strutt 1775: IV; 1796).

2.5 The divine body in the 18th century

In the 1720s, Verstegan's illustrated pantheon were rendered in three-dimensional form as full-length stone sculptures carved by John Michael Rysbrack (1694-1770). The sculptures were produced at the behest of Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1675-1749), a high-ranking Whig politician who displayed them in his grounds at Stowe House, Buckinghamshire (Burrow 1981: 111; Niles 2015: 303-06; Sweet, 2004: 248). These

sculptures did not represent a genuine interest in 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism. Instead, they were a patriotic statement that emphasised the owner's 'Anglo-Saxon' heritage and 'Germanic' links to the House of Hanover following the succession of George I (Burrow 1981: 111; Niles 2015: 303-06; Sweet 2004: 189, 210). To this day, these statues represent the only attempt to represent 'Anglo-Saxon' divinities as monumental sculptures outside of neo-pagan/Wiccan contexts. By the later part of the 18th century, scholarly advances had challenged and thoroughly deconstructed Verstegan's conceptualisation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon. This shift was primarily driven by the publication of *Northern Antiquities* which drew upon Later medieval Icelandic sources to provide novel insights into Norse cosmological beliefs (Percy 1770). Within this work, the confusion surrounding Friga, Freya and Freyr was unpicked and so Friga was no longer perceived as a hermaphrodite. However, Friga continued to be conflated with Freya (Percy 1770: 90-94). Friga, wife of Odin, is described as a fertility deity, a goddess of love, pleasure, debauchery and war. She is also said to be comparable to Venus, but a more faithful version (Percy 1770: 90-94, 97-98). The impact of this work is visible when comparing Strutt's 1775 account of 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism, which mirrored the work of his predecessors (e.g. Camden and Verstegan), with his account in his 1777 and 1778 volumes which he states was heavily influenced by *Northern Antiquities* (Strutt 1777: 210-14; 1778: 160-62). Consequently, the Sun, Moon and Seater were excluded from the pantheon, as were the other deities and idols originally listed by Verstegan which were derived from medieval sources that alluded to the pagan beliefs of the continental 'Saxons'. In turn, Odin, Thor and Friga were increasingly recognised as the principal deities in a downsized pantheon. While Friga retained some of the sexual dimensions, the deconstruction of Verstegan's pantheon meant that the states of

nakedness/partial nudity and some of the sexual characteristics were becoming disconnected from 'Anglo-Saxon' divine bodies.

With that said, one interesting development in the 18th century were the suggestions that the Cerne Abbas Giant, Dorset, represented an 'Anglo-Saxon' religious monument (Bettey 1981: 121; Koch 2006: 395-96). This 180ft human figure was carved into the hillside and its trenches filled with crushed chalk. The body is depicted naked and features a large erect penis. Since the locals referred to this figure as Helis, it prompted links to be drawn with a supposed 'Anglo-Saxon' god recorded as Heil or Hegle in Camden's *Britannia* (Koch 2006: 395-96; Gibson 2013: 105). Given how earlier antiquarians portrayed the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon it is perhaps unsurprising a naked ithyphallic giant could be recognised as an 'Anglo-Saxon' god. However, this link was essentially confined to the 18th century as other theories regarding his identity and origins prevailed (see Grinsell 1980; Willcox 1998).

In the later part of the 18th century, the myths of the Norsemen encapsulated a dark, brooding and moody aesthetic that inspired a Gothic *Romantic* movement comprised of poets, artists and literary scholars (O'Donohuge 2014: 65-70; Gibson 2013: 110-12; Niles 2015: 192). While this initially generated some interest in 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism, it soon became apparent that there was no Old English literary tradition to draw upon (Niles 2015: 192). Within this movement, the myths were regularly treated as historical accounts which recorded the deeds of mortals, e.g. Odin, Thor and Friga, whose fame resulted in their deification (Gibson 2013: 109-12). In turn, the violent, sexually transgressive and wicked qualities that had been attributed to the 'Germanic' gods were no longer explained as fantastical stories or ignorant and superstitious beliefs. Instead, they were considered

realities of the past that did not align with nationalistic and politically influenced visions of a historical English cultural identity (Gibson 2013: 109-12). Ultimately, the myths of the Norsemen and other aspects of 'Germanic' paganism proved too offensive to the intellectual, ethical, and Christian values at this time. Subsequently, interest in these subjects declined in the early 19th century (Gibson 2013: 109-13).

2.6 Anglo-Saxon bodies in the 19h century

In the 19th century there was a growing society-wide acknowledgement that the origins of the English character and national identity lay in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period (Horsman 1976: 392; Parke, 2007: 33-34, 41-2; Urry 1993: 83; Niles 2015: 301-70). A fundamental figure in the popularisation of this historical period was the lawyer turned historian Sharon Turner (1768-1847) and the four-volume *History of Anglo-Saxon England* (1799-1805) (Parker 2007: 41-42; Horsman 1976: 394; Niles 2015: 174).[5] The high impact of Turner's work was the simple presentation and repackaging of pre-existing ideas into a full-length history infused with patriotic sentiments (Burrow 1981: 117-18; Horsman 1976: 394; Niles 2015: 174; Magennis 2011: 177). His positive portrayal of the 'Anglo-Saxons' emphasised their masculine character, love of freedom as well as their superior language, social institutions, family values and a mind which was suited to science and reason (MacDougall 1982: 94; Magennis 2011: 177-79). Turner's exultation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural character would subsequently have a significant influence on emerging theories of racial Anglo-Saxonism (Horsman 1976: 394). The following discussion explores the conceptualisation of the 'Anglo-

[5] Originally published in four volumes, eight editions were subsequently published. The following discussion utilises the sixth edition, published in 1840 as three volumes, as it has been digitised in its entirety (Turner, 1840a/b/c).

Saxon' body within Turner's works. How the body was considered by other academics and within broader socio-political discourse is then considered. Before this, it is worth briefly exploring how ideas relating to nakedness and cultural primitivism were conceptualised in 19th-century thought.

Unlike the late 18th century, the 19th century witnessed a shift against the romantic idealisation of 'noble savages' and 'naked primitives'. In part, this development reflects the high standards and expectations that surrounded the complex dress codes central to Victorian society, adherence to these rules was essential in presenting an image of respectability, civility and discipline (Levine 2008: 215). By contrast, Victorian attitudes to the naked body were shaped heavily by colonial encounters and Christian teachings and so was associated with unruliness, sexual impropriety, immorality, and sin (Levine 2008: 215). Subsequently, a national and imperial identity emerged that defined 'Englishness' in diametric opposition to the qualities and characteristics associated with the 'savage' and 'primitive' peoples, past and present, that had been subjugated by the English within and beyond the British isles (Bowler 1992: 721-29; Williams 2007: 38-39; Conley 2005; Levine 2008; Hingley 2000: 63-71). The rapid technological advances of the industrial revolution had also fostered the notion, particularly amongst the middle class, that the British were intellectually unrivalled (Trigger 1984: 363-64). Charles Darwin's emerging theories of biological evolution were applied to ideas surrounding the evolution of culture. In turn, it was argued that modern 'primitive' societies had not evolved, biologically or culturally, as industrialised nations had (Bowler 1992: 721-22). Underlying this theory was the Enlightenment concept of a single human species and the Christian position that advocated universal descent from Adam. Within these frameworks, all cultures originated from similar 'primitive' origins, but evolved at different rates (Horsman 1976: 396; Horsman 1981: 44-45;

Bowler 1992: 721-72). However, as the 19th century progressed, these concepts were challenged by theories of race advocated by polygenists like Robert Knox. Knox argued that humans were racially and biologically diverse and so inherently unequal. He also believed that some cultures were inferior and incapable of further evolution (Horsman 1976: 405-08, 396; Bowler 1992: 721-22). As will be discussed, racial distinctions were also drawn between the Celtic and Gothic/Teutonic peoples. Collectively, the values placed on elaborate dress and technological developments as a reflection of the merit and value of a particular culture had, alongside the emerging discourses on race and cultural evolution, contributed to the conceptualisation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' body.

While there was a growing recognition in the 18th century that a state of naked primitivism was shared by the ancient 'Germanic' and ancient Britons/Celtic peoples, the work of Turner marked a return to the distinction between clothed 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies and naked ancient Britons (e.g. Strutt 1775: 5-8, 23; 1777: 272-73, 339-40; Percy 1770: X; Pinkerton 1787: 133). Within Turner's work, no reference was made to the nakedness mentioned by Tacitus. Instead, Turner stated that Tacitus was of limited relevance to his study as his list of 'Germanic' tribes did not feature the 'Saxons' (Turner 1840a: 53-56). Yet, Turner draws upon the source when ascribing the 'Anglo-Saxons' with certain positive attributes associated with the 'Germanic' character, this includes a love of liberty, freedom and democracy (Turner 1840a: 72, 149). By contrast, Turner made several references to the nakedness of the ancient Britons which he saw as an indicator of their barbarous and primitive character (Turner 1840a: 39-45, 149). Turner's account of the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement also states that the earliest 'Germanic' mercenaries received payments of clothing when assisting the Romano-British against the Picts and Scotti (Turner 1840a: 150-51). The exact payment for this service is not explicitly stated in the writings of Gildas or

Bede, rather it is stated they were paid in supplies which included food as stated by Bede (D.E. 23.5, H.E. 1.15-16; Jones, 1998:50). Arguably, Turner's interpretation indicates an 'Anglo-Saxon' taste for Romano-British and Romanised fashions. In turn, the clothed 'Anglo-Saxon' mercenaries repelled the 'half-naked' Scotti raiders from Ireland (Turner 1840a: 149-51). On the topic of early 'Anglo-Saxon' dress, Turner's descriptions recall the works of Verstegan, Speed, Camden and Strutt in stating that the men wore loose linen vests with multicoloured decorative trims while women wore gowns and a selection of jewellery (Turner 1840a: 122). The possibility that Turner actively overlooked the habits associated with the ancient 'Germanic' peoples is indicated by his reluctance to even consider the customs and dress of the early 'Anglo-Saxons' before they were 'delineated with the features and in the dress of Christianity' (1840a: 120). Turner's coverage of the Christian period costume was heavily influenced by the work of Strutt. As such, it was argued that Christianity prompted a diversification of fashions and a vanity for dress, the clothing became so sumptuous that Turner was surprised that the supposedly austere, modest and sturdy 'Anglo-Saxons' wore such costumes (Turner 1840c: 22-4). Collectively, a progress narrative is discernible which mitigates some of the negative qualities associated with the 'Anglo-Saxons' by emphasising the primitiveness of their British predecessors. As in the work of Strutt, the early 'Anglo-Saxons' were again diminished to elevate their more respectable and amenable Christian successors.

While Turner omitted explicit references to the nakedness associated with the ancient 'Germanic' peoples, his work did cover the topic of the body. In describing the savagery of the 'Anglo-Saxons', he stated their ferocious character was more suited to the 'dark and melancholy physiognomies of Asia and Africa and not the pleasing fair hair, blue eyes and pale complexion of the Anglo-Saxons' (1840a: 122). Turner also stated that a large

physicality and flaxen hair were uniform ‘Anglo-Saxon’ traits which were pridefully cherished and thus fiercely protected by forbidding exogamous relationships (ibid.). Turner's comments reflect the emerging discourse of ‘moral racialism’, whereby one’s biology was thought to influence and reflect the character and disposition of a person or cultural group (discussed below). Turner subsequently states that both the physically superior and the superficial, visually pleasing traits of the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ were inherited by the modern English people, but not the savage qualities (ibid.). This is reflective of Turner’s broader approach which, like Strutt, was heavily influenced by Enlightenment concepts of cultural progress. The negative and primitive characteristics of the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ were considered unfortunate realities that were ultimately overcome on the path to civilisation, knowledge, and moral goodness (Turner 1840a: 120, 149; Burrow 1981: 117; Niles, 2015:174-75). For Turner, the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ peoples were an exceptionally gifted group set apart from the wider ‘Germanic’ collective described by Tacitus, by God’s providence the ‘Saxon’ tribe migrated to England where their noble character, superior forms of government and other social institutions was further nourished and subsequently exported globally through the British imperial programme (Turner 1840a: 64-65, 87, 149; Burrow 1981: 118; MacDougall 1982: 94; Magennis 2011:177-79). The further development of these ideas within 19th-century racial discourses will be touched upon below.

The 19th century witnessed a burgeoning interest in the history of dress and cultural habits which prompted an increasing demand for costume books and illustrated histories (Taylor 2004: 32-37). These works could differ greatly regarding their research quality, yet, both the more scholarly accounts and the more romanticised and stereotyped portrayals of past cultures intended for a broader readership reinforced long-enduring ideas and stereotypes. For instance, many of these works made no mention of the nakedness of the

ancient 'Germanic' peoples, but referred to or illustrated the nakedness of the ancient Britons (Craik and MacFarlane 1846: 119-29; Planché 1847: 13, 23-24; Fairholt 1860: 16-27; Cassell 1865: 6-10; Smith and Meyrick 1815: pl.XIII). The notion that the adoption of Christianity spurred a cultural and technological evolution in England, as evidenced by the diversification of fashion, was also reiterated (Smith 1814: 1; Planché 1847: 28-54; Fairholt 1860: 28-29, 37-38). This recalls the narrative put forward by Strutt, whose work remained the dominant source on Christian period 'Anglo-Saxon' dress in the 19th century (Niles 2015: 371). One of the more notable stereotyped images is present in Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick and Charles Hamilton Smith's *The costume of the original inhabitants of the British island* (1815). This work featured a depiction of a 'Saxon' (Anglo-Saxon) chief presented in a classically influenced guise standing triumphantly on the body of a naked Briton (Fig. 2.14). Meyrick argued the muscle cuirass worn by the chieftain was an actual defensive article worn in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period as evidenced by the Old English word 'breostbeorg' (breast defence) (Meyrick 1824: IXII-IXIII). Meyrick also refers to an unspecified warrior depicted wearing a breastplate in the 11th-century manuscript Cotton Tiberius B.V. (ibid.). While there are armed figures in this manuscript there does not appear to be any figure wearing a muscle cuirass; it seems likely that Meyrick misidentified a topless figure with emphasised pectorals or a figure wearing a tunic that hangs and similarly bunches at the chest. Meyrick's work influenced subsequent costume studies as the early 'Anglo-Saxons' were argued to have worn various Roman styles of armour, including the *Lorica Squamata*, the *Lorica Hamata* and the *Lorica Musculata* (e.g. Meyrick 1824: IXII-IXIV; Fairholt 1860: 29-34; Planché 1847:26-28; Craik and MacFarlane 1846: 317-19: Cassell 1865:23-26). The evidential sources for these articles deployed within these works are highly dubious; many of these authors,



Figure 2.14 ‘Costume of a Saxon Chief’ by Charles Hamilton Smith (Meyrick and Smith 1815. Pl. XXIII).

A)



B)

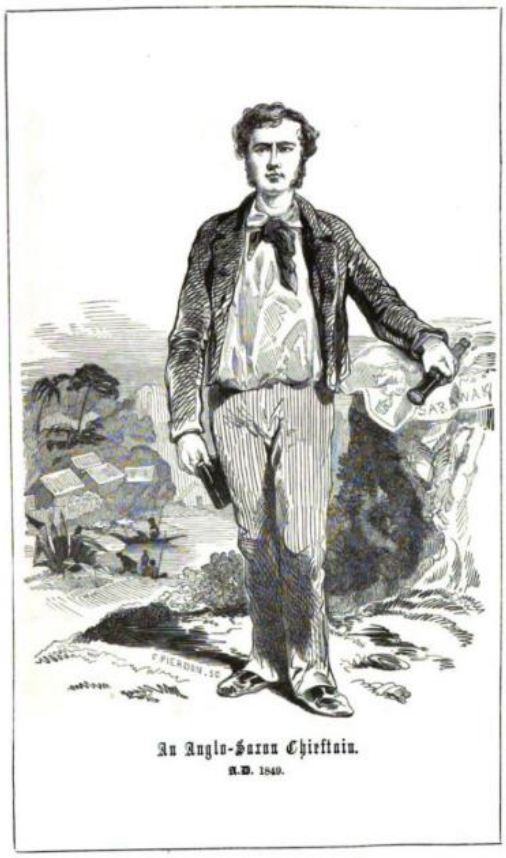


Figure 2.15 An Anglo-Saxon Chieftain (AD 449) and his modern descendent (AD 1849) (The Anglo-Saxon 1849: situated between pages 100-3).

excluding Fairholt, also ignored or overlooked the emerging field of 'Anglo-Saxon' mortuary archaeology (see Fairholt 1860:29-34). Meyrick's account, and those who repeated and further developed it, represents an alternative presentation of male dress that differed from the description of male textile costumes mentioned by earlier antiquarians and historians, including Turner and Strutt. This shift is significant as evidenced by Smith's comments on this costume, which he describes as being a short tunic worn without any other articles, as being primitive and close to a state of nakedness (1814: 1). Smith subsequently offers a mitigating explanation by stating that the hardy constitution and lofty stature of the 'Anglo-Saxons' meant they were able to resist the enemy's weapons and the threats of weather

without further protection (Smith 1814: 1). This might indicate that a costume change was preferable, especially one where the martial stereotypes that had long accompanied conceptions of early 'Anglo-Saxon' masculinity were retained and repackaged in a classical guise. The portrayal of the 'Saxon' chieftain present in Meyrick and Smith's volume was subsequently adapted and featured in the short-lived periodical *The Anglo-Saxon* (1849), the chieftain was depicted without the Briton in front of the cliffs of Dover (Fig. 2.15a). This publication's primary aim was to foster a national English pride in the 'Anglo-Saxon' past (Niles 2015: 307-11). It also included a companion piece titled *An Anglo-Saxon Chieftain A.D. 1849* which depicted a well-dressed Victorian gentleman with a similar physical appearance to his predecessor (Fig. 2. 15b). This later 'chieftain' is holding a book and spyglass and positioned in front of an exotic backdrop that represents Borneo (Fig. 16b) (ibid.). Collectively, the images espouse a sense of unbroken racial continuity, emphasising their biological link as well as their overlapping cultural achievements as colonisers who brought Christian nations into being (ibid.). The presentation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' chieftain in a classical guise would have appealed to the Victorian educated elite that proudly valued their 'Anglo-Saxon' ancestry but also saw themselves as the inheritors of Roman culture via their classical education (Horsman 1976: 401; Hingley 2000: 61-71). Furthermore, a common belief of the later 19th century was the notion that the 'Germanic' peoples rejuvenated the failing Roman Empire, the 'Germanic' tribes subsequently adopted the mantle of Christianity and evolved into nations that upheld and exported values of democracy and liberty across the globe via their respective imperial programmes (Horsman 1976: 400-03; Hingley 2000: 63-71). The Romanised early 'Anglo-Saxon' chieftain could be considered a reflection of these beliefs while also presenting a vision of the past that appealed to Victorian standards

of dress in a way that the early 'Anglo-Saxon' textile costumes described by earlier antiquarians did not.

Following the identification of early medieval graves in the late 18th century, several 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries were excavated and their findings published from the 1840s onwards (for summaries see Williams 2006b: 1; 2006c:61; 2008:49-50; Content and Williams 2010:181-82). Yet, poor soil conditions meant that very limited traces of clothing had survived, other than the non-organic dress accessories, an issue that still affects the archaeological study of early 'Anglo-Saxon' dress (Wright 1852: 404-10; Akerman 1855: XI-XVI; Owen-Crocker 2004: 35, 104). As demonstrated by Howard Williams, the emerging field of 'Anglo-Saxon' archaeology was heavily influenced by nationalistic discourses. In turn, the evidence excavated from these cemeteries was distorted to construct an English and 'Teutonic' origin myth (2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2008, Content and Williams, 2010). Subsequently, the physical prowess and martial character of 'Anglo-Saxon' men were at times exaggerated through the distortion and analysis of skeletal evidence to emphasise great statures and frames. In other instances, it was stressed by focusing on the graves that contained weaponry (Wright 1852: 404-10; Wylie 1852:20; Williams 2006c: 64-66, 74-75; 2007: 33; 2008: 70-73; 76-78). While costume books constructed a classically influenced costume, archaeologists such as William Wylie and John Mitchell Kemble were keen to locate a distinctive 'Germanic' signature in the archaeological record that resonated with the primitive character of the ancient 'Germanic' peoples outlined by Tacitus (Williams 2006b: 10-11; 2007:29-30; 2008:75-76). For Wylie, this involved trying to mitigate and downplay the Roman influences on 'Anglo-Saxon' costume to preserve their barbarous image (Wylie 1852: 30, 33; Williams 2008: 75). When considered alongside the classically influenced 'Anglo-Saxon' chieftain discussed previously, it is apparent that the outward

appearance of the 'Anglo-Saxons' was subject to distortion in a way that reflects contemporary tastes and specific visions of the past.

The distinction between the clothed 'Anglo-Saxon' and naked 'Celtic' peoples would subsequently contribute to, and manifest within, a series of inflammatory exchanges between English and Irish intellectuals. In the mid-19th century, anti-Irish prejudice was commonplace in Victorian society following an influx of Catholic Irish migrants into English towns alongside ongoing political difficulties concerning the governance of Ireland (Curtis 1968: 19-20; Paz 1986:601-04; 1992: 49-52). Consequently, the Irish, and their 'Celtic' past, were the subject of vitriol from historians, sociologists, politicians and journalists and common negative stereotypes can be observed across these disciplines whereby the Irish were associated with nakedness or semi-nakedness, and a long history of barbarity, squalor, idleness and poverty (Curtis 1968: 57-69; Paz 1986: 614-15; Rich 1990: 15; De Nie 2004: 11-12, 241; Martin 2004: 89-93; 2014: 53; Dickerson 2008: 87). These attacks did not go unretaliated and were met with similar critical responses aimed at the English and their 'Anglo-Saxon' past by Irish ethnographers and historians. Of note is the historian Patrick Cudmore (1831-1916) and his attack on the British and American statesmen, authors and press who continually emphasised the inherent superiority of their 'Anglo-Saxon' culture (1871: 299-305). Subsequently, Cudmore deconstructs the 'Anglo-Saxon'/'Teutonic' myths that underpinned this supposed cultural superiority by noting several violent and savage behaviours practised during the 'Anglo-Saxon' period. Cudmore reminded the English that they were not the founders of a global civilisation through their imperial programme, as they believed, since this feat belongs to Rome and had been achieved when the English were simple barbarians 'naked in the wilds of northern Europe' (Cudmore 1871: 299-300). Comparable attacks are visible in the writings of the ethnologist Dr John McElheran (d.



OLD ENGLISH MODE OF PUNISHING WOMEN BY MUTILATING EYES, NOSE, MOUTH, AND EARS, AND BY AMPUTATIONS.

A)



A SAXON HANGING HIS WIFE, SHE BEING OBLIGED TO FIX THE ROPE ROUND HER OWN NECK.

B)

Figure 2.16 Illustrations of two punished 'Anglo-Saxon' adulteresses (McElheran 1858: 177, 181).

1859) and his social history *The Condition of Women and Children Among the Celtic, Gothic and Other Nations* (1858). The writings of McElheran had considerable reach and were published and discussed globally. He subsequently played an important role in the construction of Irish nationalism and radicalism in the mid-Victorian period (Finnegan 2014: 158-66). McElheran's work noted and included illustrations of various examples of naked English peoples, past and present, to demonstrate that the English cultural character was and remains savage (1858: 34, 147-49, 184-86, 244-45, 295, 325, 357). Examples include an illustration of a mutilated 'Anglo-Saxon' woman with bared breasts, possibly wearing the dress described by Tacitus (Fig. 2.16a). A bare-breasted woman is also depicted being hung by her topless 'Saxon' husband in front of their naked child (Fig. 2.16b). These graphic and disturbing figures represented punished adulterers and were deployed as part of McElheran's attack on the supposed 'Anglo-Saxon' values for respecting women, chastity, and fidelity (1858: 325). The deployment of nakedness as a symbol of barbarity and primitiveness within these exchanges demonstrate the political and emotional charge that surrounded these ideas to the extent that they were weaponised to tarnish the history and identity of another culture.

The antagonistic exchanges between English and Irish intellectuals were situated within a larger discourse that emerged from a growing social and academic interest in notions of race and racial difference in Victorian society. The popularity of racial theories and scientific considerations of race gained traction from the late 18th century (Horsman 1976: 395-96). These emerging discourses were grounded in the categorisation of differences, including studies on outward appearances, skeletal measurements, linguistic comparisons, cultures and nations were also evaluated and judged according to their character, achievements and history (Horsman 1976: 395; 1981: 43-61). By the mid-19th

century, various ideas relating to biology and culture had become entangled as blood, not history, climate or geography, was increasingly recognised as the primary factor in explaining cultural differences (Grant 2005: 175-76). Initially, the 'Caucasian' peoples, defined by white skin, were distinguished and elevated as the most successful race. By the 1840s-50s, the 'Teutonic' group had been further distinguished with the 'Anglo-Saxons' singled out as the 'elite of the elite' (Horsman 1976: 405; 1981: 43-44). A key figure in advocating 'Anglo-Saxon' racial and cultural superiority was Robert Knox (1791-1862) and his highly influential pseudo-scientific and emotion-driven work *The Races of Men* (1850). This study popularised the notion that character and morality, both individual and societal, were grounded in race and that the English/'Anglo-Saxon' race was inherently gifted above all others (Rich 1990: 13). Echoing the work of Turner, Knox stated the supremacy of the 'Anglo-Saxons' was rooted in their industrious, stoic and vigorous character and their physical superiority which he describes as 'a tall, powerful, athletic race of men; the strongest, as a race, on the face of the earth' (Knox 1850: 43-45). 'They have fair hair, with blue eyes, and so fine a complexion, that they may almost be considered the only absolutely fair race on the face of the globe'. (Knox 1850: 43). Since English society was distinctively a product of its 'Teutonic'/'Anglo-Saxon' origins, the success of the imperial programme and the global dominance of the English law, language and institutions were frequently evoked as evidence for the inherent pre-eminence and genius of the 'Anglo-Saxon' race (Horsman 1976; Rich 1990: 12-3; Brantlinger 2009: 42-43; 2011: 118; Hingley 2000: 63-64; Niles 2015: 307-08). For this reason, it was deemed necessary by many Victorians to disseminate this superior cultural model to new territories and populations. Radicals like Knox believed resistance to this process of acculturation merited violence, population displacement and

genocide (Rich 1990: 12-13; Horsman 1976: 405-410; Biddiss 1976: 247-50; Niles 2015: 307-08).

While racial Anglo-Saxonism encouraged a previously unparalleled level of interest in the outward appearance and physicality of the 'Anglo-Saxon' body, its legacy has greatly hindered the study of this topic in the 20th century. The elevation of the 'Anglo-Saxons' and the damning attacks on the primitiveness and inferiority of the 'Celtic' peoples threatened the cohesiveness of the United Kingdom, in turn, a polyglot and collective British identity built on various waves of migration proved more popular in the late 19th century (Rich 1990: 13-14; Urry 1993: 83-84; Hingley 2000: 61-62, 159-61; Shippey 2000: 225-26). The two world wars and the Cold War also fostered a British national identity that increasingly downplayed ideas relating to its 'Germanic' racial and cultural origins (Parker 2007:208-12; Niles: 2015: 355-56; Semple et al. 2020: 49). As theories of race became increasingly unpopular in England during the 19th century, the legacy of Anglo-Saxonism and Teutonism contributed to the later theories of Nordicisim and Nazi Aryanism (Biddiss 1976: 245; Horsman 1981:32-33; Parker 2007: 208; Luczak 2015: 164; McMahon 2016:204; Hutton 2017: 336-37). Subsequently, the 'Anglo-Saxon' period acquired associations of conservativism, nationalism and fascism, whereas the more acceptable 'Celtic' past was increasingly evoked in a patriotic fashion in the 20th century (Parker 2007: 203-12). In America, the ideology of racial Anglo-Saxonism was also prevalent in the 18th-19th centuries (see Horsman 1981). To this day, the term 'Anglo-Saxon' continues to be employed by American neo-Nazis and white supremacists to signify a pure white heritage. As such, 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies continue to be a source of tension and anxiety which has inevitably affected their study within modern scholarship.

2.7 Divine bodies in the 19th century

The scholarly understanding of the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon, their existence, appearance and corporeality, continued to be deconstructed and transformed in the 19th century. While Strutt had drawn upon sources relating to Norse cosmology to construct a profile of this pantheon, Turner rejected many of the sources that related to Norse paganism as unreliable insights to 'Anglo-Saxon' religious beliefs on account of the geographical and temporal differences (1805: 17-19; 1840a: 126-29). Similar accounts on the pre-Christian religion were also produced by the historians' Sir Francis Palgrave (1788-1861) and John Green (1837-1883) (Turner 1805: 15-31, 1840a:126-36; Palgrave 1850:51-55; Green 1881: 164-69). The only association with the sexual body came in the continued conflation with Friga and Freya, who remained a goddess of love and fertility (Turner 1840a: 128). By treating the continental sources as unreliable, information on 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism is restricted primarily to a few names present in surviving texts of which very little is known (ibid.). However, Maria Gibson has argued that this may have been intentional as Turner and the previously mentioned historians were distorting the 'Anglo-Saxon' past for nationalistic purposes (2013: 116-17). Consequently, by rejecting the Norse sources much of the transgressive, sexual and violent qualities of paganism, deemed abhorrent by Victorian society, were omitted (ibid.).

Not all 19th-century explorations of 'Anglo-Saxon' pre-Christian beliefs kept Norse cosmology at a distance. Of note is John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) who is now considered a pivotal figure in the field of 'Anglo-Saxon' studies responsible for massively transforming the approach to the philological study of Old English (Niles 2015: 229-42; Wiley 1990: 33-42; Williams 2006b: 1-2; Burrow 1981: 116-25). Kemble's *The Saxons in England*

(1849) resembles Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxon*s in its wide coverage of social and historical topics, but its highly detailed exploration of the pre-Christian beliefs was unparalleled in the 19th century (Niles 2015: 238). Kemble drew etymological links between Old English words and their Old Norse cognates. In doing this he argued that some of the deities or mythological figures present in Norse mythology were also present in England (1849). Kemble's pantheon was subsequently expanded to feature several additional Norse deities and thus 'Anglo-Saxon' paganism retained some sexual elements. This included Friga who remained conflated with Freya and thus acquired her qualities. Freà (Freyr), the male fertility deity, was also said to have been worshipped in England as suggested by place name evidence (1849: 355-63). While associating the priapic Freyr with the 'Anglo-Saxons', Kemble was seemingly uncomfortable with the god's sexual character as he stated, twice, that the phallic deity was an exception and rarity within the wider pantheon (1849: 356, 370). Kemble's work also offers a lengthy explanation that attempted to downplay and excuse the violent and transgressive qualities associated with 'Germanic'/Norse paganism as the product of childish ignorance and an unawareness of Christianity (1849: 433-55). These attempts to mitigate are unsurprising given that the work was dedicated to Queen Victoria as a celebration of the 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Teutonic' origins of modern English society (1849: V-VIII). Kemble's study also argued for the worship of Baldur in England whom he positively describes in detail (1849: 363-70). This represents a wider 19th-century shift whereby the Christ-like Baldur became the focus of Old Norse studies as the deities deemed more abhorrent were relegated to the periphery (Gibson 2013: 116-18). Regardless of whether the Norse sources were utilised or not, there was a recurrent desire amongst scholars to diminish the negative qualities associated with 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Germanic' paganism. To add to this, towards the end of the 19th century, the sexually transgressive elements present

in Norse cosmology took on renewed and highly negative associations of deviancy and effeminacy due to the various references to hermaphroditism, cross-dressing, and homosexuality (Gibson, 2013: 118). This further diminished the already limited interest in comparatively exploring these aspects in relation to the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon.

One aspect of note that effected the conception of the 'Anglo-Saxon' body, living and divine, was the emphasis placed on the virtues of chastity and sexual restraint that were ascribed to the 'Germanic' peoples by Tacitus (Taci. 19.1-18). More so than men, 'Anglo-Saxon' women were considered for their chaste, virtuous and dutiful character, their modesty was also expressed via their concealing dress (e.g. Turner 1840a: 111-12; Malcolm 1811: 44-46; Child 1840: 77-80; The Anglo-Saxon 1849: 198). Turner argued these characteristics carried forward into modern English women which, in turn, was a fundamental contributing factor to the successes of modern society (1840a: 111-12, 125, 149). There was also a desire to see these values reflected within the 'Germanic' pre-Christian religion. For example, Henry Christmas (1811-1868), a clergyman with an interest in mythology, provided a whitewashed account of 'Anglo-Saxon'/Norse paganism (1838: 394). Of note is his coverage of Freya whose sexuality he downplays by linking her to *Venus Urania* (Christmas 1838: 294). This was a dimension of Venus that emphasised the love of body and soul in a spiritual and not physical sense. Unlike Venus, Freya was supposedly 'unstained by the scandalous intrigues which distinguish the more southern divinity' (Christmas 1838: 294). The writings of the American historian Rasmus Anderson (1846-1936) reflect similar sentiments as he stated: 'We Goths are a chaste race and abhor the loathsome nudity of Greek art' (1876: 114). Anderson proudly drew upon the lack of references to the naked body in the *Poetic Edda* as evidence for a cultural disinterest in

nakedness. In turn, the 'Gothic' peoples made excellent Christian converts well suited to the body negative Christian doctrine (1876: 113-14). While an example of American Anglo-Saxonism, there was a similar desire in 19th-century English scholarship to construct the medieval period as a pure, spiritual and religious age (Caviness 1998: 171). As the 19th century progressed, the state of nakedness, in art and life, became increasingly associated with sexual licentiousness and impropriety as social purity movements promoted Christian values of sexual control, chastity, and bodily regulation (Smith 1996: 216-19). Medieval produced images and textual references deemed pornographic or obscene were subsequently omitted or censored (Caviness 1998). Of particular relevance is the 19th-century treatment of the naked figures present on the Bayeux tapestry and the various ways these figures were diminished, altered or omitted in the different studies, accounts and reconstructions of the tapestry (for detailed coverage see Caviness 1998: 168-75).

One notable contrast to these attempts to censure the sexual associations with the early medieval period was the antiquarian Thomas Wright (1810-1877) and his work *The Worship of the Generative Powers* (1865). This work supplemented an earlier study by the antiquarian Robert Knight (1751-1824) titled *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* (1786) which explored phallic symbolism and its connection to religious rites in ancient societies, mostly Mediterranean (this collective work is cited here as Knight 1865). Wright expanded the earlier study to incorporate pre-Christian and Christian religions in medieval northern Europe. Wright's work argued that northern societies placed a high value on fertility and thus their religion included priapic and sexual elements and rites akin to the antique religions (Knight 1865: 125-7). In support of this theory were the various references to the worship of the priapic god Freyr within medieval texts. He also noted that archaeologists had discovered idols with sexual characteristics in Scandinavia that reaffirm the existence of

these ancient cults (Knight 1865: 126). Wright also drew upon Kemble's suggestions that Freyr was worshipped in England at sites where ancient fertility rituals and priapic worship was enacted (Knight 1865: 126-27). Subsequently, Wright argued that 'Germanic' and Roman fertility rites endured into the medieval Christian period as demonstrated by the presence of stone carved sexual imagery of the female body, known as Sheela-na-gigs, found on medieval churches in England (Knight 1865: 127-39). The impact of Wright's work was minimal as only a very small number of prints were produced that exclusively targeted a small niche of wealthy intellectuals with overlapping research interests (Marcus 2008: 69-70). However, the existence of the Sheela-na-gigs troubled many late 19th-century archaeologists and so the attention Wright drew to them was unappreciated and his ideas derided (Freitag 2004: 19-20). Consequently, he kept his later work private and exchanged it only with those who had similar interests (ibid.). While the impact of Wright's work was minimised by contemporary sensibilities, and not properly explored until the late 20th-21st centuries (see Chapter 3), his brief consideration of 'Germanic' fertility rites in 'Anglo-Saxon' England that were subsequently Christianised was highly original.

The faceless character of the divine bodies that comprise the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon is reflected in the scholarly considerations of idolatry. This is one element of the pre-Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' religion that Bede did make several references to (H.E. 2.5, 3.8, 3.30). However, since Bede's account of the idols was vague, Kemble and Turner were unable to consider their appearance in-depth (Turner 1840a: 128-34, 212, 224; Kemble 1849: 331-34). Drawing upon sources that relate to the continental 'Saxons', Turner suggested the idols were anthropomorphic and could be dressed like Crodus (Seater) in a tunic, naked akin to the Venus idol pulled in a cart or wearing war-gear like the 'Saxon' Irminsula (Turner 1840a: 129-34). Turner's account of idolatry was further expanded upon



A)



B)

Figure 2.17 19th-century adaptions of Verstegan's illustrated pantheon. A) Illustration of the Sun, a 'Saxon' idol (Bigsby 1864: 4); B) 'Idols of the Ancient Britons and Saxons' (Goldsmith, 1831: IV). Friga has been significantly adapted from Verstegan's engraving as she is no longer wearing the muscle cuirass and instead bares a single breast with a censored nipple. Meanwhile, the nakedness associated with the Sun is lost as the body displays an ethereal quality.

A)



B)



2.18 19th-century adaptions of Verstegan's illustrated pantheon (continued). The idols of Thor (A) and the Sun (B) (Gurney 1848: 15-16).

by Robert Bigsby in his study *Irminsula, or, the "Great Pillar." A mythological research* (1864). This work explored the possibility that the idols of the Sun and Irminsula mentioned in continental texts may have represented Odin (1864). Bigsby provided an updated illustration of Verstegan's Sunna who now appears Christ-like in appearance while also seemingly retaining the state of nakedness (Fig. 2.17a). While the validity of Verstegan's illustrated pantheon was already challenged in the 18th century, his illustrations were reprinted, with amendments, in William Pinnock's supplemented edition of Oliver Goldsmiths History of England (1831) (Fig. 2.17b). This illustrated history was intended for a general audience and so was unconcerned with historicity. As such it was accompanied by a retelling of Verstegan's descriptions of the idols (Goldsmith 1831: V-VIII). Additional classically inspired adaptions of Verstegan's idols are present in William Brodie Gurney's illustrated account on heathen idolatry, a work intended for a younger audience (1848) (Fig. 2.18). Within this work, Thor is reimagined as akin to a seated Jupiter and is presented partially nude; his refined musculature is suggestive of a classical inspiration (Fig. 2.18a). These represent the final instances in which Verstegan's pantheon was altered and updated. The continual reliance upon Verstegan's descriptions and illustrations into the 19th century highlight the absence of any alternative artistic traditions that sought to imagine the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon. By contrast, the nationalistic interest in pre-Christian northern European religion in Scandinavia and Germany was far greater than in England (Fell 1980: 18-29; Mjöberg 1980; Halink 2019: 1-5). Consequently, divine and mythological figures were popular artistic subjects in Scandinavia in the late 18th-19th centuries. Initially, these divine bodies were frequently represented nude in a neo-classical style, as the 19th century progressed they gradually reflected a more distinctive northern style (Fell 1980: 18-25; Halink 2019: 2-4). The classical influence on the portrayal of the Norse divine body was so

pervasive that it prompted Anderson to criticise the practice as an erotic and immoral perversion that undermined the Gothic disdain for the naked body (1876: 114). Since nakedness has been more frequently attributed to the members of the Norse pantheon with nakedness in Scandinavia, it is perhaps unsurprising that Scandinavian archaeologists have a longer history of exploring how the divine body was conceptualised and understood during the Iron Age (see Chapter 3).

Without a strong artistic or academic interest in representing pre-Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies, both divine or lived, in the 19th century, figureheads or faces relating to the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period failed to manifest amongst scholars and within the cultural imagination. Even when human images produced in this early 'Anglo-Saxon' period were discovered in the second half of the 19th-century, limited scholarly interest was shown towards their appearance or significance. This includes a 7th-century figurine discovered in an 'Anglo-Saxon' tumuli at Breach Downs (Kent) and a gold pendant (5th-6th centuries) carrying a human image from grave 29 at the 'Anglo-Saxon' cemetery at Bifrons (Kent) (see J.B.A.A. III: 346; Haigh 1872: 196; Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 309-10). In this century, anthropomorphic faces represented on early 'Anglo-Saxon' metalwork dating to the 5th-6th centuries were also discovered following the excavation of various 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries, but these images were largely overlooked until the 20th century (Leigh 1984). Ultimately, it was not until 1939 and the excavation of the ship burial at Mound 1, Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) that the artistic products, including human imagery, produced in the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period received any kind of significant attention amongst scholars and the general public (Niles 2015; Cross 2020). Subsequent discoveries of early 'Anglo-Saxon' human images in the second half of the 20th century include a naked man carried on a 7th-century belt plate from grave 95 at the 'Anglo-Saxon' cemetery of Finglesham (Kent) and

the seated human figure, dating to the 5th-6th centuries, on a clay funerary urn lid from the 'Anglo-Saxon' cemetery at Spong Hill (Norfolk). Alongside the figures on the Sutton Hoo helmet, these representations have provided faces or bodies for the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period which have then been circulated by scholars and in popular culture. Until this development, it was the bodies represented in late 'Anglo-Saxon' manuscripts and the antiquarian and artistic renderings of Kings, predominantly Alfred, and to lesser extent saints such as Bede and Cuthbert and warriors, like Hereward, associated with the Christian period that served as the figureheads for the 'Anglo-Saxon' past in the 19th and 20th centuries (see Keynes 1999; Shippey 2000; Parker 2007; Niles 2015).

2.8 Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter, I have shown how personal sensibilities and various socio-political discourses have encouraged scholars to avoid, mitigate and distort the associations between the 'Anglo-Saxons' and the naked body. This chapter has traced two strands of developing scholarship in relation to how the state of nakedness was understood concerning lived and divine 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies. It has been established that nakedness and sex were regularly associated with the deities that comprised the 'Anglo-Saxon' pantheon and for this reason the subject of the divine body was of limited appeal and regularly moderated by the Christian scholarship of the 16th-19th centuries. The primitive associations that surround the dress and nakedness of the early 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Germanic' peoples were perceived as a threat to the respectability of an English national origin myth rooted in the 'Anglo-Saxon' past. However, other aspects relating to the 'Anglo-Saxon' body, such as its physical and superficial characteristics, were considered more

positively. Having said this, the subject of the body became increasingly volatile and politicised in the 19th century as it became entangled within various nationalistic and racial discourses. This chapter has demonstrated how the legacy of Anglo-Saxonism and its political and social implications has impacted the subject of the body into the 20th century, especially the study of its outward appearance.

Chapter 3

Literature review: nakedness in early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that 'Anglo-Saxon' bodies were a powerful and potent subject in 16th-19th-century discourses of English identity. This long continuum of scholarship has provided a substantive basis from which modern archaeological and art historical thinking on the early medieval period has emerged. This chapter explores the most recent secondary literature on the topic of the body in early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture and sets the scene for a new investigation of the evidence.

3.2 The foundations of modern scholarship

The origins of the modern scholarship on the topic of 'Anglo-Saxon' art and figural iconography commences with Gerard Baldwin Brown at the start of the 20th century and his six-volume series *The Arts in Early England* (1903-37). As with the 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship of the 19th century, Baldwin Brown's study was shaped by a nationalist agenda as he sought to generate a national pride in the 'Anglo-Saxon' past by challenging the common perception that they were skin-wearing barbarians who lacked any creative and technical abilities (1915: 1-17). Mentions of nakedness are absent across Brown's six volumes, although, before his death, he had intended to publish a final volume on illuminated manuscripts, the primary source for naked images produced in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period (Brown 1937: VII). Whether he would have included some of these figures is questionable as his feelings towards naked imagery can be observed in other work. In the late 19th-early 20th

century, increasing academic attention was being drawn to a type of stone sculpture depicting a woman baring her vulva, known as a 'Sheela-na-gig', which were increasingly found on or in proximity to later medieval churches in the British Isles (Freitag 2004: 15-28). Of these sculptures, Brown said the following:

> 'Miss Sheela-na-gig seems to be coming into fashion, and her topographical range is widening. I am thankful to say that I never saw either her or her brother in connection with any early work, Pagan or Christian, in our islands'.
>
> Statement by Baldwin Brown to W.J. Hemp (Hemp 1938: 139).

Considering this expressed pleasure over the absence of the 'Sheela na gig' or comparable images, it's possible that nakedness would not have featured in Baldwin Brown's remaining work. Baldwin Brown played an important role in characterising the 'Anglo-Saxons' as disinterested in representing the human body before the advent of Christianity (Brown 1915: 302). This conclusion is understandable given the small number of pre-Christian full-bodied human images that had been discovered at this time.

The next major contributions to the study of early 'Anglo-Saxon' art was Sir Thomas Downing Kendrick's *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938). Within this work, there is no mention of nakedness, even when discussing the iconography of Adam and Eve (Kendrick 1938: 182). Like Brown, Kendrick stated an interest in full-bodied and semi-naturalistic human imagery was not characteristic of early 'Anglo-Saxon' art. The development of a figural repertoire was credited to King Alfred who 'sought to give his country a nobler art than that which he had found, an art that had greater purposes than the parade of multitudinous ornament and aspired to the full majesty of a figural art grandly conceived' (Kendrick 1938: 217). Kendrick's study was influenced by contemporary art-historical tastes

for classical conventions and a prideful appreciation for the English church, these sensibilities prompted several damming attacks on the artistic quality of the 'barbarous' arts (Cross 2020: 426).

While Brown and Kendrick made little advancement in the study of the naked body, they laid a foundation that continues to influence the study of early 'Anglo-Saxon' art. To the present day, early medieval images and objects are often characterised as 'national arts' which reflect the origins and development of an English creative and cultural identity (Karkov 2011: 247; Cross 2020: 401-6, 412-13). As seen in Chapter 2, these ethnic and national implications have distorted the study of certain subject areas. Baldwin and Kendrick also reinforced a popular dichotomy that characterised 'Celtic' and 'Germanic' art as being wholly concerned with zoomorphic figures, abstract ornamentation and geometric designs. By contrast, naturalistic human imagery was thought to be unique to classical visual cultures (Webster 2012: 40; Cross 2020: 412-13, 416-19). In turn, the Christian church adopted the classical tradition, thus the dichotomy was extended to the pre-Christian and Christian 'Anglo-Saxon' period (ibid.). This distinction has fostered a greater art-historical interest in the Christian period, where studies of iconography and aesthetics are far more numerous (Cross 2020: 422). By contrast, early 'Anglo-Saxon' art has frequently been characterised as minor art, functional objects with decorative ornamentation, and so been studied by archaeologists who typically focus on technique and style (Webster 2003: 12; Cross 2020: 422-23). This distinction has contributed to the alienation of the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period from contemporary debates surrounding medieval bodies (Chapter 1). The following explores the small body of literature that has considered the portrayal of the naked image in early 'Anglo-Saxon' art from the 1960s onwards.

3.3 20th-century discussions of nakedness and the human image

For much of the 20th century, the study of the naked body has been hindered by the rarity of complete and full-bodied human images that date to the 5th-7th centuries. In 1964 a 7th-century belt plate was found at Finglesham (Kent) that featured a naked figure with a phallus (Hawkes et al. 1965). Drawing upon Tacitus' *Germania*, this figure was interpreted as a naked weapon dancer or a naked foot-warrior devoted to Wodan/Odin (Hawkes et al. 1965: 26-27). It was argued that the belt plate may have been an apotropaic amulet, worn by a warrior that sought Wodan's protection in battle (ibid). While additional naked and semi-naked figures were formally identified in the same decade, there was no discussion of their bodily exposure or sexual characteristics other than to link them to the Finglesham man (e.g. Evison 1965: 215-16; Fennel 1969: 214). Similarly, a figure baring their phallus was identified on the 7th-century purse lid discovered in the Mound 1 assemblage at Sutton Hoo (Woodbridge, Suffolk) (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 512). However, the significance of this detail was not explored. Sexual characteristics were considered in greater depth in Audrey Meaney's study *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (1981). Meaney's study featured a naked female figurine rendered in metal discovered in a 7th-century female grave at Bradstow School, Broadstairs (Kent) (1981: 231-38). The figurine was likely suspended from the belt by a girdle-hanger (Meaney 1981: 231). Meaney suggested the figurine was a love or fertility amulet, or alternatively, it may have been worn to remind the owner of her feminine role and responsibilities (Meaney 1981: 238). These examples were the only naked images discovered or identified in the 20th century.

While only a small pool of images to discuss, arguably, this earlier scholarship was hesitant to engage with the naked body in extensive detail. For example, the Finglesham

man's penis was never explicitly mentioned in its original publication. The absence of his testicles and the state of his penis, flaccid or erect, are aspects of his design that continue to go undiscussed in published literature. Equally, the phallus displayed by the purse lid figure was subtly alluded to and not explicitly mentioned (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 512). Only in recent years has the phallus on this high-profile object attracted any scholarly attention (Brundle 2014: 154; Klein-Pfeuffer 2015: 282). These aversions reflect a wider problem in 20th-century archaeological research whereby naked and sexual images prompted embarrassment amongst researchers and so were often avoided (Voss & Schmidt 2000: 4; Voss 2008: 319-20).

Beyond the naked body, the study of the human image in the second half of the 20th century was heavily influenced by Scandinavian and German scholarship. The work of the German historian Karl Hauck, commencing in the 1950s, and his methodological approach *Konetxt-Ikonographie* (iconography in context) has had a profound influence on the study of northern European figural iconography until the present day (for overviews and discussion see Gaimster 1998: 1-70; Behr 2011a: 220-29; Hines 2013; Wicker and Williams 2013: 152-65; Wicker 2015). The basis of this methodology involves grouping and comparing motifs and identifying their mythological significance by relating the images to classical and later medieval textual sources that cover the Norse and 'Germanic' religions and cosmologies (Gaimster 1999: 3-4). Within this framework, anthropomorphic figures are usually interpreted as deities or their cultic followers, the image is then interpreted according to the qualities associated with that particular god. This has produced two dominant ways of interpreting 'Anglo-Saxon' full-bodied imagery, clothed or naked, that have persisted into the 21st century.

The first was the popularisation of the iconography of Wodan/Odin, of which key motifs included twins, ritualistic dancing, spears, horned headdresses and battle iconography (for an extensive English review of Hauck's work see Gaimster 1998: 52-79). Horned headdress wearing figures like the Finglesham man have been discovered across northern Europe and appear in various states of dress (for continental examples see Hawkes et al. 1965: 23-24. Pl. III, Bruce-Mitford 1978: 206-20; Helmbrecht 2008). Additional examples from England known to 20th-century scholarship included the pair on the front panel of the helmet discovered in the royal burial at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) and on a silver plaque from Caenby (Lincolnshire) (Maryon 1947: 138-39; Bruce-Mitford 1949: 49-50; 1978: 186-89, 206). These three figures, and other bodies represented on the helmet, were portrayed wearing a wrap-over coat sometimes referred to as a caftan or kimono (Ibid.; Hawkes et al. 1965: 20. Fig.2; Owen-Crocker 2004: 180; Walton-Rogers 2007: 214). Whether dressed or naked, the horned figures have been interpreted similarly as representing gods or humans engaging in ritualistic ceremonies, divine dramatic roleplay, mimetic performances, war dances and invocations of Wodan/Odin for his favour or his magical and apotropaic protection (for examples and summaries of this scholarship see Gunnel 1995: 66-70; Gaimster 1999: 62-67; Brundle 2014: 38-39; 2019: 22-23). One point of difference is that the caftan is thought to represent a real form of dress that may have been worn in civilian, ceremonial or martial settings (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 187; Walton-Rogers 2007:213-14, 244-45). This garment first appeared on horned figures produced in Scandinavia and its appearance is thought to derive from the introduction of a new elite fashion to this region from an unknown Eastern source. Possible sources include the Huns, Avars, Sassanian Persians or the via Byzantium world (Owen-Crocker 2004: 180; Hedeager 2011: 204-05; Mannering 2017: 156-60). There is very little archaeological evidence to suggest that the

caftan was actually worn in England. This has prompted the suggestion that the caftan wearing figures found in England do not reflect local fashions, instead they belong to an iconographic tradition associated with the cult of Wodan which was imported from Scandinavia (Owen-Crocker 2004: 180). Since the dressed figures conform to modern and normative expectations of being in the world, the Finglesham man has been presented as a more otherly and peculiar variant that expresses similar ideas relating to cult and warfare in a more brazen and daring manner (e.g. Hawkes et al. 1965; Davidson 1988: 87-89, 1989: 12-13; Evans 1992: 22; Gaimster 1998: 65-66). Furthermore, the grandeur of the Sutton Hoo assemblage and the craftsmanship of the helmet has resulted in the helmet attaining an iconic status, as a result, it has dominated art and material culture studies to the present day (Webster 2017:23, Brundle 2014: 37). Since the Finglesham man was also discovered after the helmet, these developments have arguably contributed to the perception of the naked variants as the 'alternative' and non-normative tradition.

The second aspect of note regarding Hauck's methodology is that figural images that featured sexual characteristics were often related to Freyr or Freya, depending on sex, and associated with fertility magic, cults and rituals (Price 2006: 179-80). Within these contexts, the label 'fertility' has often been prudishly deployed to explain the presence of genitalia without further and detailed discussion (Hedeager 2011: 106; Voss 2008: 319-20). As will be observed, interpretations of this nature are more common in 21st-century 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship. In the 20th century, the discussion of fertility magic focused primarily on certain objects found in the material record thought to be phallic and yonic symbols (Chaney 1970: 100-02; Meaney 1981: 127, 134: Owen-Crocker 1981: 31-34). Most notable was Michael Enright's detailed argument that the royal individual buried in Mound I, Sutton Hoo, wielded a whetstone sceptre that resembled a phallus (1983: 122-24). The work by Enright and

Meaney suggests that had more naked or sexual images been available to study, the topic may have been explored more thoroughly in the latter part of the 20th century.

The scarcity of full-bodied human images available for analysis in the 20th century had prompted several interpretations accounting for their absence, some of which endure today. This includes the suggestion that the early 'Anglo-Saxons' were more interested in ornamentation and zoomorphic figures than human imagery (Cross 2020: 422; Webster 2003: 11-2; 2011: 460-74; 2012: 40, 82; 2017: 29, 36). This is exemplified by objects that date to the later 5th-6th centuries that are decorated with Germanic animal Style I or Salin's Style I, named after the Swedish archaeologist Bernard Salin who was the first to extensively study its iconographic properties (1904). As the name suggests this style is defined primarily by its animal motifs, it also includes geometric patterns and scroll-work (Webster 2011: 467-68). However, human faces, occasional limbs and human-animal hybrids are also recognised as recurrent elements within its stylistic vocabulary (ibid.). Traditionally, the zoomorphic figures have been at the centre of scholarly discussions of Style I, but in recent decades the fragmented anthropomorphic elements have received greater academic attention (Leigh 1984, Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Dickinson 2002:177-80; 2005: 149-53; 2009: 1; Martin 2013; Brundle 2017, 2019: 23-26, 47-63) (discussed further below). While the anthropomorphic presence within this style has been increasingly recognised, their abstract portrayal reinforces the apparent disinterest in semi-naturalistic full-bodied human imagery. It has been suggested that the zoomorphic and hybrid figures may represent or evoke particular deities, or their attributes, powers and cults, either in a totemic or symbolic fashion or as literal portrayals of the gods having shapeshifted or metamorphosed into an animal or hybrid forms (Müller 1968: 214-16; Roth, 1986: 16-24; Gaimster 1998:13-17; Dickinson 2005:149-61; Hedeager 2011: 66-99). Isolated face-masks are present in Style I and can be

found decorating other forms of metalwork, these have been interpreted as shorthand symbols for the divine (Pollington et al. 2010: 449; Brundle 2014: 38; Pesch 2017: 59-63). It has also been argued that 'Anglo-Saxon' metalworkers had limited interest in representing the human body. However, a few were inspired to produce crude emulations of Scandinavian imports (Hawkes et al. 1965: 21-22). It has also been suggested that there may have been a pre-Christian taboo, stigma, fear and prohibition surrounding the portrayal of the human or divine image (Wilson 1984:27, Herman 2015: 288; Hawkes et al. 1965: 21-2). Alternatively, it has been proposed that human images had existed and were destroyed following the conversion to Christianity, especially any sexual images (Owen-Crocker 1981: 42; Wilson, 1984: 27). Furthermore, a clay anthropomorphic figurine from Spong Hill (Norfolk) that dates to the late 5th century hints at the existence of a now-lost organic semi-naturalistic figural tradition (Hills 1980; Webster 2011: 460-61; 474; 2012: 9; 2017:36). As such, interpretations accounting for the body's absence or the apparent cultural disinterest in the human image may be unnecessary. Similarly, it has been suggested that more human images will eventually turn up as more sites are excavated, particularly sites that are not cemeteries which have been the focus of early 'Anglo-Saxon' archaeology (Bruce-Mitford 1974: 84-91; Carver 2010:14). That the scarcity of human imagery is a result of an excavation bias has been reinforced by the gradual expansion of the figural corpus in the 21st century (Pestell 2012: 84-86). However, as will be seen, much of this material has been dated to the 7th century and is thought to reflect the emergence of a small-scale artistic interest in semi-naturalistic portrayals of the body. Subsequently, this has reinforced the narrative that the visual culture of the preceding centuries was centred around zoomorphic figures and abstract and geometric ornamentation. A final argument of note is one put forth by Esmonde Cleary that the collapse of the Roman administration of Britain and the ensuing

socio-economic instability affected the demand for art by diminishing elite patronage and disrupting access to necessary materials and craft specialists (2011). This may explain the fact that there is a lack of non-organic human imagery recovered from archaeological contexts dating between the 5th-8th centuries across Britain. Thus the rarity of the body is not necessarily a distinctive quality of 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture.

3.4 21st-century discussions of nakedness and the human image

In the past two decades, the figural corpus of full-bodied images has gradually increased. These discoveries are primarily attributed to the increase in metal detector finds outside of traditional excavation contexts, particularly in eastern England (Pestell 2012: 79-86; Brundle 2013). This coincided with the development of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), launched in 1997, which has documented and published these finds online. In turn, several clothed, naked and semi-dressed human images have been discovered and published in recent years (e.g. Webster 2002a/b; Webster and Minter 2007; Pestell 2012: 84-87; Brundle 2013; PAS NMS-D6704B; Wallis 2020: 416). Unlike the preceding century, the recording and discussion of many of these finds demonstrate a greater willingness to describe and emphasise the significance of the featured sexual characteristics (ibid.). Still, while representing a step forward in the explicitness of the formal analysis, there was initially little advancement in the interpretation of this material when compared to the previous century. This is unsurprising as the following remarks are not drawn from studies that have examined the body as its primary focus, rather they are derived from object reports and broader works.

A small sample of the recent discoveries are male figurines depicted wearing a belt and a headdress with some form of an emphasised and demarcated crotch, typically interpreted as a penis bulge covered under short trousers or a skirt (Evison 1965: 216; Webster 2002a/b; Webster and Minter 2007:224-26; Blackwell 2007: 170; Pestell 2012: 80-84; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521; Carver 2019: 96). This group of figures have been variously interpreted as either Wodan or one of his earthly or supernatural followers, and, like earlier examples, are thought to have protective or amuletic powers which are then extended to the bearer of the object or image (Webster, 2002a:45-6, 2012: 38; Speidel, 2004:105-9; Pollington et al., 2010:430, 443-8; Pestell, 2012: 80-6; see Herman, 2015:291-2). The notion that the Finglesham man may represent real-world practices of a naked ritualistic war dance or naked warrior has also been restated (Shepherd, 1998: 64-5; Speidel, 2004:51-72; 105-111; Pollington et al., 2010:443-8; Martin 2013:31; Speake, 2019:239). Michael Speidel has proposed that the appearance of clothed figures wearing horned headdresses in the late 6th-7th centuries suggests that the ideals surrounding the reckless act of fighting naked were being supplanted by an aristocratic taste for protective equipment and elaborate textile dress (Speidel, 2004:108).

In addition to the male figurines, a small sample of semi-naked and naked female figurines have been discovered (Discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8). Both sexes have been interpreted as fertility-related with links drawn to the Norse deities Freyr and Freya (Webster and Minter 2007: 226; Webster 2012: 38; Pestell 2012: 86; Pollington 2011: 208-10). Yet, it has been questioned whether the phalluses are symbols of fertility as they have been considered underwhelming in size, often covered by clothing and seemingly not erect (Pestell 2012: 86; Brundle 2014: 168; Pollington et al. 2010: 430; PAS NMS-D6704B). Further to this, it has been argued the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and ‘Germanic’ peoples were coy about

representing nakedness and sex (Pollington et al. 2010: 430; Brundle 2014: 132, 151). Whether the rarity of such imagery automatically translates into a bodily shyness is debatable. Assumptions such as these perpetuate the myth of a culture disinterested in the body and sex. These notions are challenged by a seal-ring found via metal detector at Postwick (Norfolk) dated to the 7th-8th centuries, which features two figures that have been interpreted as potentially sexual and are thought to possibly represent a high-status or royal marital union (Karkov 2011:123-24; PAS-8709C3). The proposal that the 'Anglo-Saxons' were averse to sex and the sexual body is particularly exceptional when compared with perceptions of Iron-Age Scandinavian societies whose visual, material and textual records have been interpreted very differently by modern researchers (for a detailed summary on this scholarship see Hedeager 2011: 107-34). Within this scholarship, sex and the generative organs are thought to have been viewed as a potent force of magic linked to life, death and rebirth, thus ideas and practices linked to sex and sexuality played an important role in ritualistic practices and religious beliefs (ibid.). Since sex played an important role in Norse cosmological beliefs, Neil Price has emphasised that sexual elements are associated with much of the pantheon not just Freyr and Freya (Price 2006: 179-81). Similarly, Lotte Hedeager states that the notion of sexuality as a distinctive, separate and often private category of one's identity is a concept that originated in the 19th century (2011: 104-15). By contrast, sexuality and sexual acts may have often been public affairs and permeated many spheres of life in the Scandinavian Iron Age and interwoven with various other aspects of identity, e.g. gender, status and age, in a far more fluid and unstable manner (2011: 104-115). This kind of thinking has recently permeated 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship. For example, it has been argued that certain phallic images, when represented alongside avian details, may

have symbolised a predatory and aggressive form of masculinity that excelled in hunting and warfare (Martin 2013: 10-11: Wallis 2020: 425).

In the last two decades, the interpretive practice of assigning anthropomorphic images a divine identity has been increasingly challenged. For example, Alice Blackwell has rightly argued that the male figurines lack certain symbols associated with Wodan, e.g. the horns and spear, and may, therefore, represent something else (2007: 170). Furthermore, it has been argued that the continual focus on the cult of Wodan has neglected the study of the body and the attributes that are depicted either on or in proximity to the body (Blackwell 2007: 170). Neil Price has criticised Scandinavian archaeologists for the same obsessive preoccupation which has resulted in contradictory or supposedly 'irrelevant' details being overlooked so that the representation can be affiliated with a particular deity (2006: 179-82). This includes interpreting sexed bodies as Freya or Freyr, Price argues that in many instances, the naked images feature additional details or dress accessories that imply a more complex set of meanings (ibid.). These arguments highlight the need to study portrayals of the body in their entirety, this includes their superficial appearance, gestures, movement, morphology, posture and associated attributes. These arguments reflect a wider scholarly scepticism towards Hauck's methodology and interpretative framework. For instance, it has been questioned whether Hauck's bracteate studies had emphasised and exaggerated certain details while overlooking others to strengthen the links he had drawn with the textual sources (Behr 2011a: 220; Hines 2013: 251-55; Wicker and Williams 2013: 151-69; Wicker 2014: 31-38). The extent to which the classical and medieval texts are even relevant to images produced across northern Europe at various points in time has also been increasingly questioned (Price 2006: 182; Martin 2013: 11; Brundle 2013: 39; 201-02; Wicker 2014; 2017: 20-23; Herman 2015: 281-92; Eagles et al. 2016: 93). As such, it has been

increasingly advocated that textual sources should only be drawn upon when they strongly resonate with the iconography or that they are omitted altogether in favour of non-text-based methodologies. This shift has also challenged interpretations of the Finglesham man which were derived from Tacitus' *Germania*; the reliability of this source is a contested subject as it is a politically influenced account of the peoples of northern Europe (Hedeager 2011: 93; Herman 2015: 291). The assumption that the overlapping visual cultures of England and Scandinavia reflect a pan-'Germanic' religious, cultural and ethnic identity has also been interrogated as part of this scholarly shift (Blackwel, 2007: 169-70; Wicker and Williams 2013: 167; Wicker 2014: 36-38; Martin 2013:14; Behr, 2015; Herman 2015: 290-292; Harland 2019: 956-63). Consequently, observable iconographic parallels, shared art styles (e.g. Style I) and the dissemination of certain image baring mediums (e.g. bracteates) across northern Europe reflect the existence of motif networks. These networks facilitated the transference of visual materials and images through trade/exchange, the movement of people, and via the ongoing long-distance contacts maintained between elite groups situated across the North Sea littoral, these visual materials and motifs may then be further developed according to the demands of the local context (Pesch 2007: 382-83; 2011b: 272-74; Blackwell 2007: 170; Helmbrecht 2008; Pestell 2012: 81-83: Behr and Pestell 2014: 57, 68-71; Martin 2013: 14; Behr 2010b: 462-6; 2015: 19; Harland 2019: 954-63; Wicker 2019: 16-19, 22-5). Accordingly, overlaps between regional visual cultures do not necessarily reflect shared ideologies nor does it mean the images were homogenously interpreted or interacted with.

This scholarly shift has prompted new methodological approaches and considerations of full-bodied human imagery that are not centred on ideas of cult and cosmology. It has also placed a greater emphasis on the iconography and its relationship to

the local socio-cultural context with continental scholarship serving to supplement its interpretation as opposed to dominating it (e.g. Blackwell 2007: 169-72; Martin 2013: Brundle 2013; 2017; 2019; Herman 2015). This recent literature has coincided with, and been influenced by, the post-1990's trend in archaeological scholarship of studying prehistoric human images alongside ideas of embodiment, identity construction, materiality, phenomenological bodily experience, subjectivities and corporeal practices of the past (for a summary see Joyce 2005). However, these research themes and their associated critical debates have not yet been rigorously applied to early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture. It is crucial therefore to draw upon past research which has developed methodologies for interpreting ambiguous human imagery from different regions and periods to provide a richer understanding of 'Anglo-Saxon' corporeality. In this way, the current thesis will then be well situated to contribute to current global discussions concerning the body and its representation.

Returning to the wider trends in archaeological bodily theory, of particular note is a new wave of Scandinavian and German scholarship exploring Iron Age human imagery. This research has built upon pre-existing ideas on cosmology, divine bodies and rituals into new discussions of real-world identity creation and personhood. The role of these images in generating, communicating, reinforcing cultural mentalités, and in mediating social changes has also been considered (e.g. Wiker 2001; Danielsson 1999; 2002; 2007; 2010a; Pesch 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2015a/b; Hedeager 2011; Høilund Nielsen 2015; Watt 2011; 2015a/b, 2019; Heizmann and Oehrl 2015; Helmbrecht 2008; 2012; 2013; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019; Wicker 2019). This will be returned to in section 3.8 as approaches that move away from traditional 'pagan' interpretations, e.g. identification of deities or mythological episodes, of human imagery are particularly relevant to the methodology of this thesis. Also

of note is a small body of literature that has explored the human image, both naked and dressed, in Migration and Vendel period art (e.g. 5th-8th centuries AD). This literature has placed a strong emphasis on ideas relating to ritual performance and bodily transformation which are also prevalent themes within this thesis. Collectively, this emerging corpus of work has encouraged a small and significant level of attention to be placed on full-bodied human images present in early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture.

The first study of note is Melissa Herman's selective analysis of two-dimensional figures, naked and clothed, that are depicted wearing horned headdresses (2015). Herman argued that these 7th-century motifs were strongly associated with the masculine sphere as they were featured on helmets and belt sets (Herman 2015: 286-87). Focusing on the stylised appearance of these figures, it was argued that these figures were represented in a stripped back fashion so that only the essential masculine characteristics remained (Herman 2015: 287-88, 292). For the Finglesham man, this included a headdress, spears, a sword belt, facial hair and his penis which symbolised his male virility (ibid). By contrast, the clothed variants expressed their masculine potency by displaying their wealth and war apparel (Ibid.). The high-status men who engaged with this imagery were seeking to embody a comparable hyper-masculine warrior identity (Herman 2015: 291-92).

This consideration of the iconography alongside concepts relating to gender and status reflects a notable departure from pre-existing arguments which have focused entirely on cultic and cosmological beliefs and practices. In this regard, Blackwell's study of horned headdresses is also relevant as it was proposed they evoked drinking horn rituals and functioned as symbols of masculine power and leadership (2007: 169-70). This interpretation was extended to both clothed and naked variants.

The most extensive contributions to the study of the full-bodied human image in this period are found in the work of Lisa Brundle (2013; 2014; 2019). Brundle's work has recognised the continual expansion of the figural repertoire and the growing need to examine it in detail (Brundle 2013: 197-202; 2019: 2-4). These works have placed a greater emphasis on the relationship between image, object, context and cognitive perception (2013; 2019). Brundle's corpus of anthropomorphic images spanned the 5th-7th centuries. Via a comparative analysis it reaffirmed a pre-existing narrative that suggested the 7th century was a period of artistic innovation and transformation regarding the portrayal of the body (2013; 2019: 116-30, 159-60; see Webster 2011: 474, 2012: 9, 82, 84; 2017: 36: Pestell 2012: 80-87). Developments include the portrayal of the body in a more naturalistic fashion in two and three dimensional formats, a decline in human-animal hybridity, naked male and female bodies were represented for the first time and so too were bodies wearing detailed forms of dress (Brundle 2013: 208-13, 2019: 116-30, 159). While new forms of human representation had appeared, Brundle reaffirms that the human body is a rarity within the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England (Brundle 2019: 92, 118-30; also see Webster 2003: 11; 2011: 474: 2012: 8-9; 2017: 36; Pestell 2012: 86; Speake 2019: 241). Whereas in the preceding centuries anthropomorphic imagery was associated with the female body, the human image became more closely associated with male bodies and the masculine sphere (Brundle 2019: 89-92, 118-19, 127-30) Subsequently, Brundle suggests that these artistic developments reflect a shift in corporeal ideologies and practices in response to the large-scale societal changes that were prompted by the advent of Christianity and the emergence of kingdoms (Brundle 2013: 213-14; 2019: 118-30, 157-59). The notion that Christianity encouraged a small-scale artistic interest in semi-naturalistic portrayals of the body is also echoed in other literature (Evans 1992: 22; Wilson 1992: 118; Webster 2011: 474; 2012: 83-

4; Pestell 2012: 87). While a Christian influence on the repertoire is acknowledged, Brundle argues that the appearance of the naked body in England is seemingly paradoxical given the Church's body negative ideologies (2019: 157). It is also stated that the increasing presence of these images in England is significant as the symbolic power and popularity of naked representations was declining in contemporary Scandinavia, Merovingia and the late antique Mediterranean world (Brundle 2019: 118-23, 127). Brundle argued that the human image may have played an important role in constructing and signalling elite gendered identities and their distinguished bodily status (Brundle 2013:213-14; 2019: 127-30). The elite interest in the body was also linked to developing royal responsibilities for bodily governance and corporeal punishment (Brundle 2019: 129-30). While offering a novel reading of the human image, many of these interpretations were broadly applied to both the clothed and naked bodies. Similarly, how male and female nakedness differed regarding their symbolism was underexplored.

3.5 Ritual costumes

One recurring element within scholarly discussions of 7th-century human imagery is the concept of ritual costumes. These are costumes that differ to the standard fashions of daily life and are worn in a ritual or cultic context. Alternatively, they may be costumes associated with divine bodies and as Webster states have an 'unearthly' quality (2002a: 45). The identification of ritual costumes extends back to earlier discussions of the dancing twins on the Sutton Hoo helmet and the Finglesham man. Additional human images discovered in recent decades have been interpreted similarly (Hawkes et al. 1965; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 187; Webster 2002a: 45-46; Pestell 2012: 85-86; Brundle 2019: 124-26). As noted by

Brundle, no depiction of the naked male body is ever truly naked as they are either depicted topless and wearing trousers or 'naked' and wearing a belt and/or a headdress (2019: 118-26). This contrasts with some of the female figurines who are presented completely naked (ibid.; Brundle 2013). This implies the meanings of nakedness differed across the sexes. It also raises an interesting set of implications for the relevance of the term naked to the male bodies and highlights the need to consider the symbolic relationship between the naked body and the accompanying costume articles. The combination of the belt and naked body is a motif that occurs widely across northern Europe, yet, its significance remains understudied in 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship (Blackwell, 2007:169-70). Also of note are the group of male figures that are interpreted as topless and wearing either trousers, a loincloth or a skirt (Evison 1965: 215-16; Webster 2002a: 45-46, 2012: 82; Webster and Minter 2007: 225- 26; Brundle 2013; 2019: 124-26; Blackwell 2007: 170; Pestell 2012: 84-86; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521; Carver 2019: 96). Brundle has subsequently suggested that the appearance of the Carlton Colville figurine may imply a cultural reticence towards the display of the penis; therefore, it is was concealed and suggestively emphasised as a trouser bulge (2014: 151). Considering what has been discussed regarding academic anxieties surrounding the naked body, it ought to be reassessed whether these are phallic bulges.

The extent in which the clothed bodies known to current literature could be considered fully covered is questionable as it is not agreed whether the horned headdress and caftan wearing figures represented on the Sutton Hoo helmet were portrayed with bare legs (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 194; Walton Rogers 2007: 214; Pollington et al. 2010: 475). As mentioned, the real-world existence of the caftan garment has been questioned and it is thought the costume may reflect an iconographic tradition in England that was imported from Scandinavia (Owen-Crocker 2004: 180). It has also been suggested that the garment

was worn during ceremonies or ritual events (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 187; Gunnell 1995: 36-37). Additional clothed figures within the 7th-century repertoire are frequently depicted wearing animal headdresses or helmets crested with animal figures (Leahy 2006: 279-80; Brundle 2019: 47, 124-26; Speake 2019: 239-45). Again, whether the costumes of these figures are practical and intended for warfare or for ceremonies and rituals has been discussed (PAS-NLM-468D41; Leahy 2006: 279-80; Brundle 2019: 47, 124-26). Herman also proposed that horned headdress wearing figures, clothed and naked, were depicted wearing masks (Herman 2015: 280-82). Many of the clothed and naked figures are depicted in movement which combined with the various costume elements has led to their interpretation as ritualistic and cultic scenes involving dancing, ritualised warfare, drama or roleplay (Holmqvist 1960: 121; Hawkes et al. 1965: 27; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 188-89; Glosecki 1986: 310-12; Gunnell 1995: 36-37, 70; Shepherd 1998: 64-65; Gaimster 1999: 62-67; Pestell 2012: 80-84; Brundle 2019: 22; 47, 124-26; Herman 2015: 285-88). This collective literature suggests that 7th-century human images, whether naked or clothed, were not represented in the context of daily life. Subsequently, it is necessary to also consider the relationship between the clothed and naked bodies as both are seemingly linked to the sphere of cult and ritual and appear to present the body in various states of exposure and adornment.

3.6 Iconographic parallels and continental influences

Whether the appearance of the naked image in the 7th century reflects an internal development or was stimulated by an external cultural force has been disputed. For example, a Scandinavian iconographic influence has been put forth for certain figures. The distribution of the semi-naked figurines in eastern England is also thought to reflect an

exchange of ideas across the North Sea region (Webster 2012: 82, 84; Pestell 2012: 86-87). Webster has also suggested they were inspired through increasing contact with Christian Gaul and Italy (2012: 84). As stated, Brundle argued that naked images were declining in popularity in adjacent regions. In addition to this, Brundle argued that there were no continental examples of the naked body that sufficiently resembled those in England, therefore, they reflect an innovative and indigenous artistic development that potentially drew upon an earlier Romano-British figural tradition for inspiration (Brundle 2019: 118-23, 159). The Romano-British influence has also been put forth by other scholars regarding certain images (Meaney 1981: 235-37; Davidson 1988: 88-89; Webster 2012: 82). This includes the Finglesham man, as it has been recognised that his penis is a point of difference when compared with Scandinavian parallels (Hawkes et al. 1965: 18-20; Blackwell 2007:170; Herman 2015: 290). Consequently, the naked body may have been influenced by several different sources. However, these suggestions are not derived from an exhaustive examination of comparative naked images. A more focused analysis may help explain why the sexed body appeared in the 7th century.

3.7 Pre 7th-century iconographic roots and alternative conventions

One aspect unconsidered in contemporary scholarship is the possibility that the naked body was represented before the 7th century. For instance, there is a small corpus of two-dimensional and three-dimensional figures that date between the 5th-7th centuries that present the body in a relatively schematic fashion. This group of images have prompted confusion regarding their states of dress as they often feature no markers that conclusively communicate their state of dress (Hills 1980: 52; Owen-Crocker 2010: 188; Brundle 2014:

153-57; Behr and Pestell 2014: 54-55; Hills and Ashley 2017: 518). As a result, some of these bodies have occasionally been interpreted as naked (e.g. Hawkes et al. 1965: 19-21: Davidson 1989: 13; Fennel 1969: 214; Blackwell 2007: 169-70). However, interpretations of clothing have predominated as studies of dress have been more numerous (e.g. Hills 1980: 52; Owen-Crocker 2010: 188; Behr and Pestell 2014: 54-55; Brundle 2019: 124-27; Eagles 2016:97). In other instances, the lack of visual information present on the surface of these schematic bodies prompts no interpretation and the state of the body goes undiscussed. It is necessary, therefore, to comparatively analyse these bodies alongside the more coherent designs. This may strengthen our understanding of the ambiguous images and what they originally represented.

This body of material includes several bracteates found in England. These are small gold circular pendants centrally impressed with a matrix die, the motif usually measuring between 1.5-3.5cm in diameter (Mannering 2017: 71). The medium and the general motifs found on the bracteates was conceptualised in southern Scandinavia in the mid-5th century (Behr 2010a: 34-39). They were subsequently exported to England where some indigenous manufacture within England has been identified within the archaeological record, particularly in Kent and East Anglia (Hines 1984: 216; Behr 2000: 48-52; 2006: 17-23; 2010a: 35-36, 81; 2011b: 100; Behr and Pestell 2014: 67-71; Wicker and Williams 2013: 174). As will be discussed below, Scandinavian scholarship has identified several naked figures within the wider continental bracteate corpus and recognised their symbolic importance. Parallels have been drawn between some of these naked bodies with bracteates found in England. However, the anatomical details are absent on the English variants, which prompted the suggestion that the bodies were censored due to an 'Anglo-Saxon' bodily reticence (Brundle 2014: 138, 151). Yet, the stylistic conventions underlying

the portrayal of the naked body in the bracteate corpus is an underexplored topic of research in both English and Scandinavian scholarship. Despite bracteate studies reaching extending back to the 19th century, a comprehensive study of the costumes represented within this corpus has only appeared in recent years (see Behr 2011a for a comprehensive summary of bracteate research; for the study on dress see Mannering 2017). It is necessary, therefore, to examine how and to what extent was the naked body was represented in the bracteate corpus. This need is further confirmed by a cluster of bracteates from Binham (Norfolk), which feature a figure interpreted as wearing no clear signs of clothing other than a belt (Behr and Pestell 2014: 49). Equally, a bracteate from Bifrons (Kent) features an individual who has been interpreted as wearing a similar pair of trousers to those present on certain semi-naked figurines (Owen-Crocker 2010: 188; Brundle 2014: 150-51). This suggests articles and instances of bodily exposure linked to the ritual costumes of the 7th century may be rooted in an earlier iconographic tradition.

Like the bracteates, 'Germanic' animal Style I originated in southern Scandinavia in the mid-5th century. It was then imported, manufactured and further developed predominantly in eastern and southern England (Leigh 1980; Hines 1997; Dickinson 2002, 2005; 2009; Shepherd 1998; Webster 2003: 14-16; 2011: 467-70; Martin 2013 2015; Brundle 2019: 47-61). As part of the stylistic vocabulary of Style I, human, animal and human-animal hybrids were actively abbreviated, fragmented, re-arranged, or contorted in a manner thought to represent a 'Germanic' cultural and artistic taste for double-readings and ambiguity by concealing, transforming and masking the body (Leigh 1980: 356-96; 1984; Hasseloff 1981: 111-32; Gaimster 1998: 1-6, 13-20; Shepherd 1998: 8, 59-65; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001; Capelle 2003: 41; Martin 2013: 4; 2015: 156; Brundle 2017: 373; 2019: 23-5, 47-61). How the body is presented has prompted several cosmological and ritualistic

readings of Style I that have focused on ideas of shamanism, shape-shifting, ritualistic performance and bodily transformation (e.g. Leigh 1980: 369-430; 1984; Gaimster 1999: 13-20; Dickinson 2002: 178-181; 2005: 149-161; 2009: 1; Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Hedeager 1999: 389-392; 2011: 51-58, 66-74; Kristoffersen 2010: 263; 2017:365). Consequently, how the body and its parts are presented, alongside the ideologies and concepts the Style is thought to express, seemingly resists attempts to study the body as a coherent and stable whole alongside states of dress and nakedness. Subsequently, the relevance of nakedness or dress to the figures within this Style remains an underexplored research question. While modern literature has often focused on themes of bodily transformation and hybridity, Style I also contains whole bodies with fixed boundaries (Kristoffersen 2017: 365). As such, oppositional concepts of 'boundedness' and 'transformation' are recognised within the Style. This is thought to reflect a process whereby strict boundaries are established so that their transcendence is both powerful and meaningful (ibid.).

A small number of full-bodied human motifs have been identified within Style I, one of which is frequently referred to as a 'dancer' due to their acrobatic and contorted qualities (Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Capelle 2003). Animal headdresses, helmets, arm-rings and neck collars have been recognised on instances of Style I present in England (Kendrick 1938: 75-81; Chadwick 1958: 48-53; Dickinson 2002: 172, 178; 2005: 149; Martin 2013: 4, 11; Brundle 2019: 76). Again, this evokes the concept of ritualistic costumes and performance. Furthermore, it has recently been suggested that the penis may be subtly represented or evoked on certain object types decorated with Style I (Martin 2013: 9-10; Brundle 2019: 107). Collectively, Style I presents an additional prospective resource regarding the study of the body, therefore, the potential presence of the naked image within Style I needs to be considered.

3.8 Naked imagery from Iron Age Scandinavia

The close relationship between the figural repertoire in England and that in Scandinavia and northern Germany warrants a summary of how the naked image has been considered within Scandinavian and German scholarship. The earliest sexually explicit images that date to the Iron Age are sculpted wooden figures found in bogs across southern Denmark and northern Germany, these have traditionally been interpreted as fertility idols that were deployed within large scale agricultural fertility rituals (Riismøller 1952; Johansen 1980; Capelle 1995; Sanden and Capelle 2001; Kaul 2003: 32-39; Behm-Blancke 2003: 89-97; Ebbesen 2011: 36-40). Sexually ambiguous naked figures are known within the bracteate corpus. These figures were originally interpreted as primaeval hermaphroditic deities (Hauck 1970: 128-33; 150). A common theme in modern research has been to view these ambiguous figures as shamans or priests who have crossed boundaries and blurred their states of being, e.g. animal/human and male/female, to access other-worldly powers (Motz 1994a: 594-96; 1994: 6-15; Martel 2007: 67-73; Hedeager 2011: 132-33; Wiker 2001: 51-60). Other readings of the same group of figures have argued that they are not ambiguously gendered, but naked men depicted in a liminal state attempting to commune with the other-world (Laursen 2006: 201-03; see Motz 1994b: 9-10).

Outside of the bracteate corpus, a sizeable number of explicitly naked three-dimensional figurines, primarily male, have been discovered from a range of different contexts across southern Scandinavia and date between the 3rd-9th centuries. Many of the figurines feature some form of adorning dress article, e.g. headdress, belt, arm-ring or neck-ring (e.g. Voss 1990; Zachrisson 2003; Andersson et al. 2003; 2004; Price 2006; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 87-90). Similar forms of human representation have been

recognised within the guldgubber corpus. Guldgubber are small, usually between 1-2cm^2, thin cut gold foils stamped with a die and mass-produced in southern Scandinavia between the mid-6th-8th centuries (Danielsson 1999: 8; Watt 2004: 211-13; 2015a; 2015b: 163-65; Ratke 2009a: 153; Ratke and Simek 2006: 260-3). These have variously been interpreted as divine bodies, political leaders or priests wearing objects that signify rank and have some form of religious significance (Zachrisson 2003; Andersson et al. 2004: 77-84; Sundqvist 2015: 427-29; Pesch 2015: 523-25, 668; Watt 2004: 211-13; 2015b: 163-65; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019:90). Certain three-dimensional figures and the wider guldgubber corpus, both clothed and naked images, have been interpreted as fertility-related which were possibly deposited as votive offerings (Andersson et al. 2004: 163-64; Watt, 2015a; Helmbrecht 2013: 9-12; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 445). Additional naked and ambiguous figures within the guldgubber corpus have been interpreted as dancers (Watt 1992: 213-15; 2004: 201). Alternatively, it has been suggested they represent ghosts or wraiths (Ratke and Simek 2006: 260-63; Ratke 2009a: 153). Danielsson has argued that the clothed and naked guldgubber figures represent a single ritualist who is depicted undergoing costume changes and blurring their identity to facilitate an ecstatic shamanic transformation (1999, 2002). Influenced by the work of Danielsson, Michaela Helmbrecht argued that the naked horned headdress wearing figures represent a liminal rite of passage where boys became men and started their warrior training (2008: 46). The motif functioned to signal the owner's association to a northern European network comprised of elite warriors affiliated with the cult of Odin (2008: 46-9). Lotte Hedeager has offered a similar reading to Danielsson by arguing that the ambiguously dressed guldgubbers represented entities with the potential to access to the whole gender-scale (Hedeager 2011: 128-29). The state of nakedness and act of cross-dressing subverted normative and fixed identities, therefore, they were

powerful and magical taboos that threatened the social order (Hedeager 2011: 131-34). For this reason, both Danielsson and Hedeager state these practices that were regulated by the regional elites who sought to limit and control access to these powers (Danielsson 1999: 18; Hedeager 2011: 132-34).

While the state of nakedness is recognised within Scandinavian scholarship as holding an important place within its visual culture and within the sphere of cult and religion, it has been argued that cultural importance placed on this bodily state was declining from the late 6th century onwards. This is reflected in the increasing portrayal of the body in less ambiguous states wearing highly detailed costumes, both textile articles and military regalia (Wiker 2001; Watt 2004: 199–214; 2015a/b; Helmbrecht 2011: 112, 134; Hedeager 2011:128-29; Mannering 2008; 2017: 17-70; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 433-37). A possible Christian influence has been suggested for this shift which may have introduced new corporeal ideologies as well as novel concepts relating to the divine body (Wiker 2001: 67-68; Watt 2015b: 175-76). Alternatively, it has been suggested that the elite increasingly sought to present the divine body wearing comparable fashions to ideologically legitimise earthly high-status symbols of power and wealth (Watt 2015a). Collectively, this expansive body of literature reflects a more thorough engagement with the topic of the naked body when compared to English scholarship and that insufficient attention has been paid to this scholarship when studying iconographically comparable images discovered in England. Consequently, it needs to be considered whether the naked image was conceptualised similarly across these two regions.

3.9 Chapter summary

Recent discoveries and scholarly advances in the past two decades have gradually begun to re-write our understanding of the early 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples and their relationship with the body. However, the long-enduring narrative of the body as a rarity in England until the Church introduced and popularised a human figural repertoire remains popular in contemporary thinking (Webster 2011: 474-75; 2012: 8-9; 37, 40, 82-83; 2017:36-37; Cross 2020: 421-22). As the corpus of naked images has continued to grow, the need to consider these figures within a dedicated study has become evident. While researchers are beginning to recognise the social and symbolic significance of the naked body in the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England, the artistic and cultural significance of these representations could be greatly underestimated. Current research has focused only on a small number of bodies that are depicted with genitals. Alternative forms of abstract and ambiguous human representation have been overlooked and their state of dress is underexamined. Until these figures are analysed, the extent to which the naked body was represented and its cultural significance cannot be properly gauged. For instance, the naked body is thought to be an artistic novelty of the 7th century and this factor has influenced the interpretation of its symbolism. The possibility that these figures emerged out of an earlier iconographic tradition has not yet been properly explored. Ritual costume elements have been identified as recurrent features on the bodies within the early 'Anglo-Saxon' figural repertoire, but their symbolic significance and their relationship to the body has not been properly interrogated in English scholarship. These gaps in understanding are filled in the following chapters. The subsequent chapter considers and defines what constitutes a naked representation, a methodological framework is also outlined that will assist in the interpretation of ambiguous and abstract images (Chapter 4). The possibility that the naked

image was represented before the 7th century is explored via an examination of the bracteate corpus and by exploring the portrayal of the body within Style I (Chapters 5 and 6). The 7th-century 'Anglo-Saxon' repertoire is then analysed to properly gauge the presence of the naked body in this period (Chapter 7). Chapter 8 considers the findings of Chapters 5-7 and explores the symbolism of the body in its various states of dress/nakedness. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis.

Chapter 4

Visual materials, data collection and methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methods used to undertake this survey and analysis. Here I introduce the reader to the primary visual materials discussed within this thesis and outline the methods used to analyse this dataset

4.2 Research parameters: temporal and spatial

This thesis examines human images that date to the 5th-7th centuries discovered in the regions associated with the seven 'Anglo-Saxon' kingdoms outlined in Chapter 1 (Fig. 1.1). Full-bodied semi-naturalistic human images dating to this period are rare and their discovery has often warranted a publication or some form of detailed discussion. Brundle's study involved an intensive and thorough survey of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire (2019), yet, the study located no entirely new instances of full-bodied semi-naturalistic representation that had been overlooked in an excavation report, museum stores, a catalogue or in grey literature etc. From the outset, this suggested that intensive data collection focused on a smaller number of alternative regions may yield limited discoveries. As a consequence, in this project, I have expanded the geographic perimeters and concentrated on identifying examples of naked and semi-naked human imagery from secondary sources: known corpora, secondary publications and gazetteers, online databases and published catalogues.

This thesis also explores the portrayal of the naked body within the visual culture of Scandinavia and northern Germany between the 3rd and mid-6th centuries AD to explore ideas of development and connection between precursor traditions in the northern Iron Age world and England in the 5th-7th centuries AD (Chapter 5). It was not possible in this thesis to undertake a comprehensive survey of northern European human figural imagery relating to the 3rd to 6th centuries AD, but key objects and images have been selectively collected and analysed in Chapter 5.

In terms of chronology, I have relied on dates provided within the secondary literature and reports. Allocated dates are derived variously from contextual, typological, stylistic dating or a combination. Only in a very few instances have I needed to allocate a date due to the absence of any pre-assigned dates. This has typically been done on stylistic and typological grounds. Additional information relating to dating is outlined below in regard to specific visual materials.

4.3 Defining and identifying nakedness

For the process of data collection, it was essential to define what constituted a naked representation or one that might provide insight into ideas and experiences relating to bodily display. While zoomorphic and animal-human hybrids are discussed within this thesis, the primary focus of this research is the naked human body. However, it is recognised that fauna, flora and forms of material culture may have played an important role in how the concept of nakedness was understood and experienced in this period. For instance, in Christian thought nakedness is a state of nature shared by humans and animals, whereas clothing was unique to humans and a reminder of their shame following the first sin (Lewis

2003: 16). By contrast, in other cultures, animals, trees and plants are thought of as clothed in their outer layers, e.g. bark, fur, feathers, which can then be stripped away and repurposed to dress something other (see Descola 2013). Potentially similar concepts surrounding skin changing and shapeshifting are prevalent within Norse mythology, but the literary record is too fragmented and unreliable to conclusively say whether comparable beliefs were present in 'Anglo-Saxon' England (Pluskowski 2011: 116-7). Also of note is the 10th-century Exeter book of 'Anglo-Saxon' poetry which contains suggestive Old English riddles that describe items of food and household objects being 'undressed' and handled in a sexual manner (Magennis 1995; Higley 2003; Salvador 2003). Again, whether similar metaphors were present in the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period cannot be proven on account of the lacking literary record. For this reason, this thesis does not consider ontological questions pertaining to the dressed or naked status of fauna, flora or material culture in any extensive detail.

No study has explicitly outlined what exactly constitutes a naked human representation in 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture. The few studies to have considered terminology and definitions have focused solely on the art-historical definitions of naked and nude and their respective relevance to a small number of naked images produced in the late 'Anglo-Saxon' period (e.g. Withers 2003: 4-7; Mittman and Kim 2008: 171-73; 188-89). These terms do not imply different levels of bodily exposure; the contested points of difference of a naked and nude representation, popularised by Kenneth Clark, are their aesthetic qualities and how the audience responds to them (Clark 1956). While the stylistic qualities and conventions associated with idealised classical nudity and medieval Christian portrayals of the naked body are relevant to this thesis, the debate surrounding the terms 'naked' and 'nude' and their points of difference are not. Instead, both are treated as

stylised, as opposed to realistic, portrayals of the body (see below). It has been stated that 'the unclothed body is rare in Anglo-Saxon art in any medium, and the naked and sexed body rarer still' (Karkov 2003: 181). Remarks on the rarity of Anglo-Saxon naked images are recurrent within modern scholarship (e.g. Lewis 2003: 21; Matthews 2003:138-46; Wilcox 2003:276-77; Withers 2003:1, 13-14; Owen-Crocker 2010: 316). However, these statements suffer from a lack of explicit definition. The sexed body implies the presence of genitalia, but what exactly constitutes a naked or unclothed body and how do they differ from the sexed body? Within the Old English language, several words can be located that relate to the state of nakedness. These include *nacod (*naked), *unscrydd* (unclothed), *unbeheold* (to unconceal), *baer* (bare), adjectives could also be added to augment the type of nakedness like *eallnacod* (all-naked) and *lim-nacod* (limb naked or penis-naked) (Withers 2003:6; Morton 2009: 27-28; Monk 2014:21). These different terms highlight how instances of nakedness are interpreted differently depending on context and the level of bodily exposure. They also indicate that there were states of nakedness that were not dependent on the exposure of the genitals. This is significant as modern studies of 'Anglo-Saxon' nakedness have focused entirely on representations that display their genitalia or breasts.

In modern Western society, the taboo of nakedness and bodily exposure is primarily concerned with the display of the sex organs, the pubic area, the anus, and for the female body the breasts, particularly the nipples (Lunceford 2012: IX; Friedman and Grossman 2013: 172, 181-82; Cormier and Jones 2015: 115-18). In part, this taboo and 'genital phobia' is rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition which emphasised the shameful and sinful implications of their exposure (Górnicka 2016: 122-28, 141). That the Western concept and experience of nakedness is heavily fixated on genitals and breasts is partly attributable to the mass production and dissemination of pornographic images, images intended for sexual

arousal, which actively position and frame the body to maximise their visibility (Lunceford 2012: IX; Bahrani 2013: 43). The extent to which images of the genitals are produced and encountered today is unparalleled when compared with prior centuries (Górnicka 2016: 141). In turn, the state of nakedness has become synonymous with the state that enables access, both visually and physically, to the genitalia and breasts (Lunceford 2018: 7-8). A wide range of alternative artistic conventions and cultural attitudes exist, both past and present, towards the body whereby the exposure and display of the body's surface and physicality, and not just the genitals, are symbolically significant (e.g. Bonfante 1989; Bahrani 2013; Robb and Harris 2013, Lindquist 2012; Barcan 2004; Górnicka 2016). As such, we ought to be aware of our modern biases when we consider the concept of nakedness as being a state solely concerned with the exposure of the genitals.

If the display of genitalia is a pre-requisite to an interpretation of nakedness, this criterion would produce a sample of less than ten representations that were suitable for study within this thesis. For instance, Brundle's brief discussion of the naked body recognised that no male body and only a few female bodies were ever presented fully without any clothing (2019: 118-22). Instead, the male bodies featured some form of dress accessory or were depicted topless with the penis evoked as a bulge concealed in trousers (ibid.). As such, in this period there appears to be very limited cultural interest in portraying something that conforms to a modern expectation of a naked representation. This is defined as a state of complete undress that depicts or references the sexual characteristics in some capacity. However, this sample of images indicates that concepts relating to bodily exposure, display and adornment were artistically and culturally significant. In this regard, the terms *unscrydd* (unclothed), *unbeheold* (to unconceal), *baer* (bare) are potentially more relevant. This raises the question of whether the apparent 'Anglo-Saxon' disinterest in the

naked body has been shaped by modern expectations. In turn, broader conclusions are being drawn regarding cultural attitudes to the body in this period based upon the quantitative presence of genitalia. To properly explore how the body was conceptualised and experienced in this period, it is necessary to locate and analyse the images that were concerned with concepts and states relating to bodily exposure and concealment.

Before establishing the criteria of my data collection, it is important to consider how schematism and stylisation can affect the portrayal of the body. Broadly speaking, schematic representations of the body have been reduced, simplified and possess limited visual information while stylised figures feature generic and conventionalised details (Robb 2015: 175-76). The archaeologist John Robb has drawn up a scale of how the human image broadly changes in appearance, symbolism and function depending on the level of schematism, stylisation and realism (Fig. 4.1) (2015: 176). As the scale indicates, the categories are not always easily distinguishable and can overlap. While an artistic interest in accurately capturing the likeness of the subject is visible in some classical visual cultures; attempts at truthful scientific illustration and photo-realism were only facilitated by new techniques and materials developed during and after the European Renaissance (Robb 2015: 174; Petherbridge and Jordonova 1997: 8-10). While stylised representations can appear naturalistic, e.g. classical conventions of idealised nudity, they do not accurately represent real living subjects (Robb 2015: 174-76). By contrast, schematic representations actively reject high levels of mimesis and instead strip away unessential detail and reduce shape and form to produce visually simplistic figures that have retained the core visual information (Green 1989: 194-95). By removing any distracting clutter and focusing on and emphasising what is essential, schematic figures can effectively and powerfully express the principal symbolic and visual qualities of the subject (Green 1989: 206-15; Aldhouse-Green

	Entirely schematic	Stylized	Entirely realistic
Examples	conventional schematic icon for male, female on public bathroom door; skin colour in apartheid regime	Advertising imagery; shop mannequins; Classical "naturalistic" sculpture	detailed reproduction of a specific body (close-up unposed photograph; fingerprint; DNA profile)
Major uses	Sorting bodies into simple categories	Presenting idealized role models	Identifying a specific body
Relationship between bodies and categories	reduction of body to formal category	Representation presents abstract, essential qualities for admission to category	Denial of category; every body is unique
Reaction provoked through comparison of viewer's body with image	Formal matching based upon simple categorical membership	Contingent; representation presents an ideal which viewer can potentially enact	Formal matching based upon complex details
Exclusion/ inclusion	Hard-edged, visible (either one belongs or one doesn't)	Soft-edged, contingent, negotiable	Hard-edged, visible (either one is the one represented or one isn't)

Figure 4.1 Visual features and social functions of schematic, stylised and naturalistic representations of the body (Robb 2015: 176. Table 12.3).

2004: 194-95; Robb 2015: 174-76). As part of this process, body parts, anatomical elements and attributes/accessories featured on or in proximity to the body can display unbalanced levels of visual detail and can be drastically enlarged, exaggerated or altered in their shape and form (Green 1989: 206-15). The details that are present, emphasised or altered in some capacity are typically recognised as being the most symbolic and significant details of a schematic image (ibid.; Bailey 2005: 28).

All images dating to the 'Anglo-Saxon' period (5th-11th centuries) fit somewhere between schematic and stylised (Webster 2017; Karkov 2011: 235). While the ability to realistically capture the body is also confined by the techniques, technology and skill available or deployed by the craftsperson/artist, it is also recognised that there was a wider and active artistic preference in this period for the schematic and stylised portrayal of the body (Webster 2012: 84; 2017). As such, it is important to acknowledge that the bodies represented in this period do not present the body in a realistic or truly 'naturalistic' fashion, but that some representations possess higher levels of mimesis than others. For

example, the 7th century is recognised as a period where the human image was represented with a higher level of mimesis and detail when compared to the previous centuries (e.g. Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-30; Herman 2015: 279-82; Webster 2011: 474-75; 2012: 38, 82-83; 2017: 35-37). However, these figures are also semi-naturalistic and reflect an enduring taste for the schematism, stylisation and abstraction that shaped the portrayal of the human image in the preceding centuries. As such, these are not photographs or technically accurate illustrations that capture the physical likeness of its subject. Rather, the subject, which can still be a real person, is 're-presented' in an altered state having been elaborated upon and articulated for various symbolic and social purposes and functions (Daniellson 2007: 43-44, Fredell 2004: 138; Robb 2015: 174-76).

For the 5th-7th-century repertoire, the full-bodied images often display a mix of stylised e.g. face shapes and details, and schematic features. The body and its surface are generally represented schematically. For example, the 7th-century belt plate from Finglesham features a human representation with a phallus, but without the penis, there would be no conclusive indicator that this figure was naked (Fig.4.2a). This is demonstrated by a contemporary parallel figure from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (Fig. 4.2b). Does the meaning and interpretation of these images drastically change when the penis is present/absent? Looking to other studies that have considered schematic representations produced in prehistoric contexts may provide useful in trying to answer this question. For instance, some notable studies have advocated viewing schematic bodies, such as these, as templates or foundations (Yates 1993; Alberti 2002; Joyce 2005: 144-45). The blank schematic bodies are subsequently layered with selectively applied symbols, including body parts, anatomical details, gestures, dress accessories and adjacent attributes (ibid.). Different combinations may reflect different ideas, identities or performed embodiments



A)



B)

Figure 4.2 Horned headdress wearing figures from England and Scandinavia. A) Belt plate from Finglesham (Kent) (7th century) (Hawkes et al., 1965:18. Fig. 1); B) Copper-alloy die (die D) from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (6th-8th centuries) (Drawing by Bengt Händel accessed via Oehrl 2016: 55.Fig. 4).

(ibid.). Genitalia, like any other body part, is culturally encoded with meaning and thus has a distinctive set of symbolic qualities and associations (Yates 1993: Alberti 2002; Joyce 2005: 144; Danielsson 2007: 46-54, 76). Thus, its presence is entirely dependent on what is being communicated. This is reinforced by the absence of the testicles on the Finglesham man which indicate that the symbolic qualities of these organs were presumably not relevant to what was being represented. As such, the presence/absence of the penis would likely have had a profound impact on the interpretation of these two bodies since they reflect a different articulation and combination of ideas and symbols. However, this does not necessarily discredit the possibility that both are 'naked'. Instead, what needs to be considered is whether the body's surface and form was itself a symbol that expressed ideas and information relating to bodily display and nakedness. Inevitably, the stripped-back nature of schematic representations will resemble the naked body more than the clothed body, but in some instances, this may simply be more than coincidental. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the possibility that these schematic bodily surfaces and forms represent exposed skin and bodies.

4.4 Criteria for data collection and primary visual materials

The purpose of this section is to introduce the categories of visual representations collected and analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and provide a brief introduction to the primary visual materials.

4.4.1 Bracteates

As mentioned in the previous chapter, bracteates are a rare source of full-bodied imagery found in England and dating to the 5th-6th centuries. Bracteates are circular pendants impressed on one side with a circular matrix die. The stamped motif typically measures between 20-30mm in diameter (Gaimster 1998: 22; Behr 2006: 15). While the vast majority of bracteates are made of gold, a small number have also been found which were rendered in silver and copper-alloy (Behr 2010a: 34-35). The medium and the motif templates were predominantly conceptualised and developed in southern Scandinavia between the mid-5th-mid 6th centuries (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 278; Axboe 1999: 140-41; Behr 2010a: 34-39; Pesch 2011b; Wicker and Williams 2013:171-75). Most bracteates were struck in southern Scandinavia and are discovered as hoard finds. Over a thousand are currently known and this is thought to be a fraction of the 10,000-100,000 that were potentially mass-produced (Behr 2015:19; Wicker and Williams 2013: 207). Bracteates are found across northern and parts of central Europe, many of these were stamped in Scandinavia, but their production and distribution also spread to other regions (Behr 2006; Pesch 2007; 2011b; Wicker and Williams 2013: 171-5). Instances of import and some degree of local production are thought to account for those found in England (Hines 1984: 216; Axboe and Kromann 1992: 278; Behr 2000: 48-52; 2006:17-23; 2010a: 35-36, 81, 2011b: 100; Behr and Pestell 2014: 67-71; Wicker and Williams 2013:174). This thesis relies on current literature regarding the provenance of each bracteate.

Many methodological systems have emerged that have attempted to group the bracteates and classify them according to their iconography or chronology (e.g. Thomsen 1855; Montelius 1869; Mackeprang 1952; Malmer 1963, Axboe 2007; Pesch 2007). The

system of iconographic classification developed by Christian Thomsen and Oscar Montelius remains the basis for classifying bracteates (see App. Table 4.1) (Thomsen 1855; Montelius 1869). These classifications will be used within this thesis. So too will the classification system developed by Alexandra Pesch (2007). Within Pesch's system, two-thirds of the bracteates have been grouped into formula or design families, these are clusters of iconographically similar bracteates that potentially descended from a common die stamp or workshop (2007; 2011c: 379-82). These groups enable researchers to more easily compare the geographic distribution and iconographic/stylistic variations of certain motifs.

As stated in Chapter 3, there has been limited academic interest in exploring states of dress or nakedness concerning the figures represented in the bracteate corpus. Since the bodies are often heavily stylised, it has been argued that states of dress are too difficult to interpret and potentially inconsequential to what the images symbolised (Mannering 2008:64; 2017:71; Oehrl 2017: 187-88). Similarly, there has been little interest in exploring the state of nakedness, how it was stylistically represented and how frequently. In many instances, bracteate designs were often derived from late antique prototypes, particularly Roman coins and medallions (Axboe and Kromann 1992). Generally, A and C types adapted designs from the obverse of these coins, whereas the B types drew upon the reverse (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 281). A and C types rarely feature full-bodied images and depict either a head in isolation or a bust (Mannering 2017:71-73). When the upper body is represented, it is usually depicted wearing a stylised and abbreviated form of the Emperor's costume (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 281; Mannering 2017: 71-87). B types display greater iconographic diversity regarding the body, the corpus includes figures wearing abbreviated Roman costume elements alongside more ambiguous bodies which are schematic or abstract in appearance (see Axboe and Kromann 1992; Mannering 2017). D types feature

abstract and abbreviated zoomorphic figures. It has been observed that many of these zoormorphic figures are stylised variants of more coherent examples found on other bracteate types (Gaimster 1998: 33-36, 43; Behr 2000: 37; Mannering 2017: 73). Dismembered human limbs have also been identified on certain D-bracteates (Gaimster 1998: 43; Behr 2011a: 224-26, Wicker and Williams 2013: 170). While most scholars believe these limbs are represented in isolation, Marit Gaimster has suggested that they occasionally belong to complete human figures that have been heavily stylised and interwoven amongst the zoomorphic elements (1996: 220). Gaimster has drawn parallels between these figures with more coherent human bodies featured on B types (ibid.). This suggests that D types may provide an additional source of human imagery. This possibility remains underexplored. Only A, B, C and D types have been discovered in England. The designs that included more than a head (face-mask) in isolation were collected for comparative analysis. Bodies depicted wearing Roman dress elements were also collated, as how these costumes were abbreviated and altered may provide insight into whether the more ambiguous figures were represented dressed or naked.

Bracteate production is dated roughly to the mid-5th-mid 6th centuries (Axboe 1999: 140-41). Attempts to produce a refined chronological and stylistic sequence has proven difficult, especially as bracteates may have been in use for a long period and so their date of deposition is not necessarily a reflector of their date of production (Barford Carlsen 2002: 123; Rundkvist 2006: 348-9; see Axboe 1999; 2007 for his dating models). Nonetheless, the A, B and C types are generally recognised as emerging simultaneously (mid-5th century), followed by D types (6th century). The production of all four types then coincided and continued until the mid-6th century (Axboe 2007: 148; for an alternative chronological model for the D-bracteates see Barford Carlsen 2002). Within England, bracteates have

been regularly recovered from dateable contexts such as graves and thus a more refined dating sequence has been produced (see Behr 2010a: 38-39). This has helped narrow the ranges in which the bracteate was in use before its deposition. These dates will be used where available.

M-bracteates are an additional bracteate type briefly analysed in Chapter 5 (5.2.3). M-bracteates are imitations of Roman medallions. They are two-sided die-stamped small gold pendants manufactured at some point in the 4th century AD, only 17 examples have been found and little is known about the context/location of their production (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 278; Axboe 2007: 150-51; Wicker 2017: 18). They are found primarily in Norway and Sweden (Wicker 2017: 18). The exact time between the manufacture of the M-bracteates and the main phase of bracteate production is not known, but it is feasible that the earlier models stimulated or influenced the second wave in some capacity (Wicker 2017: 18-20). Most M-bracteate designs adapted Roman representations of the emperor dressed in various costumes, either portrait busts, standing or on horseback (Björklund et al. 1996: 186; Wicker 2017: 18).

4.4.2 Style I

Style I decorated objects are the primary source of anthropomorphic imagery in the late 5th-6th centuries (e.g. Hines 1997; Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Suzuki 2008: 1-6; Dickinson 2002; 2005; 2009; Martin 2013; Brundle 2013: 198; 2017; 2019). The style has been recognised as having originated in southern Scandinavia in the mid-5th century and evolved out of Nydam Style, a southern Scandinavian metalwork style (late 4th-early 5th century) that drew heavily upon the visual vocabulary common to late Roman provincial and military metalwork

(Haseloff 1974; 1981, Webster 2011: 467-68). The repertoire of Style I is typically summarised as being primarily centred on animal motifs, scrollwork, geometric patterns and anthropomorphic figures/elements, which are less frequently present (Dickinson 2009: 1; Webster 2011: 467-68). However, these various components are stylised and abbreviated to varying extents and often arranged in complex layouts which can lead to difficulties in identifying the base components and iconographic elements (Leigh 1984: 34; Webster 2011: 467). From the second half of the 20th century onwards, the embedded grammar, formal qualities and visual techniques underlying Style I have increasingly been deciphered and recognised (for summaries of key developments see Gaimster 1998: 1-11; Shepherd 1998: 8-11; Pesch 2012; Brundle 2019: 23-25). Whereas scholars traditionally viewed the style as chaotic and confused, it is now recognised that Style I was intended to be ambiguous and cryptic as it variously and actively concealed, contorted, separated, re-shaped, re-arranged, stretched and interweaved the human and animal figures alongside ornamental and geometric elements (e.g. Haseloff 1974: 9-11; 1981: 111-20; Leigh 1984; Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Capelle 2003; Martin 2013: 4, 9-13; Dickinson 2002: 164-65; Pesch 2012:654-55; Brundle 2019:23-25). Style I demands intellectual engagement and a pre-existing knowledge as the viewer must assemble and decipher its various parts which can also be read in multiple ways depending on how one views them (Leigh, 1984; Dickinson, 2002:177-81; Webster, 2003:12; Behr 2010b: 461; Pesch 2012: 674-76; Martin 2013: 4, 9-13). Naturally, this ambiguity presented a problem for data collection. During data collection, I only sought out instances of human representation within Style I that possessed a feature that could be interpreted as a torso. Thus, face-masks represented in isolation were not collated and recorded. Full-bodied human images and the torso are not recognised as typical and recurrent features of the Style (Webster 2011: 468). Yet, Torsten Capelle's study of hidden figures and Colin

Shepherd's selective summary of Style I motifs have demonstrated that full-bodied human images are not completely absent and are usually found on the earlier and more coherent examples of Style I (Capelle 2003; Shepherd 1998: 59-65). Drawing upon these works, it was necessary to try and locate similar figures. Furthermore, Günther Haseloff's breakdown of the iconographic development of Style I demonstrated how the zoomorphic figures were gradually altered and further stylised over time and space (Haseloff, 1974). Haseloff's phases were utilised as a guide when trying to identify human figures which may have been stylistically altered akin to the zoomorphic designs.

4.4.3 Style II

Germanic animal Style II (Salin's Style II) is the lineal descendent of Style I and emerged in southern Scandinavia in the mid-6th century, by the late 6th-century it had superseded Style I in England (Webster 2011: 470-71). Style II is defined broadly by the presence of symmetrical and interlacing animal motifs which are represented more coherently than the figural motifs found in Style I (Speake 1980: 17; Dickinson 2009: 1; Webster 2011: 471). While Style II animals motifs are easier to identify and interpret than their predecessors, they are still portrayed in an ambiguous and stylised manner (Pluskowski 2010: 106). Human figures and human-animal hybrids are generally thought to be absent from Style II (Webster 2011: 471). However, a very small sample of figures was identified during data collection and are discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.4 Full-bodied human representation

The full-bodied and semi-naturalistic figures that date to the 5th-7th centuries, excluding those found on bracteates, are variously rendered in two-dimensional and three-

dimensional formats. Many of these images or figurines are displayed on or fixed to a wide range of object types. As such, this body of material is varied with regards to their formal appearance, their medium and context of display. Bar the figurine from Spong Hill (Norfolk) nearly all instances of full-bodied representation featured in my data set have been dated to the 7th century. In many cases, this dating is derived from contextual information. However, a large quantity of the representations that belong to this group were stray finds discovered via metal detector. These figures have been stylistically dated to the late 6th-7th century. This reaffirms the narrative that the 7th century was a period of artistic innovation regarding the portrayal of the body. Three-dimensional figurines form a substantial proportion of the 7th-century catalogue. The majority of these figurines have no contextual information and so cannot be confidently dated (see Brundle 2013: 204, 208-09). It has been questioned whether certain examples are Romano-British (e.g. NMS-32FEA3; NMS-40A7A7). It has also been suggested that certain examples ought to be dated more broadly to the 5th-7th centuries (Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). This thesis does not seek to redefine the chronology of this material, but cautiously relies on the dates stated and accepted in current literature. The following outlines three broad categories of human representation that were collected as primary data. The terms associated with these categories are utilised throughout this thesis and are also applied to images recovered from non-'Anglo-Saxon' contexts that share the same visual properties. In certain instances, semi-dressed/naked figures belong to both the naked and clothed categories rather than a separate group. The following labels do not denote fixed groups but are instead applied in order to easily communicate that a body, or area of a body, features details that confirm a state of nakedness or dress.

4.4.4.1 'Explicitly naked'

The term 'explicitly naked' will be deployed where referring to a figure that features an anatomical marker (navel/breasts/nipples/areolas/genitals) on the body that indicates the showing of skin. These details suggest that a state of nakedness or the sexual characteristics were an important symbolic dimension of the overall composition. Many of these bodies are depicted wearing various costume accessories, thus, the aptness of the term 'naked' to many of these bodies is recognised as questionable. The term is primarily deployed to distinguish bodies that feature anatomical details from more ambiguous forms of human representation.

4.4.4.2 'Bare' bodies

Committed to exploring the possibility that blank surfaces may represent the naked body, the general criteria for data collection was to collect all representations that possessed a torso and/or bare legs that could be visually interpreted as naked. These bodies are referred to as 'bare', a term that signifies the schematic status of the body and the absence of any conclusive signifiers that indicate a state of un/dress.

4.4.4.3 'Clearly dressed'

Human representations that can be confidently interpreted as wearing an article of dress are referred to as 'clearly dressed'. Figures included within this group may be depicted in clothing with patterned surfaces, pronounced cuffs, distinguished trims and hems, or wearing a garment that alters the morphology of the body etc. Only a very small number of

figures in the pre-Christian repertoire met these criteria. These figures belong to the 'Germanic' repertoire, meaning they display a strong stylistic affinity to those produced and displayed in Scandinavia and northern Germany. While influenced by continental prototypes, this group is comprised of images thought to have been produced in England, although it has been debated whether the Sutton Hoo helmet was imported from Sweden (Wilson 1983: 163-66; Evans 1986: 49, 114-16). As such, this comparative resource provides insight into what forms of dress were being portrayed and how they were being represented in this period. These figures can then be compared with the 'bare' and 'explicitly naked' variants to help ascertain whether certain visually ambiguous bodies are clothed or undressed. The 'clearly dressed' group also contains figures wearing costumes that expose the skin of the legs and/or arms, therefore, these figures are also a significant resource for considering attitudes to bodily exposure.

4.4.5 Instances of re-use and import

How communities in England interacted with representations of the naked body produced within other visual cultures may also prove insightful. Style I and the bracteates originated in southern Scandinavia and were subsequently adopted and produced in England. As such, certain bracteates and Style I decorated objects discussed within my data set are also imports. The data set also includes several other object types or figural representations that were discovered in England but likely originated from adjacent continental regions (e.g. Scandinavia/France/Low Countries). It is not always possible to discern whether these objects were imported via trade, carried by migrants, or produced by itinerant metalworkers working within England etc. Nonetheless, even if imported they were

seemingly incorporated into the visual culture of 'Anglo-Saxon' England. In other instances, it is apparent that the object/images were produced in a different time or region. The interaction with these objects in England reflects an act of engagement with a very different style of representing the body. Typically, these are bodies that conform to classical conventions of nudity. As such, antecedent Roman and Romano-British representations of nudity which have been re-used in some capacity were logged. This excludes coins which are not uncommon finds in 5th-7th century contexts. The presence of coins in funerary and settlement contexts has been explained in numerous ways, these include the possibility that they were used as dress accessories, as scrap metal, as amulets or charms (King 1989: 227-28; Meaney 1981: 192, 220). Whether the figures represented on these coins encouraged their re-use is questionable and ought to be considered elsewhere. Some contemporary Byzantine imports which featured instances of classical nudity were also identified and recorded.

4.4.6 Yonic and phallic symbols

During data collection, I was initially open to identifying and recording possible phallic and yonic symbols. Phallic symbols and objects that have a phallic quality have been identified by several scholars (Meaney 1981: 170, 179; Enright 1983: 122-24; Ravn 2003: 122; Martin 2013: 9; Brundle 2014: 131-32). Audrey Meaney has also suggested that the form of cowrie shells was recognised as yonic, hence their occasional presence in female graves (1981: 125-27). However, it is important to understand that sexual metaphors are deeply embedded within the modern Western mindset, thus, when there is a desire to see sex in the archaeological record it means any object or image that is shaped like an oblong, oval or

baton is susceptible to interpretation as genitalia (Voss 2008: 321; Immonen 2014: 1). Ultimately, no recurrent symbols were identified that could be confidently interpreted as representing or evoking the genitals.

4.5 Data sources

4.5.1 Primary data: survey and collection

Data collection for this thesis commenced with an examination and comprehensive search of major catalogues of early medieval art and objects. Only a small number of works have compiled and discussed examples of complete semi-naturalistic human images produced during the 5th-7th centuries (Brundle 2013; 2019; Pollington et al. 2010). However, Style I decorated objects and/or their motifs have been catalogued and discussed far more extensively (e.g. Leigh 1980; 1984; Hines 1997; Dickinson 2002; 2005; 2009; Suzuki 2008; Martin 2013; 2015; Brundle 2017; 2019). Bracteate finds in England have also been well catalogued (Leeds 1946; Chadwick Hawkes and Pollard 1981; Hauck et al. 1985-1989; Behr 2010a; Heizmann and Axboe 2011). Similarly, Peter Inker has catalogued objects decorated with Saxon Relief Style found in England (2006). Objects decorated with Quoit-Brooch Style have also been catalogued and discussed by several authors (Suzuki 2000, Inker 2000, Swift 2019). While requiring an update, George Speake had also catalogued known instances of Germanic Animal Style II (Salin's Style II) in England (1980). Complete human images are not characteristic of these metalwork styles, but all were given consideration.

Prior to an increase in metal detecting activity, nearly all the metal objects dating to this period were recovered from cemetery contexts (Brundle 2014: 47). Brundle's survey also reinforced that grave contexts are the richest source for human imagery in the 5th -7th

centuries (2014: 50. Fig. 3.1). Subsequently, the next step was to examine all available excavation reports that date from the 19th century onwards. Several gazetteers of known sites were employed to help identify as many of these sites as possible (e.g. Meaney 1964; Geake 1997; Stoodley 1999, Mui 2018). Several regional surveys have also compiled large quantities of Anglo-Saxon artefacts from cemetery and settlement contexts (Dickinson 1977; Welch 1983; Geake 1997; West 1998; Hookway 2015; Brundle 2019). This also includes the Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database (ASKED) compiled and published online by Sue Harrington and Stuart Brookes (2008). This complements the *Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale*, a second digital database of grave finds from Kent published by the University of Oxford. In the period under study, human images are primarily found on dress accessories. As such, major catalogues of singular object types are hugely beneficial, especially as some comprehensively cover extensive geographic regions (e.g. Leeds 1949; Leigh 1980; Mortimer 1990; Dickinson 1993; Hines 1993; 1997, Suzuki 2008; Martin 2015). Major early medieval journals were examined in the entirety for any relevant Anglo-Saxon material, including Antiquaries*, Medieval Archaeology, The Archaeological Journal, Royal Archaeology Journal, Early Medieval Europe, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History, Anglo-Saxon England* and the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*. County-based journals were also targeted, particularly counties in western and central England that are less frequently discussed in contemporary early medieval scholarship (e.g. *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, South Midlands Archaeology journal, Northamptonshire Archaeology, Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*).

The online database for the Portable Antiquities Scheme serves as the primary resource for metal detector finds that have been logged since its establishment in 1997. Several search terms were employed (e.g. human, Style I, figural, mask, Salin,

anthropomorphic) and every object, over six thousand, listed under the 5th-8th centuries was examined. The British Museum online database and archive were explored similarly, both online and through internal examination during a one-month placement that took place during March 2017. Many museum online databases are of limited use as they rarely publish images of the objects. Similarly, the Historic Environment Records (HERs) were explored as they contain information relating to stray finds and excavated sites, but the database provides very few photographs or formal descriptions of the objects /images.

4.5.2 Data sources for Chapter 5

Chapter 5 explores the portrayal of the body in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany between the 3rd and mid-6th centuries AD. The data presented in this chapter is selective and not reflective of an exhaustive process of data collection. Before the 5th century, the currently known number of pictorial representations is very small (Blankenfeldt 2015). A small number of studies have catalogued and discussed known examples from this period (see Hauck et al. 1985-89; Andersson et al. 2004; Blankenfeldt 2007; 2015; Pesch 2011a; 2015b). The selective data presented in Chapter 5 contains a significant proportion of the semi-naturalistic human images that are currently known to modern scholarship (see Blankenfeldt 2015). After the 5th century, the focus of the discussion is primarily on bracteates discovered on the Continent. Most of the bracteates discovered before 2010 (over a thousand are known) have been catalogued and illustrated within the four volumes titled *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* (Hauck et al., 1985-89; Heizmann and Axboe, 2011:296). Additional contemporary figures dating to the 5th-6th centuries are comparatively drawn upon during the analysis of the bracteates. This includes human

imagery on picture stones, metalwork objects, wooden sculptures, and funerary urns. These images are deployed selectively and only when relevant to the bracteate motifs under discussion. As such, the larger corpus of human images carried on picture stones from Gotland and Sweden are not analysed in extensive detail. The gold foils (guldgubber), Style II objects and helmet panels produced in Vendel period Scandinavia are also omitted from Chapter 5 as their production commenced after the main phase of bracteate production. However, notable examples which strengthen the arguments put forth in Chapter 5 are selectively discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Several catalogues and corpora which have compiled significant quantities of human images produced during the 5th-8th centuries proved invaluable for this part of the analysis (e.g. Lindqvist 1941/42; Hauck 1970; Haseloff 1981; Gaimster 1998; Capelle 2003; Ratke 2009b; Helmbrecht 2011; Pesch 2015b; Mannering 2017). My survey and research of contemporary Scandinavian literature were also greatly enhanced by a two-month placement at the Museum of Visby, Gotland, Sweden.

4.5.3 Additional comparative materials

Within the following chapters, occasional comparative images are drawn into the analysis and discussion from a range of different visual cultures. This includes images from the late antique world, including Roman Britain, and the Merovingian/Frankish kingdom and its neighbouring territories in the 6th-8th centuries. As explored, the human images produced in England in the 5th-7th centuries are strongly influenced by the visual cultures of Scandinavia and northern Germany. Thus, greater efforts were directed towards collating and analysing figural representations from this region, which have been selectively put forward alongside

specific representations as alternative artistic influences. The examination of these alternative visual cultures was not exhaustive, and a more detailed and thorough future examination of them may provide a richer iconographic and symbolic understanding of naked images produced in this period. Notably absent from this thesis are images produced in western and northern Britain between the 5th-7th centuries. As in eastern England, image production in non-organic materials also declined following the collapse of the Roman administration of Britain (Cleary 2011). Since the Scandinavian artistic influence primarily manifested in eastern England, surviving contemporary human images from elsewhere in Britain are scarcer and of limited relevance to the current research.

4.5.4 Data recording

All instances of primary data have been catalogued and presented within the appendices (App. Tables 6.1.1-6.1.3, 7.1.1-7.1.5). These tables present the data according to date and then further divisions of the material have been made depending on a typological and stylistic basis. These groupings are subsequently discussed together in Chapters 6 and 7. Information relating to the geographic location, material, dimensions, dating, typology, context, associated finds, and relevant literature are recorded for each object/image where available. Maps that provide a general overview of the findspots associated with the core data have been produced by the author utilising the Stepmaps software and are present in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. These are simplified topographical maps, as the spatial distribution and geographical deployment of these images are of limited interest to the current research.

4.6 Methodology

In the following three chapters, the collated representations are iconographically analysed in a formal and comparative approach. This method builds upon Karl Hauck's approach to studying bracteate iconography, *Kontext-Ikonographie* (iconography in context), which has been further developed by Alexandra Pesch (Hauck 1975; Pesch 2011c: 385-92; 2015b: 340-49). The basic concept of this method is that a specific representation can be better understood by considering it alongside iconographic parallels. Via a comparative analysis, it is possible to identify which iconographic details and symbols regularly occur on or alongside a particular motif (Pesch 2011c: 387). The recognition of these conventional details helps to conceive what Pesch terms an 'ideal image'; this is either the most common variant of the motif or an invented construct which features details drawn from several examples (ibid.). In turn, less detailed or abbreviated variants of a specific motif can be related to more coherent examples which feature additional visual information. This broader perspective enables a richer understanding of what the motif may have represented and symbolised (ibid.). This comparative methodology also highlights which details have been omitted or supplemented across the different variants (Ibid.). This can provide insight into how the appearance and symbolism of the motif changed over time and space. This approach also reveals contextual patterns regarding the display and deposition of certain motifs. It is important to recognise that the 'ideal image' created for research purposes did not exist in the past. While conventional iconographic details and common variants of a motif can be identified, these images may have been interpreted differently over time and space. The ability to cross-examine images recovered from across northern Europe is a unique perspective and overview afforded to modern archaeologists. Accordingly, it is acknowledged that past audiences may not have possessed an awareness

of other variants of a particular motif. In such instances, their interpretations of the image would not have been influenced by a knowledge of the original appearance of the motif or the details and symbols that commonly appear alongside it. However, it is also feasible that this knowledge was transmitted along the same pathways that were responsible for disseminating these motifs across northern Europe. In this scenario, there may have been certain individuals or groups who were aware of how the motif appeared and what it symbolised in other regions. In turn, the regional adaption of a specific motif may reflect how an image has been tailored to suit its local context, while also retaining some of its original meaning. This is opposed to the motif being interpreted and adapted in an entirely different way.

This approach can also help negate some of the problems that arise when attempting to interpret a representation that has been badly damaged, poorly executed or has been heavily stylised or abbreviated. For instance, Tania Dickinson's analysis of Style I motifs puts forth the notion of a 'chain of derivation' (2002: 164). This involves identifying the most coherent and legible variants of a Style I motif and, then charting its gradual transformation and adaption so that the same elements may be identified within more unintelligible arrangements (ibid.). Similarly, as a human figure is increasingly abbreviated, its appearance will be more schematic than stylised. Returning to Robb's scale, heavily schematic figures feature limited visual information and usually symbolise a simple formal category, e.g. human/animal/divine, biologically male/female (Fig. 4.1). individual qualities are omitted in this process as the body's appearance becomes generic and anonymous (Aldhouse-Green 2004: 194). While schematic figures can appear very under-specified, they conjure a much more specific concept of the subject to the viewer who has experienced similar images and been informed as to what they represent (Gell 1998: 25). In turn, a stick-

person figure or even a single body part can effectively serve as a shorthand symbol that the viewer recognises as representing the original and complete prototype (e.g. a bird's wing) (Gell 1998: 25-26). Within this interpretative framework, what is seen depends on who is looking and who taught him to look (Kandel 2012: 190). This taps into the concept of the 'beholder's share' popularised by Ernst Gombrich. This theory advocated that a piece of art is incomplete without the viewer who subsequently projects their artistic knowledge, memories and lived experiences onto and into the image to decipher its ambiguity and give it meaning (Gombrich 1983: 154). Subsequently, it may be possible to relate certain schematic figures to more detailed and coherent examples, since similar connections may have been drawn by past audiences.

The representations discussed across the next three chapters can differ considerably regarding their schematic, stylised or naturalistic portrayal. While motif clusters are occasionally established, other times, certain images or objects may be collectively analysed based on other similarities like medium, style or according to states of 'explicit nakedness' or 'clearly dressed' etc. When exploring these groupings, the focus of the analysis will differ depending on what details are present and relevant to the current study. A primary aim is to identify details that can help draw links across the different categories of representation that might help identify whether a body was interpreted as naked, clothed or neither. At times, the discussion may explore groups of images in greater detail to establish broader stylistic principles, in other instances discussion may be limited to identifying a heavily schematic or stylised figure within an ambiguous arrangement. However, given the apparent scarcity of the human image in this period, novel identifications of the body present a much-needed addition to the figural repertoire.

The analysis of the human imagery discovered in England was carried out first and a series of iconographic patterns emerged regarding the body and its adornment with various forms of jewellery and other costumes accessories. To understand the significance of these patterns, the following chapter explores antecedent and contemporary portrayals of the human body from the Continent, primarily southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, between the 3rd-mid-6th centuries. The aims and objectives of Chapter 5 are further outlined in its introduction. The analysis in Chapter 5 provides a stronger understanding of the stylistic conventions that underlie the portrayal of the naked body in this region and the frequency in which it was represented. Two prominent motifs are identified which are referred to, within this thesis, as the 'bound body' and 'belted body'. These motifs are subsequently identified within the 'Anglo-Saxon' corpus analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. By exploring the Scandinavian origins of these motifs, certain ambiguous bodies in England are more confidently interpreted as naked or semi-dressed. How the portrayal of the naked body differed between England and Scandinavia also becomes apparent, particularly in Chapter 7, thus highlighting different regional tastes and alternative artistic influences.

Following the formal and comparative analyses, the discussion in Chapter 8 draws upon additional sources of evidence to develop and substantiate the visual interpretations and to explain other patterns that relate to the portrayal of the bodies analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Pesch's development of Hauck's methodology outlines some of the evidential sources that are particularly insightful when interpreting the symbolism and function of the images under study (2011c: 385-91). This includes additional sources of comparative figural imagery which are occasionally discussed during the initial formal/comparative analysis and within the discussion. I have also supplemented Pesch's suggestions. These additions include a mix of generic guidelines that are relevant to the interpretation of all images, e.g.

questions relating to the patron/artist/audience/context (Clarke 1998: 11). It also includes some additional sources of evidence that are more relevant to the period under study and the topic of the body. These are outlined in App. Table 4.2. These various evidential sources are drawn upon to consider the symbolism and significance of the naked imagery produced in Scandinavia and England (Chapter 8). In turn, the discussion strengthens the argument that certain ambiguous bodies were represented naked and interpreted as such by past audiences.

Chapter 5

Nakedness in the visual culture of Iron Age northern Europe (3rd-6th centuries AD)

5.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this chapter is to identify representations of the naked body within the bracteate corpus and Style I. As outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, and as will be in Chapter 6, these visual materials are the primary source for anthropomorphic representations in England in the late 5th-6th centuries. The portrayal of the human body on bracteates and in Style I display a marked departure from Roman and Iron-Age figural traditions in Britain as both of the former were conceived and initially produced within the migration-period societies of southern Scandinavia. As demonstrated in Chapter 6, the human representations present on bracteates and Style I decorated objects in England are visually ambiguous and their depicted states of dress are difficult to interpret. Thus, this chapter will first consider the portrayal of the body in the visual culture of southern Scandinavia between the 3rd and early 5th centuries. By examining antecedent representations, it may be possible to recognise recurrent motifs, iconographic influences or stylistic conventions associated with the state of nakedness. In turn, this could help identify the naked body in the second half of the chapter (5.3 onwards) and in Chapter 6, which explores the portrayal of the body on bracteates and Style I decorated objects produced between the second half of the 5th and 6th centuries. By looking further back, this chapter also seeks to situate and contextualise the representation of the naked body within the artistic developments that took place between the 3rd-6th centuries. Recognising the cultural and artistic importance of the naked body in this period within Scandinavia is essential to understanding its subsequent adoption, purpose and interpretation in England. While this chapter provides an

overview of this process, the symbolic and iconological significance of these representations in southern Scandinavia and England will be properly considered in Chapter 8.

5.2 Human representations in the 3rd- early 5th centuries

The total number of known human images produced in northern Europe before the 4th century is very small. Akin to the scarcity of figural imagery in England, this prompted the eminent archaeologist Joachim Werner to characterise the 'Germanic' peoples as hostile to the human image (1966: 35). This cultural disinterest is thought to have been gradually overturned, from the 3rd century onwards, as the Roman world exposed the northern world to the artistic value of the human body and provided motifs and templates which could be drawn upon and developed (for a summary of this scholarly narrative see Blankenfeldt 2007; 2015). As little evidence of a representational artistic tradition in northern Europe has survived, several scholars have argued that the late antique prototypes were not adapted to align with pre-existing motifs, but to reflect the oral traditions, religious beliefs and material culture of the region (Holmqvist 1951: 9; Roth 1986: 9; Hauck 1970; Axboe and Kromann 1992; Gaimster 1998: 36). As such, bracteate studies for much of the 20th century, for example those carried out by Hauck, have focused on identifying the late antique prototypes and the mythological episode they were adapted to represent by considering the iconography alongside late medieval texts that offer insight into Old Norse religion (Gaimster 1998: 36-48; Andrén 2014: 142-44; Wicker 2015: 31-36). Consequently, the possibility that the late antique prototypes were adapted to conform to pre-existing northern European figural conventions is an understudied area of bracteate studies (Andrén 2014: 142-44). In recent decades, the notion that the societies of northern Europe were hostile to human images has been continually challenged as new images have been

discovered, in metal and various organic materials, which, alongside other known examples, hint at a larger body of lost representations (for examples see Capelle 1995; Sanden and Capelle 2001; Blankefeldt 2007; 2009; 2015; Pesch 2011a). While these examples demonstrate an interest in the human image in Scandinavia and northern Germany, some of these examples are thought to be isolated experiments confined to certain temporal and spatial contexts rather than reflecting the existence of a regionally uniform visual culture (Behr 2015: 17; Pesch 2012: 640). However, some recent studies have demonstrated that some level of artistic continuity can be identified when comparatively analysing the small sample of human and animal figures that pre-date the 5th century with those represented in the bracteate corpus (Andersson et al. 2004; Stylegar et al. 2011; Pesch 2011a 2012: 640-50; 2015; 2017a; Andrén 2014:142-44; Blankenfeldt 2007; 2015; Behr 2020). Some of these iconographic parallels can even be drawn with figures that pre-date the 3rd century, which potentially implies the existence of long-enduring iconographic traditions (e.g. Pesch 2011a; Pesch 2012: 640-41). Thus, the potential influence of antecedent figural conventions on bracteate iconography merits further consideration.

While traces of human representation that pre-date the 3rd century survive, they are dwarfed by the archaeological evidence that indicates elite groups in the late Roman Iron Age became increasingly interested in the production and display of images for socio-political purposes (Axboe and Kromann 1992; Pesch 2011a:12-13; 2012: 640-50; Behr 2015:17-18; Wicker 2016: 251-56; 2017: 18-27) (for further discussion see Chapter 8). These representational practices drew upon other visual cultures, primarily Roman, for inspiration. Motifs were adapted and transformed by retaining the iconographic elements that resonated in some capacity and altering the rest to conform to local tastes and purposes (Pesch 2011a: 12-13; 2012: 642-50; Wicker 2016: 255; 2017: 18-27). It is also important to

recognise that this was not simply a process of copying or emulation, whereby inadequately skilled metalworkers failed to capture the likeness of the original as traditional narratives have assumed (Wicker 2017: 29-30). Instead, many of the following representations were produced by metalworkers who were likely capable of higher levels of mimesis but were actively and thoughtfully rendering the body in a schematic, stylised or abstract manner (ibid.). Furthermore, these prototypes are thought, at times, to have been selected based on their symbolic and functional properties (Axboe and Kromann 1992; Gaimster 1998: 36). A deeper knowledge of Roman art is thought to have been acquired by elite individuals with diplomatic and trading relationships with Rome, by those who served in the Roman army as auxiliaries, and by metalworkers who may have been apprenticed to Roman workshops (Axboe and Kromann 1992:271-76; Pesch 2011a: 12-13; 2012: 641-42; Wicker 2017: 18-27). As such, the adaption of classical conventions of nudity reflects a northern taste for these forms of representation and their symbolic meanings. The process of their stylistic adaption also provides insight into local tastes and demands regarding the portrayal of the body. Pesch has argued that this is also a process of self-discovery whereby metalworkers and patrons were prompted to reflect on their own cultural and regional identity in relation to and independent of Rome (Pesch 2011a: 12-13).

From the 4th century onwards, motifs, styles and artistic practices were increasingly circulated and adopted amongst an emergent network of interconnected elite groups in southern Scandinavia (Pesch 2011a: 12-13). This resulted in the emergence of a northern European or 'Germanic' visual culture which formed the foundation for the artistic developments of the 5th century whereby the level of investment, the scale of production and adaption of Roman prototypes massively expanded and accelerated with the development of the bracteates and Style I (Pesch 2011a: 12-13; 2012: 645-50; Behr 2015:

17-18; Wicker 2017:29). By this point, there had already been at least two centuries of adapting Roman prototypes to produce distinctive forms of human representation in northern Europe that could have potentially made a significant iconographic contribution to the expanding figural repertoire of the 5th-6th centuries. Furthermore, that the state of nakedness is frequently represented within this earlier body of material is not only stylistically insightful when analysing later representations, but it also indicates that this type of human representation was culturally and symbolically significant in the run-up to the 5th century. This is further explored in Chapter 8.

The following sections explore the representation of the body, both clothed and naked, from the 3rd century onwards. As discussed in Chapter 4, the examples discussed within this chapter are selectively deployed and do not result from a process of comprehensive data collection. With that said, given the scarcity of the human image in this period, the following sections touch upon the major artistic developments concerning the human image, regardless of the state of dress, before the 5th century (for a summary of major artistic developments in this period and region see Pesch, 2012; Blankenfeldt, 2015). Many of the figures discussed in the following sections are the products of experimental and adaptive processes carried out in different regions at various points in time. Consequently, there is a lack of standardisation and uniformity regarding the portrayal of the body, yet, iconographic preferences concerning the human image can be seen to emerge in the late Roman Iron Age that endure or resonate with the later 5th-century material.

5.2.1 Three-dimensional figural representations in metal

From the late Roman Iron Age onwards, the practice of representing three-dimensional human representations in metal emerged, many of which feature primary sexual characteristics. The figurines discussed in this section were primarily discovered in Denmark and southern Sweden (App. Table 5.1) (Figs. 5.1-5.11). While collectively analysed, their geographic spread, stylistic variances and some observable differences in their casting, assembly and function demonstrate they are not a homogenous group of human representations and were likely deployed and interpreted in various ways (see Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 89). With that said, the roughly contemporary development and appearance of three-dimensional representations of the naked body indicate something of a cross-regional fashion prompted possibly by a similar stimulus. Likewise, the Swedish and Danish groups display several similarities with regards to their hairstyles, posture, elongated torsos and material (copper-alloy). These overlaps are thought to reinforce the possibility that they are connected in some capacity (Thrane 1976: 12; Andersson et al. 2004: 79). Within the wider body of material discussed here, two regional subgroups can be identified. One group is comprised of five figurines discovered in Öland (Sweden) which are dated to the late Roman Iron Age (see SHM records). The second group is comprised of fourteen stylistically related figurines, these were found in Denmark primarily on the island of Funen. Nearly all of these figurines were single stray finds and lack any contextual information (Voss 1990: 138). As such, their dating has been disputed with scholars placing them somewhere between the 2nd-early 6th centuries. However, the current consensus considers the practice of representing the body in three-dimensional forms in metal as a development of the late Roman Iron Age (e.g. Mackeprang 1935: 236-38; Hedeager 1992: 68; Voss 1990: 138; Thrane 1990: 134; Mannering 2017: 3; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 87-89; see NMD

records). Consequently, it is acknowledged that certain figurines discussed below may not precede but were contemporary to the development of the bracteates and Style I. Nonetheless, in either scenario the figurines may have exerted an influence on the portrayal of the body in the bracteate corpus. Additional figurines that have been more confidently dated to the 5th-6th centuries, and thus more likely to be contemporary, will be subsequently discussed during the analysis of the bracteates and Style I. Before moving onto the analysis of these figurines, it is of note that nearly all were found on the island of Funen with several examples found at or in proximity to the site of Gudme (Fig. 5.1). Gudme and the nearby coastal site of Lundeborg were expanding high-status sites with a notable level of access to Roman imports in the 3rd century (Jørgensen 2011: 77-88; Pesch 2012: 677). By the 5th century, Gudme had become an important central complex site associated with the development and mass production of the bracteates as large quantities have been found deposited nearby to the site (Pesch 2011d: 49-55) (discussed further below). Thus, the Danish group of figurines may be of particular relevance when examining the bracteate corpus.



Figure 5.1 Distribution map of the three-dimensional figurines from Denmark and Sweden. The figurine from Rytterbakken (Bornholm) is visible in the lower right corner of the top map.

A)



B)



Figure 5.2 Copper-alloy figurines from Gislev parish (Funen, Denmark) and Odense (Funen, Denmark) A) Figurine from Gislev (Height: 104 mm) (App. Table 5.1.1) (NMD C6063); B) Figurine from Odense (App. Table 5.1.2) (NMD C31113).

A)



B)



Figure 5.3 Copper-alloy figurines from Gudme (Funen, Denmark) and Lindet (Lolland, Denmark). A) Figurine from Gudme area (Height: 67 mm) (App. Table 5.1.3) (NMD C30241); B) Figurine from Lindet (Height: 90 mm) (App. Table 5.1.4) (NMD 8151).

A)



B)



Figure 5.4 Copper-alloy figurines from Rytterbakken (Bornholm, Denmark) and Espe Parish (Funen, Denmark). A) Figurine from Rytterbakken (App. Table 5.1.5) (NMD C31725); B) Figurine from Espe Mark (Height: 106 mm) (App. Table 5.1.6) (NMD 15141).

A)



B)



Figure 5.5 Copper-alloy figurines from Gudme area (Funen, Denmark) and from Thorslundsminde (Flemløse parish, Funen, Denmark). A) Figurine from Gudme area (App. Table 5.1.7) (NMD C36543); B) Figurine from Thorslundsminde (Height: 99 mm) (App. Table 5.1.8) (NMD 1208/75)

A)



B)



Figure 5.6 Copper-alloy figurines from Bregnebjerg (Højrup parish, Funen, Denmark) and Højby parish (Funen, Denmark). A) Figurine from Bregnebjerg (Height: 126 mm) (App. Table 5.1.9) (NMD C23182); B) Figurine from Højby (Height: 160 mm) (App. Table 5.1.10) (NMD C29982).

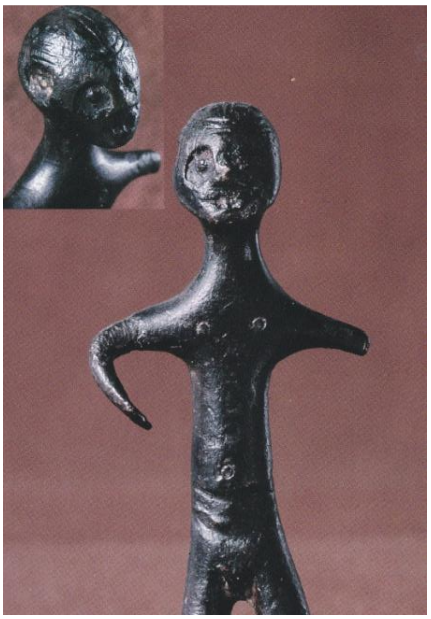
A)



B)



C)



D)



Figure 5.7 Copper-alloy figurines from Lundeborg, Sønders, Ferritslev and Hillerslev on the island of Funen, Denmark. A) Figurine from Lundeborg (Height: 80 mm) (App. Table 5.1.11) (Björklund et al., 1996:198. Fig. 626.); B) Figurine from Sønders (Height: 58 mm) (App. Table 5.1.12) (Björklund et al., 1996:197. Fig. 618); C) Figurine from Ferritslev (App. Table 5.1.13) (Andersson et al., 2004:93); D) Figurine from Hillerslev (Height: 67 mm) (App. Table 5.1.14) (Henriksen, 2019).

A)



B)



Figure 5.8 Copper-alloy figurines from Laxeby and Himmelsberga (Öland, Sweden). A) Figurine from Laxeby (Height: 134 mm) (App. Table 5.1.15) (SHM 145175); B) Figurine from Himmelsberga (Height: 114 mm) (App. Table 5.1.16) (SHM 267712).

A)



B)



C)



Figure 5.9 Copper-alloy figurines from Vipetorps, Vanserum and Glömminge (Öland, Sweden). A) Figurine from Vipetorps (Height: 103 mm) (App. Table 5.1.17) (SHM 266694); B) Figurine from Vanserum (App. Table 5.1.18) (SHM 267713); C) Figurine from Glömminge (App. Table 5.1.19) (Arne, 1909:183. Fig. 12).

A)



B)

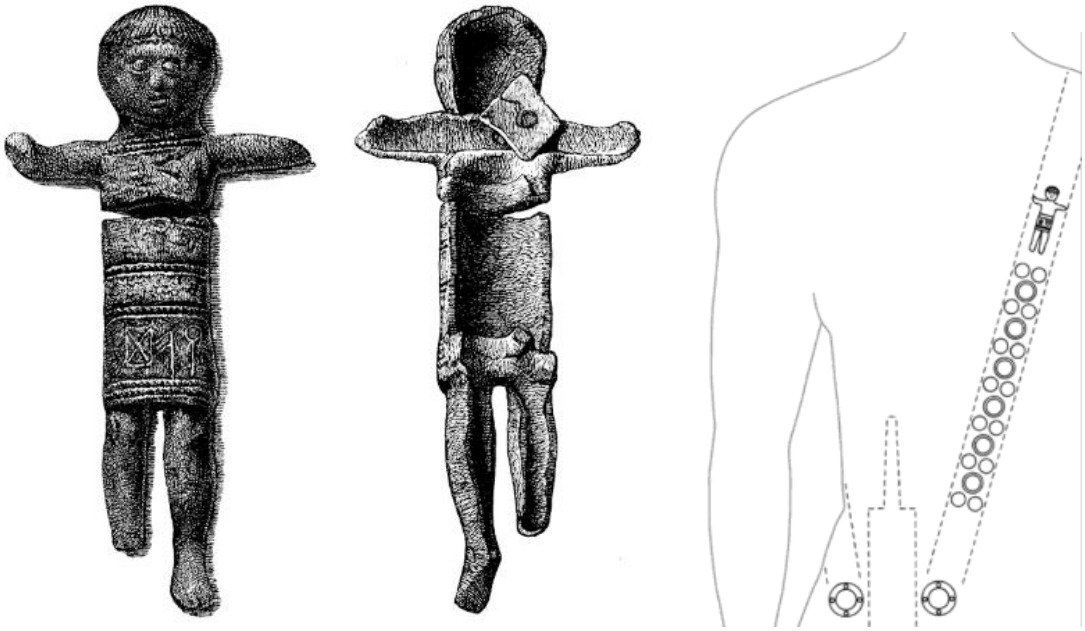


Figure 5.10 Copper-alloy figurine from Køng (Funen, Denmark) and a copper-alloy baldric mount from Frøyhov (Norway). A) Figurine from Køng (Height: 95 mm) (App. Table 5.1.20) (NMD C13688); B) Mount from Frøyhov (3rd-4th centuries) (App. Table 5.1.21) (Height: 76 mm) (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 88, 90. Fig. 13-14)



Figure 5.11 Copper-alloy bust figurine from Haglunda (Kalmar, Öland) (Height: 55 mm) (App. Table 5.1.22) (SHM 109041).

5.2.1.1 Adapting Roman prototypes

The emerging practice of three-dimensional human representation in metal is thought to have been stimulated by a Roman influence (Arne 1909: 180-83; Thrane 1990: 134; Voss 1990: 138; Kaul 2003: 39; Andersen et al. 2004: 79; Mannering 2017: 3)**.** Roman copper-alloy figurines and statuettes representing deities and other mythological figures have been recovered from Iron-Age contexts across Denmark and Sweden (Hedeager 1992: 68; Andersen et al. 2004: 77-79). The figurines discovered in Scandinavia demonstrate that there was a wide range of models to choose from. This includes nude, semi-dressed and clothed figures of both sexes (Fig. 5.12). This section does not seek to identify the specific Roman prototypes. Instead, the following explores how Roman forms of nudity were adapted by northern European metalworkers to produce locally distinctive forms of naked representation. In turn, this process offers insight into the emerging stylistic preferences concerning the portrayal of the body.



Figure 5.12 Assortment of Roman statues and figurines of provincial origin found in Denmark, all examples are copper-alloy and date to the RIA (NMD Roman figurines). Far-left- Mercury or Apollo from Glorups Hovmark (C1077); Top left- Mars from Tybjerggård (C335); Bottom left- Jupiter from Radstrup Mark (C3662); Bottom middle- figurine from Arreskov Mose (C9372); Middle top- figurine from Skjærup Forest (C1091); Top right- Venus from Dømmestrup (C1088); Bottom right- figurine from Marslev (C3916).

Traces of Roman conventions of nudity are potentially visible in the rendering of male genitalia. For example, the penis on the figurines from Gislev (Fig. 5.2a), Bregnebjerg (Fig. 5.6a), and Højby (Fig. 5.6b) mirror the understated and undersized presentation of male genitalia that accompanied conventions of heroic nudity in classical art which incorporated small genitalia for various symbolic reasons (Bonfante 1989: 551-52; Barrow 2018: 28-30). The presence of the testicles, or possible testicles, on the figurines from Køng (Fig. 5.10a), Gislev (Fig. 5.2a), Bregnebjerg (Fig. 5.6a), Højby (Fig. 5.6b), Laxeby (Fig. 5.8a) may also be classically derived as the testicles become increasingly rarer outside of this group of figurines (see below, Chapters 6 and 7). The physical presentation of the body is also occasionally evocative of a Roman prototype. For example, the figurine found in a bog at Køng features some form of musculature on the abdomen, a navel, two areolas, and what appears to be a belt that does not consistently encircle the torso (Fig. 5.10a). As will be explored, certain figurines discussed below are depicted wearing a belt but lack any musculature. The Køng figurine may represent an attempt to capture a similar appearance. Meanwhile, the shoulders and what survives of the pectorals on the figurine from Gislev displays an uncharacteristic level of definition and contouring that is reminiscent of heroic male nudity (Fig. 5.2a). The relatively balanced proportions and fluid stance of the figurine from Gudme are also seemingly classical when compared to the unnatural and unequal proportions and rigid stances that are characteristic of the wider Danish group (Fig. 5.5a). Similarly, the two figurines from Laxeby and Himmelsberga are unrealistically elongated in their proportions, still, their faces and their contoured and sloping shoulders, hips, waist as well as a muscular back display are markedly more natural when compared to other figurines (Fig. 5.8). These two figures are also depicted with very subtle genitalia and the figurine from Laxeby is also depicted with nipples (Fig. 5.8a). The surface of the body is

otherwise devoid of anatomical detail. Furthermore, the left arm and hand on the figurine from Laxeby is open-palmed and positioned in front of the crotch as if to conceal it. This is characteristic of the *Venus Pudica* pose and may suggest a female prototype was drawn upon (see fig. 5.12). The naturalistic quality of these two figures is further emphasised when compared with the seated figurine from Vipetorps whose tubular, stout and enlarged proportions and lack of anatomical detail is closer to some of those found in Demark (Fig. 5.9a). When collectively viewed, the figurines from Öland and Denmark demonstrate that metalworkers were able to represent anatomical details and the body in a moderately naturalistic fashion. Yet, while models of ideal nudity seem to have served as prototypes, it is apparent that there was no consistent or dedicated interest in representing aspects such as the musculature of the abdomen. Instead, across the figurines, the areas where the morphology and musculature of the body are visually pronounced or differentiated in some capacity are typically the shoulders/upper arm, calves, thighs and buttocks. Beyond this, the only anatomical details occasionally featured on the surface of the body are the nipples and genitals.

5.2.2.2 Anatomical details and articles of dress

Of the twenty-two figurines discussed here, twelve feature signifiers of 'explicit nakedness' (Figs. 5.2a, 5.3a/b, 5.4b, 5.6a/b, 5.7a/c/d, 5.8a/b, 5.10a). Of the remaining ten figures, the baldric mount from Frøyhov (Norway) is the only example that could be considered dressed (Fig.5.10b). This figure does not belong to the Danish or Swedish clusters and its costume is closely modelled on a Roman prototype and so it does not appear to represent any form of regional costume. Two figures exist in unclear or partial states of dress, these blurred states

appear to be connected to their adaption from a probable Roman prototype (Figs. 5.10a, 5.11). Some identifications are hindered by fragmentation and surface damage (Figs. 5.2b, 5.4a, 5.5a/b, 5.9b/c). Two figurines fit the category of 'bare' as they do not appear to feature any anatomical details on the surface of the body beyond those on the face (Fig. 5.7b, 5.9a). Of the 'explicitly naked' signifiers, male genitalia is most commonly represented with seven examples (Figs. 5.2a, 5.3a, 5.6a/b, 5.8a/b, 5.10a), although the presence of the penis on a figurine from Gudme is questionable as the same feature may represent a vulva (Fig. 5.3a). Male nipples/areolas are present on three figures whose male sex is confirmed by their genitals (Figs.5.8a/b, 5.10a). The figurine from Lundeborg features nipples or breasts, but it lacks a lower body and thus cannot be sexed (Fig. 5.7a). While this figurine appears male, there is an ambiguity to many of the figurines that complicate interpretations of sex. Three possible female figurines can be distinguished from the whole group. The figurine from Lindet is depicted with raised breasts and a pronounced stomach and wide hips, yet, the face is depicted with what appears to be a moustache and the hairstyle/headdress is shared by many of the male figures (Fig. 5.3b). The crotch is undefined and may suggest that this is an indicator of the female sex. The figurine from Ferritslev possesses what appear to be stretch marks on the stomach, possible breasts/nipples and navel with a demarcated flat crotch that, again, could be interpreted as female genitalia (Fig. 5.7c). Similarly, the face and physical form are not particularly distinguished from the male figures. Lastly, the figurine from Espe Mark features a distinctive elongated face, the stomach is pronounced, the crotch is recessed and undefined, and two slightly pronounced mounds are visible on the chest (Fig. 5.4b). It seems likely, therefore, that the female body was represented in some capacity. Whether the sexual ambiguity was intentional or merely appears ambiguous to a modern viewer is

questionable. Consequently, it is difficult to give an exact number with regards to the representation of sex, especially as undefined crotches may simply signify the absence of genitalia for other symbolic purposes as opposed to representing the female sex. Nonetheless, it seems that male sexual organs were depicted more frequently. If bare crotches do not represent the female sex, it may suggest that the naked body was occasionally represented without any primary sexual characteristics (Figs. 5.2b, 5.3b, 5.4b, 5.5.a/b, 5.7b/c, 5.9a). Again, this prompts the question of how the absence of genitalia affects an interpretation of undress when cross-examining stylistically similar representations. One final and notable detail is that some of the figurines display buttocks that are demarcated and pronounced rather than left flat or fused (Figs. 5.2a, 5.3a/b, 5.5a, 5.7d, 5.8a, 5.9b). Combined with instances of male nipples, this might imply that the overall state of nakedness and exposure was symbolically important and that the focus was not solely on the genitals.

The figurines discussed here vary in their level of naturalism, but the surface of the body is typically presented schematically as it is usually devoid of detail. Visual and anatomical details are often confined to the face, fingers and the aforementioned signifiers of nakedness. Many figures lack feet due to damage; demarcated toes can occasionally be observed and are closely associated with the Öland group (Figs. 5.8a/b, 6.9b/c). When the toes are not demarcated the feet can have a shoe-like appearance, even on 'explicitly naked' examples. This shoe-like appearance is likely incidental and stems from the toes being omitted as a symbolically unimportant aspect of the overall design (Figs. 5.3b, 5.5b, 5.6b, 5.9a). Large emphasised heads, with big chins, noses and brow ridges are also recurrent features across the figures. Nearly all the figurines discussed here feature



Figure 5.13 The silver cauldron from Gundestrup (Himmerland, Denmark). The top four panels are situated on the outside of the cauldron, the bottom panel is from the inside. All inner and outer plates are heavily decorated with repoussé work (NMD C6562-74).

a distinctive headdress or hairstyle. Whether certain figures in the Danish group are wearing a cap-like headdress or a bowl hairstyle is not easy to discern (Figs. 5.2b-5.7c). Additional accessories worn on the body include a neck-ring (figs. 5.3a, 5.6a) and belt (figs. 5.2b, 5.6a, 5.7c(?), 5.9b, 5.10a). The figurine from Himmelsberga also features a sheet of metal wrapped around the wrist which may symbolise an arm-ring (Fig.5.8b). It is also of note that several figurines have sockets in their hands or have hands that may have originally grasped an object (Figs. 5.6b, 5.8a/b-5.9a). This suggests these figures may have borne an additional attribute or item.

Collectively, both groups of figurines demonstrate a cultural and artistic interest in adapting Roman forms of nudity to produce distinctive forms of naked representation. The symbolic significance ascribed to the naked body is further reinforced by the seeming absence of the dressed body. It is also apparent that there is an artistic interest in adorning the undressed body as evidenced by the occasional presence of headwear, a belt or neck-ring. The relative uniformity of these figurines, within their respective groups, gives the impression that Roman prototypes were adapted to align with a pre-existing figural tradition. One possible source of influence is the silver cauldron discovered in the bog at Rævemose at Gundestrup (Himmerland, Denmark) (Fig. 5.13). The outer plates of the cauldron feature naked figures wearing torques, they also display comparable headdresses/hairstyles and poses as well as iconographically similar faces with large chins. The cauldron is considered to have been imported into Scandinavia, but its place of origin remains contested (Megaw and Megaw 2001: 174-76; Bradley 2009: 22-25). The dating of the cauldron is also disputed, ranging between 200 BC and 300 AD (Nielsen 2005: 53). However, beeswax found between the panels was analysed utilising an accelerator mass spectrometer, which dated the cauldron to the Roman Iron Age (1-400 AD) (Grootes et al.

2005; Nielsen 2005; 53-54). Interestingly, the lower body is omitted when representing the large figures on the outer plates. The female figures are represented topless as evidenced by the breasts or nipples. Whether the blank torso of the male figures also signifies a state of nakedness cannot be conclusively confirmed. Yet, the dominance of 'clearly dressed' bodies on the inner plates contrasts with the 'bare' male and 'explicitly naked' female figures on the outer plates (Fig. 5.13). This suggests the male figures are topless. The bodies on the outer plates are additional examples that demonstrate the general state of undress can be symbolically significant regardless of whether the genitals are represented. While it cannot be conclusively determined if the cauldron exerted a stylistic or symbolic influence on the figurines, the iconographic similarities are noteworthy.

5.2.3 M-bracteates

The process of adapting Roman prototypes is more clearly visible in the development of the M-bracteates (Figs. 5.14-18). To reiterate, M-bracteates are imitations of Roman medallions. They are two-sided die-stamped small gold pendants manufactured at some point in the 4th century AD, but little is known about the context/location of their production (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 278; Axboe 2007: 150-51; Wicker 2017: 18). They are found primarily in Norway and Sweden (Wicker 2017: 18). The exact time between the manufacture of the M-bracteates and the main phase of bracteate production is not known, but it is feasible that the earlier models stimulated the second wave in some capacity (Wicker 2017: 18-20). Most M-bracteate designs adapted Roman representations of the emperor dressed in various costumes, either portrait busts, standing or on horseback (Björklund et al. 1996: 186; Wicker 2017: 18). While drawing upon similar templates, the figures on the 17 known M-bracteates are highly varied in their appearances.

Most pertinent here are the M-bracteate designs in which the Roman costume has been entirely deconstructed and omitted, resulting in the depiction of bare bodies (Figs. 5.14a/b, 5.15c, 5.16c, 5.18b/c). The large chin and nose on these figures draw a further parallel to the figurines. Instances of non-Roman dress appear to be present, as both sides of the bracteate from Inderøy (Norway) (IK 86) depict what is possibly a tunic (Fig. 5.15a). However, no hemlines exist on the upper body which suggests it may be a crude adaption of a Roman skirted garment (for a similar pair see fig. 5.14a). In some instances, the Emperor's cuirass and cloak have been heavily abbreviated and stylised, yet, the emphasised necklace/neck-ring and arm-ring/bracelet are potentially intentional facets visible on the obverses on the bracteates from Aneby (IK 14) and Mauland (IK 124), Norway (Figs. 5.14b, 5.15c). The addition of a finger-ring on the hand of the Emperor on the obverse from Lilla



A)

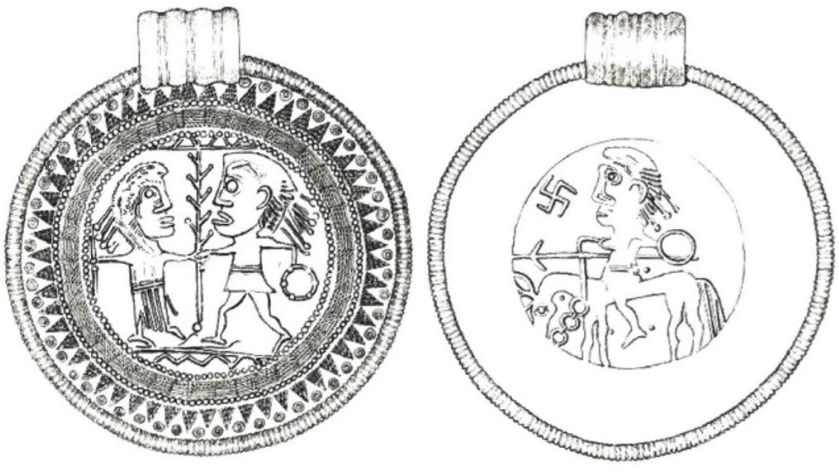


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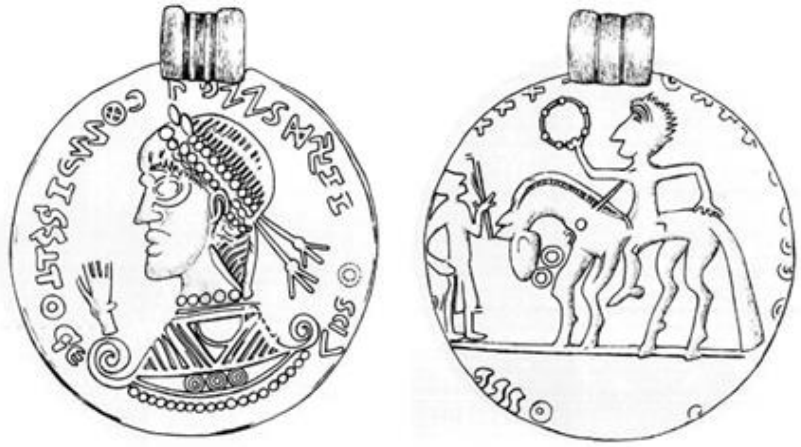
Figure 5.14 M-Bracteates from Åk (Norway), Aneby (Sweden), and Hove (Norway). A) Bracteate from Åk **(**Møre and Romsdal) (Diameter: 30 mm) (IK 3) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 3); B) Bracteate from Aneby (Bredestad, Småland, Vedbo) (IK 14) (Diameter: 37.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 17); C) Bracteate from Hove (Sogn og Fjordane) (IK 85) (Diameter: 35.9 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 107). Obverse followed by reverse. Illustrations not to scale.



A)



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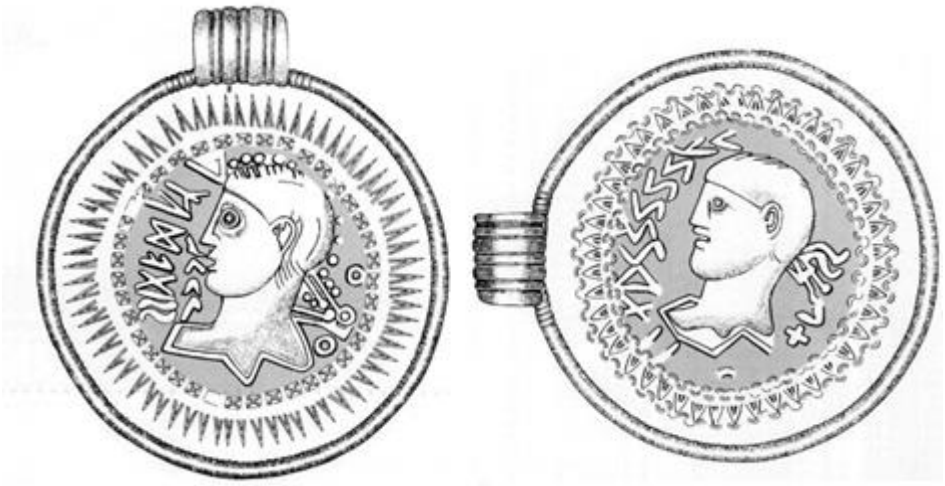


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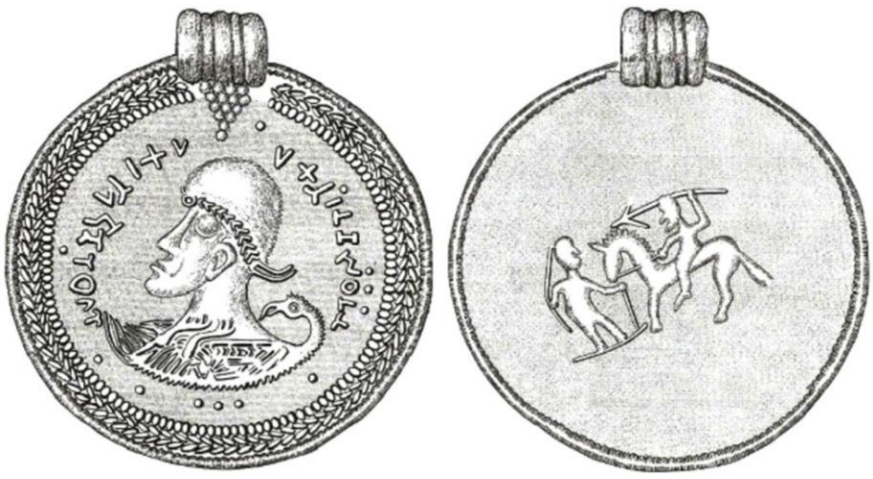
Figure 5.15 M-bracteates from Inderøy (Norway), Lilla Jored (Sweden) and Mauland (Norway). A) Bracteate from Inderøy (Nord-Trøndelag) (IK 86) (Diameter:38.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 109); B) Bracteate from Lilla Jored (Bohuslän) (IK 107) (Diameter: 39 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 135); C) Bracteate from Time (Rogaland, Mauland) (IK 124) (Diameter: 23.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c.Taf. 161). Obverse followed by reverse. Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)

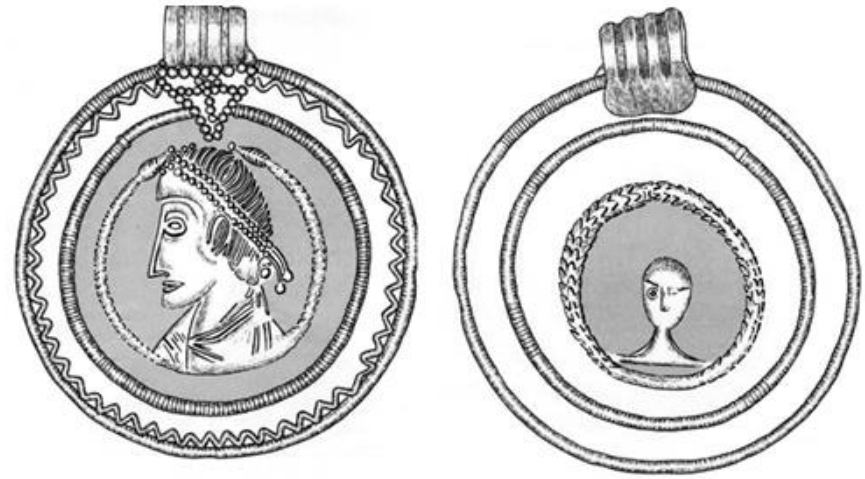


C)

Figure 5.16 M-bracteates from Midtmjelde (Sweden), Svarteborg (Norway), and Tunalund (Sweden). A) Bracteate from Midtmjelde (Hordaland) (IK 126) (Diameter: 33.9 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 163); B) Svarteborg (Bohuslän) (IK 181) (Diameter: 31.35 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 235); C) Bracteate from Tunalund (Lagunda, Uppland) (IK 193) (Diameter: 38.2 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 251). Obverse followed by reverse. Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)

Figure 5.17 M-bracteates from Godøy (Norway), Gundsømagle Holme (Denmark), and Gunheim (Norway). A) Bracteate from Godøy (Borgund, Møre og Romsdal) (Diameter: 32.5 mm) (IK 256) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 45); B) Bracteate from Gundsømagle Holme (Roskilde, Zealand) (IK 262) (Diameter: 37.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.49); C) Gunheim (Telemark) (IK 263) (Diameter: 46.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 51, 53). Obverse followed by reverse. Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)

Figure 5.18 M-bracteates from Haram (Norway), Kälder (Gotland, Sweden), and Sundsvall (Sweden). A) Bracteate from Haram (Møre og Romsda)l (IK 268) (Diameter: 20.25 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 57); B) Bracteate from Kälder (Gotland) (IK 286.1) (Diameter: 22 mm), two additional variants of this M-bracteate are known from Havor (Gotland) (286.3/286.4) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 75); C) Bracteate from Sundsvall (Medelpad) (IK 351) (Diameter: 25 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 131). Obverse followed by reverse. Illustrations not to scale.

Jored (Sweden) (IK 107) has also been recognised as a novel development (Björklund et al., 1996:186-7) (Fig. 5.15b). Similarly, an abbreviated figure with a clearly defined belt and headdress is represented on the reverse of the bracteate from Kälder (Gotland) (IK 286.1) (Fig. 5.18b). The reverse of the bracteate from Lilla Jored (IK 107) is also of note as it provides potential insight into the deconstruction of a muscle cuirass by simplifying it into a stack of horizontal lines that give the appearance of a ribcage (Fig. 5.15b).

In summary, this small group of bracteates provides a precursory glimpse of a similar process that defines the later and main phase of bracteate production in the 5th century. When adapting Roman medallions, many of the iconographic elements were stripped away to produce abbreviated and stylised representations that resonate with preceding and contemporary figural conventions. This is demonstrated by the iconographic parallels with the figurines. Links can also be drawn to several contemporary figural copper-alloy baldric mounts from Illerup Ådal (Denmark) (dated to the 3rd-4th centuries) (Fig. 5.19) (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 90). The state of dress for these 'bare' figures is difficult to interpret. The repeated rider is presented alongside the horse as a fused silhouette and so the arms and the lower body of the rider are absent. As with the figurines and M-bracteates, the emphasis appears to be placed on the face, particularly the prominent nose and chin. This is also true for the standing figure, although the whole body is represented, and the hands feature a distinguished thumb. While there are no markers of 'explicit nakedness' in the M-bracteate group, some figures are potentially concerned with themes of bodily exposure and adornment. However, 'bare' figures are a rarity across the seventeen M-bracteates. Instead, stylised and abbreviated variations of the emperor's costumes are more commonly represented. Because of this, the M-bracteates do not appear to be entirely concerned with representing states of dress or nakedness in any naturalistic or consistent

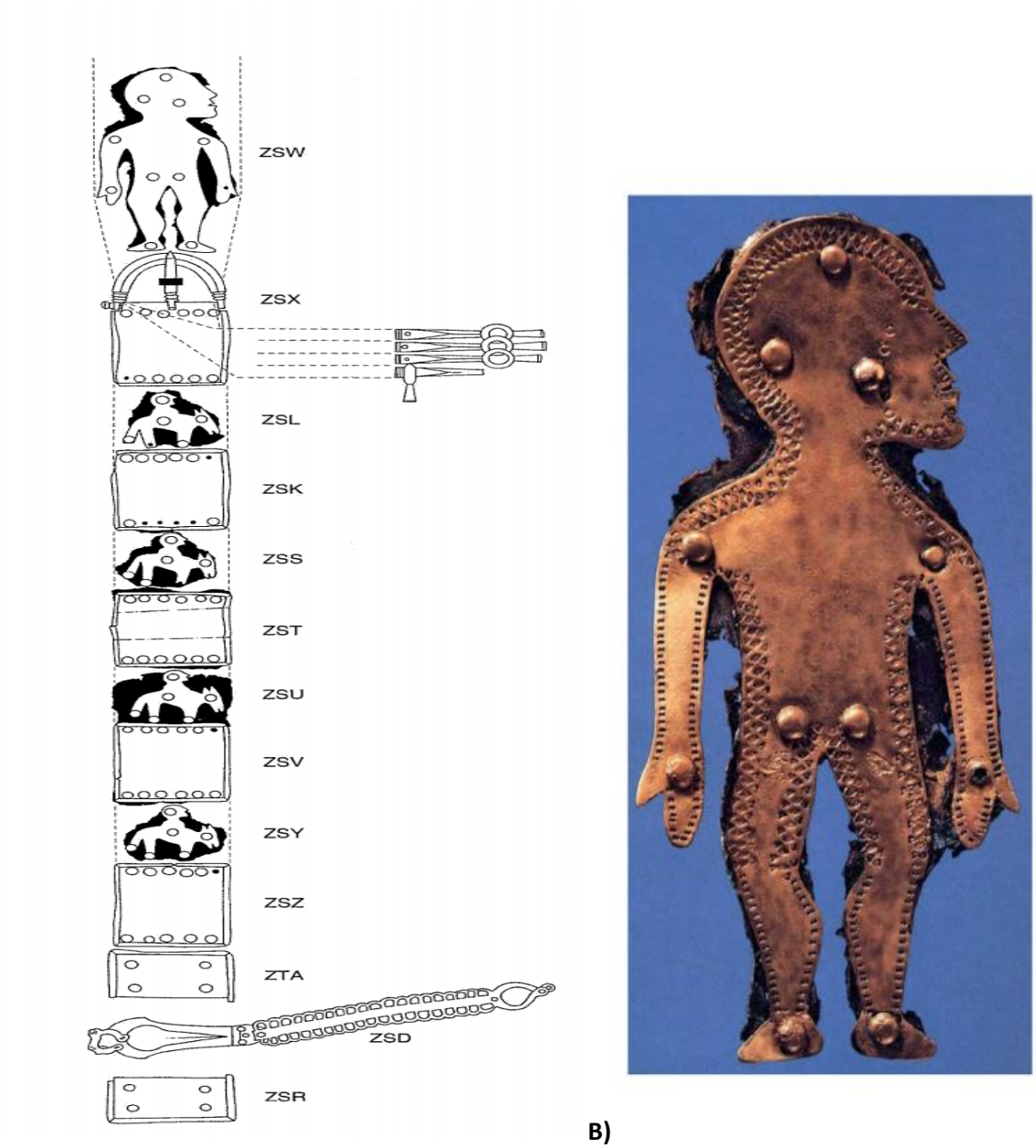


Figure 5.19 Copper-alloy baldric mounts from Illerup Ådal (Denmark). A) Illustration of the mounts situated on the baldric, not to scale (Carnap and Ilkjær 1996:323. Abb. 217); B) Standing figure (Height: 114 mm; Width: 55.6 mm) (Ilkjær 2000: 93).

way. This aligns with Nancy Wicker's suggestion that the M-bracteates are neither Nordic nor Roman, instead, they are hybrid images that conceptually reflect the cultural and artistic exchange between northern and southern Europe (Wicker 2017: 18-24, 30). That Roman costumes were not simply being adapted to reflect northern fashions is further reinforced by the suggestion that the emperor's clothing was occasionally adapted to represent a bird as to evoke concepts of transformation and human-animal hybridity (Hauck 1970: 83-85, Gaimster 1998: 37-38; Wicker 2017: 30) (Figs. 5.14a, 5.16c). As such, the human figures present on the M-bracteates express a wider range of ideas, but this does not discredit the possibility that concepts relating to nakedness were also being expressed and negotiated. This is reinforced by the analysis of the bracteates that date to the 5th-6th centuries.

5.2.4 The Gallehus horns

The two gold horns discovered in Gallehus (southern Jutland, Denmark) provide some of the richest insights into the developing figural repertoire in southern Scandinavia in the early 5th century. Both horns were made from an outer sheet of pure gold and an inner sheet of gold amalgamated with silver. The longer horn was 750 mm in length and the shorter horn was 713 mm but may have originally been longer (Price 2015: 313). The combined weight of both horns was almost 7kg (ibid.). The bands of the horn were decorated with figures that had been separately cast and then riveted or soldered on. Additional punched figures are also present (Todd 1988: 137). The figures on the horn are variously thought to be derived from 'Germanic', 'Celtic' and Roman sources (Gunnel 1995: 53; Todd 2009: 132-33; MacLeod and Mees 2006: 175; Price 2015: 313). Both horns were found close together and potentially belonged to the same hoard or were deposited contemporaneously (Price 2015: 313). The small horn was signed by the metalworker, but whether they were produced at a similar time and by the same metalworkers is unclear (Todd, 2009:114). Unfortunately, the study of the horns is greatly hindered as they were stolen and destroyed in 1802, and our knowledge of their original appearance is largely reliant on the recordings made following their discovery (Gunnell 1995:49). The large horn was discovered in 1639 and the earliest engraving and description were produced by Ole Worm (latinised as Olaus Wormius) (1641) (Figs. 5.20-21). The small horn was discovered in 1734 and was illustrated separately by Georg Krysing and by Joachim Paulli and published together by Paulli in 1734 (Figs.5.22-4). An additional separate engraving was produced in 1736 by R. Frost (Fig. 5.25). Unfortunately, it is impossible to discern how accurate these separately produced illustrations are, which greatly complicates a comparative analysis of their iconography. Their unreliability is highlighted when comparing the three illustrations of the small horn

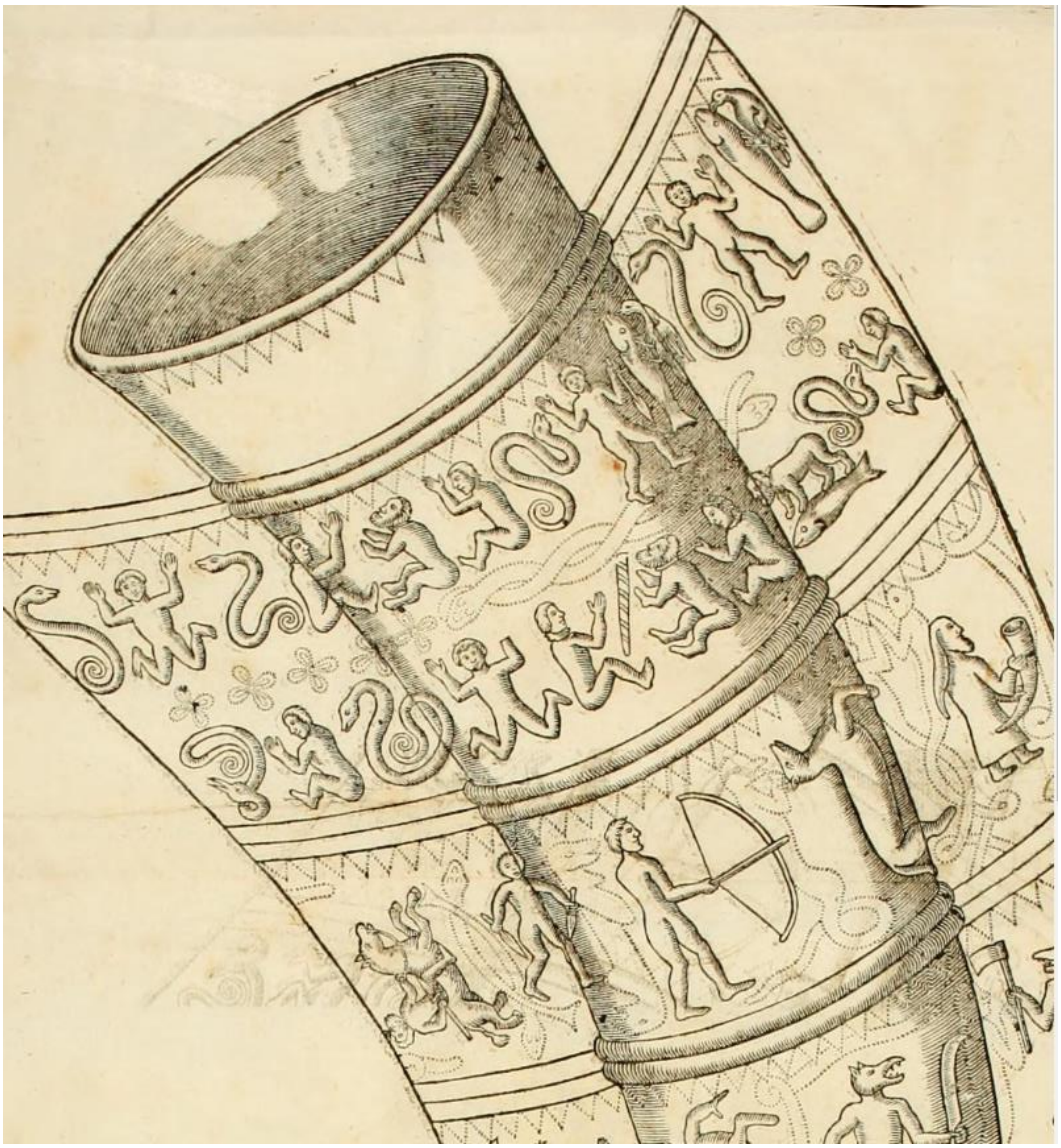


Figure 5.20 Worm's illustration of the top two bands of the large Gallehus horn (Wormius 1641)

which differ regarding certain anatomical details that are relevant to the study of nakedness (Figs. 5.22-25). The illustrations of Krysing and Frost are iconographically and stylistically closer, whereas Paulli's show various signs of omission as well as elaboration which imply his drawings are the least reliable. Regardless, it is apparent that one cannot provide a detailed analysis based on the unreliability of these illustrations, thus the following breakdown is limited, and interpretations are kept broad.



Figure 5.21 Worm's illustration of the bottom five bands of the large Gallehus horn (Wormius 1641).

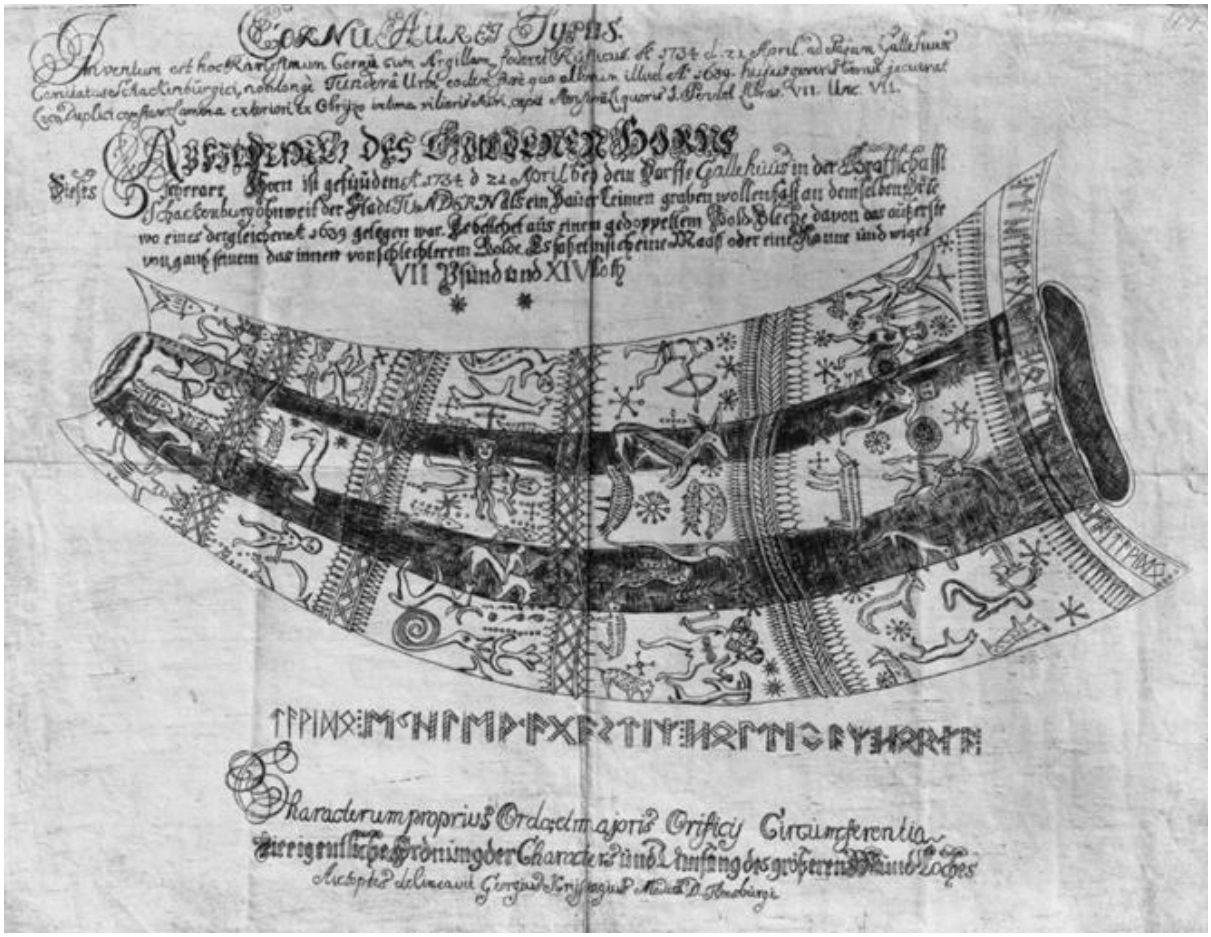


Figure 5.22 Georg Kryssing's illustration of the small Gallehus horn (Paulli, 1734) (accessed via NMD archive-Stik af guldhorn)

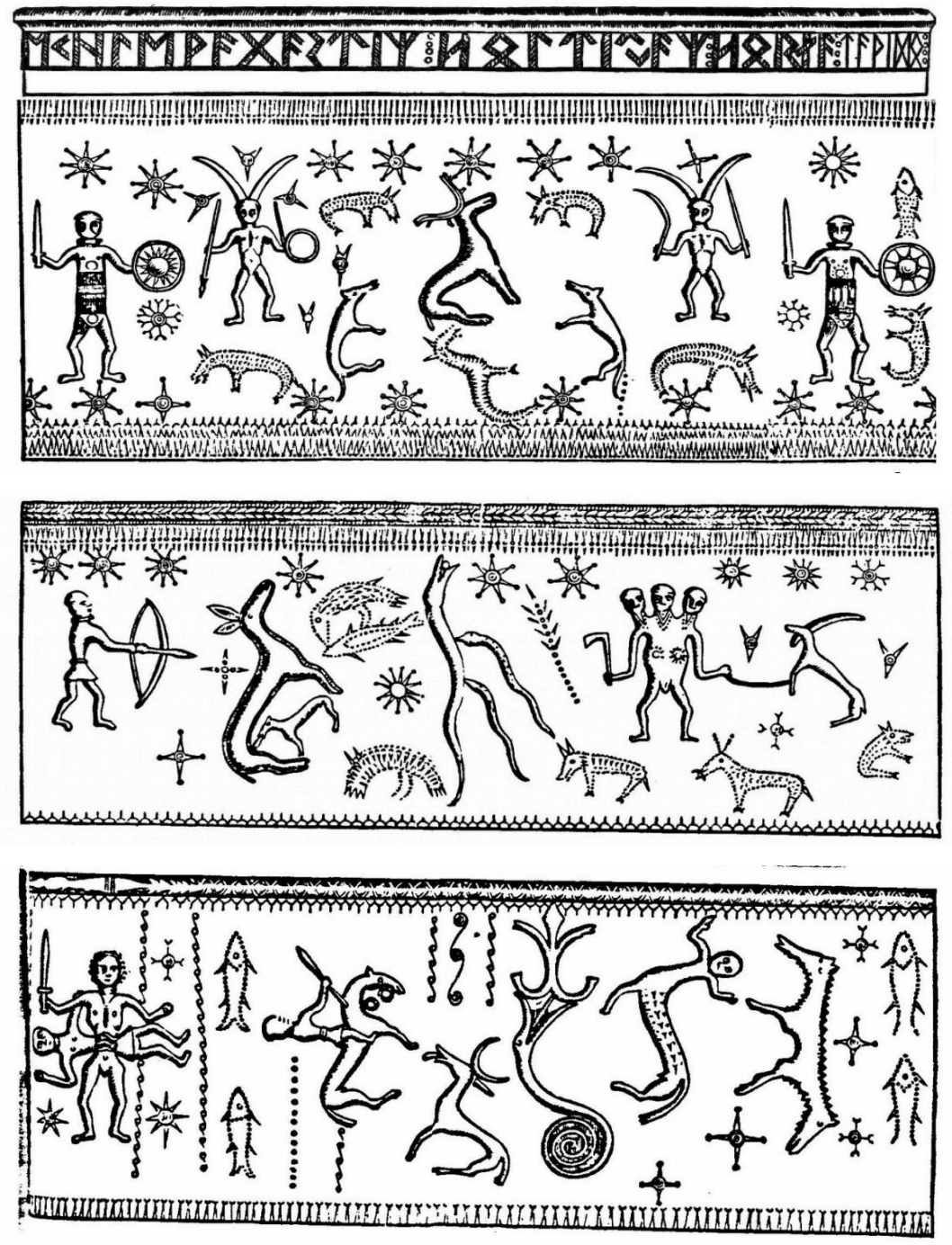


Figure 5.23 Joachim Paulli's illustration of the top three bands of the small horn (Reprint of Paulli's illustration in Klingenberg 1973. Fig. 63)

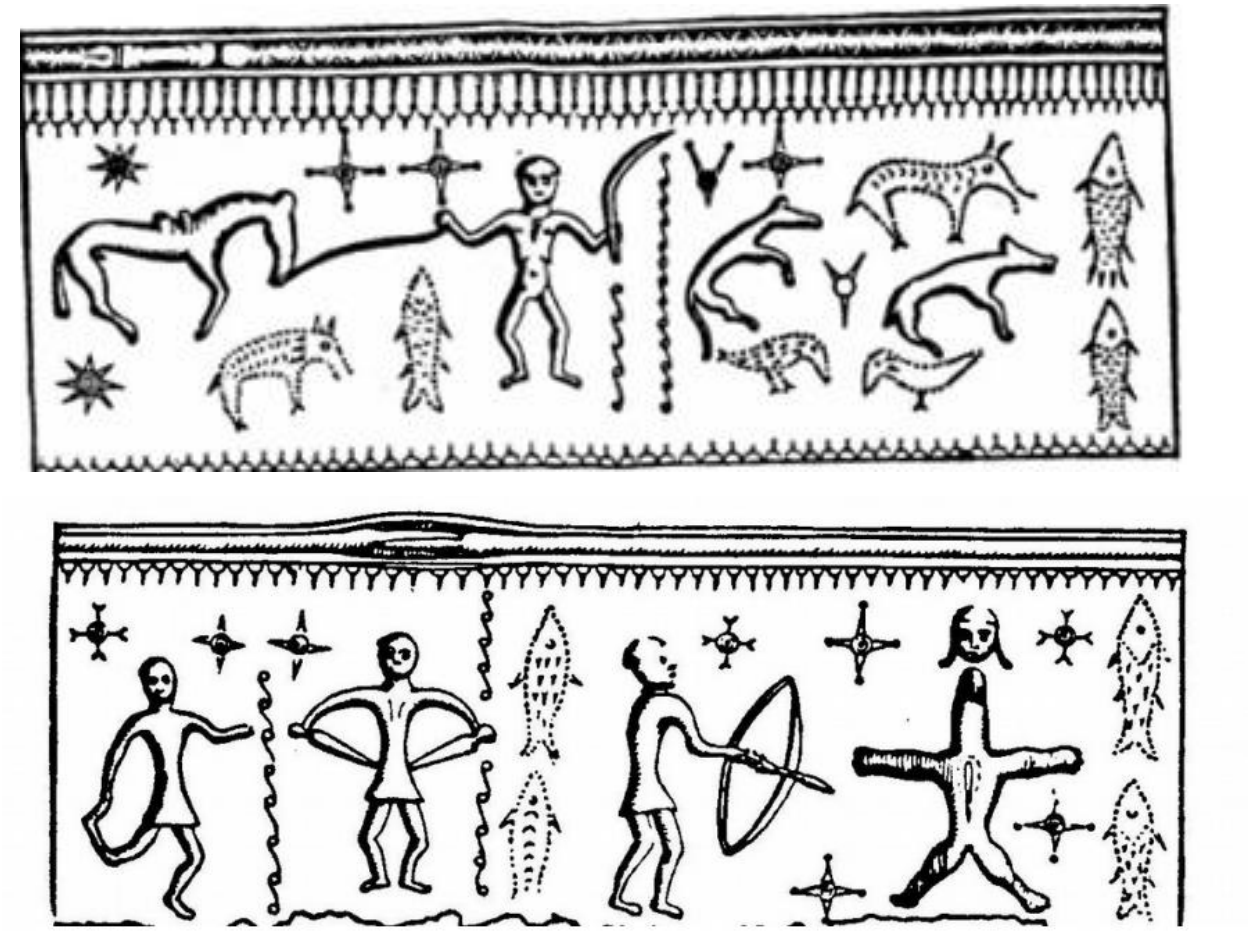


Figure 5.24 Joachim Paulli's illustration of the bottom two bands of the small horn (Reprint of Paulli's illustration in Klingenberg 1973. Fig. 63)

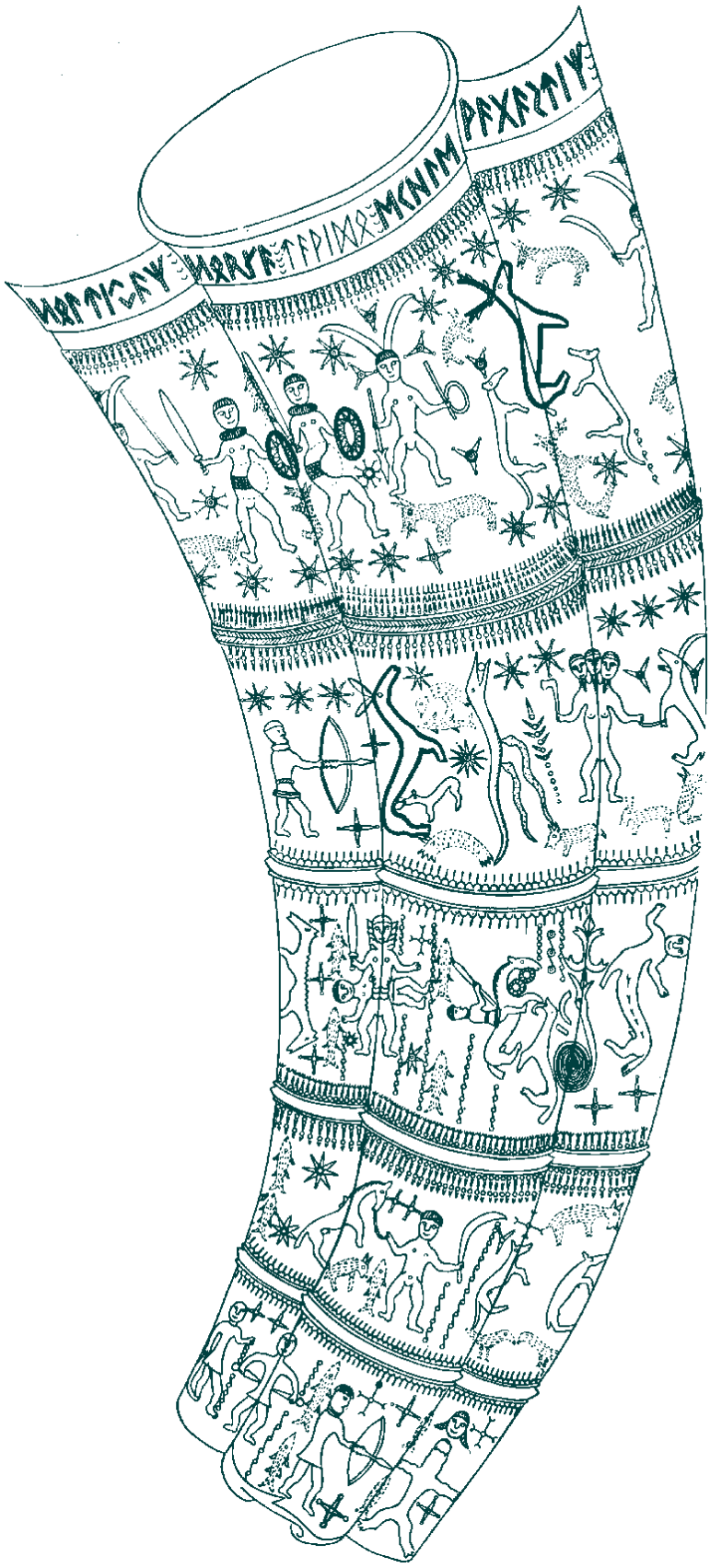
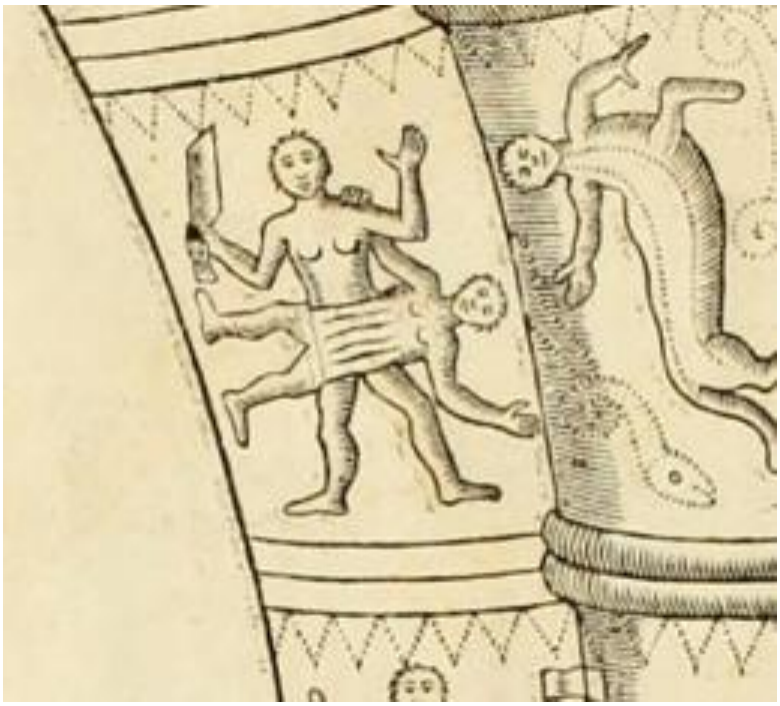


Figure 5.25 Engraving of the small horn produced by R. Frost (1736) (Reprint of Frost's illustration in Klingenberg 1973: Fig. 62).

When comparing the two horns, it is apparent that the bodies differ in their portrayal. For instance, many of the bodies on the short horn are depicted 'explicitly naked' while those on the large horn are primarily represented 'bare'. On the short horn, the anatomical details on the torso include nipples and the navel. The penis is also occasionally represented and is also depicted on certain quadrupeds, including the Roman influenced centaur in the third band. Beyond these details, the bodies are represented 'bare', although Paulli's depiction of certain torsos provides a higher level of anatomical and morphological realism (Figs. 5.23-24). Again, this might Paulli's illustrations are the least reliable, alternatively, the other authors paid less attention to anatomy. As for the large horn, it is of note that Wormius' written description of the horn indicates that he interpreted the majority of the 'bare' bodies as naked (1641). This could suggest that the bodies originally featured sexual details which influenced his written account. These details were then censored to produce a sanitised visual record for his audience. In contrast, it remains possible that the figures were predominantly 'bare' and that Wormius interpreted them as naked. Interestingly, three of the figures on the large horn can be distinguished as potentially 'explicitly naked', this includes two figures which feature defined pectorals or breasts and one that potentially has a demarcated crotch (Fig. 5.26). These details support the argument that Wormius did not censor the bodies. The entwined naked pair is also present on the small horn, the third band. Yet, this overlapping motif is not represented identically as the pair on the small horn feature circular nipples/areolas, whereas the pair on the large horn have demarcated pectorals or breasts. This might suggest that anatomical details were symbolic elements restricted to specific motifs. If so, the metalworker/s may not have practised an inconsistent or experimental approach to representing the body across the horns. Instead, the figures may have been drawn from the same pool of images that featured 'explicitly naked' and

A)



B)

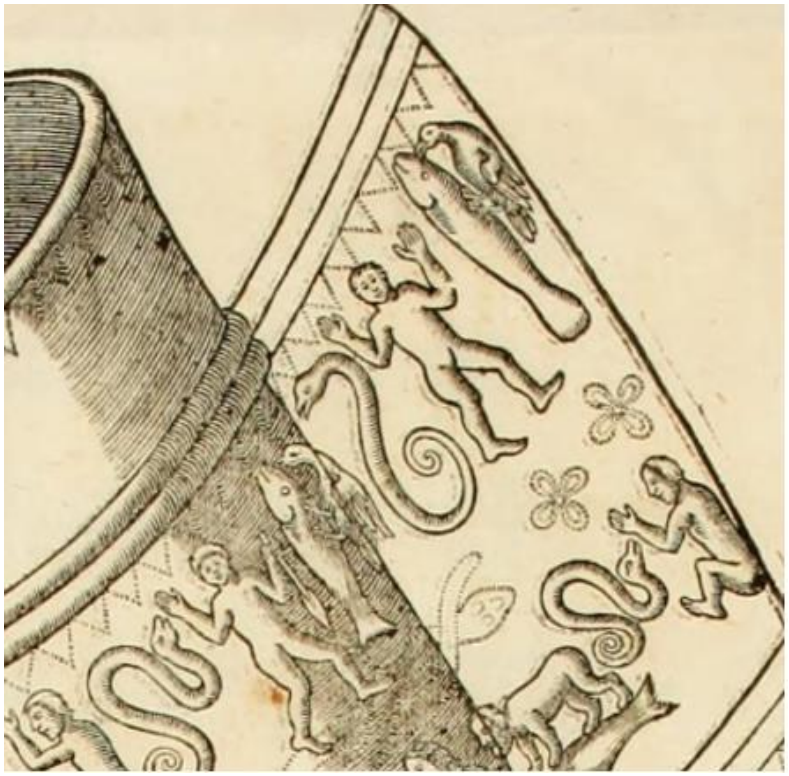


Figure 5.26 ‘Explicitly naked’ figures on the large Gallehus horn (Wormius 1641). In figure B the individual in the top right corner has a demarcated crotch.

‘bare’ motifs. This is feasible as the horns only share a small number of motifs, therefore, the ‘explicitly naked’ figures were primarily represented on the smaller horn whereas the ‘bare’ bodies were predominantly reserved for the larger horn. This possibility is challenged by the centaur which is represented on the third band of both horns but does not appear with a penis on the large horn (Fig. 5.26a). It is also of note that certain anatomical details such as demarcated toes are not consistently present on the figures in the top band on the large horn. This variation can even be observed across figures presented in the same poses (Fig. 5.20). This anatomical variation may then hint that the illustration is also unreliable. Across the two horns, only the male body can be conclusively sexed. It is plausible that bare crotches may represent female genitalia, but again this cannot be convincingly demonstrated.

Across both horns, it is apparent that there was very little attempt to represent the dressed body as evidenced by the one ‘clearly dressed’ figure on the large horn (second band) and the three or four clothed figures spread across the second and fifth bands of the small horn (Figs. 5.20, 5.23-4). The garments are plain in appearance and their length varies. Since clothing is represented on the large horn, it might imply that the ‘bare’ variants were intended to be read as naked. The bowl-styled haircuts/headdresses on the shorter horn and the occasional large heads depicted in profile with pronounced chins and noses present on both horns also recall previously discussed figures. Also, of note are the figures with horned heads or wearing horned-headdresses present in the first ring of the small horn (Fig. 5.23). The other two figures in the top band are also of interest as they are wearing neck-rings and are possibly wearing belts. There are also two different categories of hybrid representation on the large horn. These include combinations of human torso-animal head and human head-animal torso. This is potentially significant when considering hybrid

representations in Style I. While the reliability of the anatomical details recorded on the bodies on both horns is questionable, the selectively represented details present on otherwise schematic bodies align with the iconographic properties of certain previously discussed figurines. The 'explicitly naked' bodies on the horns are the first two-dimensional examples of this type of imagery produced in the period under study. This appears to suggest some experimentation and fresh influences regarding the portrayal of the body in the 5th century. However, it is also possible that these figures were represented according to pre-existing conventions and hint at the existence of other two-dimensional 'explicitly naked' bodies produced between the 3rd-5th centuries. As with previous examples, the horns provide additional evidence for the further expansion and development of the Scandinavian figural repertoire, this includes the adaption of foreign models like the centaur. The featured motifs also reinforce the important position and status the naked body held in the visual culture of northern Europe in the 5th century.

5.2.5 Nydam Style

Nydam Style is a metalworking style that emerged in southern Scandinavia in the late 4th century, but the main wave of production was in the early 5th century (Pesch 2012: 649, Haseloff 1981: 8-17). As with other northern European metalwork styles, Nydam Style was derived from late Roman provincial metalwork, particularly from the Rhine and Danube area (Haseloff 1981: 8-17; Suzuki 2008: 258). The core characteristics of the Style are chip-carved plant and geometric ornament, zoomorphic figures, particularly sea animals, and occasional face-masks (Haseloff 1981: 10-11; Suzuki 2008: 258; Pesch 2012: 650). However, a very small sample of full-bodied human images is known within this Style. Their occasional presence and insertion are a point of departure from the Style's typical conventions which

potentially attests to their symbolic importance. For instance, a mirrored pair of figures are visible on a copper-alloy scabbard mount deposited in a bog at Nydam (Denmark) (late 4th-5th century) (Haseloff 1981: 10-11) (Fig. 5.27a/b). Each human head and arm is situated next to a zoomorphic figure, either a sea creature or bird. These anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements can be viewed collectively to produce a kind of hybrid; the result is an anthropomorphic figure presented in a seated position. The ornamental spiral feature within the borders adjacent to the human head seemingly double as the figure's shoulder. The surface of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic components are decorated with geometric and ornamental patterns. Similar patterning can be observed elsewhere on the scabbard mount. One might question whether the limb of the zoomorphic creature doubles as a phallus when viewing the two separate figures as a single anthropomorphic entity. An additional pair of hybrid figures are visible on a silver equal-arm brooch discovered in a female grave at Hol (Norway) (400-450) (Fig. 5.27c/d) (Magnus 2014: 75, 86). Again, the surfaces of these figures are decorated with patterns that are visible across the surface of the object. The only identifiable anthropomorphic element is the hand with a raised thumb, the raised thumb is also a characteristic feature of the human and human-animal hybrid figures represented in Style I (Capelle 2003: 40-41). What appears to be a double-tiered arm-ring is also discernible on the wrists.

Additional figures, posed similarly to those on the Nydam scabbard, are present on a fibula headplate fragment from a burial at Tåstrup (Denmark), and on the footplate of a gilded silver relief brooch also from the aforementioned burial at Hol (Norway) (both early 5th century) (Haseloff 1981: 10; Magnus 2014: 75; Mannering 2017: 107) (Figs. 5.28a/b). Another pair of similar figures are visible on the headplate of an early 5th-century fibula from a burial at Riskedal (Norway) (Fig.5.28c) (Kristoffersen 2006: 15, 80-81). Interestingly,

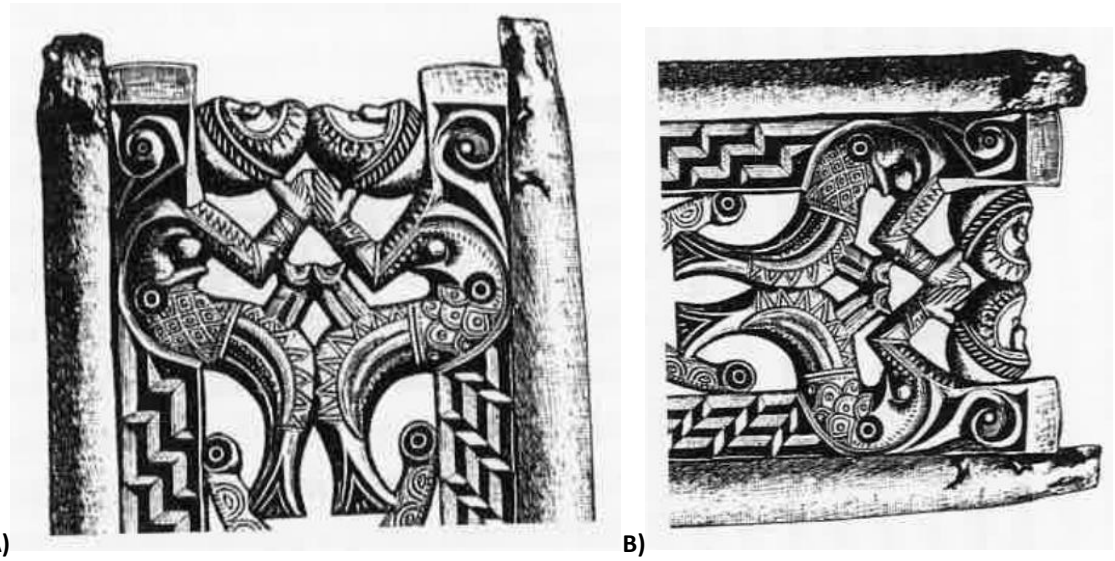


Figure 5.27 Nydam Style human-animal hybrids. A-B) Copper-alloy scabbard mount from a bog at Nydam (Denmark) (late 4th-5th century) (total object length: 162 mm) (Salin 1904:208). C-D) Equal-armed silver brooch from Hol (Norway) (early 5th century) (total object length: 110 mm) (photo by Kari Dahl in Magnus 2014:78. Fig. 6; Haseloff 1981:31. Fig. 11). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)

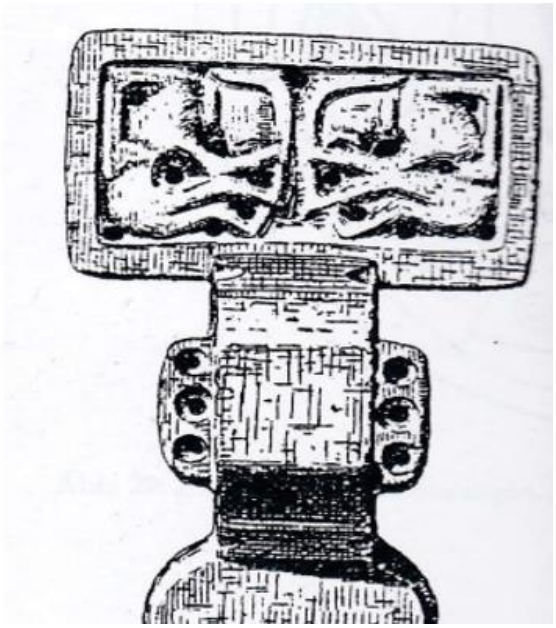


Figure 5.28 Nydam Style human figures. A) Fragment of a fibula from Tåstrup (Denmark) (early 5th century) (Height: approx 30.5 mm: Width: approx. 25 mm) (Mannering 2017:107. Fig. 5.2); B) Human figure on a gilded silver relief at Hol (Norway) (early 5th century) (total object length: 154 mm) (photo by Kari Dahl in Magnus 2014:76. Fig. 4); C) Pair of figures in the head plate on a fibula from Riskedal (Norway) (early 5th century) (headplate- Length: approx. 43 mm; Width: approx. 25 mm) (photograph- Kristoffersen 2006: 81. Pl. 18; illustration Capelle 2003:57. Fig. 26 after Bemmann 1998). Illustrations not to scale.

the seated posture with raised hand resembles certain figures present in the top ring of the roughly contemporary large Gallehus horn (Fig. 5.20). The anthropomorphic figures from Tåstrup and Hol also feature markings on their bodies akin to the 'hybrid' figures on the Nydam Scabbard. The markings on the figure from Hol are also shared by the adjacent zoomorphic figures, therefore, it appears to be a shared decorative scheme. The figure from Hol has been interpreted as wearing tight-fitting trousers, a blouse or tunic and a belt (Capelle 2003: 32; Magnus 2014: 76; Mannering 2017: 107). However, a belt, arm-ring and neck-ring on an otherwise 'bare' body align more strongly with previously discussed figural conventions. The figures from Riskedal also appear to be wearing a neck-ring as evidenced by the pronounced band on the neck, similarly shaped features on the waist more also represent a belt. Returning to the figure from Hol, the neck-ring, arm-ring and belt function visually to break down the body into sections. Significantly, certain adjacent animals are comparably presented as they occasionally feature band-like markings or contour lines situated on the wrists, neck and above the hind legs (Fig. 5.29a). This does not hinder the identification of the neck-ring, arm-ring and belt on the human figure, as certain zoomorphic figures may also be wearing a collar and arm-ring. As such, the figures on this brooch are presented according to a shared visual grammar centred around adorning and zonally dividing the body. When viewing the human figure alongside the two directly adjacent zoomorphic figures, the three potentially represent a transformational sequence. This involves a quadruped with a human-like face-mask transforming into a more ambiguous hybrid figure and then into the distinctly anthropomorphic body, the link between the two figures in the final stages is suggested by their arm-rings (Figs. 5.29b/c). The figures within this sequence have a certain tumbling quality as if they are rolling or jumping. When read in this way, the human figure is potentially not seated but is either somersaulting or

A)



B)



C)



Figure 5.29 The transforming figures on the brooch from Hol (Norway). A) Photo by Kari Dahl in Magnus 2014:76. Fig. 4; B-C) Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

represented on all fours. The way in which body posture, costume accessories, decorative surfaces, and contouring are used to produce a visual overlap between animal and human figures is central to the subsequent discussion. These stylistic principles and ideas are further developed in Style I, which grows out of Nydam Style, and in the bracteate corpus.

5.3 5th-6th centuries: bracteates and Style I

The archaeological evidence indicates that the visual culture of northern Europe massively expanded from the mid-5th century onwards. As part of this development, an extensive range of novel artistic motifs and forms were developed and mass-produced (Pesch 2012: 651-62). The bracteate corpus serves as the primary source for semi-naturalistic and complete depictions of the body produced in this period (450-550) (Mannering 2017). Style I also features a small number of coherent human representations (see Capelle 2003). The focus of the following discussion is to explore these two artistic developments, primarily the bracteate corpus, to locate figures depicted in various states of undress. This warrants a brief consideration of the development, production and dissemination of these visual materials.

As stated, both Style I and bracteates were formulated, produced and developed in southern Scandinavia at roughly the same time. Little archaeological evidence exists for the workshops that produced either and it was traditionally thought that itinerant metalworkers were responsible for their manufacture and distribution across northern Europe (Wicker 1994: 68-69; Pesch 2012: 673-67; Behr 2006: 16-18; 2010b: 460). However, in the past two decades, it has been advocated, especially by Pesch, that the pictorial language and conventions that underlie Style I and the recurrent motifs in the bracteate corpus were

initially developed by the same collective of elite patrons and metalworkers affiliated with high-status central complex sites (also known as 'productive sites') such as Gudme/Lundeborg (Denmark), Ravlunda (Sweden), Sorte Muld (Denmark), Uppåkra (Sweden) (Wicker 1998: 263-64; Axboe 2007: 90; Pesch 2007; 2011b: 250-72; 2011c: 377-85; 2011d: 53-54; 2012: 677-79; Behr 2010b: 460-61; 2015: 17-18). It is thought that Style I decorated objects and stamped bracteates were produced at these sites and were then circulated beyond southern Scandinavia, their production subsequently spread to other northern European regions (Behr 2010b: 460-61; 2006; 2015: 17-18; Pesch 2011b; 2012: 659-61, 675-78). As such, the 5th-6th centuries were marked by the emergence of an expansive supra-regional visual culture defined by a widely reproduced pictorial language that originated in southern Scandinavia (Pesch 2012: 651). It has long been recognised that certain motifs occur in both the bracteate corpus and in Style I, the stylistic presentation of the figural images also occasionally overlap within these visual materials (e.g. Kendrick 1938: 73-80; Gaimster 1998: 22; 33; Shepherd 1998: 59-65; Dickinson 2005: 149-51; Axboe 2007:147; Pesch 2009: 204-10; 2017b). While traditionally associated with Style I, human-animal hybrids and figures that are heavily stylised and abstract in appearance also occur on certain bracteates. It has also been recognised that the changing portrayal of the human and animal figures in the bracteate corpus are roughly contemporary to similar stylistic developments within Style I (Aboxe 2007: 147). This connection reflects and reinforces the suggestion that the bracteates and Style I were initially developed by the same elite collective and produced in proximity. Consequently, a shared pool of images and ideas were occasionally drawn upon and deployed in both resources. This relationship is significant because it suggests the more coherent bodies, primarily those in the bracteate corpus, can be comparatively analysed with the more ambiguous bodies present in both resources. In

turn, it may be possible to construct a chain of derivation and link the more naturalistic figures, whose state of un/dress is clearly visualised, to those which are heavily stylised or abbreviated.

It is necessary to recognise that the motifs and stylistic principles associated with the visual materials under discussion were not uniform nor static, but were developed and altered over time and space. Style I is defined by a pool of motifs and stylistic conventions which could be creatively reapplied into new and varied compositions on a range of object types (Haseloff 1974; 1981, Pesch 2011c: 381, 384; 2012: 674-80; Behr 2010b: 460-61). The defining characteristics of Style I were developed gradually as part of an experimental and creative process whereby metalworkers honed their ability to produce highly complex arrangements and transformative motifs (Behr 2010b: 460; Kristoffersen 2010). Haseloff has broken down the development of Style I into four broad overlapping phases which were not universally reproduced across all the regions where Style I was popular (1974).

By contrast, bracteates are a single object type that were nearly all made from gold (Pesch, 2011b:240). Most bracteates conform to the general classifications outlined previously (A- F types), many bracteates also descend from similar dies or have adapted common motifs (2007; 2011c: 379-81). Similar designs have been grouped by Pesch into *Formularfamilien* (design families). Up to two-thirds of all known bracteates can be related to at least one other bracteate through their design/die (Pesch 2007; Pesch 2011c: 381-82). However, while many bracteate motifs can be grouped, there is often considerable variation with regards to the iconographic details present within each family, especially those present on the surface of the body (Axboe 2007: 143-44; Pesch 2007; 2011c: 379-82; Mannering 2017: 71-87).

This variation can be explained by several processes. Firstly, since the pre-existing Scandinavian figural repertoire was limited, it is likely that late antique prototypes were not always adapted to align with a pre-established motif (Behr 2015: 17-18). As such, the prototype was gradually adapted and experimented with, and once a desirable result was achieved the motif was reproduced in greater number (ibid.). As stated, bracteates were also produced over a century and their production extended beyond Scandinavia. Bracteate production was not entirely centralised nor was it closely regulated, and this resulted in regional and temporal variations of the same motif (Pesch 2007; Axboe 2007: 142-50; Rundkvist 2006: 354). Metalworkers who were poorly skilled or did not sufficiently understand the image and its symbolism also tried to reproduce certain designs. This resulted in degenerated and poorly executed copies (Pesch 2011b: 238; 2011c: 382-83).

It is difficult to chronologically map the iconographical development and stylistic sequence of the bracteates, especially as bracteates may have been in use for a long period and so their date of deposition is not necessarily a reflector of their date of production (Barford Carlsen 2002: 123; Rundkvist 2006: 348-9; see Axboe 1999; 2007 for his dating models). Nonetheless, the A, B and C types are generally recognised as emerging simultaneously (mid-5th century), followed by D types (6th century). The production of all four types then coincided and continued until the mid-6th century (Axboe 2007: 148; for an alternative chronological model for the D-bracteates see Barford Carlsen 2002). Several indicators provide an impressionistic idea of how a particular motif was developed over time/space, but these should be treated cautiously. Generally, the figures on the A and C types that are iconographically closest to the late antique prototype are thought to be the earliest variants (Axboe 2007: 142-44). Yet, had metalworkers copied older bracteate designs or adapted late antique models throughout the entire period of production, it would

mean that 'classical' appearing variants would have also been produced at later dates (Axboe 2007: 144). Furthermore, the iconographic development of the bracteates cannot be understood as a simple linear trajectory where late antique designs were altered over time and became increasingly 'Germanic' in character. Instead, certain details of the prototypes were actively retained to create hybrid designs that were neither distinctively 'Nordic' or Roman (Wicker 2017:23). Many motifs were treated conservatively due to their symbolic value and were consistently reproduced over generations, therefore, when a motif shows signs of innovation, e.g. novel details, it was not necessarily produced later than the more standardised parallels (Wicker 1994: 70). The iconographic development of certain motifs would have also been regionally specific as not all metalworkers would have followed the latest currents (Axboe 2007: 144). For instance, regional fashions are observable where certain motifs remained popular for long periods while others appear only briefly or not at all (Wicker 2014: 37-38). Another way of mapping the iconographic development of a motif within a formula family is to identify the degenerated and abbreviated variants, these are possibly later copies of the more coherent examples (Pesch 2011c: 379-82). Since Style I and the bracteates are, in some capacity, iconographically and stylistically related, Axboe has also suggested that the four developmental phases of Style I identified by Haseloff are potentially relevant and may help identify similar stages when analysing the bracteates (2007: 145-47).

These various factors have combined to produce a bracteate catalogue that features bodies that are often highly individualised regarding their superficial appearance. This has fostered the notion that the portrayal of the body was not an important iconographic or symbolic component (Mannering, 2008: 64-65, 2017: 71). It also complicates attempts to categorise the different body types and to then quantitively or comparatively examine them

as demonstrated by Ulla Mannering's costume analysis (2017: 71-87). This study demonstrated the need to be soft-edged and flexible when grouping figures based on their appearances. Iconographic variation should not be over-analysed, but it cannot be completely overlooked as the details which are inserted, omitted or are consistently represented on a specific motif may reflect their symbolic importance (Pesch 2011c: 387-88). The following discussion does not offer a complete breakdown of the states of dress present within the bracteate corpus. Still, the bodies discussed below are drawn from an extensive analysis of all the bracteates currently published in the *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* series (1985-2011). The focus of the following analysis is the bodies represented in the bracteate corpus that can be interpreted as naked. Some of these feature signifiers of 'explicit nakedness' while others are 'bare' but can be paralleled with antecedent and contemporary 'explicitly naked' representations. A small number of Style I parallels have also been identified and are included. The relevant motifs are primarily found on B-bracteates as the figures on the A and C types are typically adaptions of dressed emperor busts (see Axboe and Kromann 1992; Mannering 2017), although a few A and C types that feature figures closer in appearance to those on the B types are included. Beyond these, certain A and C types mirror the adaption of the emperor's image on the M-bracteates, whereby visual emphasis is placed on the cuffs, hems and rims variously situated at the neck, waist and wrist. The possibility that these features represent a neck-ring, arm-ring or belt is touched upon in the next chapter.

Many B type figures are either heavily schematic, akin to a stick-figure, or are abstract and heavily stylised in appearance. While the state of dress of the schematic figures cannot be easily interpreted, many of the stylised variants represent the evolution of some of the motifs discussed below. The appearances of these abstract bodies are not analysed in

extensive detail, but the process of their stylistic evolution is touched upon further in the next chapter when analysing some Style I parallels discovered in England. Again, this is an area that would benefit from additional and more focused research. While the following discussion is centred on the naked body, it is of note that all the B type figures discussed in Mannering's analysis of dress are also discussed below and are interpreted as either naked or semi-dressed (2017). Consequently, 'clearly dressed' bodies were not omitted from this analysis as there were no additional examples that could be confidently identified as such. I will not consider the possibility that these bodies are dressed since Mannering's study has already provided an archaeologically contextualised exploration of the topic. Instead, I offer an alternative reading of the same images. The subsequent analysis explores the iconographic conventions associated with 'explicitly naked' bodies. This is followed by a breakdown and discussion of the naked and semi-dressed bodies represented primarily on B types. The biological sex of these ambiguous figures is discussed in chapter 8.

5.4 'Explicit nakedness' in the bracteate corpus: iconographic conventions and artistic influences

Sixteen bracteates, produced from twelve individual die stamps, feature a figure that can be interpreted as 'explicitly naked' (App. Table 5.2) (Figs. 5.30a/c/d, 5.31a/b, 5.32a, 5.33). These figures all appear on B types and are relatively well-represented amongst the total sample of eighty-three B-bracteates (App. Table 5.10). Bracteates that feature 'explicitly naked' figures are primarily found in Denmark, Sweden, and Germany; no examples are known in England. Unlike antecedent naked figures, no representation within the bracteate corpus features genitalia. Instead, the 'explicitly naked' signifiers are nipples, areolas and breasts. The bracteate from Söderby (IK 583) is badly damaged, but the figure potentially



Figure 5.30 The B4 bracteate group (see Pesch, 2007:112). A) Allesø (Denmark) (IK 13.1) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck etl al 1985c. Taf. 15); B) Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 128) (Diameter: 28.7 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 165); C) Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 129.1) (Diameter: 25.8 mm) (Hauck et al., 1985c. Taf. 167); D) Darum (Denmark) (IK 129.2) (Diameter: 44 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 167) (not the same die as IK 129.1). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)

Figure 5.31 B-bracteates from Trollhättan (Sweden) and Söderby (Sweden). A) Bracteate from Trollhättan (IK 190) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 190); B) Bracteate from Söderby (IK 583) (Diameter: 62.5 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 32). Illustrations not to scale.

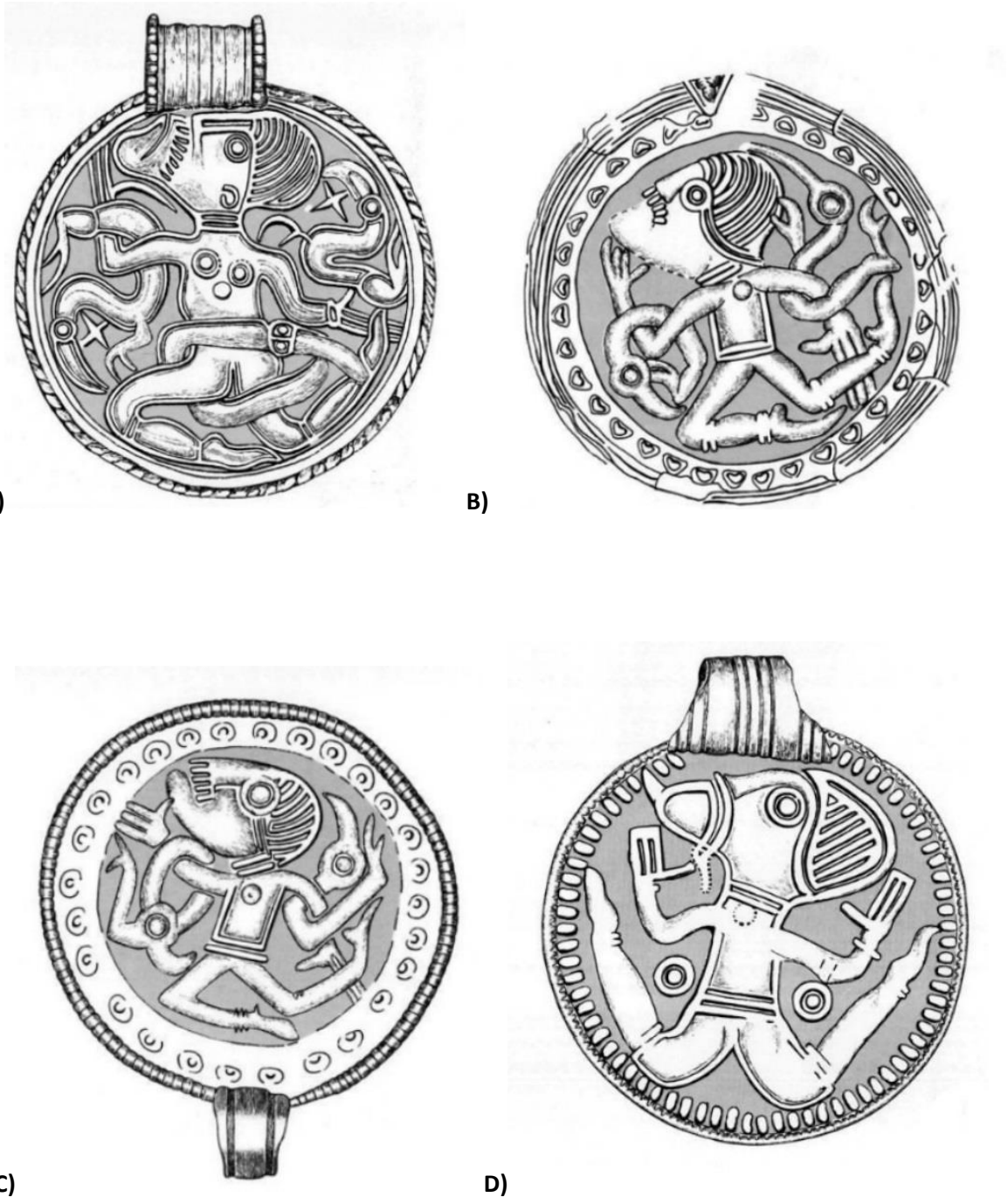


Figure 5.32 The B3 bracteate group. A) Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 308) (Diameter: 24.7 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.95); B) Sievern (Germany) (IK 333) (Diameter: 49 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 115); C) Sjöhagen (Denmark) (IK 337) (Diameter: 26.45 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 121). D) Bifrons (Kent) (IK 23) (Diameter: 21.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 25). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.33 The B9 female bracteate group. A) Grossfahnerik (Germany) (IK 259) (Diameter:20mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 47); B) Oberwerschen (Germany) (IK 311) (Diameter: 20.1 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 97); C) Unknown findspot (southwestern Germany) (IK 350) (Diameter: 25.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 131); D) Welschingen (Germany) (IK 389) (Diameter: 19.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 165); E) Gudme (Denmark) (IK 391) (Diameter: 19.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 134); F) Issendorf (Germany) (IK 574) (Diameter: 20.7 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 21). Illustrations not to scale.

features a clavicle, although this detail has been interpreted as a slit throat (Danielsson 2007: 124) (Fig. 5.31b). This feature is shared by two otherwise 'bare' figures represented in the bracteate's outer rim. It has been debated whether the areolas present on the figures in the B4 group, on IK 190 and IK 308 represent male nipples or female breasts (Hauck 1970: 128-33, 150; Laursen 2006: 201-3; see Motz 1994a: 593-96; 1994b: 6-15; Wiker 2001: 51-60; Martel 2007:67-73; Hedeager 2011: 132-33) (Figs. 5.30a/c/d, 5.31a, 5.32a). The figure in the B4 group and on IK 308 display facial hair which suggests they are male. However, it has been argued that the combination of breasts and facial hair was to symbolise their androgynous character, these figures have been variously interpreted as hermaphrodites, as a third-gendered individual or a ritualist undergoing a performance that involved blurring their sex and gender (Wiker 2001: 51-60; Motz 1994b: 6-15; Hauck 1970: 128-33, 150; Martel 2007: 67-73; Hedeager 2011: 132-33). Hedeager has interpreted the figure on the bracteate from Trollhättan (IK 190) as an androgynous man who has long feminine hair, breasts and wearing a woman's 'mini skirt' (Hedeager 2011: 132) (Fig.5.31a). However, the long hair and miniskirt are not conclusive feminine markers, and it has been suggested that the hair was influenced by Merovingian male fashions and the skirt was derived from the Roman prototype (Axboe and Källström 2013: 170; Mannering 2017: 85). Nipples have been recurrent features on some of the antecedent 'explicitly naked' male figures. While many of the figures in the B corpus are sexually ambiguous, there is no real reason to assume that these features represent breasts or that they signalled a third gender category. Contemporary scholarship has generally agreed that the only female body that can be confidently identified, on any bracteate type, is the individual in the B9 group (Fig. 5.33) (for a summary of scholarly discussions of this motif see Pesch 2011C). A single figure is represented within this group with what appears to be large breast shaped features devoid



Figure 5.34 Potential female figures repeated on the gold collar from Möne (Sweden) (AD 500-550) (Length: varies between 12.5-14 mm) (Pesch 2015b:262). Illustrations not to scale.

of nipples or areolas. Arguably, it is questionable whether these features even represent bared breasts. The closest contemporary parallel is a possible female figure repeated on the gold collar from Möne (Sweden) (Fig. 5.34). This figure is depicted with long hair and an ankle-reaching skirt, the 'bare' torso may also symbolise a state of toplessness. There are also some 'explicitly naked' parallels that date to the late 6th-7th centuries, including one from England, which are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. The distinctive appearance of these 'breasts' potentially reinforces the suggestion that the dot and circle features discussed above represented male nipples. Yet, the figures with the 'nipples' in the B4 family were deposited primarily in Denmark and may have originated there, whereas Pesch has argued the B9 motif was conceived in Germany and spread north (2011c: 385-86). This might indicate that their visual differences were coincidental and that they do not reflect standardised conventions that were intended to distinguish male and female naked chests.

Since genitals are not represented on any 'explicitly naked' body, it has been argued that there are no completely naked bodies, only topless ones wearing some form of legwear (Mannering 2017: 77-87). As stated, genitals do not have to be visually depicted to confirm that a body is naked and that the overall state of undress is symbolically significant. This is made apparent by the placement of the hand to conceal the genitals in the B4 group; paradoxically, the presence of the genitals is emphasised via their concealment (Fig. 5.30). The same gesture was observed on the figurine from Laxeby which was represented with a penis (Fig. 5.8a). This act of concealment may indicate a potential taboo, aversion or some other factor that has discouraged the portrayal of genitalia when representing naked bodies on bracteates. This is possibly reinforced by the presence of the skirt worn by the topless figure on the bracteate from Trollhättan (IK 190) (Fig. 5.31a). Similarly, the figure on the bracteate from Nebenstedt (IK 308) features an exposed 'bare' crotch, the omission of the genitals contrasts with the level of anatomical detail visible on the torso (Fig. 5.32a). The three figures on the bracteate from Söderby (IK 583) (Fig. 5.31b) also appear to display a 'bare' crotch, although the surface of this bracteate was badly damaged and so the illustration should be treated with caution. While a 'bare' crotch may represent female genitalia or signal a state of sexual ambiguity, when combined with the active forms of concealment it suggests that there was a more general unwillingness to represent primary sexual characteristics on the bracteates. This is further demonstrated by the absence of the penis on the various quadrupeds depicted throughout the corpus. This contrasts with the few examples of zoomorphic genitalia on the small Gallehus horn (Figs. 5.23-24). Why the penis was potentially omitted from the bracteate corpus is explored further in Chapter 8.

Additional parallels of the 'explicitly naked' figures under discussion are present on other B types, yet the markers of 'explicit nakedness' have either been omitted or the



Figure 5.35 Bastard variant of the B4 family (A) and the two bracteates of the B5 family (B/C). A) Heide (Germany) (IK 74) (Diameter: 39.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 91); B) Sædding (Denmark) (IK 148) (Diameter: 33 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 189); C) Skodborghus (Denmark) (IK 165) (Diameter: 24 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 207). Illustrations not to scale.

body's state of undress is no longer as obvious due to stylistic alterations (Figs. 5.30b, 5.32b/c/d, 5.35). For example, the B4 bracteate from Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 128) and the bastard variant from Heide (Germany) (IK 74) are depicted without nipples (Figs. 5.30b, 5.35a). [6] The bodies in the iconographically similar B5 group no longer feature a semi-

[6] Bastard variants are bracteates that Pesch has affiliated with certain formula families (2007). These bracteates carry motifs that are iconographically related to their associated die/design group. However, they have been adapted to the point that their relationship is no longer obvious.

naturalistic torso and the placement of the hand no longer aligns with the crotch as if to conceal the genitals (Figs. 5.35b/c). While nipples are no longer present on the bracteate from Heide (IK 74), the torso does appear to feature a defined abdomen. This is potentially a marker of 'explicit nakedness', although the torso appears to have been fragmented and presented as segments akin to the adjacent zoomorphic figures (Fig. 5.35a). It may, therefore, be a stylistic feature and was not intended to represent a defined abdomen. The adaption and presentation of the torso as an assortment of geometric shapes is further pronounced in the B5 group (Figs. 5.35b/c). A similar process of adaption is visible in the B3 family and on its bastard variant from Bifrons (Kent) (Fig. 5.32). The nipples and navel visible on IK 308 are no longer discernible on the other three variants whose torso's have been distinguished with contour lines (Fig. 5.32b/c/d). Some of these iconographic differences suggest that the motif was adapted differently over time and space. For example, the majority of the B4 group (IK 13.1/2/3, 129.2) were found in Denmark, these bracteates carry the most coherent and semi-naturalistic examples of this motif and all feature nipples (App. Table 5.2) (Fig. 5.30a/c/d). This might suggest that the motif was initially developed in Denmark and was in its conception intended to feature an 'explicitly naked' figure. Two of the B4 variants were found in Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 128, 129.1). While IK 129.1 features the nipples and arm-rings characteristic of the B4 family, the same details are not present on IK 128. As such, the nipples were seemingly omitted during a later adaption of this motif, possibly in the Nebenstedt area as it is suspected that a site of bracteate production was located there (Pesch 2011b: 267). How the omission of these details alters an interpretation of nakedness is questionable. While instances of omission indicate that the representation was reinterpreted and irrelevant details were omitted, it is also possible that the body has been abbreviated/simplified and that the state of nakedness remained

symbolically relevant. As for the heavily altered and stylised parallels, it is apparent that these figures no longer visually resemble the naked body, neither 'explicit' nor 'bare' variants. The appearance of these figures and the significance of their visual transformation is explored in subsequent sections.

One might question whether the markers of 'explicit nakedness' were details carried over and retained from the late antique prototype. For example, it has been suggested that the figure on the bracteate from Trollhättan (IK 190) was adapted from a Roman model which featured a figure wearing a muscle cuirass and skirt (Axboe and Källström 2013: 156, 170. Fig. 4) (Fig. 5.31a). One other possibility of note, suggested by Hauck, was that the breasts or nipples in the B4 family and on the bracteate from Nebenstedt (IK 308) were influenced by late antique portrayals of Eve, specifically when depicted with bared breasts (1970: 132-33) (Fig. 5.36a). A Christian influence on northern European forms of naked representation would not be surprising. From the 3rd century onwards, a Christian visual culture began to emerge which included several motifs and scenes that featured some form of nakedness or bodily exposure (Smith 1966: 221; Himmelman 1985: 44-45; Stewart 2013; Zimmermann 2015: 459-61). This expanding figural repertoire initially drew upon and redeployed traditional forms of ideal nudity (ibid.). As Christian corporeal ideologies were disseminated amongst Roman territories, the peoples of Scandinavia and northern Germany may have been exposed to the notion that nakedness was a state of sin and shame. The B4 family display additional similarities to the late antique iconography of Adam and Eve, including a hunched posture, a large oversized hand that covers the crotch and the presence of nipples that confirm the state of undress (Figs. 5.30, 5.36). While these overlaps are significant, it is important to acknowledge that the iconography of Adam and Eve had adapted and exaggerated conventions associated with traditional forms of female Greco-

Roman nudity, specifically the concealing hand gesture and hunched posture (Stewart 2013; Davies 2018: 118). As mentioned, the figurine from Laxeby may have drawn upon a similar prototype as evidenced by the placement of the hand (Fig. 5.8a). Consequently, the crotch-concealing figure in the B4 family could have been influenced by a wide range of sources. Nonetheless, remaining on the possibility of a Christian influence, it is also of note that many of the naked figures depicted in the early Christian repertoire often have crotches that were actively concealed, either through the use of their hands, body posture, loincloths, water, or secondary figures (Figs. 5.37-38). These symbolic forms of naked representation may, therefore, have influenced the presentation of the body in the bracteate corpus. It has also been suggested that the B10 group of B-bracteates may have adapted late antique representations of Jonah, who is often depicted nude, being swallowed by a whale (Gaimster 1998: 40-42) (Fig. 5.38c). By contrast, the central figure in the B10 groupis heavily stylised and appears neither naked nor dressed. It is also of note that three of the 'explicitly naked' figures are presented in a struggle with zoomorphic figures (Figs. 5.31a/b, 5.32a). Pesch has noted that figures flanked between beasts, occasionally with raised arms, and figures engaged aggressively with animals became popular in northern Europe during the migration period (Pesch 2015a: 89-92). Pesch proposes that this emerging taste may have been prompted by the frequent portrayal of Christ, albeit clothed, triumphant over animals (ibid.). Late antique representations of Daniel in the Lion's Den offers an alternative parallel as he too is often depicted between beasts and in an orans pose. Like Jonah, he is also frequently presented nude in an idealised and traditional fashion (Fig.5.39) (Smith 1966: 221; Stewart 2013; Himmelman 1985: 44-45). A similar 'between beasts' motif is present on the top ring of the large Gallehus horn, a very small and exceptional sample of contemporary parallels, albeit 'bare' figures, are also known outside of the bracteate corpus

A)



B)



C)



D)



E)



Figure 5.36 Late antique depictions of Adam and Eve. A) Copper alloy matrix used in the manufacture of embossed panels from Roussent (Pas-de-Calais, France) (5th-6th centuries) (Hauck 1970: 133. Fig. 11b,1); B) Detail from the St. Severin glass bowl from Cologne (Germany) (late 4th-5th centuries) (Diameter of bowl: 210 mm) (Howells 2015:93. Plate. 62); C) Molded terracotta tile from Saint-Martin Church (Verou, Nantes, France) (Late 6th century) (Length: 210 mm) (Bromwich 2014: 253); D) Glass bowl depicting Adam and Eve produced and discovered at Cologne (Germany) (Mid-4th century) (Diameter: 200 mm) (Spier 2007: 184. Fig. 12). E) Silver flagon with repousse decoration of biblical scenes, including Adam and Eve, from Traprain Law (East Lothian, Scotland) (410-425) (Height:215 mm) (NMS X.GVA 1). Illustration not to scale.

A)



B)



C)

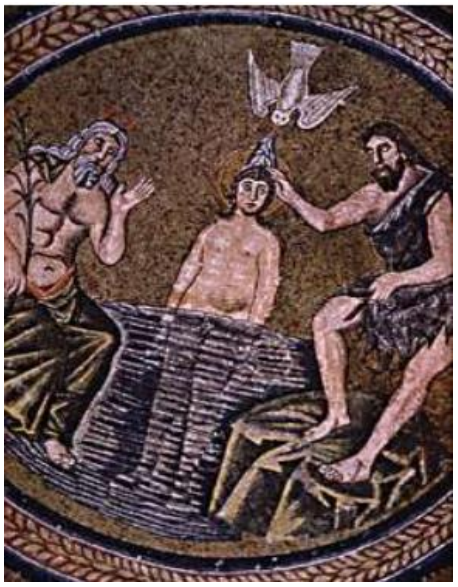
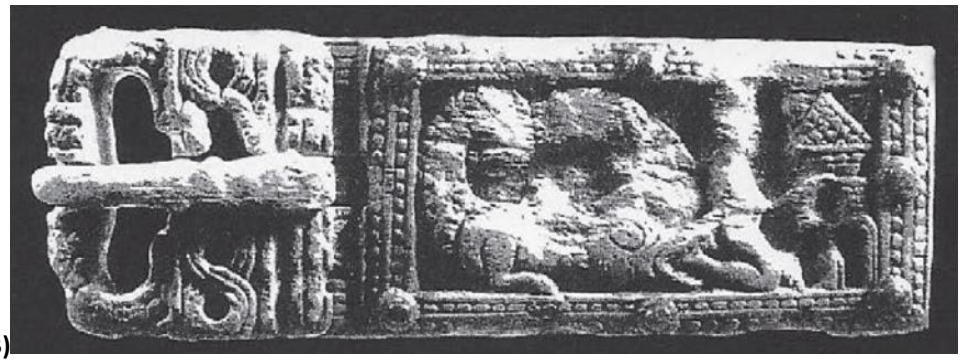


Figure 5.37 Late antique depictions of Christ. A) Wooden Door-Panel of the Crucifixion, Santa Sabina (Rome, Italy) (C.AD 432) (Levine 2012: 305. Fig. 23). B) Ivory panel from Lombardy (Italy), depicting the crucifixion (AD 410-20) (Height: 75 mm; Width: 102 mm) (BM 1856,0623.5); C) Dome mosaic of the Baptism of Christ, Arian Baptistery, Ravenna (Italy) (Late 5th century) (Levine 2012: 303. Fig. 19).



A)



B)



C)

Figure 5.38 Jonah and the whale in late antique and early medieval art. A) The St. Severin glass bowl from Cologne (Germany) (Late 4th-5th centuries) (Diameter of bowl: 210 mm) (Howells 2015: 98. Pl.74); B) Bone carved belt plate from Augsburg (Germany) (6th-7th centuries) (Sémainville 2011: 230. Fig. 9); C) A B10 bracteate from Ulvsunda (Sweden) (IK 195) (Diameter: 81.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 255). Illustration not to scale.



A)

B)

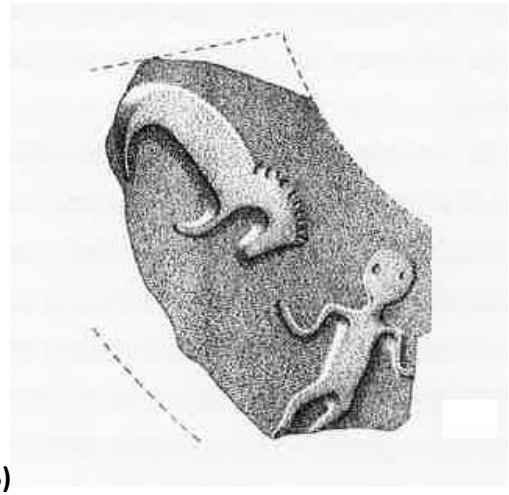




Figure 5.39 Late antique depictions of Daniel in the lion's den. A) Late 4th-century belt plate from St. Marcel, France (Levada 2013: 231 Fig. 18.1); B) Glass detail from the from St. Severin glass bowl from Cologne, Germany (Late 4th-5th centuries) (Diameter of bowl: 210 mm) (Howells 2015: 96. Pl.71/72).



A)



B)



C)



D)



E)

Figure 5.40 Migration period anthropomorphic figures depicted next to zoomorphic figures. A-B) Cremation urns from Süderbrarup (Schleswig-Holstein) (5th century) (Blankenfeldt 2015: 72. Fig. 18; Pesch 2015b: 443. Fig. 21.1b); C) Cremation urn from Borgstedt (Germany) (5th century) (Pesch 2015b: 443. Fig. 21c); D) Picture stone from Smiss (När, Gotland) (6th-7th centuries) (Height: 820 mm) (Pesch 2015: 369.Fig.4f); E) Picture stone from Austers (Hangvar parish, Gotland) (5th-7th centuries) (Photograph by H. Faith-Ell in Oehrl 2019: 164. Fig. 25). Illustrations not to scale.

(Figs. 5.20, 5.40). The problem with the possibility of a Christian artistic influence is that many of the Christian motifs were themselves derived from pre-Christian late antique models, and as such there are overlaps between Christian and pagan mythological motifs that are both still in circulation in the 3rd-5th centuries (Stewart 2013; Zimmermann 2015: 459-61). For instance, the iconography of Hercules, who remained popular in the 4th century, features heroic nudity and grappling confrontations with various animals and sea creatures (Nees 2002: 43: Nagy 2016: 393-96). As such, a Christian influence may be coincidental as the developing Christian and northern European visual cultures may have been drawing on similar models for inspiration.

As for the female body depicted in the B9 group, the partial nudity and emphasis on the breasts may have also drawn upon a late antique source. For example, nude Roman goddesses were often depicted with the lower half of their body concealed by some form of drapery (Davies 2018: 116-18) (see fig. 5.12). A Christian influence has also been suggested since the figure is occasionally represented holding a cross, the iconography of the Virgin Mary or various late antique empresses represented in the late 4th century have been considered as possible sources (for a summary see Pesch 2011c: 385-91). However, it has also been argued that the breasts discredit an iconographic link to Mary (Enright 1990: 60-7; Davidson 1998: 117). Yet, the baring of breasts and depictions of breastfeeding had a long history in Roman art as a positive form of female naked representation. It was also a recurrent motif affiliated with several maternal deities worshipped across the Roman Empire (Bonfante 1997; Sperling 2016: 309-10). Similarly, at the time of the 4th century, as the cult of the Virgin Mary was rapidly growing, she too was very occasionally depicted breastfeeding (Sperling 2016: 310-11). The breastfeeding motif was also adopted by the 4th-century Christian Empresses Fausta, Helena, and Theodora who modelled themselves



A)



B)

Figure 5.41 Late antique depictions of breastfeeding Roman empresses. A) Empress Flavia Maxima Fausta nursing her son (316 CE), Double solidus, Gold coin, reverse (Sperling 2016: 310. Fig. 6.2). B) Empress Fausta standing and breastfeeding two infants (4th century), RIC VII (Vanderspoel and Mann 2002. Pl. 51.2).

similarly on coins and medallions (Vanderspoel and Mann 2002: 350-55; Sperling 2016: 309-10) (Fig. 5.41). The portrayal of the empress in this manner is thought to have been inspired by the similarly depicted Romano-Celtic nursing goddess Dea Nutrix, this deity was prevalent in the provincial art of Britain, Gaul and Lower Germany (Vanderspoel and Mann 2002:350-55). In summary, it would seem that the presence of the breasts in the B9 group does not necessarily discredit a link with Mary, and they may even have been influenced by

her image. Alternatively, other religious figures or the high-status Christian women frequently depicted with bared breasts or breastfeeding may have served as a model.

Collectively, the small group of 'explicitly naked' bodies demonstrate that naked and topless bodies were present and presumably important forms of bodily representation within the B type catalogue. It is questionable whether this sample includes all the naked bodies represented in the bracteate corpus. Since markers of 'explicit nakedness' appear on these bodies, it has been argued that the figures represented without them are not naked as they do not conform to established iconographic conventions associated with the undressed body (Brundle 2014: 151; Mannering 2017: 73-86). As stated, the portrayal of the body was not necessarily defined by standardised iconographic rules, hence the visual variability and inconsistencies observable within motif clusters. The markers associated with states of 'explicit nakedness' may simply reflect instances of experimentation or local preferences. They should not be treated as a pre-requisite when determining what other designs are naked or dressed. A recurrent characteristic of the 'explicitly naked' group is that the nakedness of the torso is visually clarified while the lower part of the body is covered or censored in some capacity. In this regard, these 'explicitly naked' representations are unlike the antecedent examples discussed in this chapter. This reinforces the suggestion that this group of figures could be considered a response to ongoing developments in late antique society, specifically, the increasing presence of the Church, its emerging visual culture and its associated corporeal ideologies. In turn, northern European patrons and metalworkers encountered these novel forms of naked representation, some of which carried negative meanings and advocated the concealment of the body. The process in which these Christian models were gradually adapted to conform to local tastes is potentially reflected in the changing and inconsistent portrayal of the naked bodies on the B

types. As this chapter has demonstrated, by the mid-5th century, northern European metalworkers, particularly in Denmark, would have been well familiar with classical forms of ideal and divine nudity. In the following sections, it will be demonstrated that there are a significant number of 'bare' bodies carried on B types that can be iconographically related to antecedent 'explicitly naked' and 'bare' figures discussed earlier within this chapter. Arguably, the 'bare' bodies on the B types are naked, and they lack the signifiers of 'explicit nakedness' because they evolved out of an earlier and alternative artistic tradition. The figural conventions associated with this tradition had taken inspiration from classical forms of ideal nudity, which were then altered to produce distinctively stylised forms of naked representation. While the following 'bare' bodies are ambiguous in appearance, past audiences would have recognised them as naked because they were familiar with these figural conventions and were aware that certain motifs were associated with a state of nakedness.

5.5 Bracteate costume analysis

The following section provides a breakdown of the different costume groups identified within the B-bracteate catalogue. Contemporary parallel motifs identified on other bracteate types, in Style I and on alternative media discovered on the Continent are also featured and discussed. Further parallels produced in Scandinavia during the Vendel period have also been identified and are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, including guldgubber foils, three-dimensional figurines and images carried on helmet panels.

5.5.1 'Belted bodies'

The group of figures categorised here as 'belted bodies' are defined as bodies depicted with a belt as the sole costume article represented below the neck (App. Table 5.3) (Figs. 5.42-44). 'Explicitly naked' bodies wearing belts have already been encountered in this chapter. However, the 'belted bodies' depicted on B types and potentially on one C type are represented 'bare'. Amongst all the B types, the presence of a belt on a 'bare' body is the most consistently represented 'costume' or bodily appearance. The primary points of difference amongst the 'belted bodies' are the headdresses or hairstyles and the scene the body is represented within. Subsequent costume groups and motif clusters display much greater variability with regards to the details featured on the body. While most 'belted bodies' could be considered naked due to their stripped back appearance, certain examples appear in a more ambiguous state of dress. For example, the bracteates from Års (IK 6), Kitæs (IK 92), Skåne (IK 149.1), and Denmark (IK 149.2) appear to feature cuffs at the wrists (Figs. 5.42a/b/c). Mannering's study included many of the 'belted bodies', and many stylistically similar bodies discussed below, and interpreted them as wearing a tight shirt and trousers combination (2017: 77-84). Yet, if clothed we might expect some other cuffs or hemlines to be consistently present on the body. Instead, an impression of costume appears to be coincidental and results from the selective use of contouring. For instance, the torso, head and legs are represented in raised relief and contoured whereas the hands are presented in lower relief and not contoured. The adjacent zoomorphic figures are treated similarly as their lower limbs differ in appearance to the remainder of their contoured bodies (Figs. 5.42a/b/c). The combined use of contouring and raised relief is pushed even further to produce the heavily stylised figure on the B-bracteate from Derenberg (Germany) (Fig. 5.42f). Again, the hands and feet are distinguished from the remainder of the



Figure 5.42 'Belted bodies' in the bracteate corpus. A) B-bracteate from Års (Denmark) (IK 6) (Diameter: 33.9 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 7); B) C-bracteate from Kitæs (Denmark) (IK 92) (Diameter: 26.2 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 115); C) B-bracteate from Skåne (Sweden) (IK 149.1) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 191) D) B-bracteate from Tønder (Denmark) (IK 353) (Diameter: 25.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 133); E) B-bracteate from Binham (England) (IK 604. 1) (Diameter: 44 mm) (Behr and Pestell 2012: 55, Fig.7). F) B-bracteate from Derenberg (Germany) (IK 599) (Diameter: 19.2 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 59). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.43 The B1 family or Drei-Götter group. A) Zagórzyn (Poland) (IK 20) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 23); B) Unknown findspot (Denmark) (IK 39) (Diameter: 26 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 43); C) Unknown findspot (Denmark) (IK 40) (Diameter: 25 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 43); D) Fakse (Denmark) (IK 51.1) (Diameter: 26.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 59); E) Killerup (Denmark) (IK 51.2) (Diameter: 14 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 59); F) Gudme (Denmark) (IK 51.3) (Diameter: 54.95 mm) (Hauck et al. 1989c. Taf. 132). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.44 The B1 family or Drei-Götter group (continued). A) Gummerup (Denmark) (IK 66) (Diameter: 26.5 mm) (Hauck 1985. Taf. 79); B) Skovsborg (Denmark) (IK 165) (Diameter: 24 mm) (Hauck 1985. Taf. 213); C) Fuglesang (Denmark) (IK 595) (Diameter: 22 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf 52); D) Gold medallion found in Trunderup (Gudme, Funen). Constantius II (337-61). Emperor crowned by Victory receives surrendering enemy (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 284. Fig. 15). Illustrations not to scale.

contoured body, so too are the limbs of the adjacent zoomorphic figures. As seen, an emphasis on the hands and face has been a recurrent characteristic of antecedent schematic figures. The nakedness of these bodies is possibly reinforced by the presence of similar adorning articles worn on the trunk, either a belt or harness, on certain quadrupeds depicted within this assortment of bracteates (Figs. 5.42b/d/e).

As will be seen, the 'belted body' is a popular motif when compared to other identified groups discussed below. The primacy of this 'costume' is largely due to its consistent representation in the B1 bracteate family, a group of bracteates referred to as the Drei-Götter (three gods) group (Fig. 5.43-44). This design is thought to be an adaption of a Roman prototype that depicts Victory crowning the Emperor (Fig. 5.44.d) (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 281). When analysing this bracteate family, the ongoing process of adapting the Roman prototype is visible. This is exemplified by the shifting appearance of the skirt worn by the figure that stands behind the central figure. Similarly, the figure depicted in front of the central figure, Victory, has a range of varied appearances and may even change their gender/sex. While these two figures are prone to alteration, the middle figure is consistently represented on all bar the bracteate from an unknown findspot in Denmark (IK 39) (Fig. 5.43b). This variant appears to have been presented in an abstract and stylised manner as opposed to being dressed in an alternative costume. Occasionally, the skirted figure situated behind the middle figure adopts the 'costume' of the 'belted body', this further indicates the popularity of the motif (Fig. 5.43a, 5.44a/c). This second 'belted body' is also further stylised on IK 39 alongside the central figure, both torsos have been distinguished by being contoured (Fig. 5.43b). A similar but less pronounced use of contouring on the torso of these two figures can be observed on the bracteate from Skovsborg (IK 165) (Fig. 5.44b). Across the B1 family, the central figure displays no clear indicators of clothing on their body other than the belt. Thus, there is little evidence to support the argument that they are wearing a textile-based costume. It is also potentially significant that this appearance has been directly and repeatedly attributed to what would have been the emperor on the Roman prototype. The popularity of this motif and its consistent representation can be explained by the fact it was a pre-established motif.



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 5.45 Migration period 'belted bodies' featured on other media. A) Two figures represented alongside two horned quadrupeds on a stone from Häggeby (Uppsala, Sweden) (5th century) (Hauck 1970: 100c). B) Runestone from Krogsta (Uppsala, Sweden) (6th century) (Pesch 2015b: 444. Fig.21, 2.i); C) Runestone from Möjbro (Uppsala, Sweden) (5th-6th centuries) (Montelius 1905: 81). D) Anthropomorphic figure repeated on a silver decorated plate fitting for a horse saddle (migration period) (Height of motif: approx. 10 mm) (Pesch and Konstantin 2011: 422. Fig. 7). Illustrations not to scale.

Several of the B1 family were found on the island of Funen where several 'explicitly naked' figurines represented wearing a belt, or possible belt, were found (Figs. 5.2b, 5.6a, 5.7c, 5.10a). Furthermore, the popularity of this motif in northern Europe is further demonstrated by additional examples present on broadly contemporary alternative media (Fig. 5.45). Of note, is the migration period phallic baring figure repeated on a decorative silver plate saddle fitting from Mitino (Kaliningrad) (Fig. 5.45d) (Pesch and Konstantin 2011). While not found in Scandinavia, Mitino is situated within the Baltic cultural zone. It has been also suggested that this motif is an adaption of the figure depicted behind the central figure in the B1 family (Pesch and Konstantin 2011: 428-30). This figure was occasionally represented as a 'belted body'. The presence of the penis on the adapted figure from Mitino strengthens the argument that the 'belted body' motif was associated with a state of nakedness.

5.5.2 Figures wearing a neck-ring

One, potentially two, figures are represented wearing just a neck-ring (excluding the headdress). This includes a bracteate from Års (Denmark) (IK 7.1) and from Rugbjerg (Denmark) (IK 7.2) (Figs. 5.46a/b) (App. Table 5.4). This pair of bracteates have been grouped as sharing a die, yet, the neck-ring is not clearly visible on IK 7.1 and is possibly absent (Fig. 5.46a). Like the 'belted body', the presence of a neck-ring on a naked body is also a pre-established motif, although some of these examples also featured belts (discussed below) (Figs. 5.3a, 5.6a, 5.13, 5.23). This design is thought to have been adapted from a Roman prototype of Mars advancing right (Gaimster 1996: 219; 1998: 37). Interestingly, there are clothed and nude variants of this scene (Figs. 5.46c/d). While these bracteates may be a few steps already removed from their prototypes, compared to many



Figure 5.46 Figures wearing a neck-ring. A) B-bracteate from Års (Denmark) (IK 7.1) (Diameter: 26 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 7); B) B-bracteate from Rugbjerg (Denmark) (IK 7.2) (Diameter: 37.2 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 2); C) An example of a clothed Mars advancing right on a silver denarius of Hadrian (117-138) minted in Rome (PAS BERK-19C7C8); D) An example of a nude Mars Advancing right on a silver denarius of Septimius Severus (193-211) minted in Rome (Diameter: 18 mm) (BM 1994,0915.481). Illustrations not to scale.

other B type figures the surface of the body is consistently 'bare' and comparable to some of the 'belted bodies' discussed above. This may imply limited experimentation or confusion when adapting the nudity or costume elements of Mars. Again, this straightforward and seamless adaption may result from the fact it was a pre-established motif and that northern European metalworkers were familiar with adapting Roman forms of heroic and divine nudity. Alternatively, Pesch has interpreted this figure as an adaption of the central figure of the B1 group (2007: 394). This would suggest the 'belted body' has been altered to represent a neck-ring wearing figure. This connection might imply that this motif was also related to the emperor's image and adopted some of the symbolic characteristics or attributes commonly associated with imperial portraits (see Elsner 1998).

Additional contemporary figurines wearing a neck-ring are also known. This includes a silver figurine from Kymbo (Sweden), dated to the 5th-6th centuries (Zachrisson 2003) (Fig. 5.47a). This figurine is heavily simplified and schematic in appearance, but the slightly demarcated buttocks might imply a state of nakedness. Bar the facial details, the central emphasis is placed on the thick coiled gold neck-ring or collar. A comparable contemporary gold figurine is also known from Slipshavn (Nyborg, Funen, Denmark) (Fig. 5.47b) (Zachrisson 2003: 94: Andersson et al. 2004: 79-82). This figurine is 'explicitly naked' and like preceding figurines, as well as the bracteate pair under discussion, he displays pronounced calves, buttocks and sloping shoulders, the face and hands are also distinguished from the 'bare' body by their higher level of detail. Compared to previous examples, the penis is proportionally larger when compared to the overall size of the body. The phallus appears to be a wire insert situated in front of what are possibly testicles. The figure does not feature any nipples. Again, the pronounced neck-ring dominates the overall composition and a headdress is also visible when viewing the figurine from the reverse.

A)



B)



Figure 5.47 Three-dimensional figurines wearing neck-rings. A) Figurine from Kymbo (Västra Götaland, Sweden) (Height: 34 mm) (SHM 108863); B) Gold figurine from Slipshavn Skov (Nyborg, Funen, Denmark) (5th-6th centuries) (Height: 67mm) (NMD DNF21 / 83).



Figure 5.48 Wooden figurine from Rude Eskildstrup (Central Zealand, Denmark) (Height: 420 mm) (NMD. B4283).

Lastly, a migration period wooden figurine discovered in a bog at Rude Eskilstruup (Denmark), features an elaborate multi-tiered collar around its neck (Fig. 5.48) (Capelle 1995: 45-46, Sanden and Capelle 2001: 53). It is difficult to identify the sex of this figure or whether it is wearing clothing. The figure displays some of the characteristic figural conventions encountered thus far, these include a pronounced chin and nose, the sloping shoulders and the selective detailing allocated to the fingers and face. This example also hints at the existence of a wood carving tradition that may have, in some capacity, influenced or complimented the stylistic conventions and motifs associated with the figures produced in metal.

5.5.3 Figures wearing a belt and neck-ring

A small number of figures are represented wearing only a neck-ring and belt (excluding the headdress) (Fig. 5.49) (App. Table 5.5). Again, the presence of these two articles on a naked body has already been observed (Figs. 5.6a, 5.23). The abbreviated figure on the B-bracteate from Obermöllern (Germany) (IK 132) is the strongest example within this group as the belt and neck-ring are clearly depicted as two stacked rectangles (Fig. 5.49a). On this figure, the feet have been separately contoured and so are distinguished from the legs, this gives an impression of trousers. While the hands are not contoured, they are distinguished from the contoured arms. Subsequently, the figure appears as if wearing a long-sleeved shirt. However, it is unlikely that the selective use of contouring was intended to symbolise clothing. For instance, the body of the adjacent zoomorphic figure is also contoured in a way that breaks the body down into segments. This figure is also presented wearing decorative costume articles on the neck and waist, thus the contouring appears to be a stylistic feature that divides and emphasise certain areas of the body, the costume accessories serving a similar visual function. The figure on the B-bracteate from Värpalota, Hungary, (IK 206) is potentially wearing arm-rings on the wrist (Fig. 5.49b). This figure may, therefore, belong to a different category (discussed below). Yet, the contour lines that divide the hands from the arms do not resemble the thicker and more distinguished belt and neck-ring. Again, the adjacent zoomorphic figures display a similar use of contouring which breaks the body down into segments. Also, the A-bracteate (IK 584) from Brinton (Norfolk, England), may not belong to this group (Fig. 5.49c). This figure is compressed against the edge of the inner rim. A neck-ring/collar decorated with dots is visible and the two horizontal bands situated at the waist presumably represent a belt. The arm of this figure is heavily abbreviated and a possible detached hand, the fork-like feature, can be seen placed in front



A)



B)



C)

Figure 5.49 Figures wearing a neck-ring and belt. A) B-bracteate from Obermöllern (Germany) (IK 132) (Diameter: 23 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 131); B) B-bracteate from Värpalota (Hungary) (IK 206) (Diameter: 19.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 273); C) A-bracteate from Brinton (England) (IK 584) (Diameter: 31 mm) (Behr 2010: 54. Fig. 11). Illustrations not to scale.

of the stomach area. This figure displays certain characteristics that are shared by some of the figures discussed below which are represented with an arm-ring. Since this feature cannot be conclusively identified, I have grouped this figure here and with its parallels discussed below.

5.5.4 Figures wearing a skirt

This group contains figures represented wearing a skirt (App. Table 5.6). The bracteate from Trollhättan (IK 190) and the female group of B type bracteates demonstrated that male and female bodies could be represented wearing a skirt of various lengths alongside a naked torso (Fig. 5.31a, 5.33). The two figures represented on either side of the central figure in the B1 family may be represented similarly but with a 'bare' naked torso. For instance, the individual situated behind the central figure is depicted wearing a skirt on three B1 bracteates, the skirt is portrayed in different ways and at different lengths (Figs. 5.43c/d/f). The torsos are devoid of any identifiable signifiers of clothing. As mentioned, this figure is also occasionally represented as a 'belted body'. On two B1 bracteates, the individual in this position appears to be represented in a halfway stage between these two costumes as a double-tiered belt is visible alongside a skirt which is only partially present (Figs. 5.44a/b). On three of the B1 bracteates, the figure positioned in front of the central figure, originally Victory, is also clearly wearing a skirted garment alongside a seemingly topless torso (Figs. 5.43a/d, 5.44c). At other times, the skirt, torso, wings and legs are far more stylised, and the figure's overall appearance undergoes some drastic changes (Figs. 5.43b/c/f, 5.44a/b). In such instances, the portrayal of the body in a semi-naturalistic and dressed/naked state no longer appears to be a primary concern. Whether the adapted Victory remained female is

difficult to discern. The combination of toplessness and a skirt may have been an iconographic costume with slightly earlier origins as it is potentially present on both Gallehus horns. This figure is visible in the third band on both horns and is suspended from a second standing figure wielding a knife (Figs. 5.23, 5.26a).

5.5.5 'Bound bodies'

Unlike the previous motifs, the following representations occur in both Style I and the bracteate corpus. The following figures are highly varied in their appearances and resist simple categorisation. Space constraints mean that only exemplars will be discussed. The figures grouped here have been termed 'bound bodies'. Broadly defined, a 'bound body' features a limb that has a distinguished marking or band on its surface. Those on the wrists are interpreted here as arm-rings and those on the ankles as anklets. Some of these bodies also feature markings or bands close to the knees or on the upper arms. Occasionally a curving and dividing contour line can be observed that runs from around the shoulder down to the pectoral/rib area. The significance of these markings is discussed below. A clothed and naked variant of the bound body can be identified. The following provides a breakdown of each. This group also displays several other recurring visual characteristics that set them apart from previous figures and categories. These include interwoven limbs, acrobatic and contorted poses, and secondary figures who are also entwined, in some capacity, with the 'bound body'. Alongside the wearing of rings, these various elements reflect themes of binding, restriction and immobilization, hence the label 'bound body'.

5.5.5.1 Naked variants of the 'bound body'

This group is comprised of a small number of 'explicitly naked' and 'bare' variants that feature a ring on at least one limb (Figs. 5.50-52) (App. Table 5.7). As already touched upon, the majority of the B4 family feature an 'explicitly naked' figure wearing arm-rings on the wrists (Figs. 5.50a/b/c). These are the first 'explicitly naked' figures discussed within this chapter to have featured an arm-ring, this might suggest it was an iconographic development of the 5th century. The bracteate from Nebenstedt (IK 308) also features an 'explicitly naked' figure wearing a neck-ring, an arm-ring and what appears to be an additional set of rings situated below the knees, these features are referred to here as knee-rings (Fig. 5.50d). It is possible that the encircling serpent (?) at the waist also visually functions as a belt substitute. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this figure is topless and that the knee-markings indicate the presence of short trousers (Høilund Nielsen 2015:34) (discussed below). Similarly, Mannering has extended this interpretation of short trousers to many of the subsequent examples that also feature similar knee markings (2017: 77, 84). The bracteate from Söderby (IK 584) is badly damaged and so the surface of the body is hard to properly interpret. However, the central figure appears to be wearing arm-rings, a belt and possibly a neck-ring (Fig.5.50e).

The 'bare' variants of this group also feature various additional costume accessories (Figs. 5.51, 5.52). The rings and belts worn by the 'bare' and 'explicitly naked' bodies, including those worn by previously discussed 'belted bodies' and neck-ring wearing figures, are typically represented as single or double-tiered rectangular or oval-shaped features, they also occasionally widen beyond the width of the limb (Figs. 5.42-44, 5.46, 5.49-52). The bracteate from Sletner (Norway), (IK 168) is of note as the double-tiered ovals are

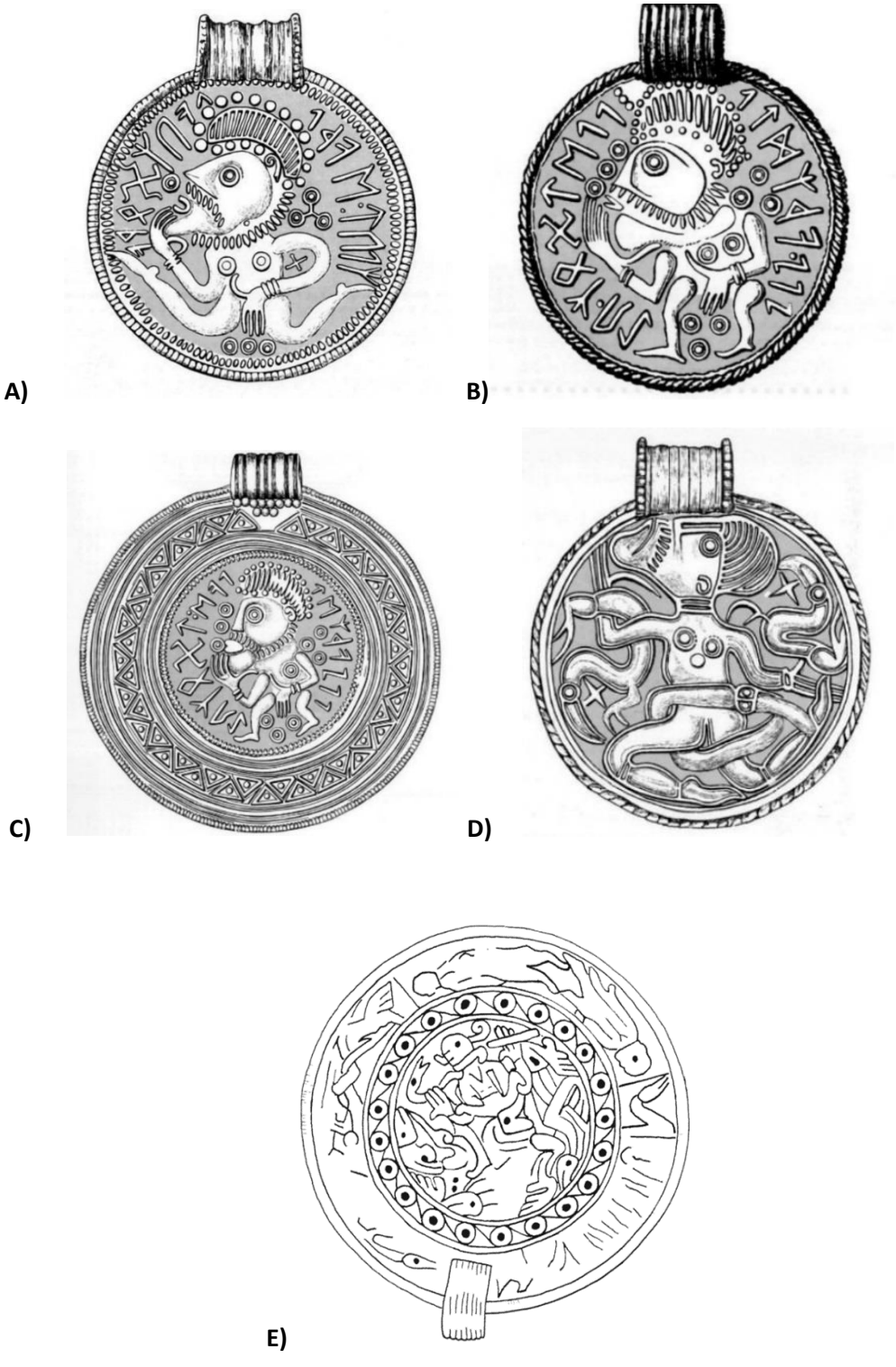


Figure 5.50 'Explicitly naked' 'bound bodies' in the bracteate corpus. A) B-bracteate from Allesø (Denmark) (IK 13.1) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 15); B) B-bracteate from Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 129.1) (Diameter: 25.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 167); C) B-bracteate from Darum (Denmark) (IK 129.2) (Diameter: 44 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 167); D) B-bracteate from Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 308) (Diameter: 24.7 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b Taf.95); E) B-bracteate from Söderby (Sweden) (IK 583) (Diameter: 62.5 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 32). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.51 ‘Bare’ variants of the ‘bound body’. A) C-bracteate from Gudbrandsdalen (Norway) (IK 65) (Diameter: 27.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 77). B) B-bracteate from Hamburg (Germany) (IK 71) (Diameter: 39 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 87); C) B-bracteate from an unknown findspot in Norway (IK 131) (Diameter: 26 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 169); D) B-bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 168) (Diameter: 23.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 217). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.52 ‘Bare’ variants of the ‘bound body (continued). A) B-bracteate from Värpalota (Hungary) (IK 206) (Diameter: 19.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 273); B) B-bracteate from Freilaubersheim (Germany) (IK 245.1) (Diameter: 24.1 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 33); C) B-bracteate from Vester Nebel (Denmark) (IK 245.2) (Diameter: 17.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 33); D) B-bracteate from Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse (Germany) (IK 347) (Diameter: 20.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 129). Illustrations not to scale.

consistently represented on the neck, upper arms and above the knees, these are situated on an otherwise 'bare' body (Fig. 5.51d). This iconographic consistency supports the possibility that rings were also represented below the knees. The bracteates from Gudbrandsdalen (IK 65) and Várpalota (IK 206) have been included here, but it is questionable whether they are wearing adorning articles on the limbs (Figs. 5.51a, 5.52a). The wrist markings on the figure on the bracteate from Värpalota was discussed above in the belt and neck-ring group. Whether the breaks at the wrists that stem from the contouring of the arm were intended to represent arm-rings is questionable (Fig.5.52a). This seated individual recalls the similarly posed figure on the Nydam Style decorated brooch from Hol (Fig. 5.29). As discussed, this figure also featured a neck-ring, belt and arm-ring which suggests that the ring-adorned 'bound body' had its origins in Nydam Style and the early 5th century. The surface of the figure on the C-bracteate from Gudbrandsdalen (IK 65) is decorated with dots (Fig. 5.51a). The body has been contoured and broken down into segments, the adjacent zoomorphic figures are represented similarly. These contoured divides differ in appearance to the clearly distinguished belt. While these fractures occur at points where the rings are usually situated, it is uncertain whether the body is ring-adorned. As will be discussed below and in Chapters 6 and 8, there is a close iconographic relationship between these contoured fracture points and the adorning articles under discussion. The iconographic stimulus that lies behind the appearance of the knee-rings and anklets is unclear. It may simply be that the artistic preference for adorning the body naturally led to the allocation of additional rings to other limbs. It may also have emerged more organically during the process of adapting late antique prototypes. For example, metalworkers may have adapted the cuffs, rims or hems associated with graves, various forms of footwear, leg bindings or skirts to represent rings. As will be discussed below, the knee-bands may have

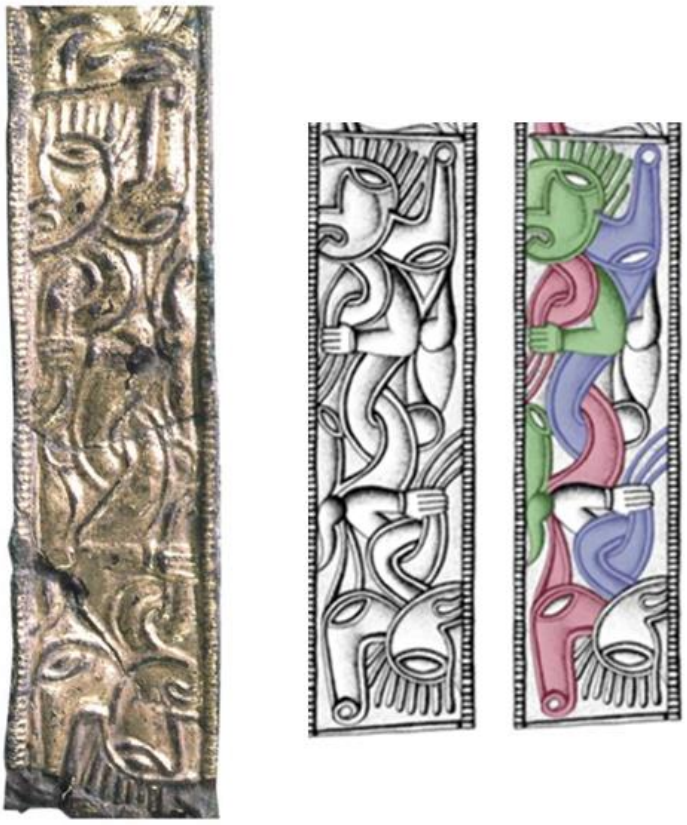
occasionally signified the presence of short-trousers. This might suggest that these leg markings were not uniformly interpreted over time and space.

Some notable semi-naturalistic parallel designs also occur in Style I (Fig. 5.53-4). Of particular note is the repeated figure present on an embossed gold foil band situated on the rim of a late Roman glass vessel from Vestlye (Time, Norway) (late 5th-6th century) (Fig. 5.53a) (Capelle 2003: 35; Hårdh 2004: 65-66). This example features the full range of costume articles on the body, this includes headwear, neck-ring, belt, two sets of arm-rings, anklets and knee-rings. An oblong feature flanked by two circular shapes is visible at the crotch. Whether this represents male genitalia is questionable as the pelvis and waist region does not appear to have been successfully executed. A less obvious example of a 'bound body' is visible on a gold embossed band on a beaker from Uppåkra (Sweden) (early 6th century) (Fig. 5.53b) (Hårdh 2004). The 'bare' body of this individual is partially concealed as it is entwined with a zoomorphic figure. However, a pronounced arm-ring is visible and an oval feature is also identifiable at the knee. An embossed silver foil on a glass vessel (late 5th-6th centuries) from Snartemo (Vest-Agder, Norway), features a 'bare' body repeated several times, this figure is depicted with long hair that overlays the shoulder and with what appears to be an arm-ring on the wrist (Fig. 5.54a). A close parallel to this figure is visible on a Merovingian belt plate from Cologne (Germany) (6th-7th centuries) (see De Sémainville 2011: 233) (Fig. 5.54b). The presence of the arm-ring is more clearly pronounced on this parallel.

A recurring feature of this group, and subsequent 'bound bodies', is that the body is often contorted, bent, compressed or entangled. This artistic interest in acrobatics and contortion may have earlier origins. For example, a possible somersaulting or tumbling



A)



B)

Figure 5.53 Semi-naturalistic and coherent ‘bare’ ‘bound bodies’ in Style I. A) Embossed gold foil band on a glass beaker from Vestlye (Time, Norway) (late 5th-6th century) (Height: 16 mm) (Hårdh 2004: 66. Fig. 17); B) Embossed gold foil band on a metal beaker from Uppåkra (Scania, Sweden) (early 6th century) (Length: 58 mm) (Hårdh 2004: 53, 66. Figs. 3, 14-15). Illustrations not to scale.

A)



B)



Figure 5.54 Semi-naturalistic and coherent 'bare' 'bound bodies' in Style I (continued). A) Embossed foil on a glass beaker from Snartemo (Norway) (Width: 13 mm) (Hårdh 2004: 67. Fig. 18, 19); B) Figure on a belt plate carved from walrus ivory from Cologne (Germany) (6th-7th centuries) (Pesch 2017b: 484. Fig. 5.c). Illustration not to scale.

'bare' figure, who is potentially wearing a headdress, is depicted amongst a procession of animals, who also appear to tumble, on the embossed rims of two silver gilded cups from Himlingøje (Denmark) (3rd century) (Fig. 5.55) (Blankenfeldt 2015: 30). The top ring of the large Gallehus horn also features frontal facing figures with upward-pointing arms and legs as well as figures who appear seated with raised arms and bent legs, both horns also feature the same 'explicitly naked' pair in the third band who were possibly enacting some kind of acrobatic performance (Figs. 5.20, 5.23, 5.26a). The small collection of figures represented within Nydam Style were posed similarly, some of these figures were presented in a particularly cramped manner (Figs. 5.27-28). As stated, the figure on the brooch from Hol may also have been tumbling or somersaulting while undergoing a human-animal transformation (Fig. 5.29). A figure that shares the somersaulting or tumbling pose of the 'explicitly naked' figure on the bracteate from Söderby (IK 583) is visible on a metal disc from Löhningen (Switzerland) (6th century) (Renner 1970. No.540; Pesch 2015b: 446) (Fig. 5.50e, 5.56). An upward-pointing phallus has been identified on this figure (Speidel 2011: 8). This 'penis' could also be interpreted as a nose that belongs to a second face-mask that emerges when rotating the object (Fig. 5.56). Like the figure engaging in a somersault, the viewer acquires a new perspective by looking upside down. Similarly, a figure on a silver-gilt belt plate (6th-7th centuries) from Åker (Norway), is represented with their limbs pointed upwards (Pesch 2015b: 369) (Fig. 5.57). Figures presented in this posture and stance are observable on the top band of the large Gallehus horn (Fig. 5.20). The legs and feet of the Åker figure have transformed into boar heads. Again, when rotating this object, a second face-mask could be interpreted that features a headdress with boar head terminals. Stylistically similar and contemporary face-masks situated alongside boar heads are also known from Scandinavia (see Gaimster 1998: 77; Pesch 2015b: 369. Fig. 4b). Acrobatic or



Figure 5.55 Two silver gilded 3rd-century cups from Himlingøje (Zealand, Denmark) (Total object heights: 110 mm and 115 mm) (Photographs NMD MCMXXXVI; Illustration by Werner 1941: 47. Fig. 6).



Figure 5.56 Open-work metal disc from Löhningen (Switzerland) (6th century) (Diameter: approx. 91 mm) (Pesch 2015b: 446. Fig. 21,4r.). Illustrations not to scale.

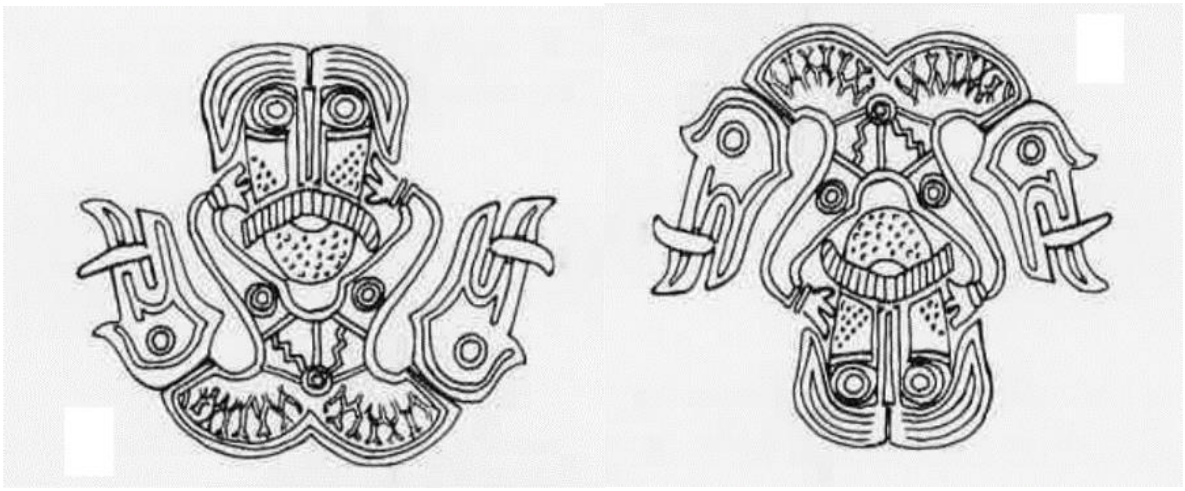
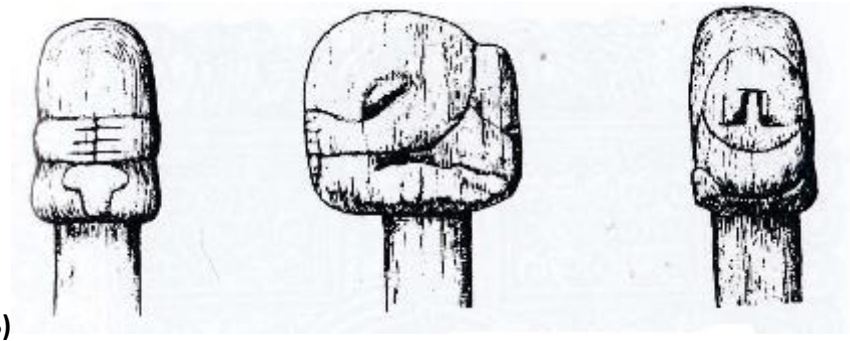


Figure 5.57 A transforming figure with boar head legs on a silver-gilt belt plate from Åker (Hamar, Hedmark, Norway) (6th-7th centuries) (Height: approx. 35 mm) (Pesch 2015: 369. Fig. 4c). Illustrations not to scale.

tumbling poses may, therefore, be closely associated with the act of transformation. In addition to sharing the acrobatic and contorted quality of the 'bound body', both of these figures feature arm-rings on the wrists. The upturned legs of this figure and on previous designs can be interpreted in a variety of ways. These figures may be jumping or possibly represented kneeling in two-dimensional space. A roughly contemporary three-dimensional 'bare' figurine from Gudme (Denmark), is also represented in a kneeling pose (Fig.5.58a). Alternatively, the pose may represent the act of bringing the feet towards the back of the head. This acrobatic act is visible on the bracteates from Freilaubersheim (IK 245.1), Vester Nebel (IK 245.2), and possibly IK 131 from Norway and the example from Sletner (IK 168) (Figs. 5.51c/d, 5.52b/c). Interestingly, this acrobatic pose gives the body a ring-like circular appearance on the former two bracteates (Fig. 5.52b/c). Rings are also visible on the wrist and ankle of this pair which alongside the pose may collectively evoke a body that is not only adorned by rings but also shaped like one. Lastly, a migration period wooden baton or stick discovered in a bog at Vimose (Denmark) features a similarly posed three-dimensional body carved into its terminal (Fig. 5.58b) (Capelle 2003:30). This example provides a strong indication of what certain bent leg figures were intended to represent when presented in two-dimensional space. It is also of note that the small contortionist appears to be depicted with a penis and testicles.



A)



B)



Figure 5.58 Two three-dimensional figurines with bent legs. A) Copper-alloy figurine on a ring fixture potentially attached to a copper-alloy vessel from Gudme II (Denmark) (Thrane, 1987. Fig. 14a). An exact date for this figurine is unavailable, it dates either to the migration or Vendel period. Parallels for this hairstyle can be identified in the bracteate corpus (e.g. IK 362, unknown findspot, Denmark); B) Carved wooden stick from Vimose (Denmark) (migration period) (Figure height: 27 mm) (Illustration: Capelle, 2003:65. Fig. 40; photograph: NMD 24783). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.59 B-bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 167) (Diameter: 27 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 217). Illustration not to scale.

5.5.5.2 Dressed variants of the 'bound body'

Two potential articles of dress can be identified on certain figures depicted wearing arm-rings. However, these articles are not always represented together. They can also be difficult to confidently identify as the markings that potentially signify the presence of clothing can variously be interpreted as rings or as contoured body parts. The cleanest example of a body wearing both costume articles in the bracteate corpus comes from Sletner (Norway) (IK 167) (Fig. 5.59). This figure is presented with a neck-ring, arm-rings on the wrists, two parallel curved bands situated at the pectoral area, a distinctive belt-type feature and a single band on both knees. The following discussion considers the bands on the chest and legs separately.

5.5.5.3 The 'sleeveless garment'

The curved markings on the chest appear on only four individual bracteate designs and a Style I decorated embossed gold foil sword grip from Snartemo (Norway) (early 6th century) (App. Table. 5.8) (Figs. 5.60, 5.61). Across the four designs, the division of the arms and the torso is not represented consistently and only three bracteates, IK 143 (two struck copies) and IK 167, feature distinguished curving contoured bands on the torso. Whether all four of these bracteates designs display the same article on the torso is questionable. For instance, the B-bracteates from Skane (Sweden) (IK149.1), and an unknown findspot in Denmark (IK 149.2) could be interpreted as a 'belted body' with contoured upper arms (discussed below) (Fig.5.60a). If certain examples within this group were portrayed wearing an article of dress on the torso, it is unclear whether it represented a real costume article or was an iconographic invention. For example, similar markings can be observed on certain figures represented on A and C types, these markings are derived from the cuirass and cloak worn by the emperor which were gradually altered and abbreviated (Figs. 5.62- 63). Subsequently, the adaption of these costume articles resulted in a torso that was distinguished from the arms and neck/head via contoured borders. Arm-rings are also featured on several of these examples (Figs. 5.62c/d/e). While this dress article may have emerged incidentally through adapting Roman prototypes, a migration period copper-alloy figurine from Gudum (Denmark), demonstrates how it may have been conceived of in three-dimensional form (Fig. 5.64) (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 83-90). The costume article, jutting tongue and vertical rectangular feature present on the crotch are details shared by the figure on the B-bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 167) (Fig. 5.59). The face of this figurine and its bloated cheeks, jutting tongue and parted hair have been linked to various face-masks present in Style I, the article worn on this figurine has also been linked to the



Figure 5.60 B-Bracteate figures with partitioned and contoured upper arms. A) Bracteate from Skane (Sweden) (IK 149.1) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al., 1985c. Taf. 191); B) Bracteate from Skrydstrup (Denmark) (IK 166) (Diameter: 23 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 215); C) Bracteate from Ravlunda (Sweden) (IK 143) (Diameter: 28.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 183); D) Bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 167) (Diameter: 27 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 217). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.61 Embossed gold foil on a sword grip from Snartemo (grave V, Vest Agder, Norway) (early 6th century) (Width: 32 mm) (Behr 2010b: 455. Fig. 2b). Illustration not to scale.

bracteate figures under discussion (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 83-90). This figurine, and the associated B-bracteates, have been interpreted as wearing a textile garment with separately attached sleeves, hence the pronounced curving seams; although it is noted that no such article has been found within the archaeological record (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 86-87). Furthermore, this interpretation overlooks certain details which indicate that this costume article only partially covers the upper body. For example, faint nipples or areolas appear to be situated on the recessed pectorals which combined with the arm-rings on the wrists suggest this article of dress is sleeveless. Three of the four figures with distinguished arms in the bracteate corpus also feature an arm-ring and so do the pair on the Snartemo sword grip (Figs. 5.60b/c/d,5.61). The article worn by the Gudum figurine is also represented as a raised surface situated between recessed pectorals, this thickness challenges its supposed textile quality. The sleeveless and dense qualities associated with

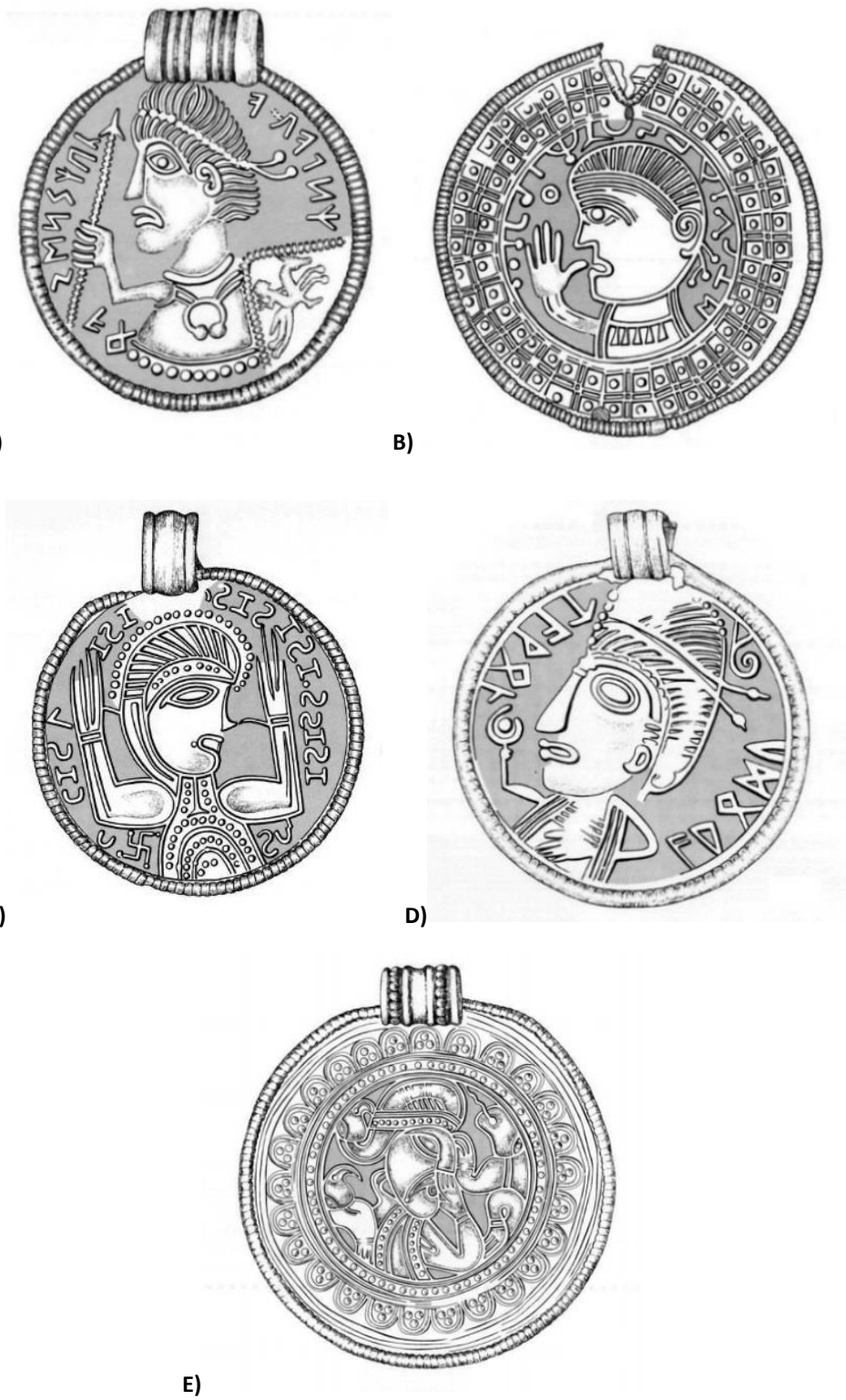


Figure 5.62 Adaptions of the emperor wearing a cuirass and a cuirass with cloak. A) A-bracteate from Maglemose (Denmark) (IK 299) (Diameter: 21.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b.Taf. 85); B) A-bracteate from Store Salte (Norway) (IK 345) (Diameter: 31 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 127); C) A-bracteate from Skane (Sweden) (IK 326) (Diameter: 25.2 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 109); D) A-bracteate from Trollhättan (Sweden) (IK 189) (Diameter: 23.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 243); E) A-bracteate from Tossene (Sweden) (IK 187) (Diameter: 32.95 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 243). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)

Figure 5.63 Adaptions of the emperor wearing a cuirass and cloak. A) A-bracteate from Frejlev (Denmark) (IK 246) (Diameter: 34 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 35); B) C-bracteate from Lekkende Have (Denmark) (IK 291) (Diameter: 26.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.77); C) C-bracteate from Kitnæs (Denmark) (IK 93) (Diameter: 25 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 119). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 5.64 Copper-alloy figurine from Gudum (Denmark) (Height: 90 mm) (5th-6th centuries) (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019:84-5. Figs.7, 9). The pronounced cheeks and bared tongue are characteristic of many migration period face-masks (See Pesch 2017).

this article reinforces the suggestion that it may represent an adapted Roman cuirass. This raises doubt over whether it was a real costume piece. Instead, this article appears to be an iconographic and hybrid invention whereby a Roman form of protective armour has been adapted to align with a regional artistic preference for the exposure and adornment of the body. This is demonstrated by the display of the pectorals, the presence of the arm-rings, a neck-ring and what is possibly a belt akin to the one on the bracteate from Sletner (IK 167) (Fig. 5.59). That this 'sleeveless garment' was an artistic invention is also potentially reinforced by the figure on the B-bracteate from Heide (Germany) (IK 74) (Fig. 5.35a). This figure features what appears to be a defined abdomen, but this may be incidental. Instead, the various segments that compose the torso, arms and pectorals appear as if they are a further stylised adaption of the article worn by the Gudum figurine. This bracteate further demonstrates that this 'costume article' emphasises the pectorals. Rings are visible on the wrists and on the knees, which may signify short trousers or knee-rings (discussed below). The body of the adjacent quadruped is presented similarly. This figure features ring-adorned limbs, the upper terminal ends of these limbs are also rounded, pronounced and distinguished from the trunk. This stylistic overlap between the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures suggests the 'sleeveless garment' is not a real garment, the significance of this overlap is discussed further below. While the curved shirt is rare in the bracteate corpus, three of the bracteates in the B3 family were represented with contoured torsos that were distinguished from the arms (Fig. 5.32b/c/d). These figures are also wearing a neck-ring and belt, and the bracteate from Bifrons (Kent) (IK 23), is also wearing arm-rings (Fig. 5.32d). It is possible, therefore, that the 'sleeveless garment' has been abbreviated and is no longer immediately discernible. Two parallel figures are also observable on the Migration period gold collar from Ålleberg (Sweden) (Fig. 5.65). One figure is wearing a

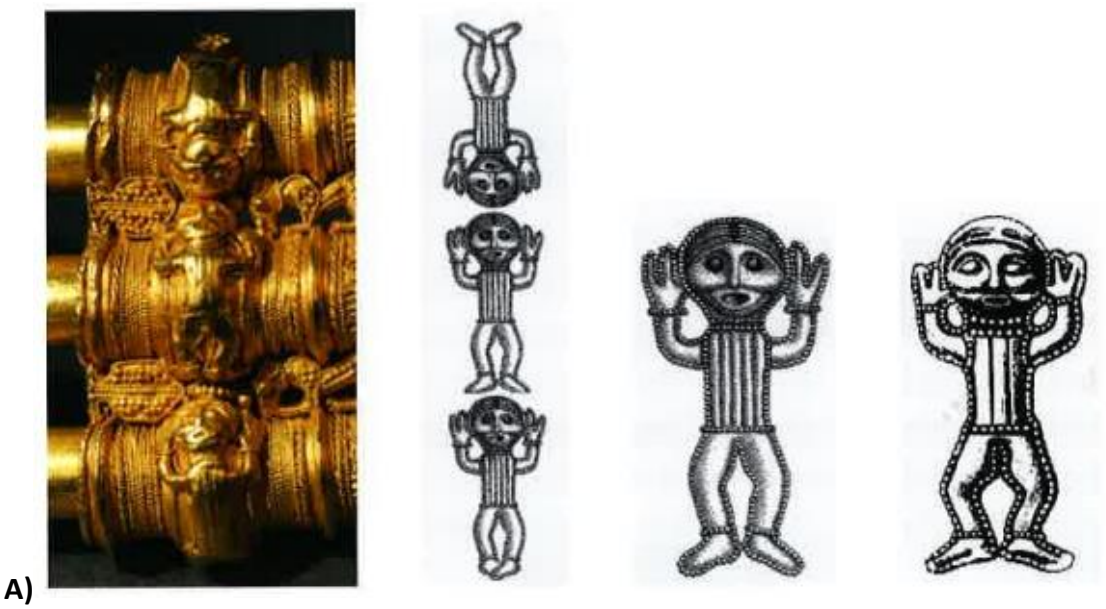


Figure 5.65 Two 'bound bodies' repeated on the gold collar from Ålleberg (Sweden) (c.AD 450-480) (Length (A): 11-12mm; Length (B): 9 mm) (A- Pesch 2015b: 201; B- Pesch 2015b: 214). Illustrations not to scale.

neck-ring, belt arm- rings and anklets, whereas the second is wearing a belt, neck-ring and anklets. Both torsos are stylistically distinguished from the limbs as was common in Style I and on certain bracteates. The style of the zoomorphic figures on the collar also parallels those represented in Style I (Pesch 2012: 651). Parallels have also been drawn between the face-mask of figure 5.65a with the face of the figurine from Gudum who was wearing comparable costume articles (Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 87). The stylistic differentiation of the torso in this manner is explored below.

5.5.5.4 Short breeches

The second article to be discussed is knee-reaching short trousers or breeches. This garment is not easy to distinguish as the bands that indicate the presence of trousers could also be interpreted as knee-rings (App. Table 5.9) (Figs. 5.66, 5.67). Arguably, it is the small number of bracteates that feature both the 'sleeveless garment' alongside the markings beneath the knees that may potentially show trousers (Fig. 5.66b/c/f, 5.67d). For instance, the figure on the bracteate from Bifrons appears to be wearing short trousers as their upper legs are contoured, akin to the torso, and both knees are marked with a single horizontal band (Fig. 5.67d). However, no other example features a comparable use of selective contouring to indicate the presence of clothing. These knee markings were possibly interpreted differently according to the metalworker with some choosing to represent them as rings and others as trousers cuffs. This is indicated by the inconsistent representation of the rings/bands within certain motif families. For example, the trouser wearing figure on the bracteate from Bifrons (IK 23) is a bastard variant of the B3 family, this family includes the bracteates from Nebenstedt (IK 308), Sievern (IK 333) and Sjöhagen (IK 337) (Fig.5.67). IK 308 features an

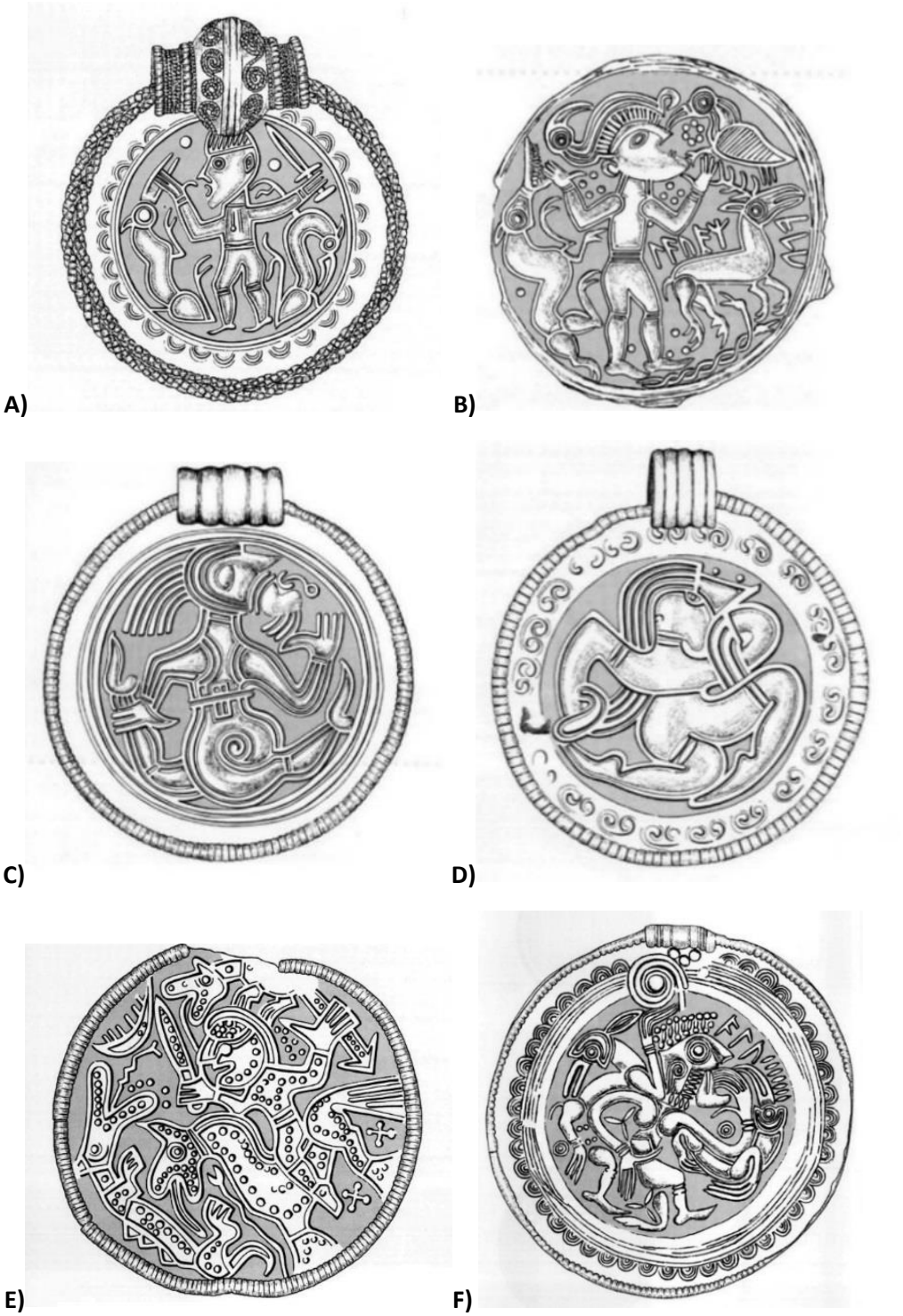


Figure 5.66 Bracteate figures that feature bands or breaks at the knees. A) B-bracteate from Schleswig-Holstein (IK 71) (Diameter: 39 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 87); B) B-bracteate from Skrydstrup (Denmark) (IK 166) (Diameter: 23 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 215); C) B-bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 167) (Diameter: 27 mm) (Hauck et al 1985c. Taf. 217); D) B-bracteate from Sletner (Norway) (IK 168) (Diameter: 23.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 217); E) C-bracteate from Gudbrandsdalen (Norway) (IK 65) (Diameter: 27.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 77); F) B-bracteate from Heide (Germany) (IK 74) (Diameter: 39.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 91). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 5.67 Bracteate figures that feature bands or breaks at the knees (continued). A) B-bracteate from Nebenstedt (Germany) (IK 308) (Diameter: 24.7 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.95); B) B-bracteate from Sievern (Germany) (IK 333) (Diameter: 49 mm) (Hauck et al., 1986b. Taf. 115); C) B-bracteate from Sjöhagen (Denmark) (IK 337) (Diameter: 26.45 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 121). D) B-bracteate from Bifrons (Kent) (IK 23) (Diameter: 21.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 25). Illustrations not to scale.

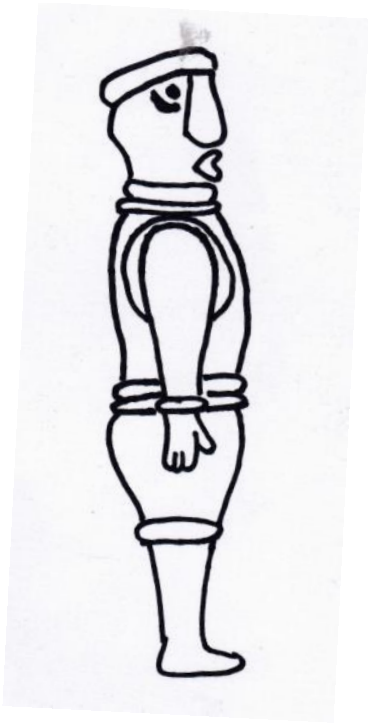
'explicitly naked' figure with a single band situated below both knees and at the ankles, whereas IK 333 features distinctive protuberant double-tiered bands situated beneath the knees and on the ankles. IK 337 also features a similar band but on just one ankle. Similarly, seven identical bracteates, known as the Hamburg bracteates (IK 71), display an individual with double-tiered oval bands situated under the knees (Fig. 5.66a). This belongs to the B6 family which includes three B-bracteates from Binham (Norfolk, England) (IK 604.1/2/3) and a bracteate from Derenberg (Germany) (IK 599) (Figs. 5.42e/f). The knee-bands are absent on these two variants, these designs are also further abbreviated and stylised when compared to the Hamburg variant. This would suggest that the Hamburg design was an earlier variant and that the bands were potentially omitted entirely on later adaptions.

Contemporary bodies that feature markings or bands beneath the knees do not seem to exist outside of the bracteate corpus and Style I. However, generic figures wearing short trousers were repeated on the inner plates of the Gundestrup cauldron (Fig. 5.13). Interestingly, these figures also wear short sleeve tops and so display a comparable level of skin to the dressed 'bound bodies'. The previously discussed 4th-century baldric mount from Illerup Ådal is also potentially represented wearing a similar costume (Fig. 5.19b). The body of this figure features selectively applied punch marks. A single row of punch marks contours the lower part of the limbs, whereas the torso, upper legs and upper arms feature rows of two and three punch marks. These punch marks may have been represented layers of clothing. The face is also marked by a single row of punch marks, whereas the remainder of the head features multiple rows. This implies an exposed face and the presence of hair or a headdress. This might suggest that the short-sleeve shirt and breeches combination present on the Gundestrup cauldron had been adopted and artistically replicated in northern Europe in the 4th century. The costume articles associated with the 'bound body'

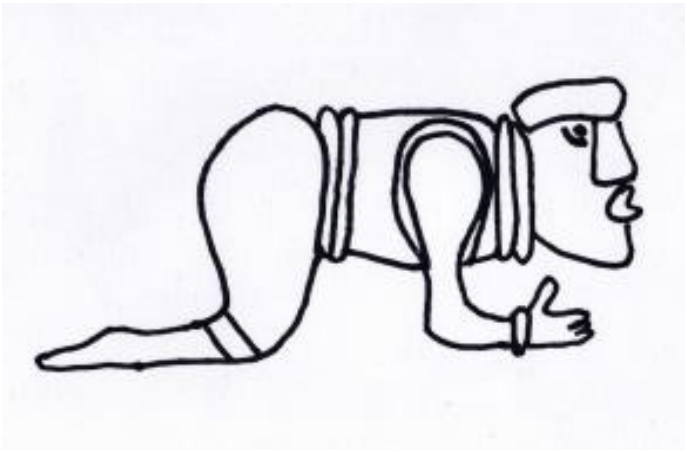
may, therefore, have been influenced by an antecedent iconographic tradition. Alternatively, the punch marks may have functioned to emphasise certain areas of the body for symbolic or aesthetic purposes. This prospect is also relevant to the bracteate designs under discussion as one might question whether the various rings, the belt, the 'sleeveless garment' and the short breeches served a similar visual function by dividing and distinguishing certain areas of the body. This possibility is now discussed.

5.5.5.5 The complete costumes: naked and clothed variants

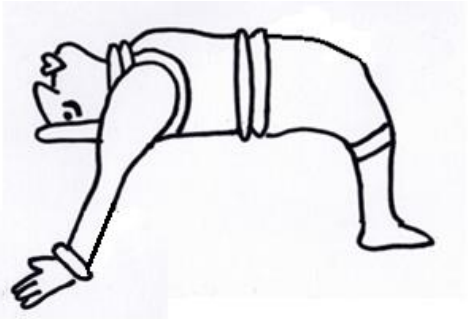
When viewing the two variants of the 'bound body', it is apparent that the various costume elements function to produce a visual overlap between the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures represented in Style I and in the bracteate corpus. For example, figures 5.68a and 5.69a imagine how the two different costumes would have looked when viewing the body in profile. The components of both costumes act to break the body down into parts, the number of zones will depend on how many rings or costume articles are present. In Style I, zoomorphic figures are often treated in a similar fashion whereby they are usually split into five components, these are the head, neck, shoulder/front leg, back and hip/hind leg (Pesch 2012: 655). When these costumes are compared with certain quadrupeds and human-animal hybrids represented on brooches, which Haseloff considered some of the earliest examples of Style I, it is apparent that there are some striking overlaps (Fig. 5.70) (Haseloff 1974; 1981). Both utilise dress accessories (rings) or trappings (collars/rings/harnesses) and contouring to divide and emphasise the various parts of the body. Similar overlaps between the stylistic presentation of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic bodies were also recognised during the breakdown of the bracteate



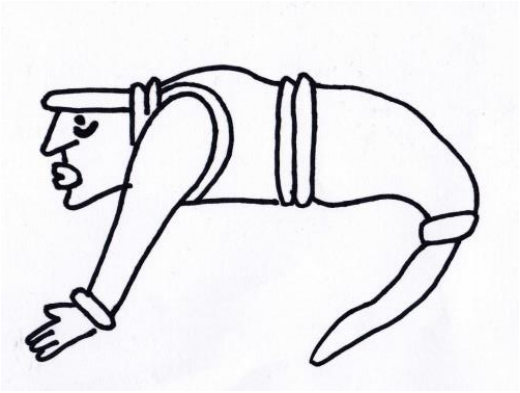
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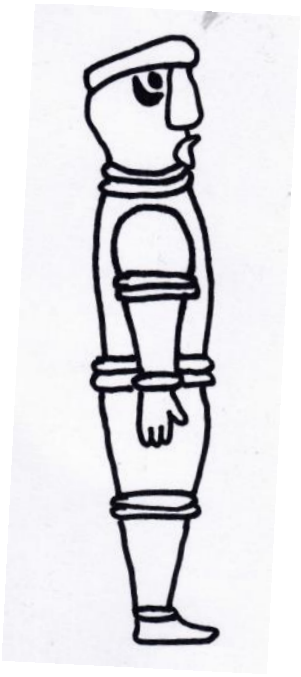


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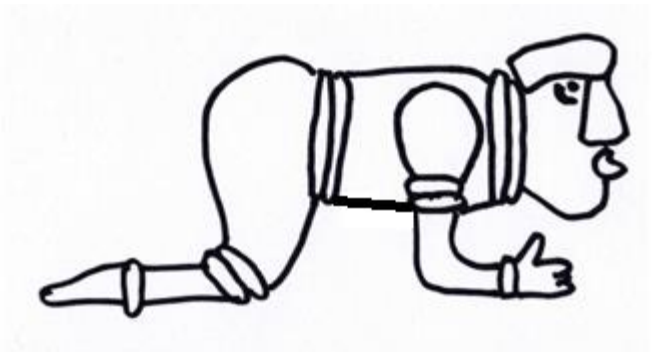


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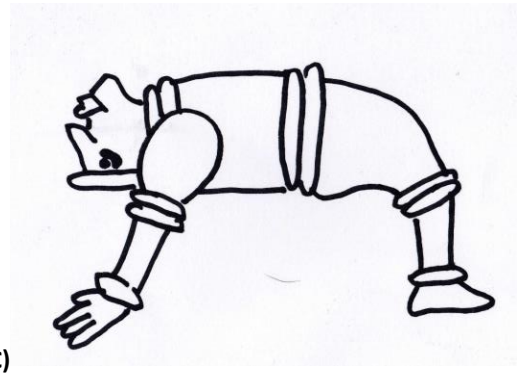
Figure 5.68 The clothed variant of the 'bound body' wearing short trousers, 'sleeveless garment', neck-ring, belt, arm-ring and headdress. These illustrations draw primarily upon the figurine from Gudum and the bracteates from Bifrons (IK 23) and Sletner (IK 167). Illustrations by the author.



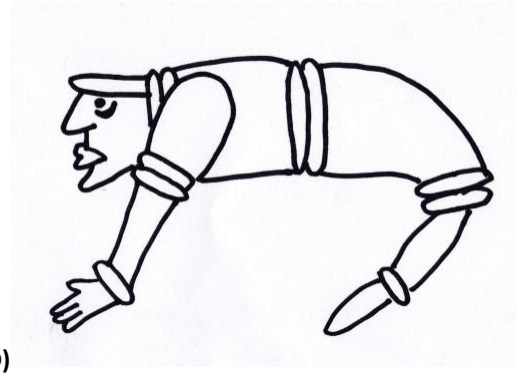
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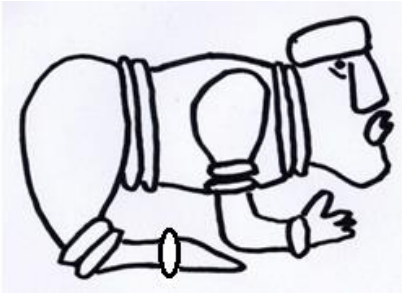
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Figure 5.69 The naked variant of the 'bound body' wearing two sets of arm-rings, leg-rings, a belt, neck-ring and headdress. The primary influence for this illustration is the Style I figure from Vestlye, Norway (Fig. 80A). Illustrations by the author.

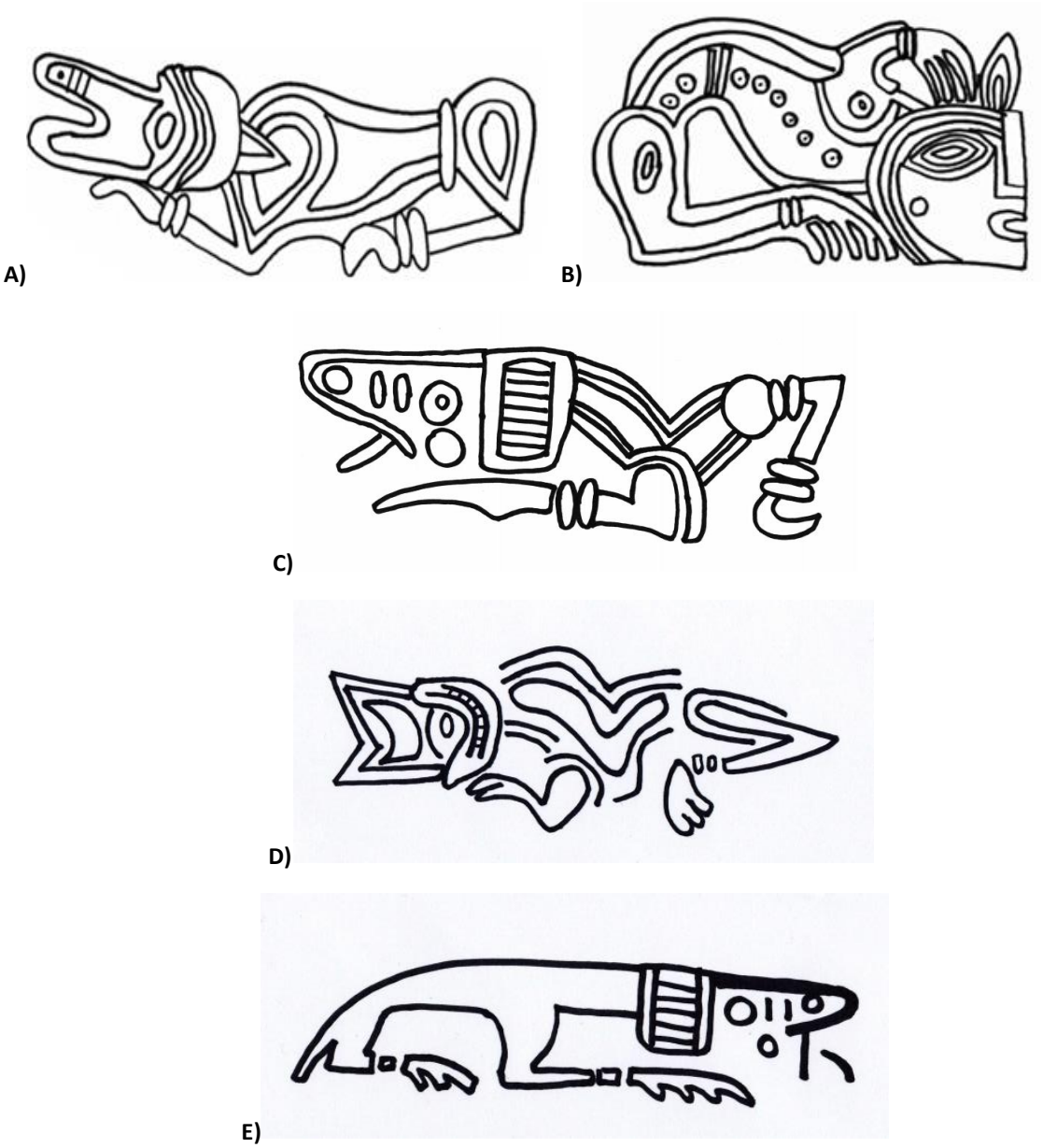
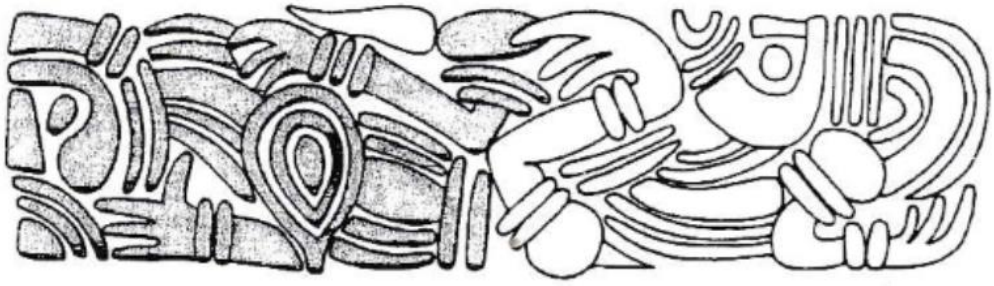


Figure 5.70 Zoomorphic and human-animal hybrids represented in Style I phase A and on the Jutlandic brooch group (Haseloff 1974; 1981). A) Zoomorphic figure on the footplate of a square-headed relief brooch from Gummersmark, Zealand, Denmark (Late 5th century) (after Salin 1904: 62. Fig. 134); B) Human-animal hybrid on the headplate of a brooch fragment from Hardenberg, Zealand, Denmark (late 5th century) (after Haseloff 1981: 121. Fig. 72.4); C) Zoomorphic figure on the headplate of a square-headed brooch from Bifrons, England (Late 5th century) (after Haseloff 1981: 103. Fig. 61.3); D) Zoomorphic figure on the footplate of a square-headed brooch from Basel-Kleinhüningen, Switzerland (late 5th century) (after Haseloff 1981: 42. Fig. 20a); E) Zoomorphic figure on the head plate of a square-headed brooch from Basel-Kleinhüningen, Switzerland (late 5th century) (after Haseloff 1981: 42. Fig. 20b).Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

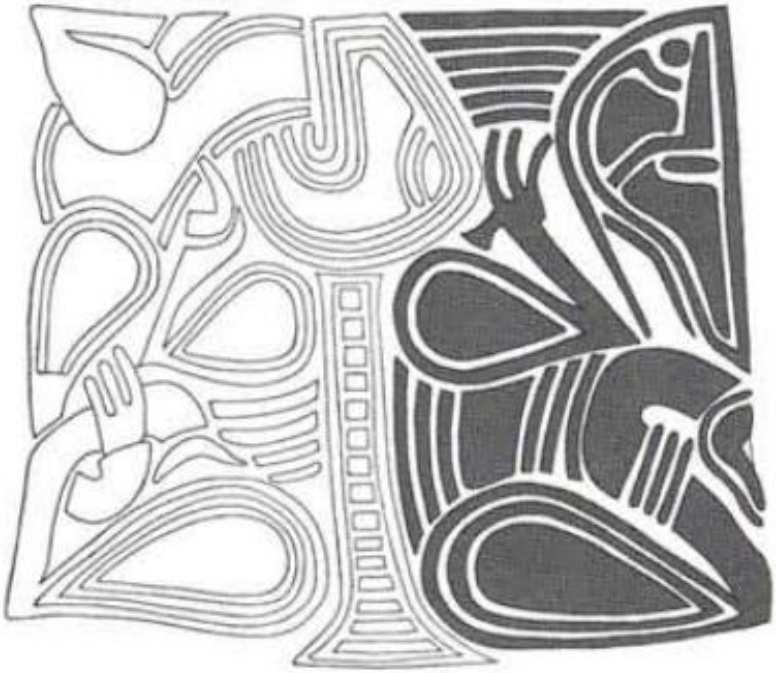
groups. Interestingly, when viewed from the side, the cut of the 'sleeveless garment' acts to contour the upper part of the arm/pectoral area akin to the limbs of certain zoomorphic figures (compare Figs. 5.59, 5.61, 5.64, 5.68b, 5.70a,b,c,d). These shared stylistic conventions were already in development within Nydam style and have been further elaborated upon within Style I and in the bracteate corpus. The presentation of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures with 'bare' surfaces also contributes to their overall likeness. Since visual simplicity plays an important role in blurring the appearances of these figures, it would explain why anatomical details, like genitalia, were omitted from the 'bare' naked bodies and why quadrupeds were portrayed without fur. The development of this visual grammar ultimately accounts for the encountered difficulties when interpreting the bodily states of the B type figures. For example, the 'bound body' is sufficiently anthropomorphic that both the body and its costume articles can be recognised, yet, the 'bare' surfaces and selective contouring generates a certain ambiguity that was intended to give the body a zoomorphic quality.

The remaining illustrations in figures 5.68 and 5.69 experiments with some of the poses performed by the various contortionists and acrobats encountered thus far. One unexplored possibility regarding the two-dimensional figures depicted with upward-pointing arms and legs is that they are represented on all fours like a quadruped. This pose is visible on the bracteate from Bifrons (IK 23), the head of this figure could be interpreted as turning or rotating (Fig. 5.67d). Figures 5.68c/d/e and 5.69c/d/e attempt to visualise how this body may have looked if viewed in profile. These figures display unnatural levels of contortion and twisting, particularly of the head, to capture a zoomorphic appearance, but this kind of unnatural contortion is commonplace within Style I. Interestingly, the reimagined 'bound bodies' represented in profile in figures 5.68-69 are separated by just a few contour lines

from some of the identifiable anthropomorphic figures within Style I. For example, similarities can be observed when comparing these bodied with two figures represented on a gold pressblech from Rimestad (Norway) (Fig. 5.71a) (late 5th-early 6th centuries) (Haseloff 1981: 123). The figure on the left is a human or a human-animal hybrid, this entity is entangled with either a zoomorphic figure or an additional hybrid. The neck and torso of the Rimestad figures are comparably contoured and both are represented wearing a belt and arm-rings. The upper arms of each figure are represented differently, the human arm is contoured while the zoomorphic figure features an arm-ring. The upper arms on the clothed and naked variants of the 'bound body' are distinguished in the same way (Fig. 5.68a/5.69a). In both instances, the upper portion of the arm is zonally distinguished and emphasised in a rounded fashion. An additional human figure is present on the decorated sword hilt from Snartemo, Norway (Late 5th-6th centuries) (Fig. 5.71b). Haseloff has interpreted this figure and the example from Rimestad as human-animal hybrids which are mostly zoomorphic bar the human head, hands and feet (1981: 123). As seen in the discussion of the B-bracteates, selectively applied contour lines were shared by animals and humans. As such, there is no reason to assume that the Rimestad and Snartemo bodies are zoomorphic based on their contoured appearance. Instead, the torso could be interpreted as an anthropomorphic torso which is either naked or wearing the 'sleeveless garment'. The enlarged and contoured upper arms can also be read as anthropomorphic. The upper leg of the Snartemo figure has also been enlarged and contoured, the figure is either wearing short breeches or is naked. Knee-rings are visible and possibly an anklet, the bent leg is also characteristic of the 'bound body. Of note, is Eric Oxenstierna's semi-naturalistic elaboration on the figure represented on the brooch from, Grönby, Sweden (1957. Fig. 63) (Fig.5.72a/b). While this illustration takes some artistic license, the result resembles the clothed variant of the 'bound body'.



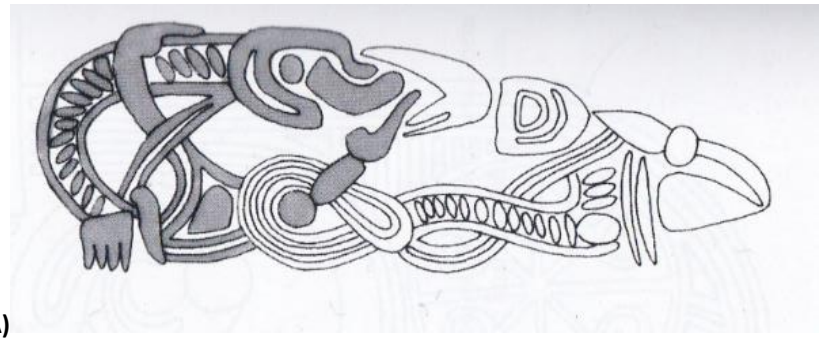
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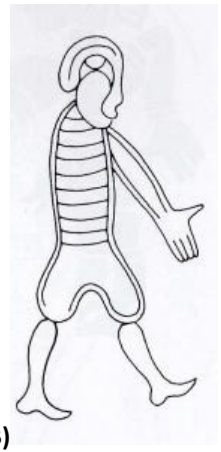
B)

Figure 5.71 Human or human-animal hybrid figures represented in Style I. A) A gold pressblech foil from a grave in Rimestad (Rogaland, Norway), fixed to a Roman glass cup (Haseloff 1981:123) (late 5th-early 6th century) (Capelle 2003: 50. Fig. 10). B) Embossed gold foil decorated sword grip from Snartemo (Grave V, Norway) (late 5th-early 6th centuries) (Width: 34mm) (Haseloff 1981:122. Fig. 73.3). Illustrations not to scale.

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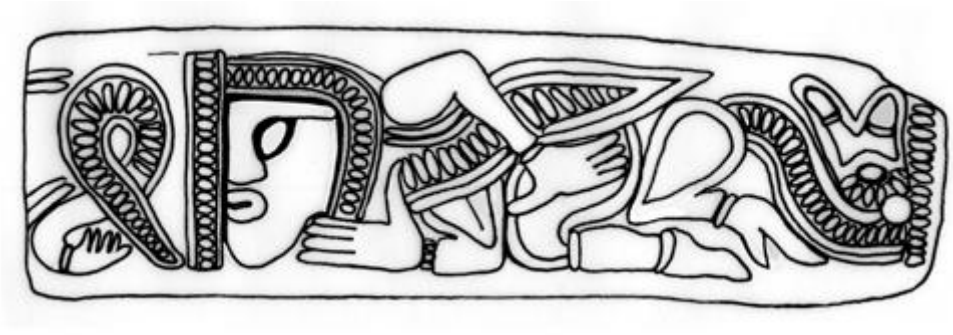


Figure 5.72 Human or human-animal hybrid figures represented in Style I (continued). A) Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figure represented on the footplate of a brooch from Grönby (Sweden) (late 5th-6th centuries) (Height: approx. 39mm) (Capelle 2003:70. Fig. 53); B) Eric Oxenstierna's elaboration on the figure represented on the brooch from Grönby (Sweden) (1957. Fig. 63 accessed via Capelle 2003:71. Fig. 54); C) Copper-alloy fitting from Maria Ponsee (Austria) (AD 500-550) (Length: 53.5mm; Width: 15mm) (Nowotny 2017:384. Fig. 3).

This figure features ridges on the torso which is a characteristic feature of Style I phase B and shared by animals and humans (see Haseloff 1974). Similar ridges can also be observed on the figure represented on a copper-alloy fitting from Maria Ponsee (Austria) (Fig. 5.72b). Again, the use of the knee-bands and contoured upper legs give the impression of wearing short trousers. Like previous examples, the Grönby individual has also been interpreted as possessing a zoomorphic body akin to the adjacent stylised animal figure (Capelle 2003: 34). As before, there is no reason to assume that the body is zoomorphic. Instead, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic torso/trunks have been adapted so that they were indistinguishable. In this regard, the bodies are neither solely anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic. The presentation of the body in this way is shared by the central figure represented on the B-bracteates in the B10 family. This individual possesses a torso that is marked by numerous ridges and lines whereas the limbs are presented in a semi-naturalistic fashion (Fig. 5.38c). A state of dress or nakedness can no longer be identified. However, the contorted body, knee-rings/bands, and distinguished 'bare' limbs suggest it is a heavily stylised variant of the 'bound body'. In this instance, the hybrid or blurred state of being is not achieved via costume elements, but rather the abstract adaption of the torso. This development is more clearly visible within Style I Haseloff phases B-D, although examples can be found in the B-bracteate corpus. Within these phases, animal and human bodies are variously deconstructed, abbreviated and supplemented with ridges and contour lines (Haseloff 1974). This is further explored in the next chapter during the analysis of the Style I decorated objects discovered in England. How these abstract figures relate to the more coherent and semi-naturalistic 'bound bodies' is also considered in Chapter 8.

5.5.6 Bracteate costume groups summary

The previously discussed costume groups contain the majority of the figures represented on B types. A small number of figures which are heavily schematic, akin to stick figures, or are too abstract, abbreviated or stylised were omitted from the previous analysis. App. Table 5.10 and Figure 5.73 offers a breakdown of the 112 individual figures represented across all of the 83 B-bracteates analysed in this chapter. All variants of the semi-naturalistic 'bound body' have been collectively grouped as they are too diverse and inconsistent in their appearance to break down in any significant way. Regardless of their dressed or naked state, the exposure and adornment of the body were equally important to both variants. The clothed variant is better considered a semi-dressed body as its associated articles result in the exposure of the pectorals, arms and lower legs. App. Table 5.10 and Figure 5.73 contains stylised variants of the costume groups discussed within this chapter. These are figures whose bodies, usually their torsos, have been further altered and no longer appear in a semi-naturalistic manner. However, many of these figures can be linked to more coherent parallels and so have been grouped as stylised variants. The results presented in Figure 5.73 are intended to be impressionistic since there is a considerable amount of variation to account for within these groups. It is clear from Figure 5.73 that the 'belted body' and the 'bound body' were by the far the most prominent motifs on the B types. Outside of these categories, I was unable to identify any additional costumes that were represented consistently and coherently. While comparative materials strongly reinforce the arguments put forth in this chapter, it is recognised that it cannot be conclusively demonstrated that the 'bare' bodily surfaces were interpreted as naked by past audiences. If indeed they were, this thesis puts forward that the B type catalogue is heavily dominated by naked and semi-dressed bodies (for an alternative reading see Mannering 2017).

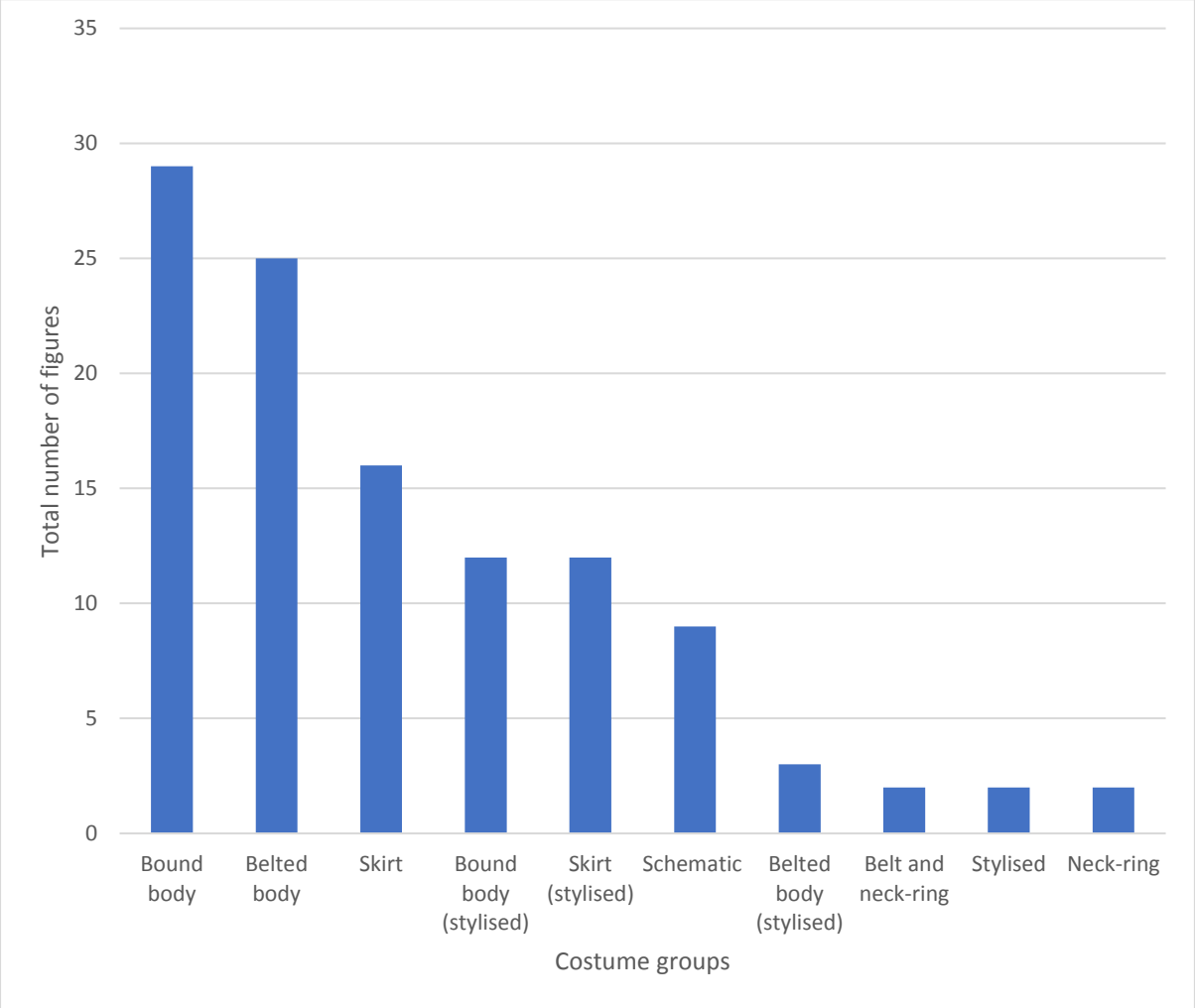


Figure 5.73 Breakdown of the costumes worn by the 112 figures represented across 83 B-bracteates (see App. Table 5.10). Those listed under 'schematic' and 'stylised' could not be related to any of the costume groups due to their ambiguous appearances.

Interestingly, the 'explicitly naked' bodies were either grouped as a bound body' or as a topless figure wearing a skirt. By contrast, the 'belted body' and neck-ring wearing figures were all represented 'bare'. Figures wearing skirts or featuring rings on the limbs appear to be an artistic development of the 5th century. Again, this possibly reinforces the point that the 'explicitly naked' group featured additional anatomical details because they reflect a

process whereby new and unfamiliar late antique prototypes were being adapted and novel motifs were developed.

5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has demonstrated that there was an enduring, and seemingly dominant, artistic interest in exploring ideas relating to bodily exposure, adornment, performance and blurred/transformative states of being within the visual cultures of Scandinavia and northern Germany between the 3rd-6th centuries. This artistic and cultural interest in the naked body was partly influenced by the northern world's exposure to late antique representations of the undressed body. As explored, this included models that were presented according to the classical conventions of ideal nudity and to alternative forms of naked representation that belonged to the Christian figural repertoire. The visual culture of Scandinavia was greatly transformed in the mid-5th century as evidenced by the development of Style I and the bracteates. It was demonstrated that the human figures represented on the B-bracteates and in Style I reflected the continuation and further development of artistic traditions and figural conventions that had emerged during the LRIA. By considering the motifs present on the B-bracteates alongside these antecedent figural traditions, it was argued the B-bracteate catalogue was mainly comprised of naked and semi-dressed bodies. Two motifs were identified as particularly prominent, these were referred to as the 'belted body' and the 'bound body'. It was recognised that the 'bound body' also had a significant presence in Style I and was closely associated with human-animal transformations and hybrid states of being. The presence of these motifs in England will now be explored.

Chapter 6

Nakedness and the body in early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture (5th-6th centuries AD)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the human representations found in England that survive from the 5th-6th centuries. Following the collapse of the Roman administration in Britain, the ensuing socio-economic instability affected the demand for art, diminished elite patronage and disrupted access to necessary materials and craft specialists (Henig 2002: 167-73; Cleary 2011: 22, 25-26, 2013: 470-71; Swift 2019: 43-49). The prevailing metalwork styles in the first half of the 5th century, e.g. the Quoit-Brooch Style followed by the Saxon Relief Style, drew upon and adapted the principal elements of late Roman metalwork, consisting of geometric ornamentation, human masks and semi-naturalistic zoomorphic figures (Webster 2011: 463-70). As such, full-bodied figural representations are not known from this period. While the collapse of the Roman west affected artistic production in former Roman provinces, the supra-regional visual culture of northern Europe began to flourish (Pesch 2012: 645). Subsequently, in the late 5th-6th centuries, the visual culture of England was enriched by the adoption, production and further development of Style I and the image carrying bracteates. These are the primary sources for human representations in this period and so the dominant focus of this chapter. The following analysis considers these resources individually and is followed by a discussion of the key findings.

6.2 Saxon Relief Style

The Saxon Relief Style emerged in northern Germany in the early 5th century. It utilised angled cutting or 'chip-carving' and adapted geometric motifs and semi-naturalistic animals drawn from Roman provincial metalwork (Webster 2011: 465). While representations of the human body are not considered characteristic of the Style, an equal-arm brooch from Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire), merits a brief mention (Fig. 6.1, App. Table 6.1.1). It has been suggested that this brooch, and other typologically similar brooches of the Dösemoor type found on the Continent, are exceptional as some feature a heavily schematic human figure on the bow of the brooch (Inker 2006: 17). The brooch from Haslingfield features a figure with raised arms and upturned legs. While this 'body' resembles the nearby spiral ornament, Peter Inker has argued that this figure does not conform to the logical patterning of mirrored spirals repeated elsewhere on the brooch (2006: 17). Furthermore, the introduction of these schematic human figures to the Style coincided with the appearance of semi-naturalistic zoomorphic figures, thus, the inclusion of human and animals figures was a contemporaneous development, but these bodies were represented very differently (Inker 2006: 17). The anthropomorphic figures may have been rendered in this manner because the bow of the brooch was too narrow for the practice of chip carving and so the body had to be simplified (Inker 2006: 17). While the body is too schematic to consider whether it is clothed or naked, the pose was shared by naked and semi-dressed figures discussed in the previous chapter and with additional figures discussed below. This adaptive approach to representing the body in a way that aligns with other decorative elements within the Style, the object's surface/shape and the technology/techniques involved in the production of the object and images is also characteristic of Style I.



Figure 6.1 Equal-arm brooch from Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire) (Length: 99 mm) (App. Table 6.1.1). Photograph from Webster 2011: 466. Fig. 25.3; Illustration by author after Pollington 2010: 235. Fig. 8.14. Illustration not to scale.

6.3 Style I

The following section presents and analyses the catalogue of Style I objects discovered in England, a map of their distribution is presented in Fig 6.2 (App. Table. 6.1.2-6.1.43). As seen in the previous Chapter, semi-naturalistic human images were initially present in the earliest phase of Style I as defined by Haseloff (1974). However, the human figures present on Style I decorated objects found in England belong to subsequent phases and so have been further stylised and are harder to interpret. Nonetheless, a small sample of anthropomorphic

figures has been identified. Many of those discussed below belong to or are not far removed from what Dickinson refers to as 'coherent Style I', a phase of Style I where motifs and decorative elements are more clearly legible and readily identifiable (2002: 164-77). These motifs then become increasingly unidentifiable and ambiguous as they are subjected to the various processes of abstraction, addition, re-assembly, re-sizing/shaping, weaving, geometricisation, hybridisation, and abbreviation (Haseloff 1974: 9-11; Dickinson 2002: 164-65; Pesch 2012: 654-55). While it may be possible to identify additional instances of the body that have been subjected to these processes, it becomes increasingly difficult to do so confidently. Similarly, Martin's study of Style I iconography on cruciform brooches demonstrated that as figural motifs developed over time they became increasingly hybrid in character, this resulted in amalgamated bodies that were neither solely anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic (2013: 9-10; also see Kristoffersen 2010). While the Style I figures discussed within this chapter are far from naturalistic in appearance, they represent the most coherent sample of anthropomorphic bodies that I have managed to locate.

As stated in Chapter 4, only figures depicted with a feature that could be identified as a torso, or part of one, were collected for analysis. For my data collection, I have primarily compiled figures that feature three or four curved parallel lines, often referred to as strands or triple-strands, situated at the upper terminal of the arm or leg. Haseloff's study of Style I states that the phase A practice of moulding the upper portion of the limb in raised relief was abandoned in phase B as the body was increasingly represented flat (Haseloff 1974: 9-10). In phase C, the body's definition and shape were constructed with parallel contour lines depicted in varying numbers and at different orientations (Haseloff 1974: 10-11; see also Dickinson 2002: 166). In phase D, these multiple strands are increasingly compressed into a single thick line (Dickinson 2002: 106). When situated above the upper terminal of a semi-

naturalistic limb, these strands or contours are interpreted here as a further stylistic adaption of the rounded relief that originally emphasised the upper arm/shoulder/pectoral and upper leg/thigh/pelvis regions. With that said, it ought to be acknowledged that these stacks of lines may also signify strands of hair that are overlaying the shoulders. The phase A Style I figures on the embossed foil sword grip and the embossed foil on the glass vessel from Snartemo (Norway), discussed in the previous Chapter, demonstrates this possibility (Fig. 5.54a, 5.61). Also, the embossed foil on the drinking vessel from Uppåkra (Sweden), indicates that multiple figures can be presented in interlaced compositions, in this example the upper part of the human's leg and arm is crowned and covered by the limbs and trunk/torso of the second figure (Fig. 5.53b). Most figures discussed below are represented in isolation, but there are some interwoven examples. Regardless of whether these strands signify hair or another figure, when they are situated above an arm or leg they still allude to, via the act of covering, to the body beneath. Thus, whatever these strands represent they function to construct and give shape to the body. As seen in the previous Chapter, the upper parts of the limbs were frequently emphasised on the 'bound body' and on various zoomorphic figures depicted in Style I and the bracteate corpus. Consequently, it is argued that the following figures potentially represent stylised adaptions of the semi-dressed or naked 'bound bodies'. In some instances, this is supported by the presence of arm-rings and anklets, but they are not always present. Examples of 'bound bodies' with torsos which are distinguished in some capacity from their limbs have also been encountered (Figs. 5.35, 5.38c, 5.60, 5.67b/c/d, 5.71, 5.72). Contorted and interwoven body parts were also characteristic features of the ring adorned 'bound bodies' (Fig. 5.52b/c/d, 5.53, 5.59, 5.61, 5.71, 5.72). The figures discussed here display one or more of these characteristics and so reinforces their link to the more coherent 'bound bodies'. Collectively, these different

elements constitute a visual language that evokes concepts relating to the binding of the body.

The following analysis presents the Style I figures within three broad typological groupings intended to simplify the presentation and discussion of the data. The human status of some of the bodies discussed here are challenged by their ambiguous face-masks, animal headdresses and occasional zoomorphic qualities. While I refer to many of the following figures as anthropomorphic, it is recognised that some of these examples, or stylistically similar ones, are often referred to as animal-men (*Tiermenschen*) within contemporary literature (e.g. Haseloff 1974: 9, 13; 1981: 111; Dickinson 2002; Capelle 2003; Kristoffersen 2010). However, it is also known that there is a recurrent and distinctive anthropomorphic motif within this Style which is occasionally referred to as a 'dancer' (see Shepherd 1998: 59-64, 94). 'Dancer' is a term applied to figures who are represented with bent limbs and often in contorted or acrobatic poses. Many of these figures are also depicted wearing arm-rings and some of the other costume accessories discussed in the previous chapter. Subsequently, many, if not all, of these 'dancers' fit the criteria outlined in relation to the 'bound body'. As demonstrated in the previous chapter and further demonstrated below, the acrobatic and contorted quality of these bodies plays an important role in facilitating bodily transformations and blurred hybrid states. As such, while soft-edged distinctions can be drawn between the 'dancer'/ 'bound body' and the hybrid 'animal-men', the boundary is nuanced, fluid and prone to blurring (Shepherd 1998: 94). For that reason, I have also included and discuss human-animal hybrids that feature identifiable anthropomorphic limbs.

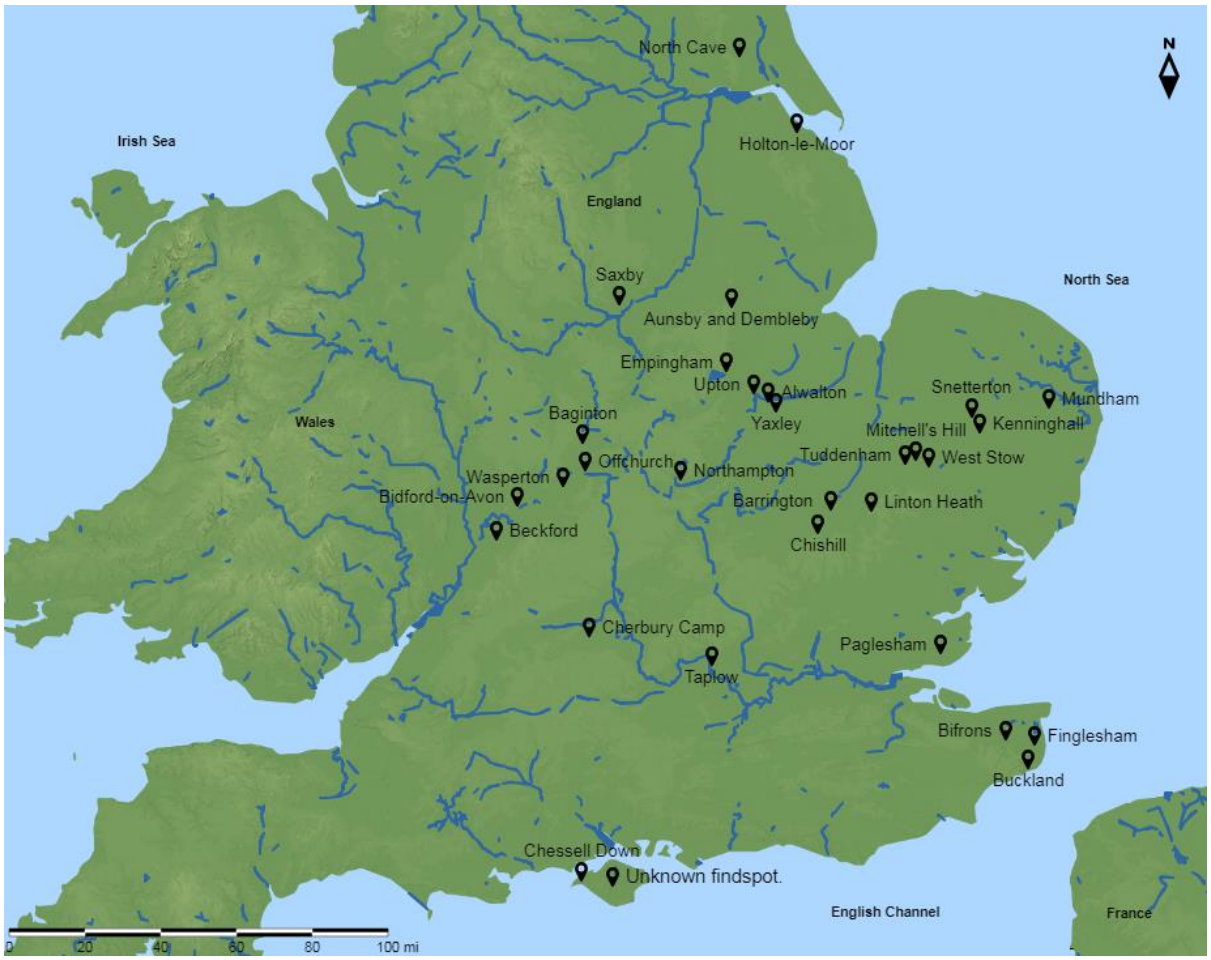


Figure 6.2) The sites and findspots of the Style I catalogue.

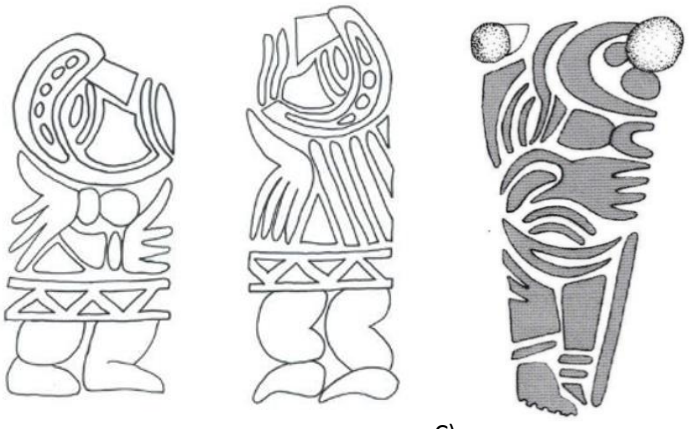
6.3.1 'Full-bodied' figures

The first group to be considered are 'full-bodied' figures, these are defined loosely as a body that features a head, hand, arm, foot, leg and thigh. In some instances, a more fully formed torso can be identified, as opposed to the triple strand contours that crown the upper limbs. The parts that comprise these bodies require no re-arrangement as they are depicted in proximity and are ordered relatively naturalistically.

This first figure is present on a cast plate, possible clasp or gusset plate, from West Stow (Suffolk) (Fig. 6.3a) (App. Table 6.1.2). This figure and the two zoomorphic figures depicted in profile at the head of the plate are depicted wearing what is typically referred to as a helmet or headdress, a recurrent feature within the Style I repertoire (see Kendrick 1938: 77-80; Martin 2013: 4-6). While frontal positioned face-masks are not uncommon in Style I, this is the only example of a frontal facing anthropomorphic full-bodied image in my catalogue. The figure appears to be clenching their right hand while raising their left hand to their mouth. In the space between the arms, there is a blank surface that could be interpreted as a 'bare' torso. Two legs can also be identified which are represented as a series of curving vertical parallel ridges that convey a sense of movement. This stylistic treatment of the body is akin to that of the zoomorphic figures at the head of the plate. The presence of the hatchet transverse ridges on the limbs complicates any interpretation of any adorning articles worn on the limbs. Continental parallels that feature full-bodied frontal facing figures are known but rare, these appear to be abbreviated 'bound bodies' as evidenced by the various rings and belts (Figs. 6.3b/c). Whether the same can be said for the West Stow figure is unclear.



A)



B) C)

Figure 6.3 Wrist-clasp gusset plate from West Stow (Suffolk) and continental parallels. A) Wrist clasp or gusset plate from West Stow (Total Length: 51 mm; Width: 21 mm) (App. Table 6.1.2) (West 1985: 67, Fig. 265.8); B) Pair of figures represented on the headplate of a brooch from Gummersmark (Denmark) (late 5th century) (Height of left figure: approx. 19 mm; Height of right figure: approx. 17 mm) (Mannering 2017: 109. Fig. 5.1.3). These two figures appear to be abbreviated variants of the 'bound body' twins represented on the sword hilt from Snartemo, this would account for the presence of the arm-rings, belt and long hair (Figure 5.61); C) A standing figure represented on a sword pommel (late 5th century) from Haugland (Norway), this individual appears to be stylistically related to the Gummersmark figures (Capelle 2003:31, 66. Fig. 45). Illustrations not to scale.

A)



B)

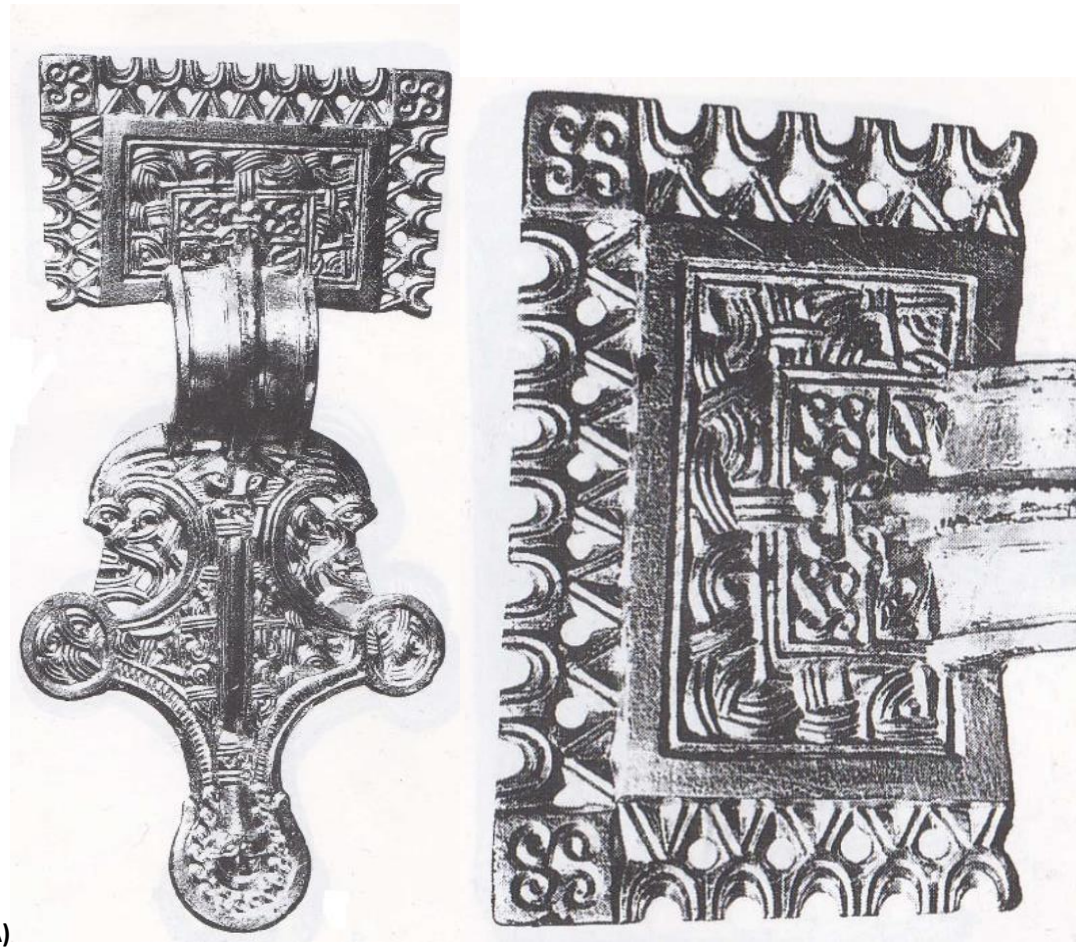


Figure 6.4 'Bound bodies' represented on shield-boss apex discs. A) Disc from Empingham II (Rutland) (late 5th-6th centuries) (Diameter: 22 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.3) (photograph- Dickinson 2005:118. Fig. 3a; illustration- Timby 1996:223. Fig.155.1a.); B) Disc from Wasperton (Warwickshire) (late 5th-6th centuries) (Disc total diameter: 56 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.4) (Dickinson 2005:122. 6e). Illustrations not to scale.

The next examples more clearly reflect the stylistic development of the 'bound body'. The first examples are present on a shield-boss apex disc from Empingham (Rutland), a less accomplished parallel is carried on a similar disc from Wasperton (Warwickshire) (Fig. 6.4) (App. Table 6.1.3, 6.1.4). Here, we can see a contorted figure enacting the pose encountered in the previous chapter whereby the legs are brought to the head and hands. The presence of an arm-ring and anklet also indicates that this figure is a 'bound body', but whether it is a clothed or naked variant is unclear due to its abbreviated and stylised

appearance. This is also the case for subsequent examples. The combination of this pose alongside the arm-ring and anklet recall the bodies represented on the two B-bracteates (IK 245.1/2) discussed in the previous chapter (Figs. 5.52b/c). It was suggested that these bodies were shaped to represent a ring, this interpretation is equally relevant to the Empingham figure and the less coherent example from Wasperton. A triangular feature situated in proximity to the head has been interpreted as an animal ear or part of an animal headdress (Dickinson 2005: 149). A similar contortionist is represented on the headplate of a great square-headed brooch from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwickshire) (Fig. 6.5) (App. Table 6.1.5). Again, this figure is enacting the same pose as the previous figure but the placement of this motif in the second headplate panel means that the figure has been straightened to conform to the confines of the rectangular surface area. Unlike the previous figure, this individual possesses a torso, it is comprised of horizontal lines situated above a series of ridges. A headdress and anklet are represented but not an arm-ring. There are also four poorly executed and degenerated parallels of this motif carried on great square-headed brooches that belong to the same typological group as the Bidford-on-Avon example (Hines group VI) (Figs. 6.6, 6.7) (App. Table 6.1.6-6.1.9). These are from Offchurch (Warwickshire), Tewksbury (Worcestershire), Cherbury Camp (Oxfordshire) and Baginton (Warwickshire). While the figure on the brooch from Offchurch is sufficiently identifiable, the other three examples can be observed to continually devolve into unintelligible geometric arrangements. An additional parallel figure is represented twice on the edges of the footplate of a square-headed brooch from Finglesham (Kent) (Fig. 6.8) (App. Table 6.1.10). While these two figures are ‘mirrored’ they are not identical. Again, this figure has been compressed to fit the available designated space and so the contortionist aspect is no longer evident. The anthropomorphic quality of the head is questionable as it has been heavily

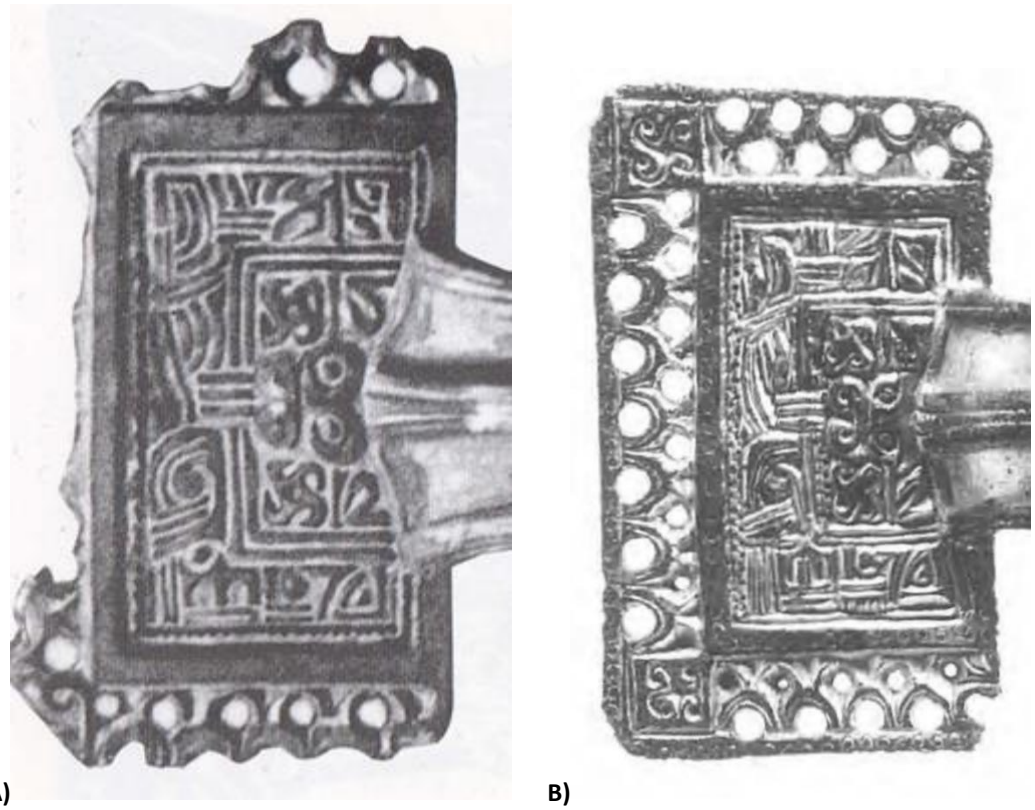
A)



B)



Figure 6.5 Great square-headed brooch from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwickshire). Total object Length: 139 mm; Width: 63 mm. The compressed individual illustrated here is presented on the second headplate panel (App. Table. 6.1.5). A) Photographs from Hines 1997. PL.19b.; B) illustration by the author after Shepard 1998:65. Illustration not to scale.



A) B)

C) D)

Figure 6.6 Headplates of the great square-headed brooches from Hines group VI. (A) Offchurch (Warwickshire) (App. Table. 6.1.6) (Hines 1997. Pl. 20b); B) Beckford (Worcestershire) (Total object Length: 143 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.7) (Evison and Hill 1996:149. Pl. IIa.); C) Cherbury camp (Oxfordshire) (Total object Length: 135 mm; Width: 68 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.8) (AM AN1931.527); D) Baginton (Warwickshire) (App. Table. 6.1.9) (HAGW AR.A.1013.3).

A)



B)



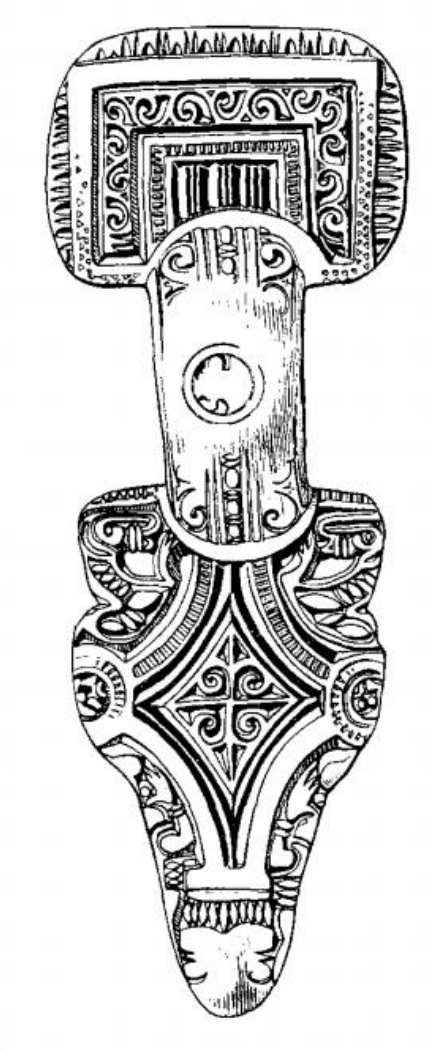
C)



D)



Figure 6.7 Illustrations of the figures represented in the headplates of the great square-headed brooches in Figure 6.6. A) Offchurch ; B) Beckford (after Evison and Hill 1996:98. Fig. 11.3); C) Cherbury camp; D) Baginton. Illustrations by the author, not to scale.



A)

B)

Figure 6.8 A square-headed brooch from Finglesham (Kent). Total object Length: 95 mm (App. Table 6.1.10). A) Illustration by Chadwick Hawkes 1958:15. Fig. 9b; B) Illustration by the author after Chadwick Hawkes 1958: 15. Fig 9b. Illustrations not to scale.

abbreviated, although it has been suggested that the individual is wearing a helmet or headdress (Hawkes 1958: 17). A hand with a raised thumb, an arm-ring, and an arm crowned with a single contour line are depicted, the foot and leg are positioned in a twisted fashion and crowned by a triple strand contour. This brooch is a Scandinavian import and belongs to the Jutlandic group (Suzuki 2000: 101).

6.3.2 Fragmented bodies and human-animal hybrids: re-arranging the body

This section discusses representations of the body that have been abbreviated and so are incomplete or have been fragmented and split apart. In such instances, the isolated body parts are either re-arranged, scattered or mixed with zoomorphic elements to produce human-animal hybrids. While the presentation of the body in these dismembered and altered bodily states is central to its symbolic meanings, the following analysis attempts to reconstruct the original anthropomorphic figures before their deconstruction and transformation. Style I metalworkers employed a wide of range techniques to visualise and communicate the body's transformative potential. These include the re-arrangement of body parts, size alteration, rotation, mirroring/flipping, unnatural levels of contortion and twisting and bisecting a figure and utilising both halves in a single profile (see Leigh 1984; Kristoffersen 1995; 2010; Lindstrom and Kristoffersen 2001). It ought to be possible, therefore, to reconstruct the body by undoing or reversing some of these adaptive processes. In the following analysis, the body is reconstructed by re-assembling and rotating fragmented parts. The aim was to produce reconstructions that can be paralleled with more coherent Style I figures.

The first object to be analysed is a great square-headed brooch from Chessell Down (Isle of Wight) (Fig. 6.9a) (App. Table 6.1.11). An array of body parts can be observed within

the second headplate panels, both panels contain the same components, but they are mirrored. Focusing on a single panel, a dismembered leg, arm and two human face-masks can be observed amongst a jumble of contour strands. No zoomorphic elements are clearly recognisable. While there are two face-masks, only one body can be reconstructed in profile on account of the single arm and leg. The contour strands presumably belong to the body/bodies. For instance, the similarly posed figures on the brooch from Bidford-on-Avon, the disc from Empingham and on a brooch from Pompey (France), demonstrate that these contour lines may represent a torso, part of a headdress or strands of hair (Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.9f). Furthermore, a human-animal hybrid with a trunk composed of contour lines is also visible in the first headplate on the brooch from Chessell Down (Fig. 6.9a). Utilising this hybrid as a guide, figures 6.9b/c illustrate the re-arrangement of the limbs and face-mask from a single panel. Interestingly, neither reconstruction can, akin to previous examples, bring their toes over towards their head and backwards pointing thumb. To achieve this result, one of the mirrored limbs in the other panel would need to be borrowed. This misalignment may suggest that the two limbs do not belong to the same body and so do not require further assembly. Instead, two figures, one with an arm and one with a leg, are potentially mixed into each panel and the various contour lines may represent their interwoven bodies. Alternatively, the twisted orientation of the leg may signal that the body is transforming since the hybrid in the first headplate is represented with the same contorted human limb. It is also possible that the figures were represented in a different pose before their deconstruction. For instance, the anthropomorphic elements can be re-arranged to capture something akin to a figure depicted on a brooch from Gummersmark (Denmark) (Figs.6.9d/g). Another arrangement can be produced that resembles the mirrored figures on the sword hilt from Snartemo who are represented upright, but with a



A)



B)



C)





D)



E)



F)



G)

Figure 6.9 Great square-headed brooch from Chessell Down (Isle of Wight) (Total object Length: 138 mm; Width: 66.5 mm) (App. Table 6.1.11). A) Photograph (BM. 1867,0729.5); B-E) illustrations and reconstructions of the parts present in the second headplate; F) Illustration of a figure present on a brooch from Pompey (Lorraine, France) (after Haseloff 1981: 118. Fig. 70.3); G) Illustration of a figure present on a brooch from Gummersmark (Denmark) (Length: approx. 20 mm) (after Capelle 2003: 68. Fig. 48). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

bent leg (Figs. 5.61,6.9e). Regardless of the exact composition, it is apparent that one or two contorted figures are depicted within each panel. There are also degenerated and less coherent examples of this design on additional great square-head brooches that belong to the same typological group (Hines group III). These are from Linton Heath (Cambridgeshire), Paglesham (Essex), and Tuddenham (Suffolk) (Figs. 6.10, 6.11) (App. Table 6.1.12-6.1.14). While the examples from Linton Heath and Paglesham appear sufficiently anthropomorphic, the figure on the Tuddenham brooch does not. However, the Paglesham and Tuddenham figures would have been particularly difficult to recognise when viewing them in their dismembered state.

Another figure that requires re-arranging is depicted on a square-head brooch from Aunsby and Dembleby (Lincolnshire) (App. Table 6.1.15) (Fig. 6.12a). The diamond-shaped space within the footplate contains what appears to be two human legs, one features an anklet and the upper terminal of both legs are crowned with a triple strand contour. A hand and arm, with an arm-ring, is also visible and the upper arm is also crowned by a triple strand contour. An additional triple strand is situated alongside the fingers. The brooch is damaged and incomplete, but the head plate features two face-masks and one visible animal limb. One of these face-masks may be associated with the body parts in the footplates. Figure 6.12 features several reconstructions utilising the various limbs alongside the face-mask in the head plate. The additional triple strand contour has been deployed as a possible torso feature. Without too much difficulty, it is possible to produce figures that recall the figures present on the shield-boss disc from Empingham and the great square-headed brooch from Bidford-on-Avon (Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.12b/c). Figures 6.12d/e feature the leg with the more angular bend, this gives the individual a certain zoomorphic quality. A

A)



B)



C)



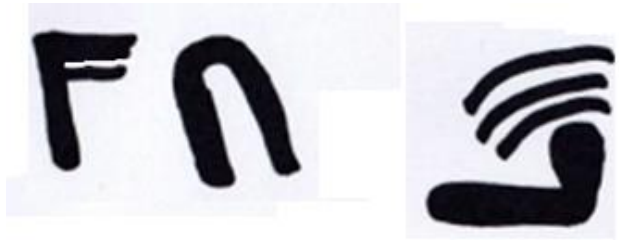
Figure 6.10 Headplates of the great square-headed brooches from Hines group III. A) Linton heath (Cambridgeshire) (Total object Length: 133 mm; Width: 67.0 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.12) (CUMAA 1948.1520); B) Paglesham (Essex) (App. Table 6.1.13) (Hines 1997. Pl.14a); C) Tuddenham (Suffolk) (App. Table 6.1.14) (Hines 1997. Pl.15a).



A)



B)



C)

Figure 6.11 Illustrations and reconstructions of the figures represented in the second headplate panels on the great square-headed brooches in figure 6.10. A) Linton heath (Cambridgeshire); B) Paglesham (Essex); C) Tuddenham (Suffolk). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

miniature square-headed brooch from North Cave (East Riding of Yorkshire), also features a diamond shape space on the footplate that contains a foot and leg crowned with a compressed triple strand contour (Fig. 6.13) (App. Table 6.1.16). A hand and arm are also present and the arm is crowned by a single curving band. Since the brooch is damaged it is not possible to identify any additional body parts that may have originally been present such as a head. The available body parts can be rotated and re-arranged so that the leg faces forward akin to previously discussed contortionists or hybrids (e.g. Figs. 6.11, 6.12 d/e, 6.13b). The presentation of the leg in this manner is characteristic of the 'crouching beast' motif, this pose is further encountered below (for an analysis of the crouching beast motif in Style I see Martin 2013).



A)



B)



C)



D)



E)



F)

Figure 6.12 Square-headed brooch from Aunsby and Dembleby. A) Square-headed brooch (App. Table 6.1.15) (PAS LIN-723345); B-D) Illustrations of various reconstructions utilising the face-mask in the headplate alongside the limbs in the footplate. Illustrations by the author, not to scale.



A)



B)



C)



D)

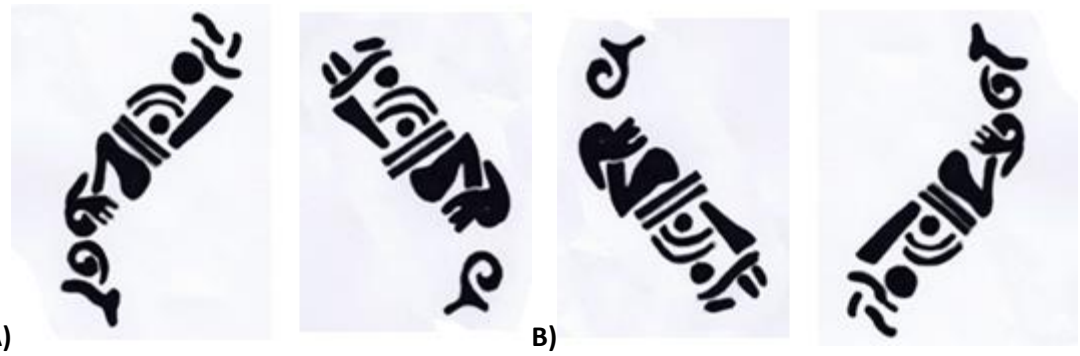
Figure 6.13 Miniature square-headed brooch from North Cave (East Riding of Yorkshire). A) Square-headed brooch (Length: 35 mm; Width: 24 mm) (App. Table 6.1.16) (PAS SWYOR-747ED0); B-D) Illustrations of various reconstructions utilising the body parts in the footplate. Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

The next figure is present on the outer footplate of a square-head brooch from Bifrons (Kent) (App. Table 6.1.17) (Figs. 6.14, 6.15). This brooch belongs to the Jutlandic group and is a recognised Scandinavian import (Suzuki 2000: 101). Unlike previous examples, it is questionable whether this is a full-bodied figure that requires re-arrangement. This depends on whether the feature situated beneath the arm represents a leg and foot. The proportions of this 'leg' are clearly imbalanced when compared to the face-mask and arm. However, this disparity can be explained by the varying availability of space which lessens further down the footplate, thus the head is the largest. The shape of the foot is unusual when compared to previous examples, yet, in Style I the foot is often represented with an emphasised heel, arched sole and pointed toes. At times, the foot can be represented as if it is a high-heeled shoe (Figs. 6.15e/f). The degeneration or further exaggeration of this foot type would account for the T and Y shape feet represented on the brooch under discussion. An example is visible on a brooch from Vedstrup (Denmark) (Fig. 6.15g). While this might be a zoomorphic foot, the same figure is represented with an anthropomorphic hand which suggests the foot is also human. A notable parallel to the Bifrons arrangement is present on a button from Skäcklinge (Sweden) (Fig. 6.15e). This figure is portrayed with a similarly shaped foot alongside a fragmented leg that terminates in a spiral. If legs are not represented on the Bifrons brooch, then the figure is an example of a face-mask situated alongside an arm of which similar examples are discussed below. Exploring the possibility that this is a full-bodied figure, an upright standing figure is discernible when viewing the brooch with the head plate at the top (Fig. 6.15a). However, the face-mask appears to be upside down. When the brooch is rotated, a more typical face-mask emerges (Fig. 6.15b). A similar figure is present on a brooch from Ekeby (Sweden), although their contorted body is more compacted (Figs.6.15b/h). With some minor

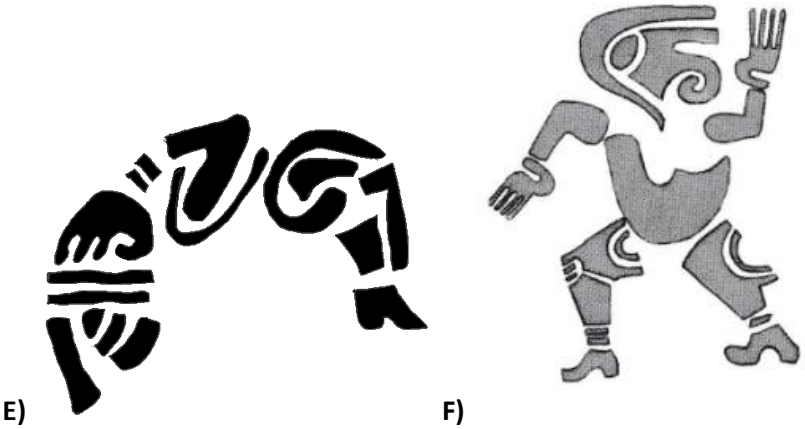


Figure 6.14 Square-head brooch from Bifrons (Kent) (Length: 131 mm) (App. Table. 6.1.17) (Haseloff 1981. Pl. 18).

re-arrangement, the Bifrons figure could also be interpreted as bringing their legs over to their head, but the leg is potentially flipped and so does not properly align (Fig. 6.15b/c). Alternatively, it is possible to reform the body so that it resembles the parallel from Skäcklinge (Figs. 6.15d/e). Regardless of the exact composition, this figure does appear to be an abbreviated 'dancer'/'bound body'. The link to the 'bound body' is reinforced by the arm and hand which twists back on itself so that it can grip the wrist in what could be considered an immobilizing act. A comparable figure can also be identified on a shield-boss apex disc from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwickshire) (Fig. 6.16) (App. Table 6.1.18). The face-mask has







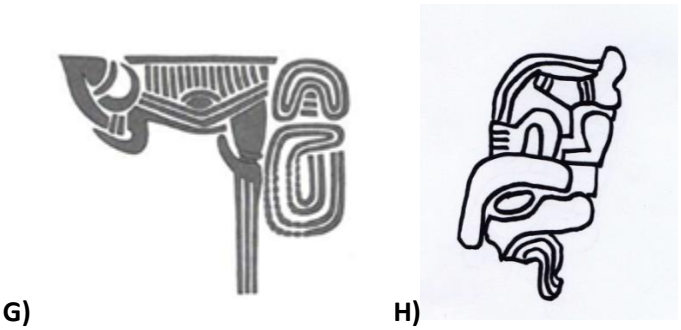


Figure 6.15 Reconstruction and re-arrangements of the figures in the footplate on the brooch from Bifrons (Kent) (A-D); E) Figure on the button (stud) from Skäckling (Sweden) (late 5th-6th century) (Illustration by the author after Capelle 2003: 76 fig. 63); F) A re-arranged figure with a pronounced heel on an equal-armed brooch from Ekeby (Sweden) (early 6th century) (Capelle 2003: 73. Fig. 59); G) Human or human-animal hybrid represented on the head plate of a brooch from Vedstrup (Denmark) (late 5th-6th century) (Length: approx. 20mm) (Haseloff 1981:191. Fig. 101); H) Additional figure represented on the same brooch from Ekeby in their original layout (Illustration by the author after Capelle 2003: 74. Fig. 60). All illustrations not to scale.

been interpreted as an isolated anthropomorphic head wearing a plumed headdress (Dickinson 2005: 123). Yet, beneath the face-mask, a curling arm and hand with distinguished fingers and a thumb are visible. This arm is crowned by two contour lines. A harshly angled leg with a pointed foot, sharply arched sole and prominent heel is also discernible. This limb is crowned by two contour lines. Whether this is an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic limb is hard to say, but this leg and foot are distinctive when compared to the other distinguished zoomorphic limbs present elsewhere on the disc. It also resembles the previously mentioned foot from Vedstrup (Fig. 6.15g). This ambiguity is possibly intentional so that the leg possesses a blurred human/animal quality, although the narrow field of the rim has probably influenced the compression of the limbs. Since these two limbs are situated under the face-mask, it is questionable whether they even require re-arrangement. Figure 6.17 features several re-arrangements, yet the reconstructions are complicated by the compressed and curled appearance of the limbs. They also do not appear to belong to the same side of the body. A second anthropomorphic face-mask is visible on the opposite side of the disc. Several other zoomorphic limbs and face-masks are also present, but there are too few limbs to assign one to each face-mask. It is possible that the overall composition is a jumble of parts and cannot be logically reconstructed. However, this does not prevent the possibility that the two limbs featured in this composition may have belonged to an anthropomorphic contortionist.

The next examples are a pair of saucer brooches from Barrington (Cambridgeshire), which features three processional or 'chasing' figures represented across the circular surface (Fig. 6.18) (App. Table 6.1. 19, 6.1.20). Two of these figures are human-animal hybrids with a mix of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic limbs, the third figure is possibly a hybrid with zoomorphic limbs and an anthropomorphic face-mask (Fig. 6.18b). The three

A)



B)



C)



Figure 6.16 Shield-boss apex disc from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwickshire). A) Shield-boss apex disc from Bidford-on-Avon (Diameter: 55 mm) (App. Table 6.1.18) (Dickinson 2005: 118. Fig. 3c); B) Illustration of the outer rim in Dickinson 2005: 124. Fig. 7b; C) Illustration by the author after Dickinson 2005: 124. Fig. 7b. Illustrations not to scale.

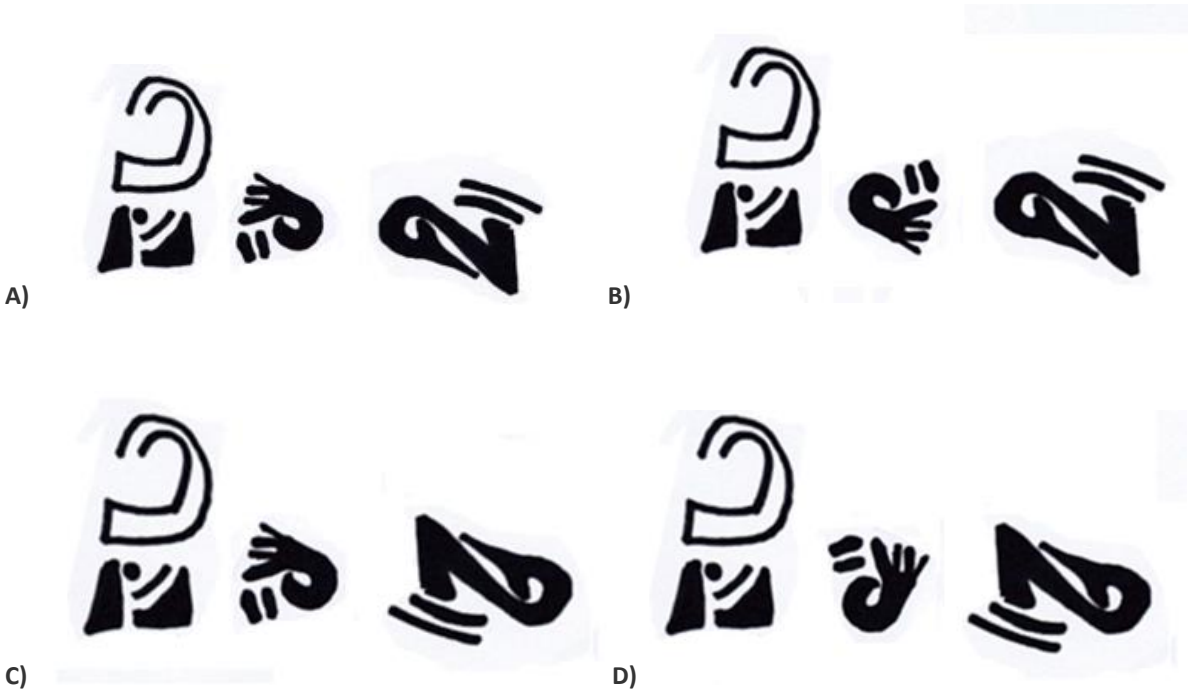


Figure 6.17 Various rearrangements of the figure represented on the shield-boss apex disc from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwickshire). Illustration by the author, not to scale.

torsos/trunks are represented nearly identically, the limbs are also similarly contoured. This further reinforces the argument that anthropomorphic torsos and zoomorphic trunks were subjected to the same stylistic alterations to the point of indistinguishability. A double-tiered arm-ring is visible on the wrist of the arm and hand with a splayed thumb. An anthropomorphic leg and foot are also identifiable, the leg is fractured below the knee in a way that recalls the short breeches or knee-rings discussed in the previous chapter. Here, the leg has been twisted unnaturally so that it can face forward in a way that resembles the limbs of the other hybrids. Since the leg has been flipped, it means that a zoomorphic quality is unavoidable when trying to reconstruct the anthropomorphic figure (Fig. 6.19a/b). When flipped back, a complete and contorted 'bound body' wearing an elaborate headdress is clearly visible (Fig. 6.19c/d). These two reconstructions bear a strong resemblance to two arm-ring and anklet wearing anthropomorphic figures represented on a circular buckle

A)



B)

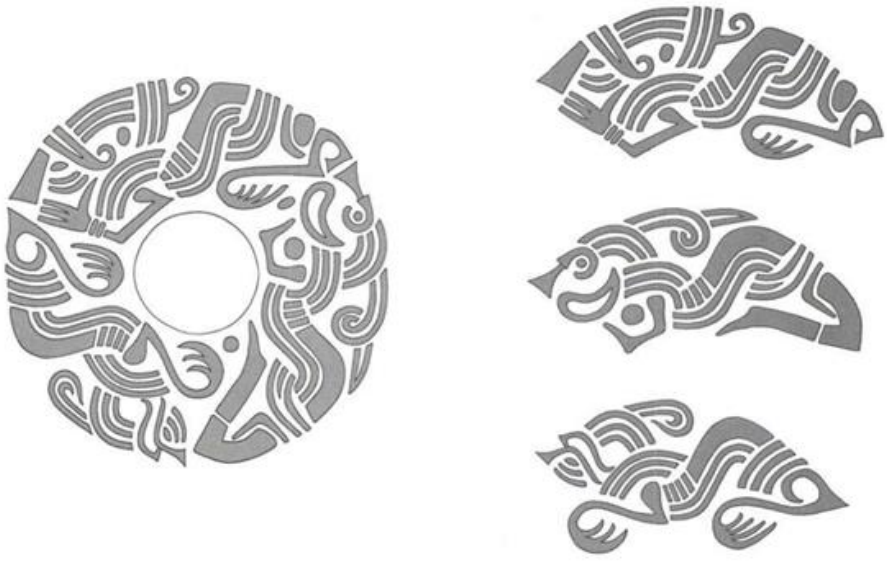


Figure 6.18 Saucer brooch from Hooper's field, Barrington (Cambridgeshire) (Diameter: 69 mm) (App. Table 6.1.19-6.1.20). (A) Photograph from Leeds 1912. PlXXVII.4; B) illustration (Haseloff 1981: 275.Fig. 187).



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 6.19 Reconstruction of the human figure present on the saucer brooches from Barrington (Cambridgeshire). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.



Figure 6.20 Anthropomorphic figures on a circular buckle fitting from Namur (Belgium) (Total object Diameter: 35mm) (late 5th-6th century) (after Haseloff 1981: 269. Fig. 183). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

fitting from Namur (Belgium) (Fig. 6.20). Collectively, these three figures are strong examples of how the 'bound body' and certain quadrupeds were adapted according to the same stylistic conventions. In turn, this facilitates the hybridity visible on the Barrington saucer brooches. A less accomplished variant of this design is identifiable on a pair of saucer brooches from Alwalton (Cambridgeshire), and can be reconstructed by drawing upon the brooches from Barrington as a guide (Fig. 6.21) (App. Table 6.1.21, 6.1.22).



Figure 6.21 Saucer brooch from Alwalton (Cambridgeshire) (App. Table 6.1.21, 6.1.22). Illustration by the author, not to scale.

The next three examples are all present on the lappets of the catch plates on three separate florid cruciform brooches. These are from Yaxley (Suffolk), Kenninghall (Norfolk), and Icklingham (Suffolk) (Figs. 6.22-23) (App. Table 6.1.23-6.1.25). Toby Martin's analysis of Style I motifs found on cruciform brooches interpreted figures posed in this manner as crouching beasts (2013). However, since the hands are represented with thumbs it suggests these examples are human-animal hybrids. It is questionable whether the figures on the Yaxley brooch feature a thumb due to surface damage, but a thumb-shaped feature appears to have originally been present on the figure on the left (Figs. 6.22a, 6.23a). Arm-rings are visible on the wrists of both figures on the brooch from Yaxley and one figure on the Kenninghall example (Fig. 6.23a/b). The shoulders are crowned by contour lines that vary in number and orientation, those on the brooch from Icklingham terminate in a spiral. The poses of these figures, alongside their headdresses and helmets, can be variously paralleled with several previously discussed figures, some of which were reconstructed models (Figs. 6.8b, 6.9b, 6.12, 6.13, 6.19, 6.21). Since these models can be related to previous examples, it seems feasible that some of the legs represented across these three brooches could be considered anthropomorphic in some capacity. Yet, the legs and feet are bent, compressed

A)



B)



C)



Figure 6.22 Human-animal hybrids on florid cruciform brooch catch plates (Martin group 4.1.2). A) Yaxley (Suffolk) (Total object dimensions: Length: 37.7 mm; Width: 39 mm) (App. Table 6.1.23) (PAS SF-1E0527); B) Kenninghall (Norfolk) (Total object dimensions: Length: 149 mm; Width: 46 mm) (App. Table 6.1.24) (Brundle 2014: 231. Fig. 4.2b); C) Mitchell's Hill (Icklingham, Suffolk) (Total object dimensions: Length: 154 mm; Width: 85 mm) (App. Table 6.1.25) (Brundle 2014: 231. Fig. 4.2a).

A)



B)



C)



Figure 6.23 Illustrations of the human-animal hybrids in Figure 6.21. A) Yaxley (Suffolk); B) Kenninghall (Norfolk); C) Mitchell's Hill (Icklingham, Suffolk). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

and abbreviated to the point that the distinctive heel and arched foot is no longer visible. Since torsos and trunks are represented similarly, it is difficult to distinguish what elements are anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. This ambiguity was likely intended as a way of visually expressing concepts relating to human-animal hybridity and blurred states of being (see Kristoffersen 2010). As with these three examples, it is no longer possible to reconstruct an anthropomorphic figure once body parts are reduced and presented as indistinctive shapes.

While some human-animal hybrids can be pulled apart and re-arranged, in other instances, there are seemingly insufficient human body parts to recreate a complete

anthropomorphic figure. For example, the headplate on the brooch from Chessell Down features a human-animal hybrid with an anthropomorphic leg (Fig. 6.9a). There are no additional human body parts within this panel, to reconstruct a human body it would be necessary to draw upon the array of body parts in the second panel. As explored, these appear to belong to the adjacent face-masks and not the hybrid figure. Similarly, the first headplate panel on a square-head brooch from Bifrons (Kent) features a leg depicted in isolation, this limb is likely affiliated with the one-legged hybrid in the upper part of the same panel (Fig. 6.24) (App. Table 6.1.26). Yet, none of the three hybrids depicted in the headplate are depicted with a human hand or arm. Whether this limb was present elsewhere on the brooch's surface is uncertain due to its fragmented condition. Two anthropomorphic hands with a splayed thumb and an arm-ring on each wrist are also represented on the head plate on a square-head brooch from Buckland (Kent) (Fig. 6.25) (App. Table 6.1.27). This brooch is also a Scandinavian import that belongs to the Jutlandic group (Suzuki 2000: 101). Each arm appears to be crowned by two contour lines, but how these limbs relate to the other elements represented in the head plate is unclear. I cannot identify an anthropomorphic leg elsewhere on the brooch, therefore, it seems probable that the human arm and animal limb likely belong to the same hybrid. Another example of a single human arm and hand on a possible hybrid design is observable on a mount from Loddon/Mundham (Norfolk) (Fig. 6.26) (App. Table 6.1.28). An arm-ring is situated on the wrist and the arm is crowned by contour lines. Additional contour lines are visible which may represent other parts of the body. What exactly the remaining circular and oval-shaped details represent is difficult to determine, but their unusual appearance suggests they are more likely to be zoomorphic/hybrid than distinctively anthropomorphic. A similar 'entity' is represented on the first headplate panel on a great square-headed brooch from

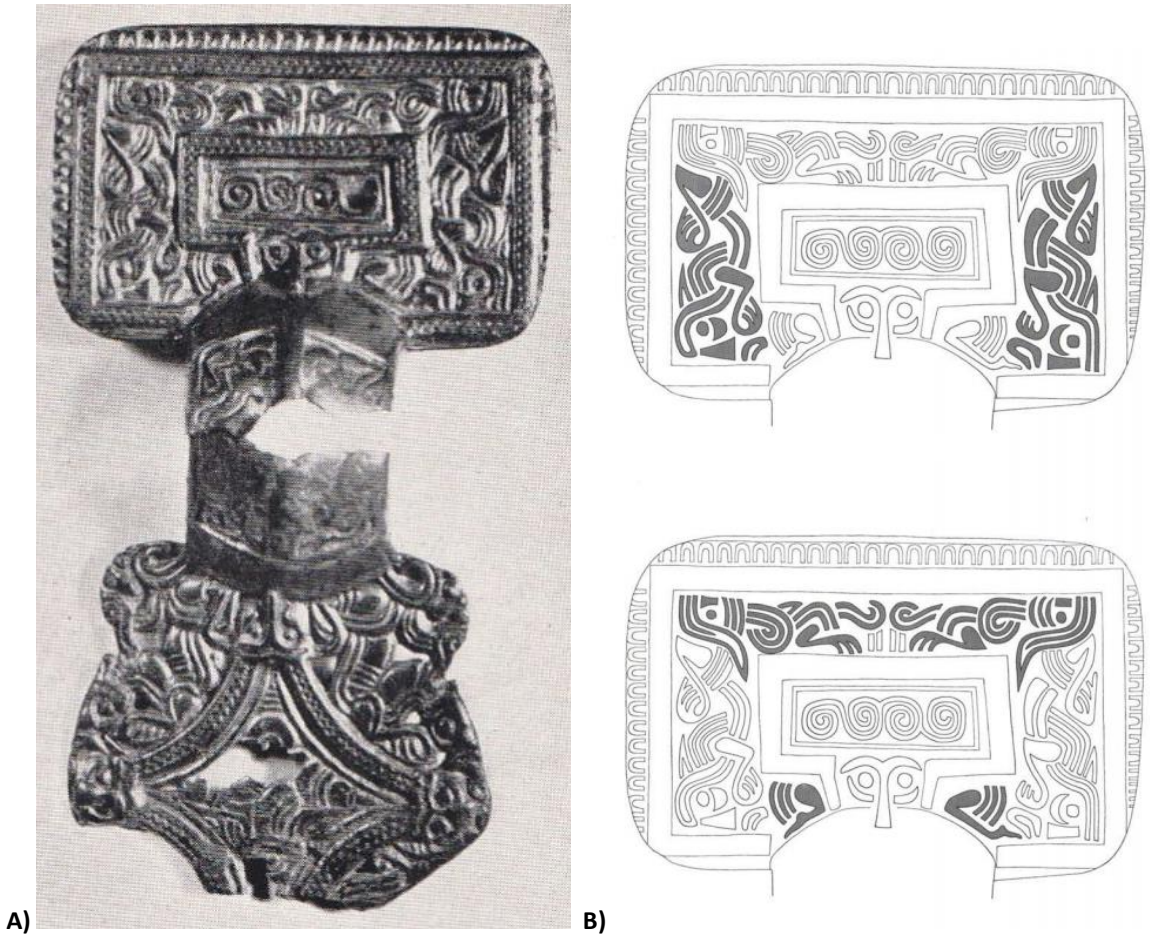


Figure 6.24 Square-headed brooch from Bifrons (Kent) (Total object Dimensions: Length: 130 mm) (App. Table 6.1.26) (A) Leeds 1949. Fig. 2.; B) Haseloff 1981: 272. Fig. 185). Illustration not to scale.

St. Andrew's hospital (Northampton), and on a slightly degenerated parallel from Saxby (Leicestershire) (Fig. 6.27) (App. Table 6.1.29, 6.1.30). This panel features a hand with a splayed thumb and an arm crowned with a triple contour, it is adjacent to an array of shapes that potentially represent a face-mask (Fig. 6.27c). There does not appear to be a quadruped with a missing limb elsewhere on the brooch nor is there a discernible human leg visible on the footplate. It is of note that animal or human-animal hybrid figures can be represented with just a single limb in Style I (Dickinson 2005: 123). The previous three examples may represent something similar. Comparable anthropomorphic figures that only feature the upper half of the body are discussed below. However, if the oval features



Figure 6.25 Square-headed brooch from Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Total Length: 86 mm) (App. Table 6.1.27) (Evison 1987: 280. Fig. 9.1). Illustration not to scale.



Figure 6.26 Mount from Loddon/Mundham (Norfolk) (App. Table 6.1.28) (Brundle 2014: 229. Fig.2e.).

do not represent a face-mask, it may imply the limb is represented in isolation. While isolated face-masks are common within Style I, I found no additional identifiably anthropomorphic complete legs or arms that were represented in isolation. Subsequently, the isolated limbs on these two brooches may stem from a practical reason such as space constraints or poor execution. As such, while human-animal hybrids motifs are common to Style I, it appears that only rarely are there sufficient parts available, or identifiable, that permit the reconstruction of a 'full-bodied' anthropomorphic figure. When a complete figure cannot be reformed, the close iconographic relationship between the 'dancer'/ 'bound body' motif and the human-animal hybrids becomes less obvious. Nonetheless, the isolated limbs are sufficiently distinctive that they can be iconographically linked to the more coherent and complete bodies. These links would have also been made in the past by those with a knowledge of the Style I repertoire.

A)



B)



C)



Figure 6.27 Great square-headed brooch headplates from Saxby (Leicestershire) and St. Andrew's Hospital (Northampton, Northamptonshire). A) Saxby (Total object Length: 85 mm) (App. Table 6.1.29) (Hines 1997. Pl. 30b); B) Headplate of the great square-headed brooch from St. Andrew's Hospital (App. Table 6.1.30) (Hines 1997. Pl.30a); C) Illustration of the details present on the headplate and footplate on the brooch from St. Andrew's Hospital (Shepherd 1998:147. Illustration 10.9). Illustration not to scale.

6.3.3 Upper bodies

The final group to be discussed are figures that feature a head and an arm but no legs. The first example is present on the footplate of a square-headed brooch from Snetterton (Norfolk) (Fig. 6.28) (App. Table 6.1.31). This figure is represented with their hands raised over their head, a triple strand contour is situated above each arm. Three vertical strands are situated above the facial features, these are crowned by two horizontal lines which seem to collectively represent hair or a headdress. The next figure is depicted on a possible harness pendant recovered from an unknown location on the Isle of Wight (Fig. 6.29) (App. Table 6.1.32). This individual appears to be a hybrid whose arms have been removed and replaced with either zoomorphic claws or open-mouthed biting beasts. The arms and hands, with splayed thumbs, are situated above the face-mask and feature an arm-ring on both wrists. How this figure ought to be reconstructed and with what components is open to interpretation. The four vertical lines situated below the face-mask conceivably represent a torso, possible contour lines/markings are also situated above the arms. The object is fragmented, and so additional body parts may now be lost. Figure 6.29 presents several possible reconstructions. In their original position, the dismembered arms are pointed towards serpents or wyrms with open mouths. This might imply the creatures are aggressive and that the hands are acting to grasp the creatures (Figs. 6.29g/h). This possibility is reinforced by several parallels presented in the previous chapter which depicted human figures grasping or being encircled by zoomorphic figures (Figs. 5.20, 5.31b, 5.32, 5.40d, 5.53b). As with some of these examples, it is possible that the body on this pendant is not dismembered, but is represented within an ensemble of contorted figures.

A)



B)



Figure 6.28 Great Square-headed brooch from Snetterto (Norfolk) (Total object dimensions: Length: 31 mm; Width: 27 mm) (App. Table 6.1.31) (PAS NMS-750C07). Illustration by the author, not to scale.

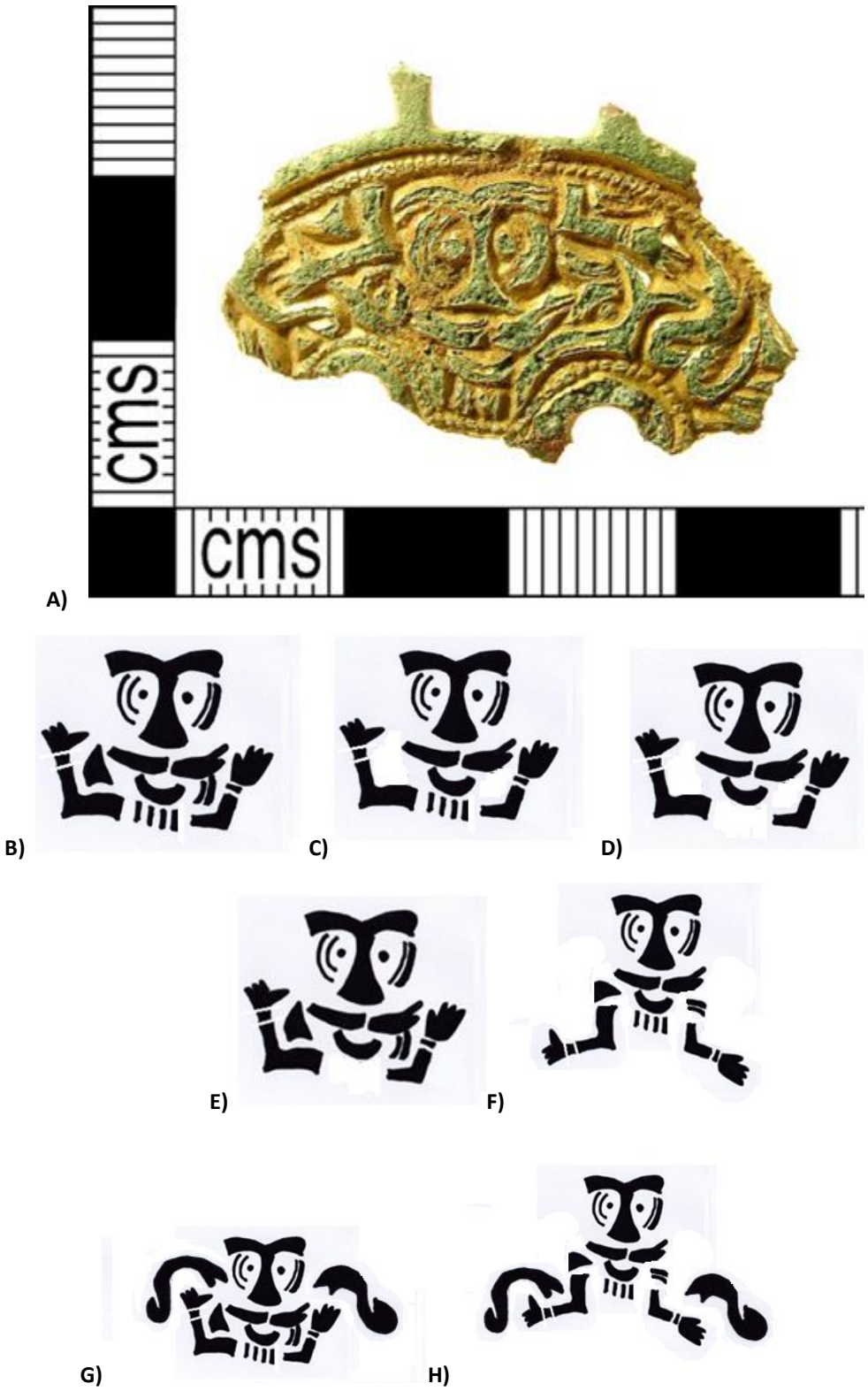


Figure 6.29 Possible harness pendant from the Isle of Wight. A) Pendant(?) (Total object dimensions: Length: 34.8mm; Width:24.1mm) (PAS IOW-7B6628); B-H) Various reconstructions of the human figure. Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

Five saucer brooches from Cambridgeshire, one from Upton and four from Barrington, carry variations of the same anthropomorphic motif (Fig.6.30) (App. Table 6.1.33-6.1.37). This figure is repeated across the surface of each brooch. The figure is represented with a hand raised in front of the face with a splayed thumb, the figure also appears to be wearing an elaborate bird headdress which becomes increasingly degenerated on the more poorly executed variants. The arm is not crowned with contour lines, instead, the upper arm splits into strands of varying number which continue to emphasise the upper part of the limb/pectoral/shoulder region.

The next figures are represented on the decorative fittings for a pair of drinking horns from Taplow (Buckinghamshire), each horn possesses twelve vandyke fixtures and a decorative rim band (Fig. 6.31) (App. Table 6.1.38, 6.1.39). A mixture of human and animal limbs are visible in the rim bands. However, there is no identifiable anthropomorphic leg or foot. Identical face-masks are situated at both ends of each rim panel. Whether these face-masks represent an animal, a human in an animal headdress or a hybrid is unclear, but the presence of the hands indicates some form of anthropomorphic presence. Two distinctive hands are visible on the rim and vandyke panels, although only the vandyke panels feature an arm with a ring on the wrist. Equally, the second hand, the one not situated under the face-mask, differs in appearance across the two fixtures. The hand in the centre of the rim that bends backwards to grip the arm resembles the arm on the square-head brooch from Bifrons (Figs. 6.14, 6.15). By contrast, the other arm and its positioning under the face-mask resemble the previous group of figures (Fig. 6.30). The presence of two hands implies that two humans or human-animal hybrids are present within the assemblage of parts. Alternatively, it may be a single figure which has been unnaturally twisted and entwined amongst itself or bisected so that two halves of the same body could be depicted



A)



B)



C)



D)



E)

Figure 6.30 Anthropomorphic figure repeated on five saucer brooches from Cambridgeshire. A) Saucer brooch from Upton (after Dickinson 2002: 167. Fig. 4h); B) Saucer brooch from Hooper's field, Barrington B; C) Saucer brooch from Hooper's field, Barrington B; D) Saucer brooch from Barrington A (Edix Hill) (after Malim et al. 1998: 113. Fig. 3.45.18); E) Saucer brooch from Barrington A (Edix Hill) (after (Malim et al. 1998: 113. Fig. 3.45.19). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

A)



B)



C)



Figure 6.31 One of two drinking horns from Taplow (Buckinghamshire). A) Reconstruction of the horn with rim and vandykes (Total rim Diameter:119 mm) (App. Table 6.1.38, 6.1.39) (BM 1883,1214.19); B) Rim panel (Drawing by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington et al. 2010: 440. Fig. 13.51) C) One of twelve vandyke panels (Length: 40 mm) (Drawing by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington et al. 2010: 326. Fig. 10.01). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)

Figure 6.32 Gilded copper alloy embossed foil rim mounts from two drinking horns from Söderby-Karl (Uppland, Sweden) (Late 5th-6th centuries) (Dimensions for A: Length: 60mm; Width: 25mm; Dimensions for B: Length: 50mm; Width: 25mm) (Hårdh 2004: 60.Fig. 12). Illustrations not to scale.

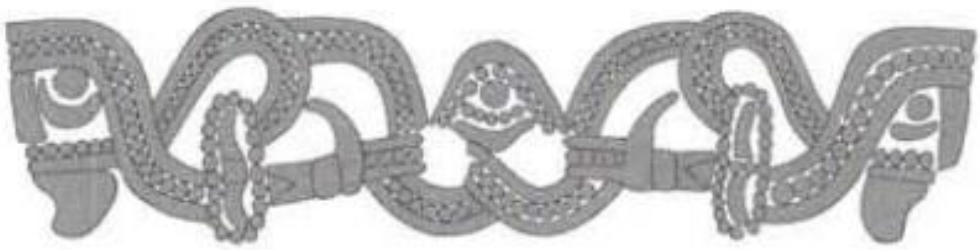
in profile (for such practices in Style I see Kristoffersen 1995; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001). A torso or trunk is represented emanating out of the headdress on both the rim and vandykes. A similarly styled torso was visible on two of the saucer brooches from Barrington (Fig. 6.19b). Across the panels, the upper portions of the limbs, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, are variously contoured by triple and double strands and thick single bands which collectively act to give shape to the 'body/ies'. Drinking horn rim mounts from Söderby-Karl (Sweden), display some notable parallels to the Taplow horns. In both panels, there is an intermixed assemblage of face-masks and body parts (Fig. 6.32). Again, hands can be seen bending back on themselves and grabbing the ring-adorned arms, the hands also grasp an elongated zoomorphic figure (Fig. 6.32a). A fragmented but potentially



A)



A)



C)

Figure 6.33 Vandyke fragment from Holton-le-Moor and sword-sheath fitting from Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). A) Holton-le-Moor Vandyke (App. Table 6.1.40) (Leahy 2007.Pl.11); B) Chessel Down scabbard mount (App. Table 6.1.41) (A) BM 1867,0729.150; B) Haseloff 1981: 275. Fig. 188). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 6.34 Sword sheath fitting from Great and Little Chishill (Cambridgeshire) (Length: 26.6 mm; Width: 17.1 mm) (App. 6.1.42) (PAS BH-A99B35).

identical vandyke to those from Taplow has also been found at Holton-Le-Moor (Lincolnshire) (Fig. 6.33a) (App. Table 6.1.40). A sword-sheath fitting from Chessell Down (the Isle of Wight), also parallels the Taplow horn fittings (Fig. 6.33b/c) (App. Table 6.1.41). The overall layout resembles the arrangement on the rim of the Taplow horns, yet the zoomorphic elements are absent and only one hand is represented for each face-mask. An arm-ring feature can be identified on both wrists and the hands with a splayed thumb are each gripping one of the ribboned strands. Whether these strands represent the torso or even an emphasised shoulder, akin to the Taplow horn, is unclear. The outstretched ring adorned arms and possible strands of hair recall the mirrored figures represented on the sword hilt from Snartemo (Fig.5.61). A fragmented sword-sheath fitting from Great and Little Chishill (Cambridgeshire), also appears to relate to the Taplow band fixture and Chessell Down sheath fitting, but the damage complicates its interpretation (Fig. 6.34) (App. Table 6.1.42). It has been suggested that the oblong feature beneath the eye is a splayed thumb and that the hand is gripping the triple strand ribbon (Brundle 2014: 178).

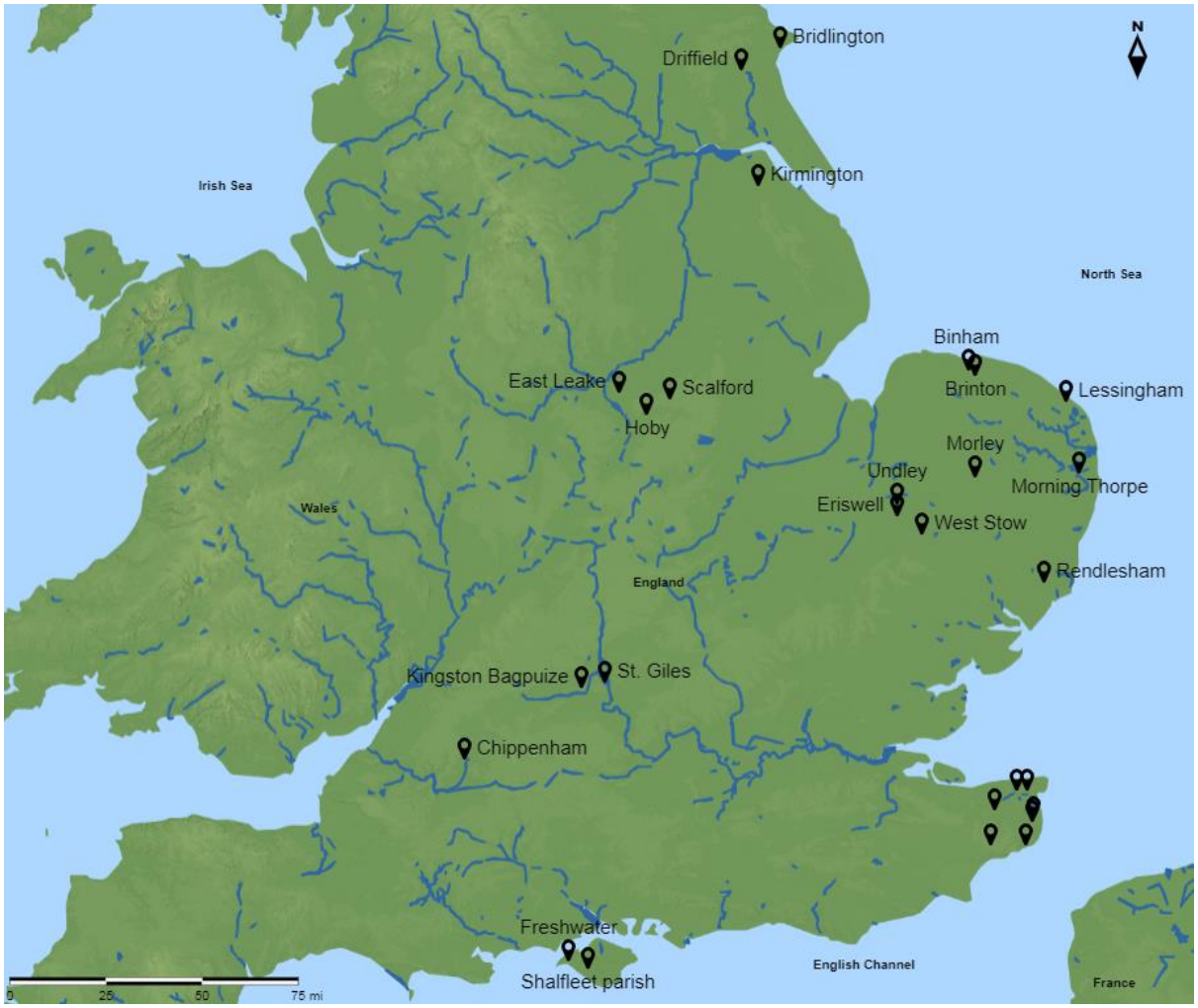
6.4 Bracteates

The following section explores the portrayal of the body on the A, B, C, D type bracteates discovered in England, figure 6.35 maps the sites and findspots of these bracteates (App. Table 6.2). These figures have been broken down and presented in thematic groups. The first group features figures whose bodily appearance appears to be closely related to its late antique prototype. This is followed by a small sample of figures who can be identified as 'bound' and 'belted' bodies. Some possible human-animal hybrids and bodies which have been heavily abbreviated and subjected to geometricization are then considered.

6.4.1 Late antique adaptions

6.4.1.1 Roman nudity

An A-bracteate (IK 374) from Undley (Suffolk) features two schematic full-bodied figures situated beneath a wolf (Fig. 6.36) (App. Table 6.2.1). The naked infants Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf served as the prototype for this bracteate (West 1983: 459; Hines and Obenstedt 1987: 74). More specifically, it has been suggested that this bracteate was influenced by the Roman *Urbs Roma* coin which was being minted in Trier in the 4th century (West 1983: 459). On this type of coin, the infant's naked state is represented in a similarly abbreviated and schematic state. However, on the Undley bracteate the head of the goddess Roma has been transformed into a bearded man wearing a helmet (Hines and Obenstedt 1987: 74). While naked bodies are featured on this bracteate, they offer little insight into how the state of nakedness was represented in this period. Nonetheless, the adaption of this scene may be symbolically significant, especially as this motif may have been designed and stamped in England (Behr 2010a: 70). Alternatively, it has been suggested that the bracteate was imported from the Continent, potentially from southern



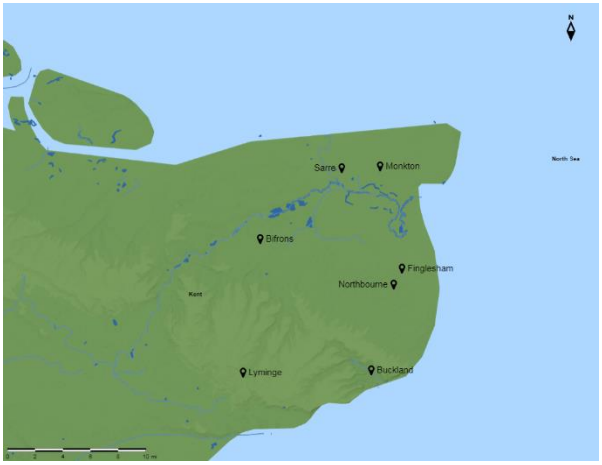


Figure 6.35 The sites and findspots of the bracteate catalogue. The Kent area is further enhanced.



Figure 6.36 A-Bracteate from Undley (Suffolk) (IK 374) (Diameter: 23 mm) (App. Table 6.2.1) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 151). Illustration not to scale.

Scandinavia, Schleswig-Holstein (Germany) or the Elbe-Weser region (Germany) (Hines 1984: 204-09; Suzuki 2006: 39).

6.4.1.2 Cuirasses and cloaks

The next group of bracteates represent the adaption of the emperor's portrait. Two A-bracteates from Leicestershire, one from Scalford (IK 635.1) and the other from Melton Mowbray (IK 635.2), were stamped with the same die and depict the emperor's bust wearing an abbreviated and stylised diadem, cuirass and imperial cloak (Fig. 6.37) (App. Table 6.2.2, 6.2.3) (Behr 2011b: 100-01). These bracteates are thought to have been stamped in England (Behr 2011b: 100). What was presumably the cloak, or some other feature worn on the shoulders, is now represented as a series of diagonal lines. This results



A)



B)

Figure 6.37 A-bracteates from Leicestershire. A) Scalford (Melton, Leicestershire) (Diameter: 24 mm) (App. Table 6.2.2) (PAS LEIC-EDD980); B) A-bracteate from Hoby with Rotherby (Melton, Leicestershire) (Diameter: 36 mm) (App. Table 6.2.3) (PAS LEIC-1E63A8). Illustrations not to scale.

in a kind of contouring that evokes the use of the triple strands in Style I. The details present on the surface of the cuirass have been omitted and so it is difficult to identify what type of cuirass was originally represented. The possibility that it was a muscle cuirass is of note as the abbreviation of the musculature would be in keeping with the wider disinterest in representing musculature as seen on other naked bodies in the bracteate corpus (see Chapter 5). Two spirals situated on the pectorals possibly represent where the cloak was fastened to the body. It has been suggested that the framed dots situated at the neck and waist may derive from the jewelled rims that occasionally decorated the emperor's garments (Behr 2011b: 100). Alternatively, these features may be derived from the rims of the cuirass or some other strap or fixture. Some distinctive markings, more clearly depicted on the bracteate from Hoby, are also visible on the left wrist. The presence of a drinking vessel or horn is a notable departure as it is not an article associated with the emperor's portrait (Behr 2011b: 101). The supplementation of the emperor's image with high-status objects found within the material culture of northern Europe can be observed on other A and C types (see Axboe and Kromann 1992). In the previous chapter, it was suggested that Roman costume elements were adapted on certain bracteates, including M types, to represent alternative forms of jewellery or costume accessories. One might question whether the two bracteates under discussion have also been adapted so that the emperor appears as if wearing a neck-ring, belt and possibly an arm-ring. This is reinforced by other A types that display a similar process of adaption resulting in a variety of pronounced markings or features that could be interpreted as a neck-ring, multi-tiered collar, arm-ring or belt (Figs. 6.38-41, compare these collars with the one in Fig. 5.48 and the Swedish gold collars discussed in Chapters 5 and 8). As stated, the 'sleeveless garment' worn by the clothed variant of the 'bound body' was potentially an artistic invention linked to the cuirass



Figure 6.38 A-bracteate figures potentially wearing arm-rings. A) Darum (Denmark) (IK 41.1) (Diameter: 43.1mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 45); B) Revsgård (Denmark) (IK 145) (Diameter: 29 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 187); C) Tjurkö (Sweden) (IK 183) (Diameter: 24.8 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 239); D) Tossene (Sweden) (IK 187) (Diameter: 32.95 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 243); E) Trollhättan (Sweden) (IK 189) (Diameter: 23.3 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 243); F) Schuby (Germany) (IK 573) (Diameter: 85.5 mm) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 18). Illustrations not to scale.

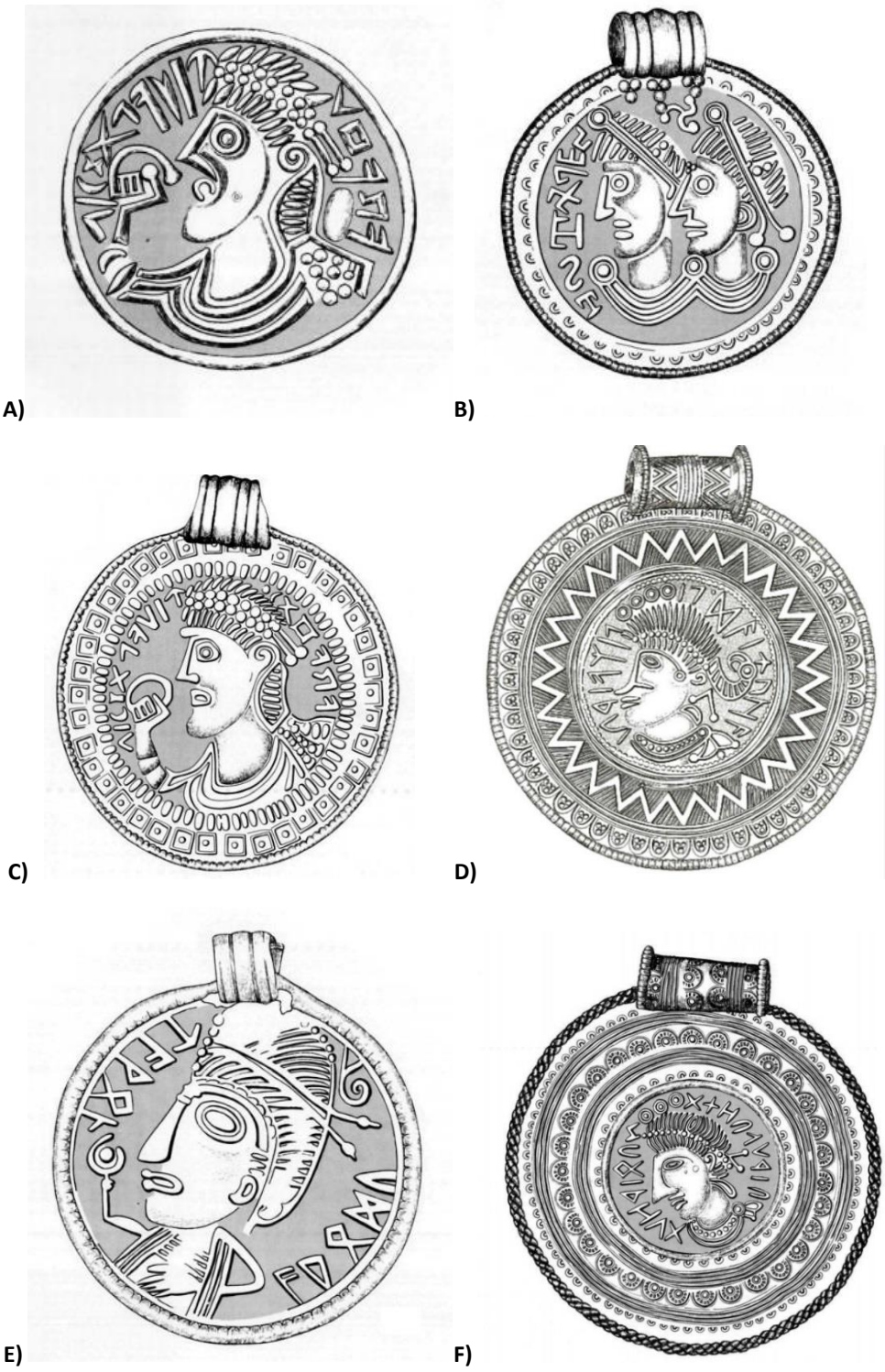


Figure 6.39 A-bracteate figures potentially wearing neck-rings and collars. A) Darum (Denmark) (IK 41.1) (Diameter: 43.1 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 45); B) Elmelund (Denmark) (IK 47.1) (Diameter: 24 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c.Taf 53); C) Revsgård (Denmark) (IK 145) (Diameter: 29 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 187)**;** D) Skonager (Denmark) (IK 162.1) (Diameter: 41.15 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c.Taf 209); E) Trollhättan (Sweden) (Diameter: 23.3 mm) (IK 189) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 243); F) Broholm (Denmark) (IK 225) (Diameter:42.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 15). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 6.40 A-bracteate figures potentially wearing neck-rings and collars (continued). A) Erin (Germany) (IK 240) (Diameter: 19 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 27); B) Geltorf (Germany) (IK 254) (Diameter: 30.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 41); C) Hov (Norway) (IK 282) (Diameter: 23 mm) (Hauck et al, 1986b. Taf. 69); D) Maglemose (Denmark) (IK 299) (Diameter: 21.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 85). E) Simonnes (Norway) (IK 335) (Diameter: 40.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 119); F) Skovlund (Denmark) (IK 338) (Diameter: 41 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 121). Illustrations not to scale.



A) B)

Figure 6.41 A-bracteate figures with emphasised necks and waistbands. A) Maglemose (Denmark) (IK 299) Diameter: 21.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 85; B) Skovlund (Denmark) (IK 338) (Diameter: 41 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 121). Illustrations not to scale.

and cloaks adapted on the A and C types. These two bracteates further reinforce this link, like the clothed 'bound body', these figures are represented with bare arms, a covered torso and possibly a neck-ring, belt and arm-ring.

The next figure is present on three die identical A-bracteates from Binham (Norfolk) (Fig. 6.42a/b) (App. Table 6.2.4-6.2.6). These three bracteates are thought to have been stamped in England (Behr and Pestell 2014: 56). The closest parallel to this design is an A-bracteate (IK 246) from Frejlev, Zealand, Denmark. However, the neck feature differs between the two stamps (Fig. 6.42c). The figure on the Binham bracteates is wearing an imperial diadem on the head. The imperial cloak, the paludamentum, and brooch dominate the bust and have concealed the cuirass, although the triangular area with a dot in the centre may represent part of the cuirass. The stylised folds of the cloak are visible on the shoulders, again, these resemble the strand contours in Style I. As with the previous examples, one might consider whether the adapted brooch neckline could be interpreted as



A)



B)



C)

Figure 6.42 A-Bracteate from Binham (Norfolk) (IK 630.1) (Diameter: 70 mm) (App. Table 6.2.4). A) Photograph of IK 630.1 (Heizmann and Axboe 2011.Pl. 95); B) Photograph of IK 630.1 (Behr and Pestell 2014: 48. Fig. 3a); C) A-bracteate from Frejlev (Zealand, Denmark) (IK 246) (Diameter:34 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf 35).



A) B)



C)

Figure 6.43 Assortment of A and C type bracteates from England. A) A-bracteate from Kingston Bagpuize (IK 577) (Diameter: 32 mm) (App. Table 6.2.7) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 22); B) C-bracteate (IK 33) from an unknown findspot in England or Denmark (Diameter: 28.4 mm) (App. Table 6.2.8) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf.37); C) A-bracteate from St.Giles field (Oxfordshire) (IK 323) (Diameter: 32.8 mm) (App. Table 6.2.9) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 107).

a neck-ring or collar. A further stage of abbreviation and stylisation, presumably of the imperial cloak, is visible on a bracteate from Kingston Bagpuize (Oxfordshire) (Fig. 6.43a) (App. Table 6.2.7). It has been suggested that this bracteate was imported from either southern Scandinavia or northern Germany (Hines 1993: 220; Suzuki 2006: 40; Behr 2010a: 73). The use of transverse ridges and contour lines to construct the body parallels the presentation of the body in the later phases of Style I. The rider on the C-bracteate (IK 33) presented in Figure 6.43b displays similar stylistic characteristics (App. Table 6.2.8). This bracteate belongs to the British Museum collections, but it is not clear whether it was discovered in England or Denmark (Smith 1923: 161; Behr 2010a: 36. Note 19). Consequently, this bracteate may not belong to the current data set. This figure is represented with an adapted diadem situated alongside long interwoven strands which either represent hair or part of the headdress. The torso and arm, but not the hand, have been contoured and the abbreviated cloak is the only costume article worn on an otherwise 'bare' torso. This 'cloak' also acts as a triple strand contour. Additional overlaps with Style I include the splayed thumb, the interwoven hair/headdress, the selective use of contouring on the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures and the emphasised hind leg of the quadruped. The arm of the rider splits at the wrist where it also widens. This may represent or evoke the arm-ring. An example of an ever further abbreviated bust is present on the A-bracteate from St. Giles (Oxfordshire) (IK 323) (Fig. 6.43c) (App. Table 6.2.9). This bracteate is thought to have been imported from Scandinavia or Frisia (Hines 1984: 219; 1993b: 220; Findell 2012: 410-11). The figure is wearing an elaborate, possibly zoomorphic styled, headdress whereas the bust is heavily abbreviated and devoid of detail or defined arms. The base of the bust features a series of transverse vertical lines which extend beyond the body's physical boundary. The extent to which the emperor's bust has been abbreviated on

this example is unusual when compared to the wider A-bracteate catalogue. However, some additional 'bare' torsos can be identified (Figs. 6.40e/f). How this 'bare' state ought to be interpreted is questionable, the focus was clearly placed on the enlarged and detailed head which suggests the partially visible torso may have been symbolically insignificant

Collectively, this small selection of bracteates reflects a process of adaption whereby the emperor's costume and body were variously deconstructed, stylised and abbreviated (for further examples and discussion see Axboe and Kromann 1992; Mannering 2017). These bodies provide valuable insight into how northern European metalworkers approached the types of costume prevalent in late antique art. Drapery and it's unsymmetrical/asymmetrical loose, hanging folds are simplified and often adapted into ordered arrangements and linear patterns. Meanwhile, highly detailed or ornate forms of dress are greatly stripped back. It is questionable whether the heavily adapted and abbreviated busts could be considered dressed. Instead, they appear to be presented in a kind of liminal state that stems from the experimental adaption of the emperor's bust to align with local artistic tastes and iconographic conventions. Central to these conventions was the recurrent use of costume accessories, 'bare' or schematic surfaces and contour lines to variously adorn, distinguish and emphasise certain areas of the body, these conventions are shared by humans, animals and hybrids. These visual characteristics have been observed amongst the bodies represented on A and B types and in Style I. Whether these conventions were also deployed or developed during the adaption of the emperor's image on the C types ought to be explored elsewhere. The previous discussion also builds on the suggestion put forth in Chapter 5 that the 'sleeveless garment' was an iconographic development linked in some capacity to the adaption of the emperor's bust. Consequently, the clothed variant of the

'bound body' appears to be a hybrid motif that blurred the lines between Roman/'Germanic' and human/animal.

6.4.2 'Bound bodies' and 'belted bodies'

Five bracteates from England carry a body that was grouped as a 'belted body' or a 'bound body' in Chapter 5. As explored, the adornment and exposure of the body were characteristic of both costumes. Since these motifs have already been explored, the following analysis summarises their general appearance while noting some additional details.

The first example is an A-bracteate from Brinton (Norfolk), which features a full-bodied figure compressed against the rim (Fig. 6.44) (App. Table 6.2.10). As stated in chapter 5, this figure is wearing a neck-ring and belt, an arm-ring cannot be identified as the arm has been stylised and the hand has been detached. While the combination of a neck-ring, belt and 'bare' body was a recognised costume group, this figure is potentially a 'bound body' whose arm-ring is no longer present/identifiable. There is no close parallel for this bracteate within the wider corpus nor can it be affiliated with one of Pesch's formula families (Behr 2010a: 55). Instead, the closest iconographic parallels are found in Style I and the arrangements which feature 'bound bodies' pressed against the borders of the decorated surface area, the circular-shaped objects providing the strongest parallels (Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 6.18, 6.20). As seen, the belt and neck-ring are costume elements associated with both variants of the 'bound body', the possible immobilization or entanglement of the body is an additional iconographic link. As the Brinton bracteate has no obvious continental parallel, it was possibly designed and stamped in England (Behr 2010a: 70).



Figure 6.44 A-bracteate from Brinton (Norfolk) (Diameter: 31 mm) (App. Table 6.2.10) (Behr 2010a: 54. Fig. 11). Illustration not to scale.

The next sample includes three die identical B-bracteates from Binham (Norfolk) (IK 604.1/2/3) (Figs. 6.45a/b) (App. Table 6.2.11-6.2.13). A closely related bracteate fragment was discovered from Rendlesham (Suffolk) (Fig. 6.45c) (App. Table 6.2.14) (Scull et al. 2016: 1605). Whether the body of the figure represented on this fragment was depicted identically to the Binham trio cannot be conclusively known, but the visible iconographic similarities and the proximity of their findspots suggests it is likely. As stated, this figure is a 'belted body'. Whether the markings on the head represent hair or whether he is wearing a headdress or helmet is unclear. The figure is wielding a sword and appears to be a variation of the 'between beasts' motif as evidenced by the two flanking quadrupeds. One of the quadrupeds is represented biting the central figure's hand, the other quadruped may also be behaving aggressively as its claw can be observed touching the human's shoulder. The torso, arms and legs are contoured whereas the feet and distinguished splayed thumb are not. This mirrors the selective contouring of the quadrupeds' torsos and not the lower limbs. As such, the extremities of all figures are being distinguished in some capacity. It has

A)



B)





C)

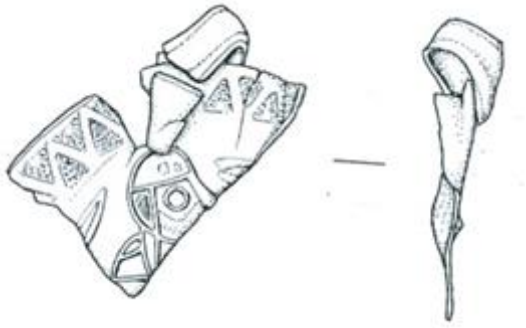
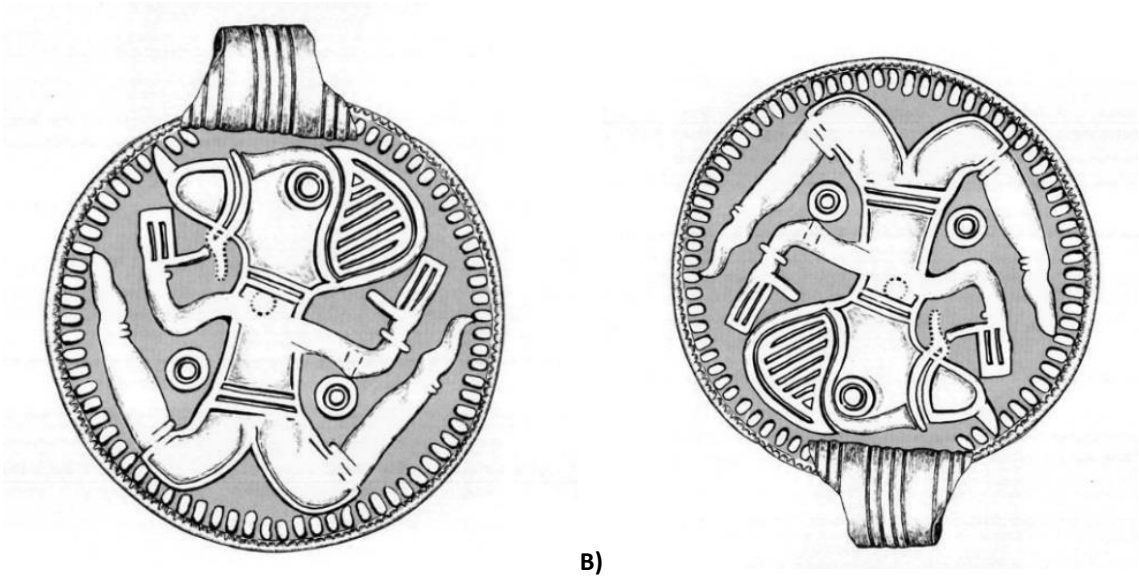


Figure 6.45 B-Bracteates from Binham (Norfolk) and Rendelsham (Suffolk). A) Binham (IK 604.1) (Diameter: 44 mm) (App. Table 6.2.11) (Behr and Pestell 2012: 55, Fig.7); B) Binham (IK 604.2) (Diameter: 44 mm) (App. Table 6.2.12) (Behr and Pestell 2014: 48. Fig. 3e); C) Rendlesham (Woodbridge, Suffolk) (App, Table 6.2.14) (images provided by Faye Minter). Illustrations not to scale.

been suggested that these bracteates were imported from northern Germany (Behr 2006: 21; Behr and Pestell 2014: 56). Yet, several unique bracteates have recently been found in Norfolk, including a rare bracteate die, these finds suggest a workshop operated in this region (Behr 2010a: 69; Behr and Pestell 2014: 59). It is possible, therefore, that the Binham bracteates were locally stamped. As touched upon in the previous chapter, the Binham bracteate belongs to the B6 family (Pesch 2007: 120-23). While the Binham example is a 'belted body', the seven bracteates that comprised the Hamburg group (IK 71) feature a 'bound body' as the central figure (Fig. 5.51b). The only other B6 bracteate is from Derenburg (Saxony-Anhalt, Germany) (IK 599) (Fig. 5.42f). The central figure is heavily stylised and degenerated, still, a single split can be observed at the waist which suggests this figure is a 'belted' body. As such, the Binham and Derenburg bracteates are more closely related and possibly descend from a similar die stamp.

The last bracteate is a B type from Bifrons (Kent) (IK 23) (Fig. 6.46) (App. Table 6.2.15). Whether this bracteate was stamped in England is unclear. This bracteate is grouped as a bastard variant of the B3 family, the other B3 bracteates are from the Elbe-Weser area (Germany) and Sweden (Pesch 2007: 110-11; Behr 2010a: 73). As explored in the previous chapter, the selective use of contouring gives the impression that the figure is wearing the 'sleeveless garment' alongside short breeches. Arm-rings, possible anklets, a neck-ring, and a belt can also be identified. However, it was also noted that this figure, and other bracteates in the B3 family, had been further adapted to the point that the 'sleeveless garment' was no longer clearly recognisable (Fig. 5.33). The selective contouring distinguishes the limbs from the torso, but whether the torso ought to be interpreted as dressed is questionable. The pose of this figure has been explored in various ways, it was suggested they may be kneeling with raised arms, jumping or somersaulting, bringing their



A) B)

Figure 6.46 B-bracteate from Bifrons (Kent) (Diameter: 21.5mm) (App. Table 6.2.15) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 25). Illustration not to scale.

legs towards the head, or even mimicking a quadruped by walking on all four limbs. On this bracteate, the pose takes on new meanings when viewing the object upside down. For instance, the active placement of the two circle and dot symbols situated on each side of the torso act in conjunction with the pose to produce a face-mask with a moustache and arched brow ridge. David Leigh has recognised similar practices within Style I (1984). This involves rotating the object so that certain face-masks transform into full-bodied hybrid or zoomorphic figures. Similar transformations were also presented in the previous chapter (Figs. 5.56, 5.57). The Bifrons figure provides another example that associates acrobatics and contortion with double-readings, like the performer, the audience was encouraged to adopt a different perspective to facilitate and participate within the transformative process. Whether certain face-masks represented in Style I can be rotated to reveal a full-bodied anthropomorphic figure is a possibility that warrants consideration elsewhere.

6.4.3 Human-animal hybrids

This group of nine C-bracteates and one die stamp potentially depict a human-animal hybrid (Figs. 6.47, 6.48) (App. Table 6.2.16-6.2.25). The bracteates from East Leake (Nottinghamshire), Little Eriswell (Suffolk), and one from Bridlington (East Riding of Yorkshire) are made of silver while the pair from Morning Thorpe (Norfolk) are copper-alloy. Bracteates were exclusively produced in gold in southern Scandinavia, therefore, the use of these metals strongly indicates they were stamped in England (Behr 2010a: 69). The bracteates from Kirmington (Lincolnshire) and Bridlington (Yorkshire) are close iconographic parallels, it is not known whether they were stamped in England or imported (Behr 2010a: 62, 69). The bracteate from Lessingham (Norfolk) is also made of gold, but its provenance is unknown (PAS NMS-A13EDD). The bracteates from Kirmington, Morning Thorpe, East Leake and Bridlington belong to the C16 family which are widely distributed across the North Sea zone (Pesch 2007: 230-32, 410). The examples from Eriswell and Lessingham appear to be degenerated and stylised variants of this group (Figs. 6.47d, 6.48b/c). While not a bracteate, the die stamp from Morley (Norfolk) is a notable find as it is direct evidence for the stamping of this motif in England, possibly in East Anglia. The stamp is stylistically related to the two bracteates from Eriswell and the two from Morning Thorpe (Figs. 6.47f, 6.48a/b/c) (Behr and Pestell 2014: 69). When collectively analysed, the bracteate from Kirmington and the two from Bridlington carry the most coherent variations of the motif, whereas figure 6.48 features the most degenerated and abbreviated examples. The Lessingham bracteate is unique in that the quadruped is missing a second leg (Fig. 6.47d). Since the legibility and presentation of this motif can differ substantially amongst these bracteates, it is questionable whether they were uniformly interpreted. Nonetheless, they are collectively explored here as possible human-animal hybrids.



Figure 6.47 Human-animal hybrids on C-bracteates. A) Kirmington (Lincolnshire) (IK 288) (Diameter: 28.5 mm) (App. Table 6.2.16) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.73); B) Bridlington (East Riding of Yorkshire) (IK 643) (Diameter: 29 mm) (App. Table 6.2.17) (BM 2014,8015.1); C) Bridlington (East Riding of Yorkshire) (IK 607) (Diameter: 36 mm) (App.Table 6.2.18) (Behr 2010a: 61.fig 14); D) Lessingham (Norfolk) (Diameter: 29 mm) (App. Table 6.2.19) (PAS NMS-A13EDD); E) East Leake (Nottinghamshire) (IK 602) (App. Table 6.2.20) (Behr 2010a: 49. Fig. 9); F) Morning Thorpe (Norfolk) (IK 306.1) (Diameter: 32 mm) (App. Table 6.2.21) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf. 94). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 6.48 Human-animal hybrids on C-bracteates (continued). A) Morning Thorpe (Norfolk) (IK 306.2) (App. Table 6.2.22) (Green et al. 1987: 58. Fig. 320); B) Eriswell (Suffolk) (IK 634.1) (App. Table 6.2.23) (Behr and Pestell 2014: 70. Fig. 15); C) Eriswell (Suffolk) (IK 634.2) (App. Table 6.2.24) (Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf.98); D) Die or matrix from Morley (Norfolk) (IK 637) (Diameter: 32 mm) (App. Table 6.2.25) (NMS-25CDD3). Illustrations not to scale.

C types are traditionally defined by the presence of a rider or an isolated human head situated above or riding a quadruped (Fig. 6.49). A small number of C- bracteates featuring riders, represented as face-masks, are also known from England (Fig. 6.50). In Figure. 6.50d the face-mask has been switched with a bird. Across these examples, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements/figures can be clearly distinguished from each other. Arguably, the rider and quadruped on the bracteates under discussion, including the wider C16 family, have been intentionally arranged so that the two figures can be collectively interpreted as a single entity/human-animal hybrid. For instance, the quadrupeds four legs have been abbreviated down to two and thus the zoomorphic figure takes on a bipedal quality. The central part of the trunk has either been omitted entirely or drastically downsized, subsequently, the upper body is divided into two segments. This results in a body comprised of four components that are roughly equal in size and presented in a relatively symmetrical fashion. The human head has been centrally placed above the torso/trunk area. The four primary segments of the body and the human head are represented in raised relief, emphasised by contouring and are generally the largest components of the overall design. By contrast, the tail and head of the quadruped are often less pronounced and have been downsized (Figs. 6.47, 48a/b/c). When viewing bracteates of this type in person, the diminished zoomorphic elements are not particularly noticeable or identifiable until examined closely. Instead, the figure has a stronger anthropomorphic quality when viewed from a distance. The chevron-shaped segments that feature a row of dots are somewhat degenerated when compared with the continental parallels (Fig. 6.51). On the continental examples, the horse's harness more clearly doubles as a torso that binds the four segments of the body. This feature varies in its appearance as it can be decorated with transverse dots or left 'bare', the shape of the chevron can also differ slightly. In some instances, it could be



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 6.49 C-bracteates depicting a rider and quadruped. A) Åkarp (Skane, Sweden) (IK 5) (Diameter: 34 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf 5); B) Bakkegård (Bornholm, Denmark) (IK 19) (Diameter: 24.8 mm) (Hauck et al., 1985c. Taf. 21); C) Bjornsholm (North Jutland, Denmark) (IK 25) (Diameter: 36 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf.27); D) Bolbro (Funen, Denmark) (IK 30) (Diameter: 27.6 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 33). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 6.50 Additional C-bracteates from England.A) Broadstairs (Kent) (IK 224) (Height: 44.6 mm; Width: 27 mm) (Hauck et al. 1986b.Taf.13), B) Wycombe (Buckinghamshire) (Length: 31 mm) (PAS BUC-A2D047); C) Longbridge (Warwickshire) (IK 114) (Diameter: 52.4 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 145). D) Market Overton (Rutland) (IK 123) (Diameter: 32.7 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf.159). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 6.51 Continental variants of the C16 bracteate group. A) Sievern (Lower Saxony, Germany) (IK 157) (Diameter: 53.1 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 203); B) Dokkum (Friesland, The Netherlands) (IK 46) (Diameter: 28 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 49). C) Lille-Skjør (Østfold, Norway) (IK 109) (Diameter: 36.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 137).D) Grumpan (Västergötland, Sweden) (IK 64) (Diameter: 29.9 mm) (Hauck et al. 1985c. Taf. 77). Illustrations not to scale.

interpreted as a belt (Fig. 6.51a). It also resembles the 'sleeveless garment' as it serves a similar visual function by distinguishing the torso from the limbs (Figs. 6.51c/d). Interestingly, the closest full-bodied human parallel to this hybrid arrangement is the 'sleeveless garment' wearing 'bound body' represented on the B-bracteate from Sletner, Norway (IK 167) (Fig. 5.59). The positioning and orientation of the arms and legs are comparable to the presentation of the body and limbs in the C16 group. This figure also has splayed thumbs on both hands. On certain C16 bracteates, the quadrupeds' ear and tail appear to double as splayed thumbs (Figs. 6.47a/b/ca, 6.51a/b). More broadly, the C16 family can be iconographically related to many of the acrobatic and contorted figures represented with upturned legs and arms discussed thus far, including the bracteate from Bifrons (Fig. 6.46). As repeatedly seen, this pose is strongly associated with transformative acts and hybrid states, this reinforces the suggestion that a human-animal hybrid is represented within the C16 family.

6.4.4 D-bracteates

This section focuses primarily on two families of D-bracteates (D9 and D10) that appear to feature a heavily stylised and geometricized body (Figs. 6.52, 6.53) (App. Table 6.2.26-6.2. 45). The stylistic presentation of the figures in the D-bracteates is closely related to Haseloff's Style I phase D, within this phase, the body is represented as an elongated-ribbon (Haseloff 1974: 10-11; 1981: 216). Focusing first on the D9 bracteates, twelve D9 bracteates and one D9 bastard variant have been discovered in England (Fig. 6.52) (App. Table 6.2.26-6.2.38) (Pesch 2007: 276). The D-bracteate (IK 629) from Freshwater (Isle of Wight) is also possibly a D9 or D10 bracteate (Table 6.2.45). The D9 and D10 bracteates are almost

exclusively found in Kent, as are most D-bracteates found in England. The high density of D-bracteates in this region suggests a production centre or workshop existed in this area (Bakka 1981: 11-15; Hines 1984: 216; Behr 2002: 50; 2010a: 66; Pesch 2011b: 267-69). An anthropomorphic presence within the D9 family is evidenced by the occasional presence of distinctive hands and feet (Fig. 6.52a/b/d/e). However, Haseloff believes these feet were attached to zoomorphic bodies (1981: 216-18). This reflects the wider belief that the D-bracteates do not feature complete human bodies just the occasional selective body part (Gaimster 1998: 32-33, 43; Behr 2011a: 224-26). The components represented on the D9 bracteates and their overall arrangement display some notable similarities to the A-bracteate from Brinton (Fig. 6.44). As discussed, this bracteate features a possible 'bound body' compressed against the bottom edge, two additional zoomorphic figures with beaks are also represented pressed up against the other side. Returning to the D9 group, a zoomorphic figure with a beak can be identified pressed against the upper rim. Similarly, by drawing upon the Brinton bracteate as a guide, a full-bodied and contorted anthropomorphic figure can be identified, akin to those represented in Style I, with their leg raised and brought towards the back of the head (Fig. 6.54). While the body parts are fractured, they are ordered naturalistically and thus the body appears as a unified whole. A single thick band appears to contour and crown the upper part of the arm, the C-shaped feature could be interpreted as a contour or a pronounced thigh. Intercutting strands fracture the limbs at the ankle, below the knee and the upper part of the arm. The location of these splits coincides with the areas that are often adorned, fragmented or emphasised in some capacity on the 'bound body'. A pronounced circular arm-ring is also visible on the wrist in Figure 6.50b. The C-shaped head also has a helmet quality, similar style heads/headdresses can be observed throughout Style I (see Kendrick 1938: 77-80;

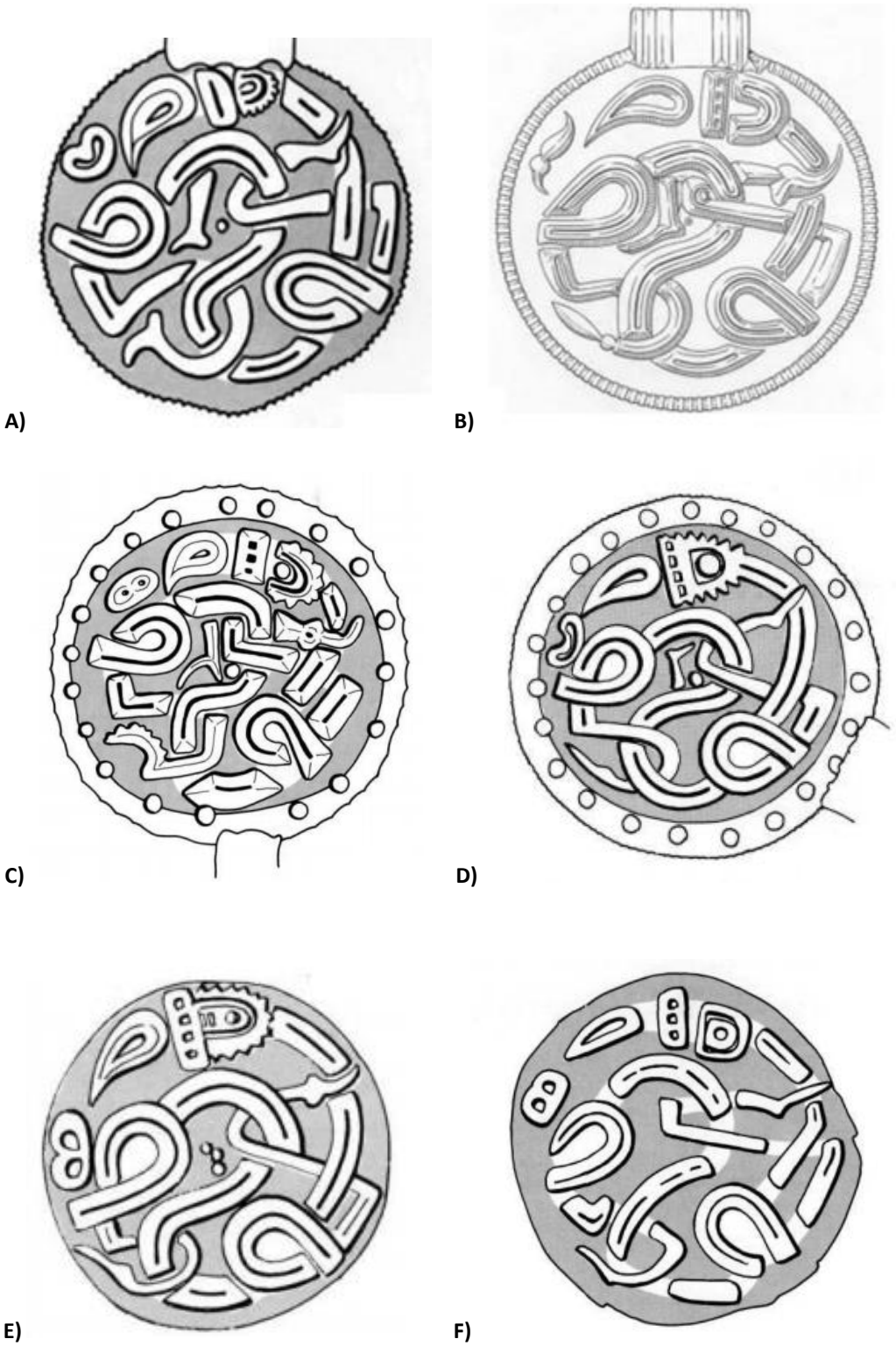


Figure 6.52 Selection of D-bracteates from the D9 family. A) Bifrons (Kent) (IK 410) (Diameter: 18.7 mm) (App. Table 6.2.26) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 6); B) Northbourne (Kent) (IK 616) (Diameter: 22.2 mm) (App. Table 6.2.38) (Behr 2010a: 44. Fig. 5c); C) Finglesham (Kent) (IK 425) (Diameter: 26.5 mm) (App. Table 6.2.28) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 14); D) Finglesham (Kent) (IK 426.2) (Diameter: 20.5 mm) (App. Table 6.2.30) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 16); E) Sarre (Kent) (IK 492.1) (Diameter: 25 mm) (App. Table 6.2.32) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 72); F) West Stow (Suffolk) (IK 565) (Diameter: 21.1 mm) (App. Table 6.2.34) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 126). Illustrations not to scale.

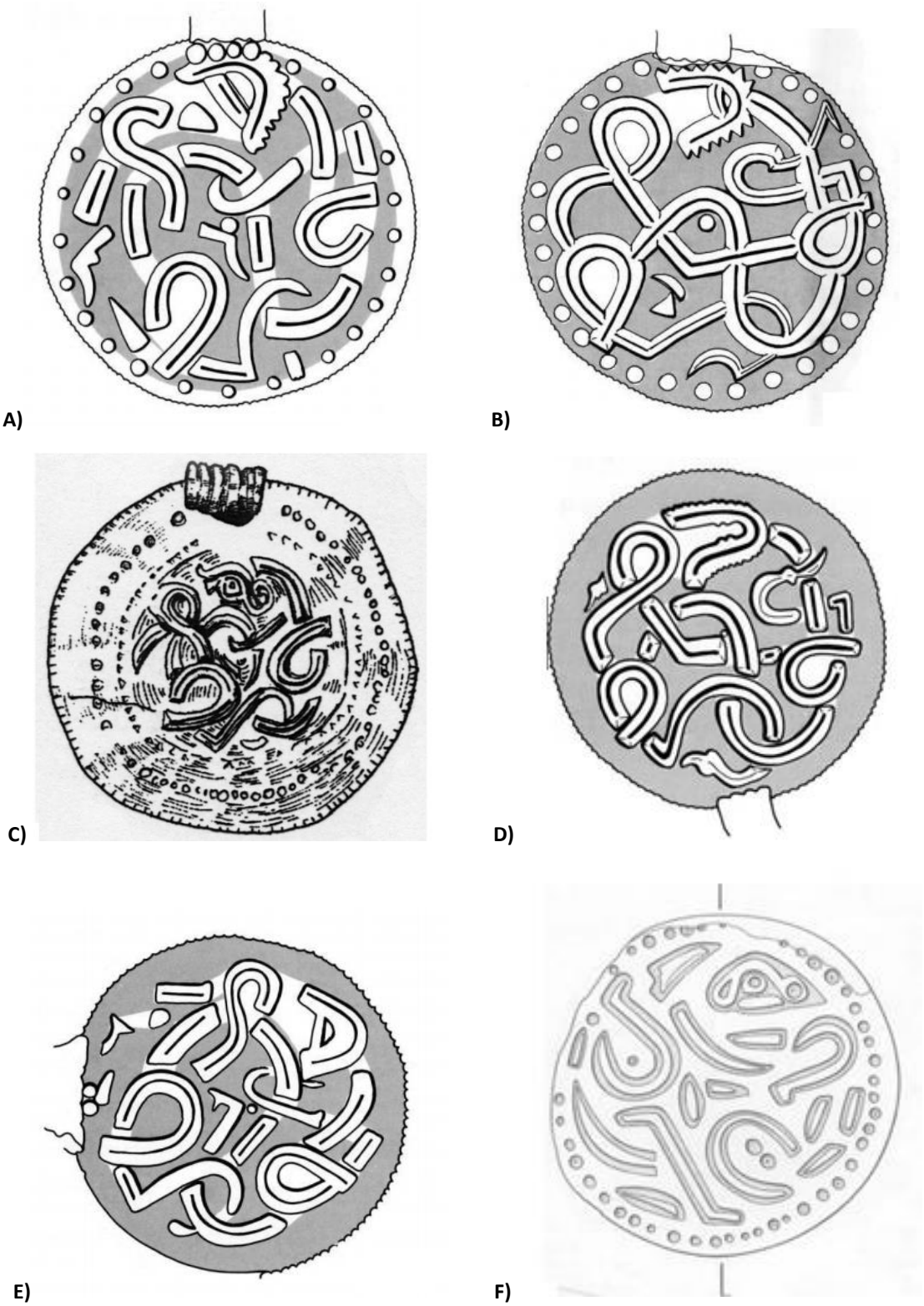


Figure 6.53 Selection of D-bracteates from the D10 family. A) Sarre (Kent) (IK 495) (Diameter: 30.5 mm) (App. Table 6.2.42) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 74); B) Sarre (Kent) (IK 494) (Diameter: 26.5 mm)(App. Table 6.2.41) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 74); C) Blakeney Freshes (Norfolk) (IK 601) (Diameter: 41 mm) (App. Table 6.2.44) (Behr 2010a: 59. Fig.13b); D) Bifrons (Kent) (IK 411) (Diameter: 30.3 mm) (App. Table 6.2.39) (Hauck et al. 1989c. Taf. 8); E) King's Field (Kent) (IK 456) (Diameter: 20.8 mm) (App. Table 6.2.40) (Hauck et al. 1989c. Taf. 38); F) Copper alloy disc stamped with a bracteate motif from Billingford (Norfolk) (IK 589) (App. Table 6.2.43) (Diameter: 28.4-29.9 mm) (Behr 2010a: 51. Fig. 10b). Illustrations not to scale.

A)



B)



Figure 6.54 The human figure represented in the D9 group. A) Bifrons (Kent) (IK 410) (after Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 6); B) Northbourne (Kent) (IK 616) (after Behr 2010a: 44. Fig. 5c). Illustrations by the author, not to scale.

Martin 2013: 4-6). The iconographic link between the D9 family and the Brinton A-bracteate is further demonstrated by a continental example from Wurt-Burmania (the Netherlands) (Fig. 6.55). This variant presents the abbreviated body with a neck-ring and what appears to be an eye. A Style I decorated scabbard mouth plate from Amdal (Norway) provides a clear example of a heavily abbreviated full-bodied figure composed of shapes and ribboned strands (Fig. 6.56). As with the D9 examples, the body of this figure features breaks/fractures at the ankle, wrist, and below the knee, the presence of a belt and the contoured and distinguished upper arms draw further parallels with various 'bound bodies'.

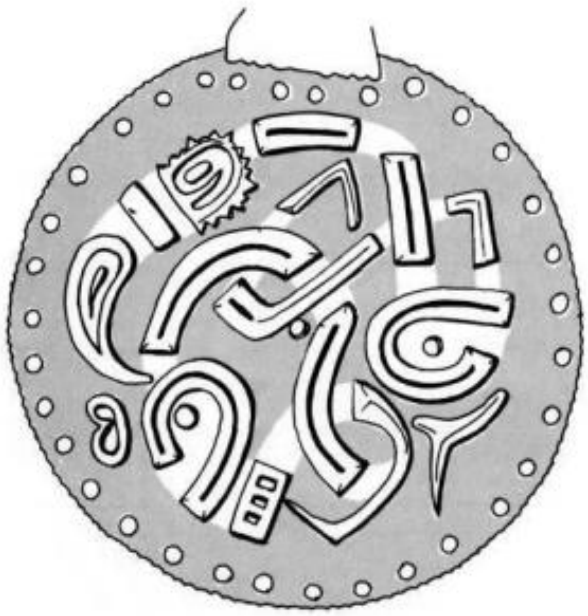


Figure 6.55 D-bracteate from Wurt-Burmania **(**Friesland, Netherlands) (IK 415) (D9 variant) (Diameter: 24.5 mm) (Hauck et al. 1989b. Taf. 10). Illustration not to scale.

The figure represented in the D9 group can also be identified on the four D10 bracteates and two D10 bastard variants. However, various alterations and re-arrangements mean the presence of the body in this group is not as obvious (Fig. 6.53) (App. Table 6.2.39-6.2.44). Further degenerated examples can also be identified on three D7 bracteates (IK 412.1/2, 462) and a D8 bastard variant (IK 554) from Kent and D-bracteates from Driffield (East Riding of Yorkshire) (IK 422) and Shalfleet Parish (Isle of Wight) (IK 624) (App. Table 6.2.46-6.2.51). While the hands and feet in the D10 group are less distinctive, a pronounced arm-ring and anklet can be observed in figure 6.53d. The possible presence of an anthropomorphic figure within the D10 family is reinforced by a bastard variant from Wurt Achlum (the Netherlands) (IK 405.1) (Fig. 6.57). In this example, human hands are connected to a 'body' composed of elongated and interwoven ribbons. As with the Brinton bracteate, the anthropomorphic figure represented on the D9 and D10 bracteates parallel several of the previously discussed

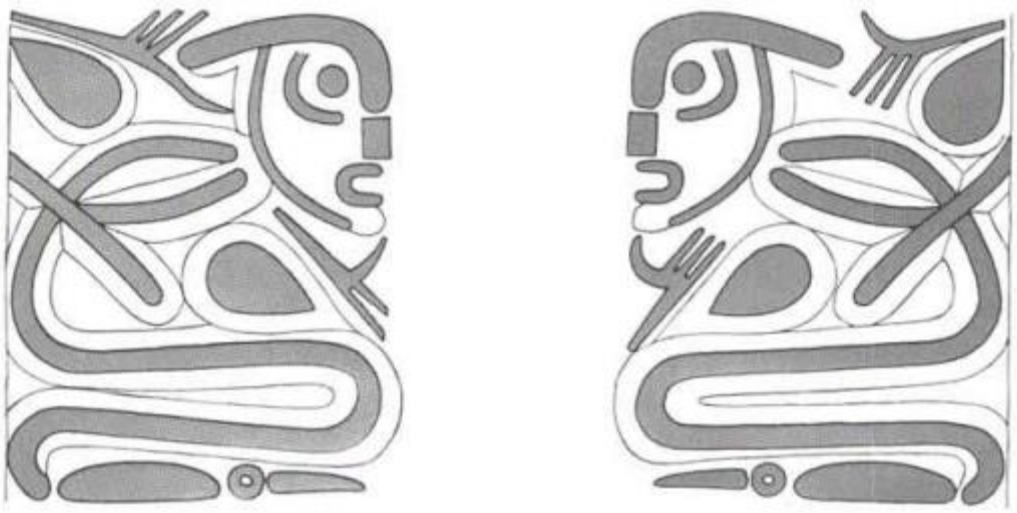


Figure 6.56 Scabbard mouth plate from Amdal (Norway) (6th century) (Height: 32 mm) (Haseloff 1981: 253. Fig. 167). Illustration not to scale.

bodies represented in Style I (e.g. Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.8, 6.16c, 6.18b, 6.33c). Another close Style I parallel can be observed on a Style I decorated saucer brooch from Baginton (Warwickshire) (Fig. 6.58) (App. Table 6.1.41). This example was omitted from the analysis of Style I objects as it does not feature any conclusively identifiable anthropomorphic elements. However, a possible anthropomorphic figure is represented pressed against the base of the rim. Like the figure on the Brinton bracteate, this figure possesses a face-mask with a triangular beard, this is situated above a torso feature that is fractured at the waist. The arm is also represented in a comparable position overlaying the torso.

Another bracteate of note was discovered in Chippenham (Wiltshire) (Fig. 6.59) (App. Table 6.2.52). This bracteate has been classified as a C-type, although stylistically it is closely related to the D types. Two legs with pronounced ankles and defined feet are represented against the upper edge. These legs are possibly connected to the adjacent S and C shaped bands, whether these represent the body is unclear. An anthropomorphic arm



Figure 6.57 D-bracteate from Wurt Achlum (Friesland, Netherlands) (IK 405.1) (D10 variant) (Diameter: 31.2 mm) (Hauck et al. 1989b.Taf. 4). Illustration not to scale.

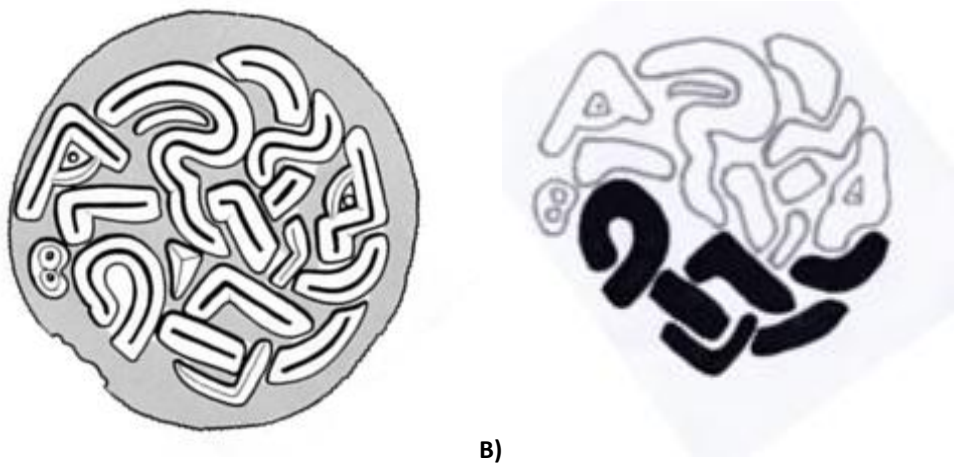


Figure 6.58 Cast saucer brooch from Baginton (Warwickshire) (App. Table 6.1.43) (Dickinson 2002: 166. Fig. 3). Illustration not to scale.



Figure 6.59 C-bracteate from Chippenham (Wiltshire) (IK 228) (Diameter: 19.9 mm) (App. Table 6.2.52) (Hauck et al. 1986b. Taf.17). Illustration not to scale.

with a pointed thumb is possibly represented opposite the legs alongside what seems to be a face-mask. While a body is not easily identified, the positioning of the legs and arms recalls the various contortionists who were portrayed bringing their feet over and towards their head and hands. Finally, three identical D-bracteates from Sarre (Kent) (IK 493) also potentially feature an anthropomorphic body pressed against the bottom edge (Fig. 6.60) (App. Table 6.2.53-6.2.55). Two additional face-masks are visible, these face-masks feature eyes and differ in shape to the C-shaped 'human' head. How the bodies of these three figures ought to be constructed is questionable, their body parts may be intermixed within the overall assemblage. Given the close relationship between the D-bracteates and Style I, it is likely that multiple patterns can be identified when interpreting and re-arranging the assemblage of shapes. As in Style I, the body parts have been creatively reduced to ambiguous and simple geometric forms which were intended to be read in multiple ways (see Leigh 1980: 356-69). While other D- bracteates have been found in England, it is difficult to identify a convincing anthropomorphic presence within their arrangements.



A) B)

Figure 6.60 D-bracteate from Sarre (Kent) (IK 493) (Diameter: 30.2 mm) (App. Table 6.2.52)(A) Hauck et al. 1989a. Taf.72; B) Illustration by the author after Hauck et al. 1989a. Taf.72). Illustrations not to scale.

Nonetheless, the small sample discussed here, particularly the D9 group, support the argument that full-bodied figures were represented on certain D-bracteates and transformed in a way that aligns with the presentation of the body in Style I phase D. As in Style I, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic bodies were adapted according to the same stylistic conventions to the point that they became indistinguishable. The partially explains why D-bracteates have been defined within modern scholarship as abstract adaptions of zoomorphic, and not anthropomorphic, bodies. Yet, a more substantial human contribution to the D types is expected since the body is featured within Style I and also prominently represented on the A, B and C types. Collectively, the sample of bracteates discussed here indicates that some form of human presence is implicitly present within other highly geometricized arrangements on other D types and in Style I. However, as the human and animal bodies are increasingly simplified and lose their distinctive signifiers, their anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statuses are called into question. Instead, both bodies assume a blurred and hybrid state.

6.5 Independent full-bodied human imagery (5th-6th centuries)

Only two examples of full-bodied semi-naturalistic human imagery not represented on a bracteate or in Style I could be located during data collection. The first is a three-dimensional clay figurine present on an urn lid found at Spong Hill (Norfolk) (Figs. 6.61, 6.62) (App. Table 6.3.1). The organic and three-dimensional character of this figure is exceptional when compared with other human representations produced in this period. This figure is currently dated to the middle to late 5th century, this suggests a tradition of three-dimensional human representation was being practised around the same time Style I was adopted in England and may even be iconographically related (Hills 1980: 52; 2014; Webster 2011: 468; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). It is important to be aware that since this is a three-dimensional organic sculpture, it may have been painted or supplemented with additional fixtures. While there is no evidence to support these possibilities, it is recognised that the following formal analysis of this figurine is limited to its current appearance.

This figure lacks any explicit markers of nakedness on the torso or crotch, the absence of any distinctive sexual characteristics also hinders the identification of sex (Hills 1980: 52; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). It has been suggested that there are faint indications of clothing on the wrists and the ankles, possibly signifying the presence of trousers which suggest the figure is male (Hills 1980: 52; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). However, the Spong person could be potentially interpreted as a 'bound body' as the markings on each wrist appear to be thick arm-rings. This could also explain why the figure lacks any indicator of clothing at the neckline or waist. The feature on top of the head has variously been interpreted as a bun hairstyle, a top knot hairstyle, or a pillbox hat (Hills 1980: 52; Walton-Rogers 2007: 209; Owen-Crocker 2004: 20, 79). Some form of headwear seems most



Figure 6.61 The Spong person, Spong Hill (Norfolk) (Height: 143 mm) (App. Table 6.3.1) (NHER 1012).

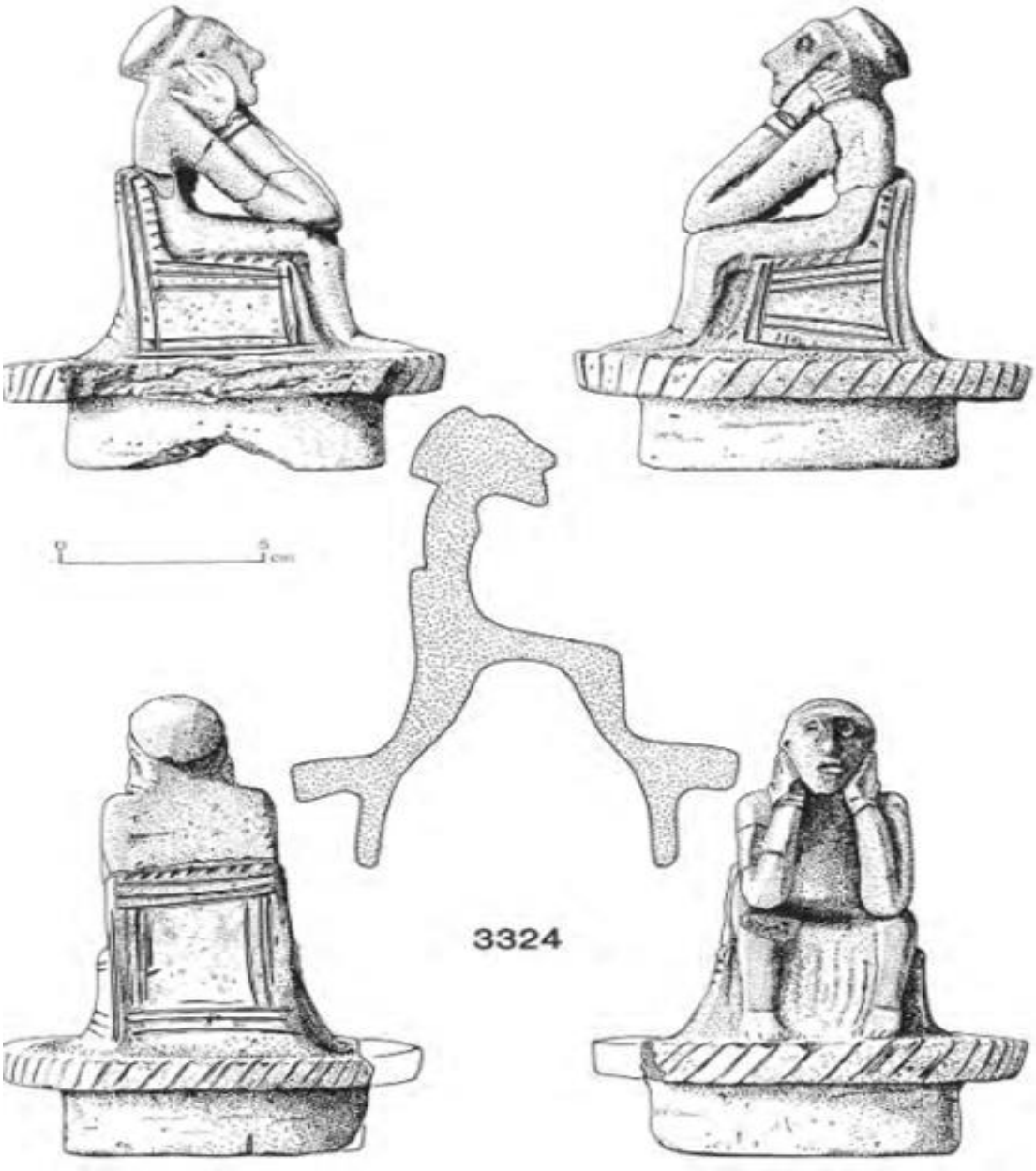
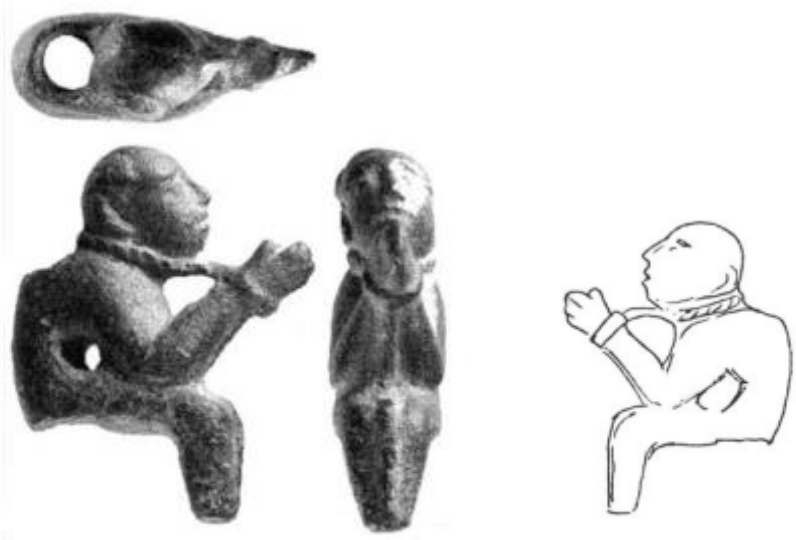


Figure 6.62 The Spong person (Hills et al. 1987: 162, Fig. 82). Illustration not to scale.

probable. The markings at the ankles could be interpreted as anklets, but they are incredibly faint and may simply be a by-product that has resulted from the curving transition where the legs end, and feet begin. Interestingly, the figure is shoeless as the toes are individually demarcated. Whether this reinforces a status of nakedness is debatable as the toes could just be an important symbolic detail on an otherwise schematic body. It is not possible to compare the presence of toes with any of the previous figures discussed in this chapter as all feet have been depicted in profile. Given the malleability of clay, the schematic appearance of the body appears to reflect a stylistic preference as opposed to technical limitations. Anatomical details were selectively allocated, for instance, the body is largely unmarked whereas the chair is decoratively incised. Since selectively applied details on otherwise schematic bodies act to draw focus to certain areas or aspects of the overall design, the defined fingers, arm-rings, and toes might imply that the limbs, not just their extremities, were distinguished as particularly significant. The emphasis on the limbs, their extremities and the face resonates with the treatment of the body in Style I and in the bracteate corpus. Hands with splayed thumbs raised to the face have also been a recurrent feature of the bodies discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. It has been suggested that Spong person is raising a mask to their face, masking being a practice commonly associated with the Scandinavian repertoire (Walton-Rogers 2007: 209; see Danielsson 1999; 2007; Herman 2015). Whether a mask or not, the large nose and protruding chin is also characteristic of the 'Germanic' repertoire. Based on these overlaps, a case can be made that the Spong person is related to the naked variant of the 'bound body'. It is also possible that the Spong person reflects a Romano-British influence as Roman period three-dimensional figurines seated on chairs have been found in Britain (see Durham 2012; Fittock 2018). An alternative Romano-British model that may have influenced the Spong person is a type of figurine



A)



B)

Figure 6.63 Romano-British 'bound captive' figurines. A) Copper-alloy figurine from Broxholme (West Lindsay, Lincolnshire) (Height: 45.9mm; width: 11.1 mm) (100-300 AD) (PAS DENO-EB7C77); B) Copper-alloy figurine from Britain (unprovenanced) (Height: 41 mm; Width: 32.5 mm) (Jackson 2005:144, 149, 154. Figs. 2, 8.15).

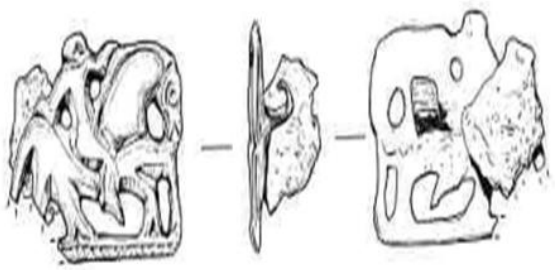


Figure 6.64 Rider brooch from Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Width: 24 mm) (App. Table 6.3.2) (Parfitt & Anderson 2012:459, Fig. 10.6). Illustration not to scale.

commonly referred to as a 'bound captive' (Fig. 6.63) (see Jackson 2005; Durham 2012. 334). This figurine type was well represented in Britain compared to other Roman provinces, suggesting it was a particularly popular motif in this region (Jackson 2005: 147-49). Examples are also known from Norfolk (Jackson 2005: 153). Like the Spong person, the physical proportions of these figurines are usually awkward and imbalanced, the head is often oversized and elongated. The body is presented naked but without defined genitalia. The figure appears as if seated with their elbows rested on the knees while the hands and rope bound wrists, which resemble the arm-rings, are raised to their face (for more examples see Jackson 2005: 145). These bound captives are thought to represent slaves and subjugated warriors (Jackson 2005: 149, 151). As such, these figurines could also be considered a conceptual parallel to the often physically hindered and immobilized 'bound bodies'.

The second full-bodied human figure is a horse and rider represented on a brooch found at Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Fig. 6.64) (App. Table 6.3.2). Both horse and rider are portrayed schematically, the eyes are the only distinguished anatomical detail. Parallel rider brooches dating to the 6th century are more commonly found in western and central Europe, these are referred to as Reiterfibeln (for examples see Marti 1990: 57-58). As such,

this example was likely imported. Little more can be said regarding the rider's state of dress without exploring the stylistic development of this brooch type more extensively.

6.6 Preliminary discussion and summary

While the number of identifiable human bodies dating to this period is small, it is clear that the 'bound body' and 'belted body' had a presence within the visual culture of England in the 5th-6th centuries. As acknowledged in Chapter 5, it cannot be conclusively demonstrated that the 'bare' bodies discussed in this chapter are naked, but if they were interpreted as such it would mean that there was a notable artistic interest in representing the naked and semi-dressed body in England in this period. Throughout Chapters 5 and 6, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that from the 5th century onwards, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figure has been adapted according to the same stylistic conventions. In turn, the physical appearances of these bodies often overlapped and were blurred. The visual ambiguity that surrounds the human image is further accentuated by instances of technical degeneration via copying or poor craftsmanship. While coherent human bodies could be identified on Style I decorated objects found in England, it became apparent that the recognisable anthropomorphic quality of these figures was usually greatly reduced once further adapted or copied. Since the traditional narrative has emphasised the importance of the zoomorphic motifs within 'Germanic animal' Style I, it is no surprise that the ambiguously represented body parts are often interpreted as belonging to a zoomorphic entity. It seems likely that the human body has some kind of iconographic and symbolic presence within the less coherent and ambiguous arrangements found on Style I decorated objects and on the D-bracteates. This would suggest that the body was represented, or

visually evoked, more frequently in England than has previously been recognised. The stylistic conventions and motifs identified and discussed within Chapters 5 and 6 may provide a stepping stone to making further identifications of the body within even less coherent compositions. With that said, there may have been some misidentifications of the body and its parts within this chapter. However, it is important to consider the possibility that certain iconographic details are anthropomorphic to be able to advance our understanding of the body and its artistic representation in the 5th-6th centuries. Only by doing so can the notion that the human body held a minor position within a zoocentric visual culture be challenged and possibly overturned.

Until further discoveries are made, the number of identified full and partial bodied figures remains small with only a few known examples of certain motifs. For instance, the 'belted body' was represented on only four bracteates, all potentially identical, which were recovered from two findspots in East Anglia. It is possible, therefore, that this motif was not widely encountered in England. By contrast, the 'bound body' was better represented as it could be identified in Style I and on various bracteates. From the sample of objects discussed within this chapter, the 'belted body' does not appear to have a discernible presence within Style I. Without an exhaustive survey of Style I decorated objects from the Continent, I can only put forth an impressionistic judgement of what motifs were featured within the Style I repertoire. However, I am yet to locate a coherent and semi-naturalistic example of a 'bare' body wearing a belt on a continental example of Style I. The rare examples of semi-naturalistic full-bodied figures featured within Style I can typically be related to the 'bound bodies' represented in the bracteate corpus. Throughout Chapters 5 and 6, several recurring iconographic details and stylistic conventions have been identified

in association with the 'bound bodies' (App. Table 6.4). Some of these criteria are not exclusive to the 'bound body' and can be observed amongst the bodies that belong to other costume groups analysed in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, many of these conventions and details appear to be more closely associated with the 'bound body'. From a thematic perspective, the motif explores a range of concepts concerning the body, these include immobilization, physical manipulation, ambiguity, hybridity and transformation. By contrast, the 'belted body was often portrayed in a non-ambiguous manner, thus, there were no hybrid or transforming examples. Instead, these bodies were often represented free from restrictions, standing upright or running (Fig. 5.42-5.45). Some of the abbreviated and further stylised bodies represented in Style I and on the D bracteates did not feature arm-rings. However, these figures often display several of the characteristics associated with the 'bound body' and in many instances can be paralleled with the more coherent variants. It seems likely, therefore, that many of these figures are derivations of a 'bound body'. Collectively, the sources of visual evidence explored within Chapters 5 and 6 suggests that the 'belted body' is a motif found primarily on B types. Whereas the 'bound body' is a recurrent motif within Style I and in the bracteate corpus.

While the 'bound body' is represented more frequently in England, the identified sample is small and its geographic distribution is limited. For instance, the handful of coherent, albeit stylised, full-bodied figures were primarily featured on square-headed brooches found in the lower Midlands and the south and southeast of England (Fig. 6.65). The presence of Style I in England began with Scandinavian square-headed brooches. These were first imported into Kent (Webster 2011: 467). Some of the Jutlandic group brooches were included above. Distinctive and coherent animal-men figures are a recognised feature

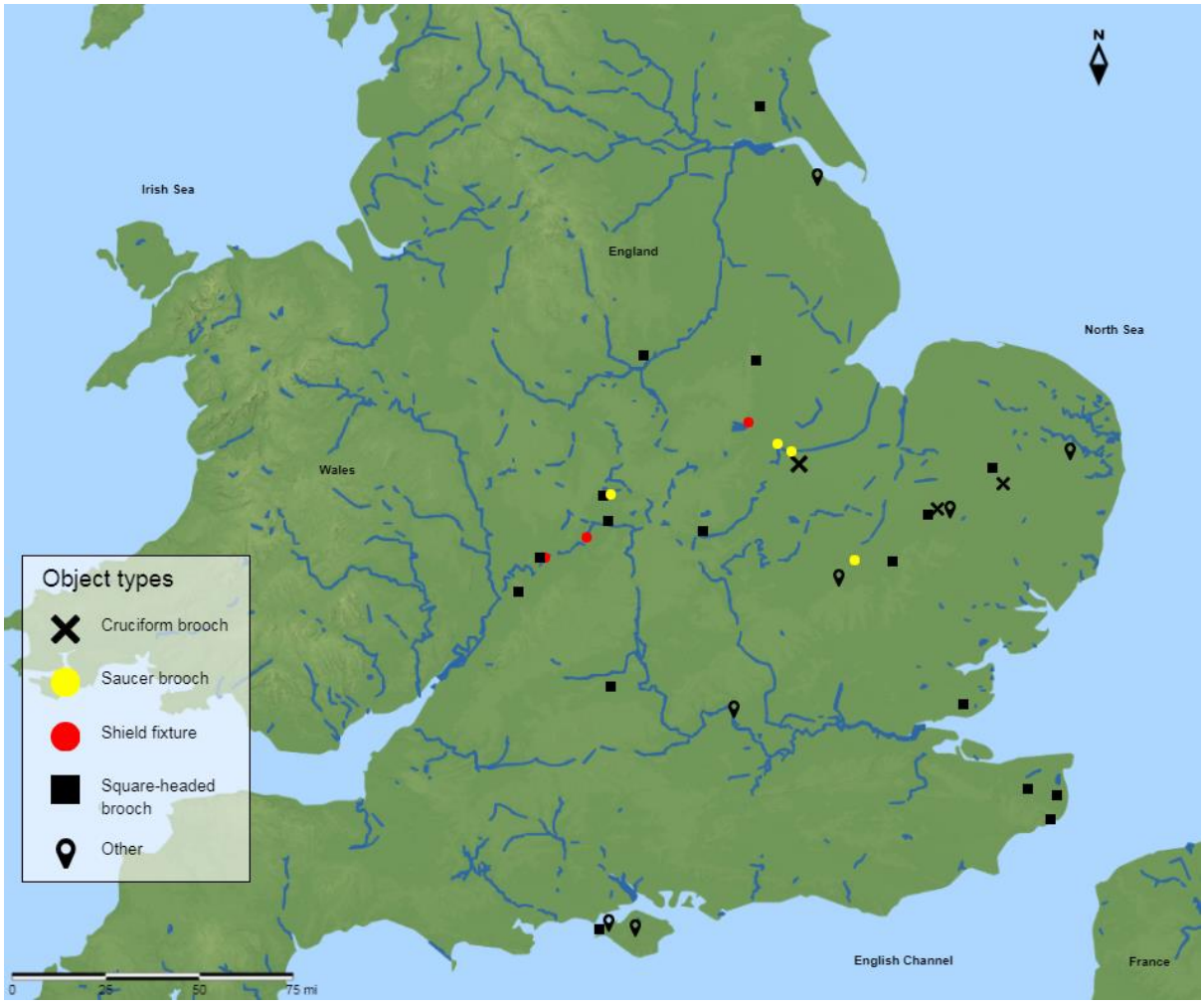


Figure 6.65 Distribution of the Style I catalogue according to object type.

of this group (Haseloff 1981: 160-66; Suzuki 2000: 101). These imports prompted the production of the great square-headed brooches in England. It is generally considered that this object type carries some of the most complex and accomplished arrangements of Style I produced in England (Dickinson 2002: 163). The figures identified on these brooches are iconographically related to those represented on certain saucer brooches and shield-boss apex discs which were distributed primarily in central England (Fig. 6.65). This link is unsurprising as the earliest Style I decorated saucer brooches drew upon the motifs carried by the Kentish square-headed brooches and adapted them to fit the circular field of the

saucer brooch (Dickinson 2002: 165). This object type is primarily distributed in central and southern England (Dickinson 2002: 179). The human, animal and zoomorphic figures represented on the shield-boss apex discs may have also been derived from the great square-headed brooches and Jutlandic group (Dickinson 2005: 117, 149-51). These Style I decorated discs have primarily been found in eastern and central England (Dickinson 2005: 142). The D-bracteate is the primary bracteate type discovered in England, nearly all of which have been found in Kent (see Behr 2010a) (Fig. 6.35). Cruciform brooches are the primary carrier of Style I in East Anglia and Lincolnshire (Martin 2013: 1-2). Yet, the Style I motifs featured on these brooches were not particularly relevant to this thesis. As such, it would seem that full and partial body figures were restricted to certain object types which were not uniformly distributed across England (Fig. 6.65). The human figures are biased to the Midlands, south and south-east whereas regions like East Anglia and northern England are greatly under-represented. It is possible, therefore, that some regions engaging with Style I were not regularly exposed to the full-bodied anthropomorphic figures within its repertoire. Similarly, as Style I was adapted over time and space and its motifs became further degenerated or stylised, one might question whether the audience were even aware of the anthropomorphic contribution and presence within the Style.

The 'bound body' motif originated in Scandinavia and it is on the Continent where the most coherent, detailed and semi-naturalistic examples of these motifs are found. Meanwhile, Style I renditions of the 'bound body' present in England are further stylised and could not, without continental comparative materials, be readily interpreted as either naked or clothed. The body identified within the D-bracteates in England presents a similar problem. If we assume that the 'bound body' was represented more frequently than the

data suggests, and that it was portrayed comparably to those discussed above, it is important to ask whether the average spectator in England would have known what these abbreviated and stylised variants represented. This potential visual illiteracy extends beyond the body as it has been argued that specialist training and knowledge would have been required to properly decipher and interpret intentionally ambiguous Style I arrangements (Webste, 2003: 12; Martin 2013: 4,10, 13; Dickinson 2002: 177-81; Pesch 2012: 674-76). With that said, it has been suggested that for metalworkers to have adequately replicated and adapted this Style, they would have needed in-depth knowledge of its stylistic principles, its motifs and a theoretical understanding of their symbolism (Behr 2010b: 460-61; Dickinson 2002: 177-80; Pesch 2012: 674-76). It can be assumed therefore that the specialist metalworkers, patrons and owners of Style I decorated objects were visually literate, but that majority of the populace may have struggled to comprehend the Style (Martin 2013: 13-14). If we assume that certain specialist individuals were able to 'read' the visual language of Style I, it is highly likely that they were also familiar with the 'bound body' and 'belted body' motifs since they were ubiquitous within the B type catalogue (see Chapter 5). The popularity of these motifs implies they were culturally significant in Scandinavia. Consequently, information relating to the original appearance and symbolism of the 'bound body' may have been transmitted to England via the same pathways that had introduced the bracteates and Style I. It could then be assumed that there was some knowledge in England of what the 'bound body' represented in Scandinavia and that the motif was associated with states of nakedness and semi-dress. The bracteates from Bifrons and Brinton also imply that there may have been additional coherent and semi-naturalistic examples of the 'bound body' present in England. The iconographic links between the Spong person and the portrayal of the body in Style I and the bracteate corpus are also of note.

Whether the Spong person is an isolated artistic experiment or is evidence of a larger organic figural tradition is uncertain. The arm-rings worn by the Spong person suggest that the 'bound body' had some form of artistic and cultural influence in East Anglia.

The impact of the 'bound body' and 'belted body' on the visual culture of England is also demonstrated in the next Chapter as these motifs have a substantial presence in the 7th-century figural repertoire. How the 'bound body' and 'belted body' motifs were interpreted once imported into England is considered in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7

Nakedness and the body in early 'Anglo-Saxon' visual culture (late 6th-7th centuries AD)

7.1 Introduction

The following analysis explores the portrayal of the human image produced between the late 6th-7th centuries. As outlined in Chapter 3, modern scholarship considers this a period of artistic innovation and transformation. Key artistic developments include the appearance of 'clearly dressed' and 'explicitly naked' figures. Male and female sexed bodies can also be identified. While in the 5th-6th centuries, the human image was almost exclusively featured on bracteates and in Style I, the body is now represented on a broader range of objects and in new forms. This includes a continually expanding assortment of three-dimensional metal figurines. While bracteates and Style I decorated objects were more frequently associated with and worn by women as costume accessories, figural images are increasingly depicted on articles of male dress, e.g. belt plates and helmets. The figures produced in this period have been grouped and are analysed within this chapter according to their state of dress. 'Explicitly naked' figures are discussed first followed by the 'clearly dressed' bodies. Bodies of a more ambiguous nature are then considered. These include 'bare' bodies, hybrid, schematic and heavily stylised representations and figures whose bodily appearance cannot be confidently interpreted due to damage and erosion. Lastly, imported and re-used objects that carry naked figures are presented and analysed. Certain objects discussed within this group predate the 7th century, but are discussed here for categorical convenience. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings.

7.2 'Explicitly naked' bodies

7.2.1 Identifying states of nakedness

Eleven, potentially twelve, representations fit the criteria for 'explicitly naked', figure 7.1 maps their distribution (Figs. 7.1-7.13) (App. Table 7.1). This includes nine three-dimensional figurines and three instances of two-dimensional representation. Before I collectively discuss and analyse these bodies, it is necessary to examine several 'explicitly naked' male figures which are interpreted, in contemporary literature, as wearing some form of skin-tight legwear which accentuates a phallic bulge. The following section explores whether these figures are wearing trousers or whether this is a misidentification and that the penis is on display.

The first example is a figurine from Carlton Colville (Suffolk) (Fig. 7.2) (App. Table 7.1.1). It has been argued that the partially gilded legs and the band-like markings situated under the knees represent a pair of short-breeches which are held up by a belt (Webster 2002a: 46; 2012: 82; Webster and Minter 2007: 225; Pestell 2012: 84-85; Brundle 2019: 61, 124-25; Carver 2019: 96). The combination of short trousers and belt would not be unexpected as these articles were associated with the semi-dressed 'bound body'. However, this figure may be a naked 'belted body'. Firstly, it needs to be recognised that the gilding is not an indicator of clothing as it is also applied to the face, beard, belt and hands. The selective use of gilding to highlight certain areas of the body is also observable on the figure with a gilded face situated on the Sutton Hoo purse mount lid and on the figurine from Halesworth (Suffolk), whose hair, face and skirt are gilded (Figs. 7.7,7.10). Arguably, the gilding functioned as a spotlight that visually emphasised areas of the body that were symbolically significant, for the Carlton Colville figurine this includes the crotch/upper legs,



Figure 7.1 Sites and findspots for the ‘explicitly naked’ catalogue.

A)



B)

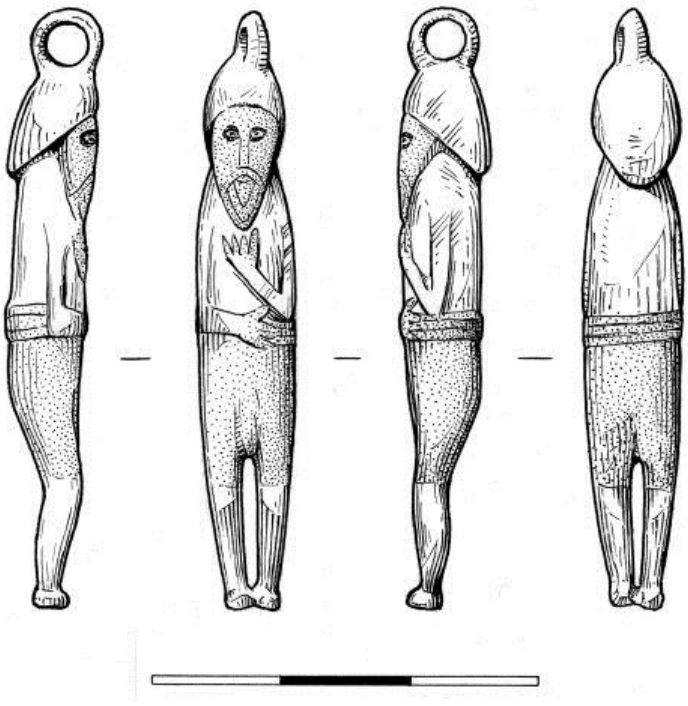


Figure 7.2 Figurine from Carlton Colville (Suffolk) (Height: 43 mm) (App. Table 7.1.1). A) Own photograph ; B) Illustration (Webster and Minter 2007: 224e). Illustration not to scale.

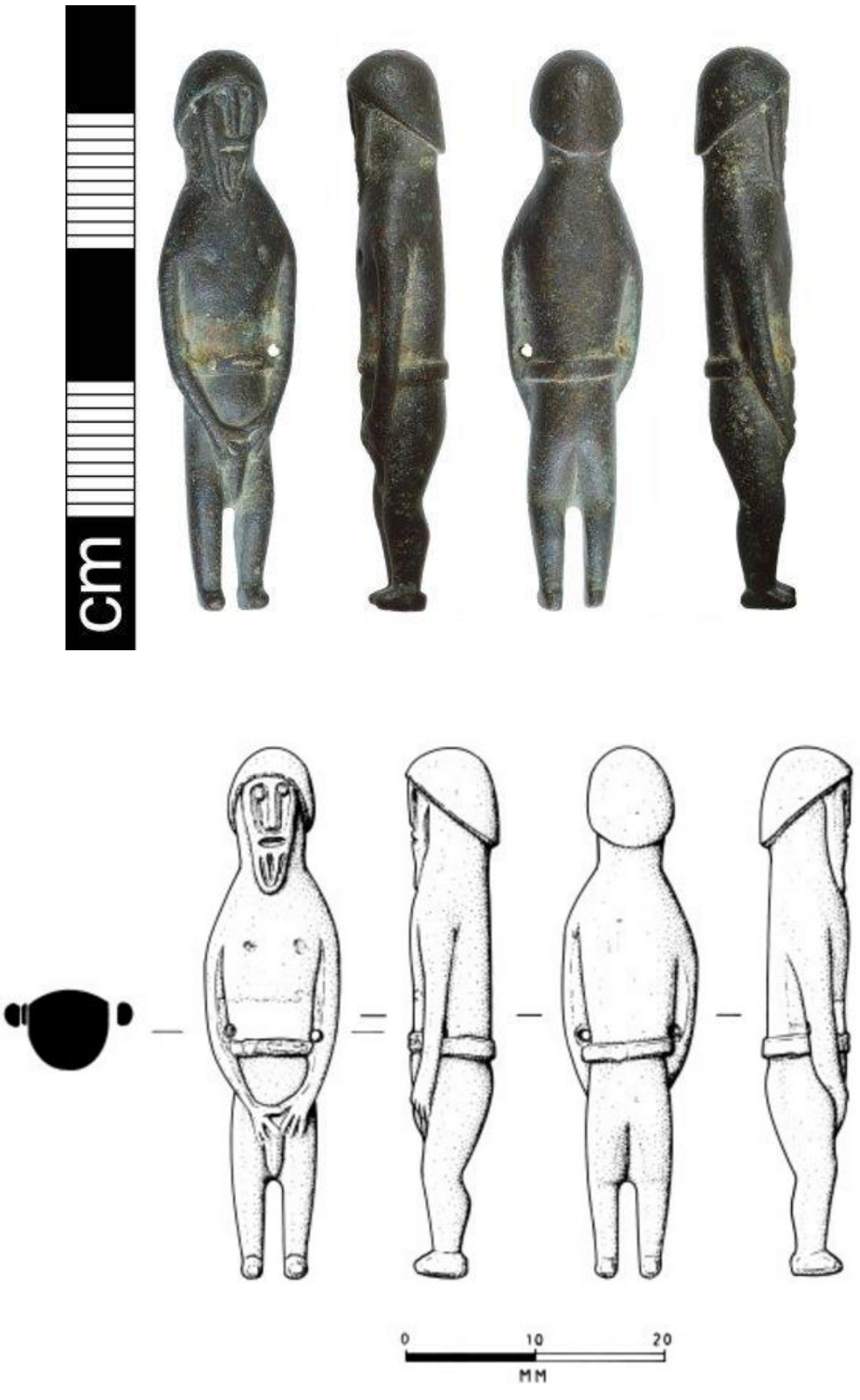


Figure 7.3 Figurine from Oxborough (Norfolk) (Height: 41 mm) (App. Table 7.1.2) (PASNMS-D6704B). Illustration not to scale.

hands and face. The significance of these areas is reinforced by the fact they are the only parts of the body that feature some form of demarcated anatomical detail, e.g. facial details, a phallus and fingers. As observed, emphasised upper limbs and bands situated on the knees were associated with the 'bound body' (e.g. Fig. 6.46). While the bands on the Carlton Colville figurine could also be interpreted as knee-rings, they do not appear to be consistently represented around the circumference of the legs. Thus, it is questionable whether these were even an intended iconographic detail. The so-called phallic 'bulge' measures 1/7th of the total height of the figurine, the demarcated penis is also deeply incised on both sides which gives it a pronounced quality. The buttocks of this figure are also demarcated. Arguably, this is an exposed penis and its symbolic importance is being visually communicated via its large size, gilding, and distinguished presence on a body that features limited anatomical detail. That this figure is naked is reinforced by the recent discovery of a comparable figurine from nearby Oxborough (Norfolk) (Fig. 7.3) (App. Table 7.1.2). This figure features a similarly emphasised and demarcated phallus, defined buttocks, a helmet and a belt. Unlike the Carlton Colville example, this figurine displays recessed circular areolas/nipples. This parallel reinforces the suggestion that the Carlton Colville figurine is in a similar state of undress.

The next figurine is from Friston (Suffolk), and has been interpreted as wearing a pair of tight trousers that accentuate the penis (PAS SF-01ACA7; Webster & Minter 2007: 225-27; Brundle 2019: 61, 124-25; Pestell 2012: 84-85) (Fig. 7.4) (App. Table 7.1.3). This figurine displays some similarities to the Carlton Colville and Oxborough examples, although its features are not as pronounced and less readily identifiable. Limited gilding is visible on the head and eyes. The penis is not as deeply demarcated, therefore, its form is less



Figure 7.4 Figurine from Friston (Suffolk) (Height: 51.2 mm) (App. Table 7.1.3). A) Photograph (PAS SF-01ACA7); B) Illustration in Webster and Minter 2007: 224d; C) Inversion of image A, the nipples and penis can be more clearly distinguished. Illustration not to scale.

distinguished and its presence not as overt. Like the Oxborough figurine, two faint recessed holes can be discerned on the chest which may represent nipples (Fig. 7.4a/c). The headwear feature is comparable to the previous two figurines. However, the slit at the top suggests it may represent hair. The horizontal incision on the lower back could be interpreted as a belt, this line could also signify the presence of trousers, although either interpretation may be wrong as this feature is not consistently represented across the circumference of the body. It has been suggested that this figure is wearing a pair of shoes (Brundle 2014: 83). However, demarcated toes are a rarity within the early 'Anglo-Saxon' figural repertoire. The feet on the figurine from Oxborough are similarly shaped and are presumably naked given his overall state of undress (Fig. 7.3). Ultimately, there is limited evidence that suggests the Friston figurine is wearing trousers, whereas the nipples and demarcated penis strongly implies he is represented naked. The iconographic parallels with the figurines from Oxborough and Carlton Colville reinforce this possibility.

The physical appearance of the figurine from Breach Downs is harder to interpret as the surface has been affected by wear (Figs. 7.5, 7.6) (App. Table 7.1.4). This figure has been read as wearing either a pair of short breeches, loincloth or skirt (Evison 1985: 215-16; Webster 2002a: 46; Brundle 2014: 150, Fig. 7.6e). The presence of clothing is questionable as there are no distinctive demarcations or incisions that are consistently visible around the circumference of the body. A horizontal incision is visible above the knees, yet, this incision is also present in the gap between the legs (Figs. 7.5a, 7.6c). This suggests the incision does not represent the hemline of short trousers. Instead, this feature may be a by-product of the manufacturing process as it occurs near where the legs have been bent and then fixed to the flat surface situated on the reverse of the object (figs. 7.5a, 7.6). The buttocks are

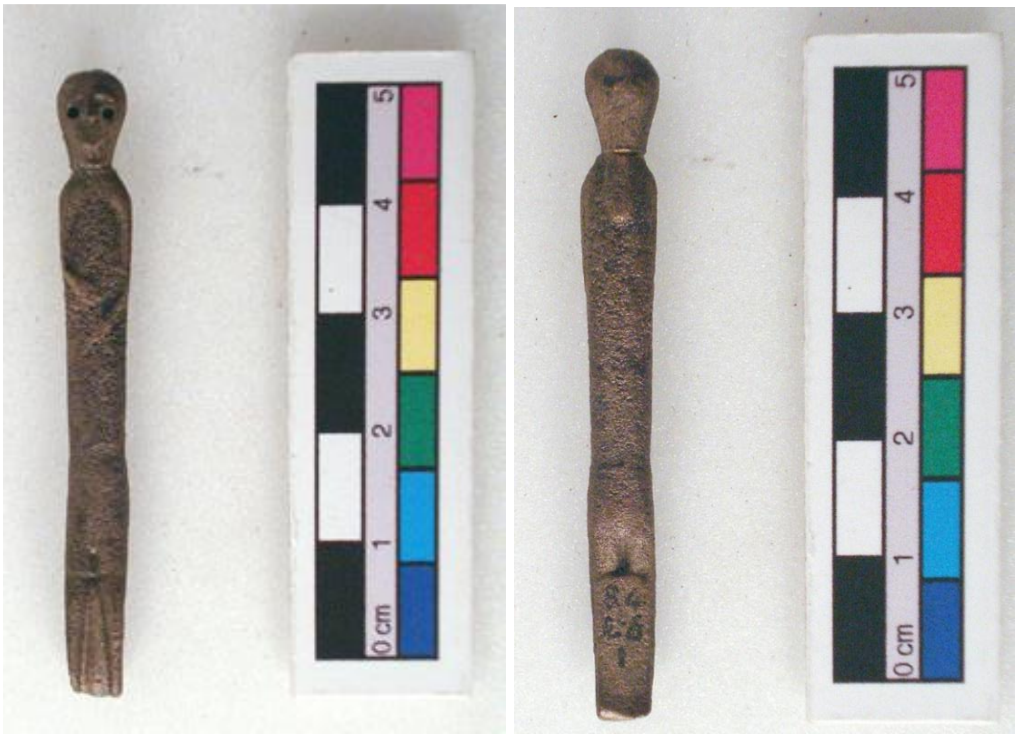




Figure 7.5 Figurine from Breach Downs (Kent) (Height: 55 mm) (App. Table 7.1.4) (BM 1884,0408.1).

A)



B)



C)



Figure 7.6 Figurine from Breach Downs (Kent) (continued). Own photographs.

notably demarcated which suggests they are naked, although Vera Evison suggested their form is visible through tight legwear (1965: 216). It has been proposed that the figure is topless as the torso features no clear markers of clothing and potentially features a navel (Evison 1965: 215; Brundle 2014: 150. Fig.7.6e). What seems to be a recessed spine on the back of the figure may also support this interpretation (Fig. 7.6b). A raised horizontal line is visible around the waist which may represent a belt or the waist of the trousers, yet, this feature is only clearly distinguishable on the reverse of the figurine (Fig. 7.5a, 7.6b). If a belt is present, this individual may also be wearing some form of headwear/helmet akin to the previous belt wearing figures. However, the head has suffered extensive erosion and so a



Figure 7.7 Sutton Hoo purse lid (Mound 1, Woodbridge, Suffolk) (Length: 33 mm; Width: 30 mm) (App. Table 7.1.5) (BM 19391010.2).

headdress or hair cannot be identified (Evison 1965: 215). The details at the crotch have been interpreted as a penis concealed within a tight loincloth or skirt (Evison, 1965: 216). Arguably, the markings at the crotch are too indistinctive to be confidently identified as a penis (discussed below). While the body does appear to be topless, the lower half of the body is harder to interpret. However, the suggestion that this figure is wearing a short tight garment that emphasises a phallic bulge is unconvincing.

The final figure is represented in cloisonné and is depicted between two flanking beasts on the Sutton Hoo purse lid (Fig. 7.7) (App. Table 7.1.5). This figure has been interpreted as wearing a blacksmith's apron comprised of millefiori glass cells arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Bruce-Mitford 1976: 512-14). An oblong-shaped phallus has been identified between the legs and it has been suggested that, in addition to the apron, the figure is either bare legged or wearing skin-tight trousers that emphasise a penis (Brundle

2014: 83). Arguably, the apron is a large and elaborately decorated belt. There is also no evidence to suggest that this figure is wearing trousers, whereas the presence of a clearly distinguished penis strongly implies the legs are naked. Collectively, there is little cause to assign trousers or a state of semi-dress to these male figures. Instead, the figurines from Friston, Oxborough, and Carlton Colville alongside the figure on the purse lid can be interpreted as naked below the waist.

7.2.2 Primary sexual characteristics

This section provides a summary of the sexual characteristics featured on the 'explicitly naked' figures. Of the twelve figures in this group, six instances of the penis can be identified. This includes the figurines from Carlton Colville (Suffolk), Friston (Suffolk), Oxborough (Norfolk), Mautby (Norfolk) and the two-dimensional figure on the purse lid from Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) and on the figure on a belt plate from Finglesham (Kent) (Figs. 7.2-7.4, 7.7-7.9) (App. Table 7.1.1-3, 4-7). Whether the figure from Breach Downs possesses a penis is unclear. A small and slender pronounced feature is visible on the crotch, but its phallic quality is not particularly obvious (Fig. 7.6c). None of these figures features testicles. The proportions and appearances of these figures could be considered semi-naturalistic, the penis is one of the few details featured on these otherwise schematic bodies. This indicates that the penis is a highly symbolic component of these representations. Whether the figures are depicted with an erect or flaccid penis is uncertain. It has been argued that the phalluses on the figurines are not symbols linked to sex and fertility since they are concealed under clothing, are small in size or seemingly not erect (Pestell 2012: 86; Brundle 2014: 168; Pollington et al. 2010: 430; PAS NMS-D6704B). In the case of the figurines from Carlton Colville and Oxborough, it is apparent from their considerable size and exposed state that

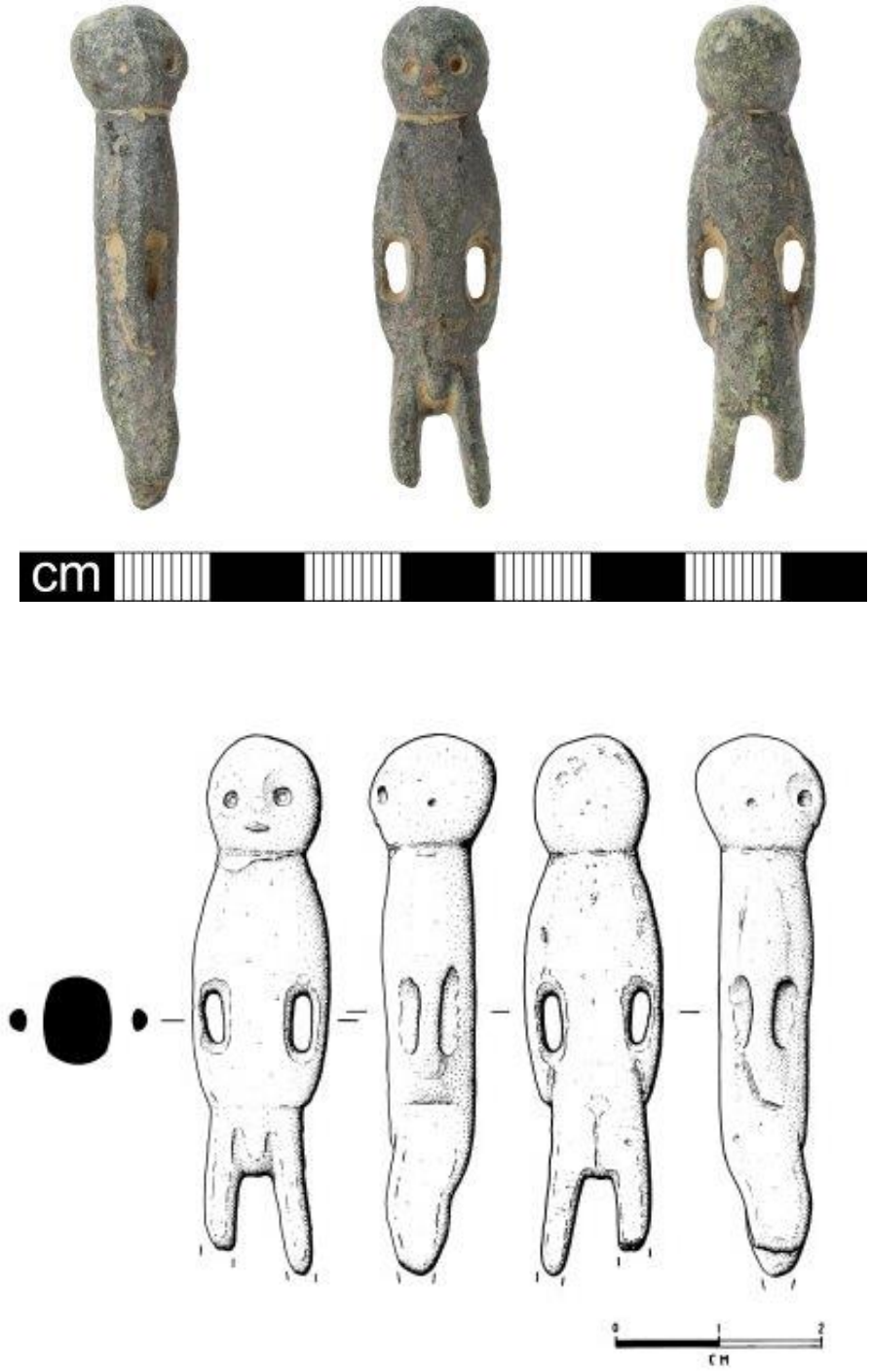


Figure 7.8 Figurine from Mautby (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk) (Height: 37 mm; Width: 17 mm) (App. Table 7.1.6) (PAS NMS-34ACBB). Illustration not to scale.

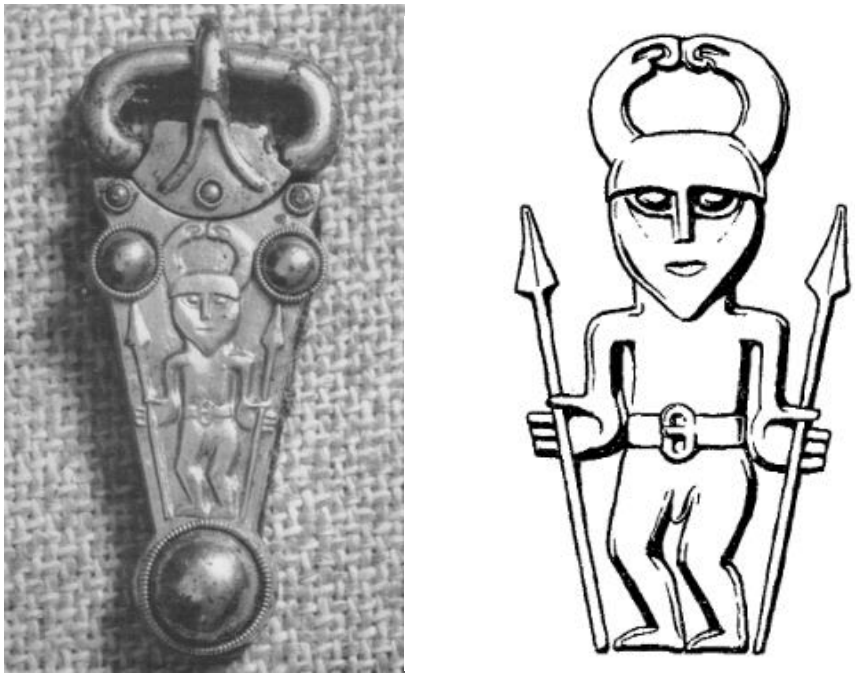


Figure 7.9 Belt plate from Finglesham (Kent) (Length: 80 mm) (App. Table 7.1.7) (Hawkes et al. 1965: 19, Fig.1., PL IVa). Illustration not to scale.

this is not the case. While not jutting outward from the body, the sexual and reproductive qualities of the penis are potentially being accentuated by its large size, occasional gilding, and pronounced appearance. The figurine from Oxborough also appears to frame and direct attention to the penis via the placement of the hands. The fingers are also touching the penis which might imply a sexual dimension. The penis is not so clearly pronounced on the figurine from Friston, but as stated, the overall execution of the figurine compares poorly to the previous two figurines. The figurine from Mautby is also crude in its appearance and badly worn, still, a penis is distinguishable on an otherwise heavily schematic body (Fig. 7.8). Like the Oxborough figurine, the hands also act to frame and draw attention to the penis. Meanwhile, the Finglesham man's penis terminates in a downward angular point, the similarly pointed spearheads imply that the penetrative quality of the penis is evoked (Fig. 7.9). Hence, this penis may symbolise sexual aggression in either a martial or a sexual setting.



A) B)

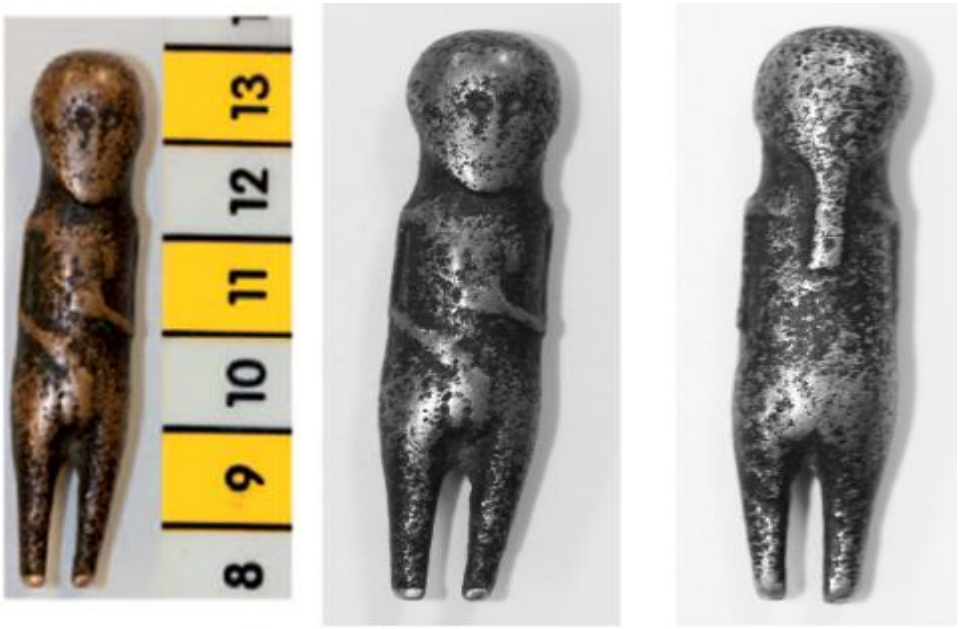
Figure 7.10 Figurine from Halesworth (Suffolk) (App. Table 7.1.8). A) Photograph (Brundle 2013: 206. Fig.4); B) Photograph (Webster 2017: 36 Fig.2.18).

Three, possibly four, examples of female genitalia can be potentially identified. These include the figurines from Eyke (Norfolk), Higham (Kent), Broadstairs (Kent), and possibly the figurine from Breach Downs (App. Table 7.1.4, 7.1.8-11) (Figs. 7.5-6, 7.10-12). The identification of female genitalia is complicated by its subtle presence. For instance, on the figurine from Eyke, the one, possibly two, oval-shaped markings situated above the recessed space that connects the thighs may represent the vulva (Fig. 7.12a). Alternatively, it is the recessed surface area that represents the genitals. A similarly recessed feature is observable at the crotch on the figurine from Higham (Fig. 7.12b). The genitals appear to be represented by a faintly incised vertical line situated in the centre of this recessed area. It is possible, therefore, that the recessed space on the Eyke figurine represented the genitals, it



Figure 7.11 Figurine from Bradstow School (Broadstairs, Kent) (Height: 38 mm) (App. Table 7.1.9). A) Photograph by British Museum (BM 1988,0412.1); B) Photograph by the author.

A)



B)



Figure 7.12 Figurines from Eyke (Suffolk) and Higham (Kent). A) Figurine from Eyke (App. Table 7.1.10) (Height: approx. 55 mm) (left image: Brundle 2013: 205. Fig.3; right two images: Pestell 2012: 85. Fig.5.6e.); B) Figurine from Higham (Height: 44mm) (App. Table 7.1.11) (First two images- BM 2001,0711.1; third image- own photograph).

was just less successfully executed when compared to the Higham figurine. The figurine from Broadstairs also features a diamond-shaped crotch with a vertically incised line at the centre (Fig. 7.11). When viewed from behind, the recessed crotch can also be observed on all three figurines. Since the genitals can be observed from the front and back, the genitalia could be considered a pronounced and emphasised detail akin to the penis on the Carlton Colville and Oxborough figurines. Like the male figures, these distinguished crotches are one of the few distinguished anatomical details on otherwise schematic bodies. The placement of the right hand near the crotch on the figurines from Eyke and Higham draws further attention to this region. The nub-like feature situated above the recessed oval-shaped space on the figurine from Breach Downs may also represent female genitalia. In current scholarship, this feature has been variously interpreted as a vulva and as a penis (Evison 1965: 215-16; Brundle 2014: 148, 150, Figure 7.6e; Meaney 1981: 232, Webster 2002a: 46). This ambiguity might be intentional, but it is also possible that these subtle markings represent neither.

7.2.3 Secondary sexual characteristics

The following discussion considers additional markers of sexual difference, this includes secondary sexual characteristics such as breasts, facial hair and indications of sexual dimorphism. While the sample of naked figures is small, some potentially significant differences can be observed when comparing the male and female bodies. These contrasts may reflect how sexual difference was understood, and how it contributed to the construction and performance of gendered identities.

The first instance of sexual difference are the breasts present on the female figurines, these features are not uniformly represented, and their recognisability can vary. For example, two subtly represented circular features can be discerned on the figurine from Eyke (Fig 7.12a). The presence of breasts on the figurine from Broadstairs is also difficult to determine due to corrosion (Fig. 7.11). If breasts are present, they are not depicted in alignment and are represented as holes on the chest. The hole at the centre of the chest is also filled with a fragment of corroded metal and dirt, this further complicates the interpretation of these features. By contrast, the two raised mounds on the chest of the figurine from Higham can be more readily interpreted as breasts. Breasts are also clearly identifiable on the figurine from Halesworth these are presented as raised circular mounds situated within a circle that is rendered in lower relief (Fig. 7.10). This combination gives the impression that the breasts and areolas/nipples are represented. The placement of a hand in proximity to the breasts on these four figurines also functions to signal and emphasise their presence, the figurine from Halesworth may even be touching their breast.

Nipples or areolas are also occasionally represented on the male body as demonstrated by the recessed dots on the figurine from Oxborough. This reinforces the possibility that the less distinguished circular and pitted features on the chest of the figurine from Friston are also nipples. As seen in Chapter 5, nipples were occasionally represented on Scandinavian portrayals of the male body. The presence of nipples is limited to these two male figures. Nonetheless, their selective inclusion on otherwise schematic bodies is significant. The combined presence of nipples and a penis conclusively demonstrate that the body is completely naked. This suggests that the overall state of undress, and not just the display of the penis, was symbolically significant. Lastly, a pendant from Compton Verney



Figure 7.13 Pendant from Compton Verney, Warwickshire (Diameter: 28 mm) (App. Table 7.1.12) (AM AN1948.135).

(Warwickshire), features two figures with a pair of circular pellets on their chest (Fig. 7.13) (App. Table 7.1.12). The schematic appearance of these figures complicates an interpretation of their sex. They are possibly represented wearing a belt, which might suggest male, but the same feature could be interpreted as a skirt. As such, whether these features represent breasts or nipples on male/female bodies cannot be said with confidence.

The presence of facial hair on certain male figures is an additional marker of sexual difference. The figurines from Oxborough and Carlton Colville possess beards and the Sutton Hoo purse lid figure features a moustache. The male figurines from Friston and Mautaby and the Finglesham man are represented without any facial hair. This suggests the absence of facial hair is not a conclusive marker of the female sex. As such, the barefaced figurine from Breach Downs and the Compton Verney pair could be male or female. One notable

difference between the male and female bodies is the portrayal of the shoulders and hips. For example, broad and angular shoulders are visible on the Finglesham man and the figure represented on the Sutton Hoo purse lid. Comparably shaped shoulders can be observed on contemporary two-dimensional 'bare' figures discussed below (Figs. 7.35-36, 7.40-42). Distinguished upper arms were also characteristic of Style I, but shoulders were rarely represented as distinctive flat horizontal planes in the bracteate corpus. Instead, the arms are typically portrayed as if jutting straight out from a tubular torso (e.g. Figs. 5.42, 5.43, 5.66, 5.67). This might suggest that shoulders were being portrayed and distinguished in a novel way in the 7th century. However, this may also be a two-dimensional development as sloping shoulders can be seen on the male figurines from Oxborough, Carlton Colville, Friston, Mautby and the ambiguously sexed figure from Broadstairs. Sloping shoulders are also visible on the female figurines from Halesworth, Eyke, Higham, and Broadstairs. Yet, the shoulders of the male figurines are still pronounced when one considers the overall proportions of the body. For example, the figurines from Oxborough and Mautby are top-heavy with a chest-waist ratio that is potentially indicative of a male body. The upper bodies of the Friston and Carlton Colville figurines are also slightly broader when compared to the lower half. By contrast, the hips are the widest part of the body on the female figurines from Higham, Broadstairs and Eyke. The buttocks of the Higham figurine are also particularly pronounced in size and individually demarcated, the arched back also accentuates the lower half of the body. Similarly, the buttocks of the Broadstairs figure are poorly executed and appear as if scrunched, still, they are notably pronounced. The buttocks on the figurine from Eyke are only slightly demarcated, but they appear rounded in shape. By contrast, the male figurines from Carlton Colville, Friston, Oxborough, and Mautby have buttocks that are demarcated to varying extents, these are not as pronounced and they are less rounded due

to the flat square hips. As explored, the breasts are also an important visual and symbolic quality of the female body. The Higham figurine also features a raised stomach and rests a hand on the pelvic area. The reproductive qualities of the female body are seemingly being evoked and the figure may even be represented pregnant. The figurines from Eyke and Broadstairs may also symbolise female fertility. The possibility that a top-heavy or bottom-heavy body might be an indicator of sex does not assist the interpretation of the figurine from Breach Downs. This body widens at both the shoulders and the hips. While the shoulders are slightly wider the sex of the body remains ambiguous.

7.2.4 Other attributes

This section explores additional articles and attributes worn on or displayed in proximity to the otherwise 'explicitly naked' bodies. As mentioned previously regarding the Spong person, the current state of the three-dimensional figures may not reflect their original appearance as they may have been supplemented or altered in some capacity. For instance, the figurines from Carlton Colville and Oxborough feature loops that indicate they were suspended or attached to something. Similarly, the figurine from Broadstairs was probably suspended from a chatelaine (Webster and Minter 2007: 225). It is possible, therefore, that additional symbolic attributes were suspended in proximity. While these figures may have been concealed, embellished, or even dressed in miniature forms of costume, the emphasis placed on their sexual characteristics implies these details were intended to be seen.

As stated, the figure on the Sutton Hoo purse lid is represented wearing a belt. Also, he appears to be wearing two sets of arm-rings, these are situated on the wrists and the upper arms. The garnets were actively cut and separated at these specific points, the remaining gaps were filled with gold foil to represent the rings. The presence of the rings

implies this figure is a 'bound body' and that the motif continued to be adapted in the 7th century. The link to the 'bound body' is reinforced by the stylistic treatment of the flanking zoomorphic figures whose upper limbs are differentiated by their patterning and contouring, they also appear to be wearing decorative collars and harnesses. The zoomorphic figures seem to constrain the central figure by placing their paws on his shoulders, the hind limbs and tails are also wrapped around his legs. The open jaws of the flanking zoomorphic figures could also be interpreted as threatening. This kind of physical immobilization was characteristic of antecedent 'bound bodies'. An effect of the overlaying tails is that the ankle region is fractured and distinguished, this recalls the anklets and split ankles associated with the 'bound body'. The central figure's splayed and squatting pose draws a further link to the often contorted 'bound body'. Iconographic parallels for this figure can be located on the Continent. Examples from Scandinavia are discussed further below, yet, these examples present the body wearing clothes (Fig. 7.30). The violence visible on the plate from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) reaffirms the prior suggestion that the zoomorphic figures are behaving in a hostile manner (Fig. 7.30a). A closer parallel is observable on a 7th-century silver disc from Eschwege (Germany) (Fig. 7.14). The 'bare' physical appearance of this figure may symbolise a similar state of nakedness. While the purse lid figure appears to be closely related to these continental examples, the large belt, arm-rings and penis are unparalleled attributes. This adaption suggests the naked 'bound body' motif may have had particular appeal in 7th-century East Anglia.

The 'belted body' motif also had some enduring popularity as evidenced by the Finglesham man and the figurines from Carlton Colville and Oxborough. The Friston figurine may also be an example, although it has been suggested that the figure is wearing an arm-ring as there is a slight incision on the wrist (Brundle 2013: 199: Fig, 1; 2014: 83). The



Figure 7.14 Ornamental silver disc or phalerae from Eschwege (Germany) (7th century) (Diameter: approx. 92-94 mm) (Gaimster 1998: 55. Fig. 44a). Illustration not to scale.

figurine from Carlton Colville also features an incision on the wrist, but this is likely to be a scratch as similar markings are present on the body's surface. The horned headdress worn by the Finglesham man is a novel form of headgear shared by other figures in the 7th-century repertoire; additional examples are discussed below (Pestell 2012: 80-83; Brundle 2014:77-83; Helmbrecht 2008:34-40). Naked figures with horns emanating from their heads were identified on the small Gallehus horn in the previous chapter, but horned heads or headdresses are notably absent from the bracteate corpus. 'Belted bodies' wielding weaponry are known from various B-bracteates, but none of these figures wields two spears like the Finglesham man (Figs. 5.42, 5.43). The figurines from Oxborough and Carlton Colville are wearing a helmet or some form of headwear. The figurine from Friston may be wearing a similar helmet, but the form is less pronounced. Moreover, the vertical incision on the crown could be interpreted as a hair parting, an interpretation strengthened by the comparable hairstyle on the figurine from Higham. These helmets/headdresses may have

been influenced by antecedent models as comparably shaped articles were observable on certain B-bracteates found in England (Figs. 6.45, 6.46). When viewing the figurines from Carlton Colville, Friston, and Oxborough from behind or the side, it could be argued that the headdress/hairstyle gives the object an overall phallic and priapic quality. It is feasible that this visual effect was intentional given that the phallus was a heavily emphasised feature on two of these figurines. The two figures on the Compton Verney pendant are potentially wearing a belt, although the same feature could also be interpreted as a skirt.

In contrast to the male body, the female figurines from Eyke, Higham and Broadstairs display no costume accessories on their bodies. The figure from Eyke is possibly depicted with a ponytail or braid. A similar feature is observable on the figurine from Breach Downs. As stated, the hair on the figurine from Higham resembles the hair or helmet on the figurine from Friston. Subsequently, it may not be a distinctive female hairstyle. The hairstyle on the Halesworth figurine is waist-length and hangs on the back. The hair is detailed and gilded which implies symbolic importance. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this feature represents a veil (Brundle 2014: 76). Either interpretation would suggest that the presentation of hair played an important role in the performance and expression of feminity. Facial hair may have functioned similarly in relation to masculinity as evidenced by the emphasised beards on the Carlton Colville and Oxborough figurines. The gilded and ridged ankle-length skirt is an additional feature that distinguishes the semi-dressed Halesworth figurine from the naked female bodies. The skirt and exposed breasts is a combination that may have been influenced by the female figure represented on the B-bracteates discussed in the previous chapter (Fig. 5.33). The skirt conceals the lower body and gives it an overall rectangular appearance. Thus, the hips are not emphasised like they

are on the other female figurines. Combined with the distinguished hair, the Halesworth figurine may represent a different expression of femininity or a biological stage in the female life course that is less associated with reproduction.

Lastly, this section covers some noteworthy superficial and physical details, some of which represent a break from preceding iconographic conventions. For example, the figurines and Sutton Hoo purse lid figure rest their hands on their body in a closed fashion. By contrast, the hands were usually represented extended away from the torso in Style I and in the bracteate corpus (see Chapters 5 and 6). The Finglesham man is presented according to these earlier conventions. For instance, he is the only figure whose hands are interacting with an attribute external to the body, his arms are extended, and his bent legs suggest he is in a state of movement. The other figures, excluding the individual on the purse lid, are seemingly stood upright and appear to be static, although the Carlton Colville and Higham figurines have slightly bent knees which might indicate movement (Brundle 2013: 210). Unlike the Spong person, no figure features distinguished toes and the Friston and Mautby figurines are the only examples without demarcated fingers. Many of the faces also differ in appearance when compared to the stylised facemasks common to the earlier repertoire. Of the three-dimensional figurines, only the examples from Halesworth and Breach Downs display the large nose and prominent chin common to antecedent models. However, the facial features cannot always be properly identified as some heads are damaged and the beard conceals the chin on the Carlton Colville and Oxborough examples. These identified points of difference are reflective of novel artistic influences and developments, some of which are further explored in Chapter 8.

7.2.5 Summary: 'explicitly naked' bodies

Before moving onto the discussion of the clothed and 'bare' bodies, it is necessary to briefly summarise the iconographic conventions that underlie the representation of the 'explicitly naked' body. This small sample demonstrates that the anatomical details featured on 'explicitly naked' bodies are limited and highly selective. These details are typically limited to genitalia, excluding the testicles, breasts and nipples/areolas. Demarcated buttocks might also signify a state of undress. Excluding these details, the surface of the body is represented schematically or 'bare'. The body's morphology is often flattened, yet, the emphasised male chest/shoulders and female hips/buttocks signal an interest in the form of the body, skeletal dimorphism and the distribution of fat and muscle. Beyond this, the morphology and proportions of the body are far from naturalistic. The presence of additional anatomical and superficial details are usually limited to the face and hands. This selective allocation of detail to these areas of the body was also characteristic of the migration period 'Germanic' repertoire (see Chapters 5 and 6).

The 7th-century adaptions of the 'bound' and 'belted' bodies demonstrate an enduring artistic interest in representing naked bodies adorned with various costume articles. Arguably, these 'explicitly naked' 'belted' and 'bound' bodies reinforce the argument that the antecedent 'bare' variants were portrayed and interpreted in a state of undress. In this regard, the representation of the naked body is not, therefore, an artistic development of the 7th century. Instead, the novelty lay in the articulation of the penis. The 'explicitly naked' group are set apart from preceding models in other ways. This includes the presentation of the body in three-dimensional form in metal, a practice that was present in migration period Scandinavia but not in England. Furthermore, the portrayal of the sexed

female body is an additional artistic development new to England. While the figurine from Halesworth can be related to an antecedent motif, the figurines from Eyke, Higham and Broadstairs are distinctive models which cannot be paralleled with the female bodies discussed in Chapter 5. There are no additional identifiable female bodies discussed in this chapter and so there are no dressed examples. This suggests that there was a dominant artistic and cultural preference for representing the female body in various states of undress. The significance of these various developments is discussed further in Chapter 8.

7.3 'Clearly dressed' bodies

7.3.1 Visual signifiers of dress

The following section explores the iconographic conventions that underlie the portrayal of the 'clearly dressed' body, figure 7.15 maps the sites and findspots associated with the 'clearly dressed' catalogue (Figs. 7.16-7.22) (App. Table 7.2). In turn, the visual characteristics associated with the 'explicitly naked' and 'clearly dressed' bodies can be comparatively considered alongside the more ambiguous 'bare' bodies discussed below. The figures discussed here feature a distinguished or detailed article of dress. These articles typically cover a significant proportion of the torso, the legs or both. The 'explicitly naked' topless figurine from Halesworth is also featured here.

7.3.1.1 Patterned and decorated surfaces

The first signifier of clothing is a patterned surface. Patterned surfaces may be dotted, chevroned, ridged, comprised of a series of horizontal markings, and cross-hatched (Figs. 7.10, 7.16-21). The patterned surfaces on the die stamp from Fen Drayton and the various



Figure 7.15 Sites and findspots for the ‘clearly dressed’ catalogue.

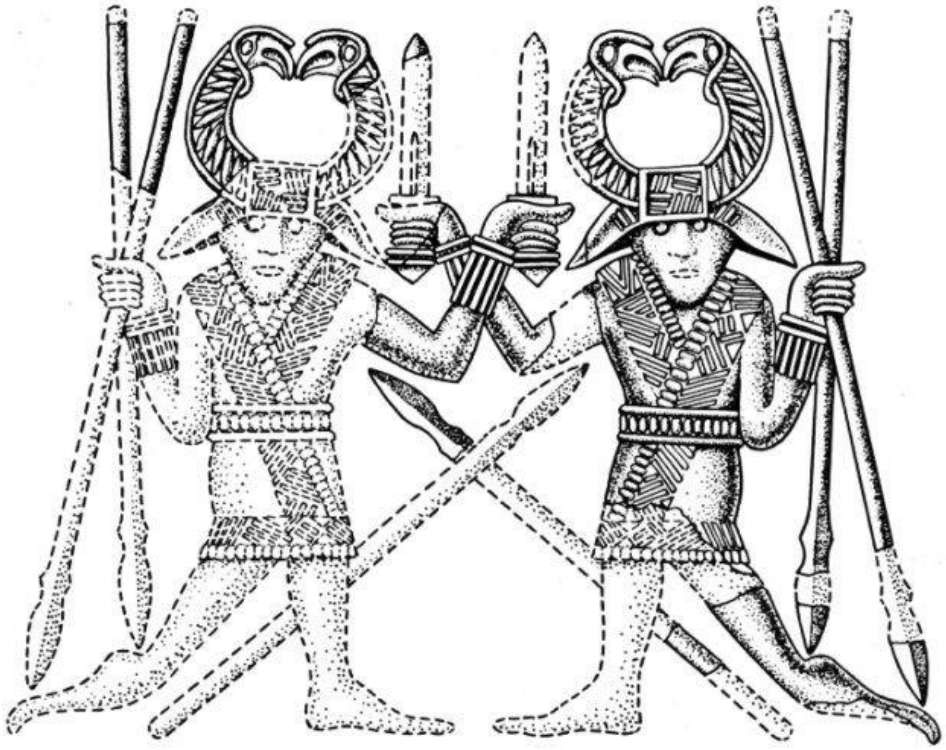


Figure 7.16 The 'dancing warriors' on the front panel of the Sutton Hoo helmet (Height: 47 mm; Width 58 mm) (App. Table 7.2.1) (Illustration by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington et al. 2010: 437. Fig. 13.49). The bold line represents the surviving fragments, the broken line indicates the conjectured reconstruction. Illustration not to scale.

stamped helmet panels/foils from Sutton Hoo, Staffordshire and the foil from Caenby also have a distinguished physical texture as they are represented in relief (Figs. 7.16-7.21b). In some instances, the whole garment is patterned (Figs. 7.17-18, 7.21b). In other instances, the patterning is restricted to certain areas like the elaborately decorated borders on the wrap-over coat or caftan (Figs. 7.16, 7.19, 7.21a). The remainder of the garment is represented in a plain and undecorated manner. These plain surfaces are flatter when compared to the raised decorated spaces. Subsequently, the presentation of the plain surfaces resembles the appearance of the exposed skin visible on the hands and face. As such, we should not expect all dressed bodies to be represented with distinctive raised surfaces or decorative patterning. Instead, some of the 'bare' figures could be wearing skin-

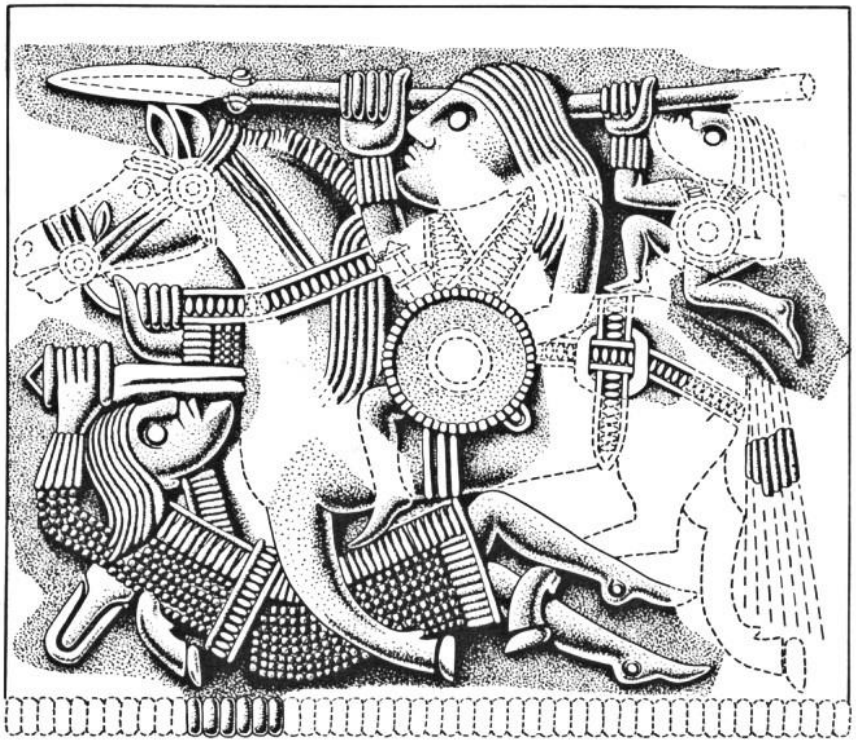


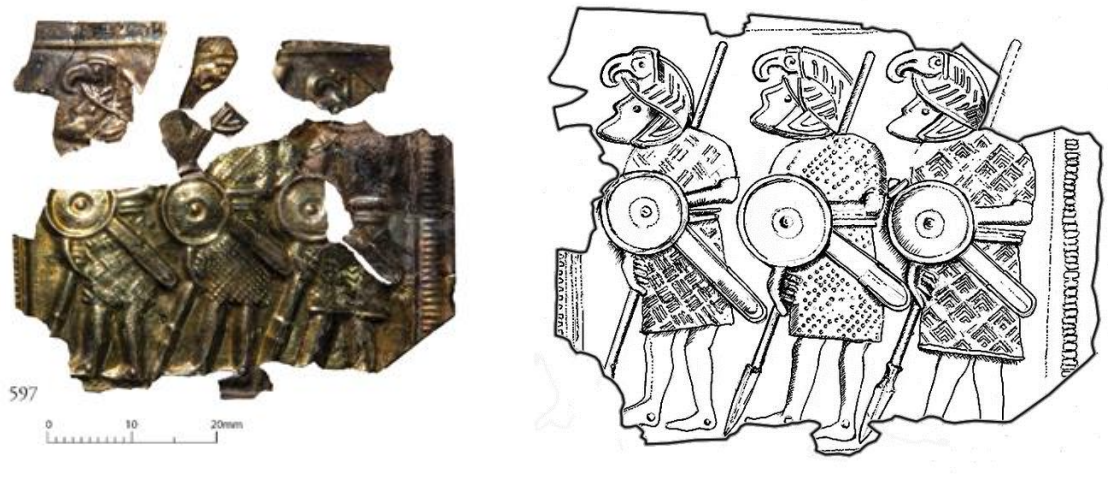
Figure 7.17 ‘Rider and fallen warrior’ panel on the Sutton Hoo helmet (Height: 53 mm; Width: 60 mm) (App. Table 7.2.2) (Illustration by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington et al. 2010: 457. Fig. 13.62). The bold line represents the surviving fragments, the broken line indicates the conjectured reconstruction. Illustration not to scale.

tight plain clothing that is essentially undetectable. A further problem highlighted by this group of figures is that both the dress and body are typically presented in monochrome. The topless figurine from Halesworth is the only example that features some kind of colour differentiation. Yet, the selective use of gilding functioned to emphasise certain areas on the body as opposed to representing tonal variations, therefore, colour variation cannot be expected when trying to distinguish skin from clothing on ‘bare’ bodies. This also suggests that there was limited interest in representing colourful costumes.

Whether the various patterns reflect different materials or construction techniques is questionable. For instance, the patterned surface of the caftan is not represented consistently across the two panels on the Sutton Hoo helmet. The caftan worn by the



A)



B)

Figure 7.18 Two panels that depict three processional warriors on the helmet from Hammerwich (Staffordshire). A) Catalogue number 596 (Height: 50 mm; Width: 55 mm) (App. Table 7.2.3) (Fern and Speake 2019: 74. Fig. 252; Photograph by Aleksandra Osinska, drawing by Chris Fern and George Speake); B) Catalogue number 597 (Height: 47 mm; Width: 51 mm) (App. Table 7.2.4) (Fern and Speake 2019: 75. Fig. 253); Photograph by Aleksandra Osinska, drawing by Chris Fern and George Speake). Illustrations not to scale.

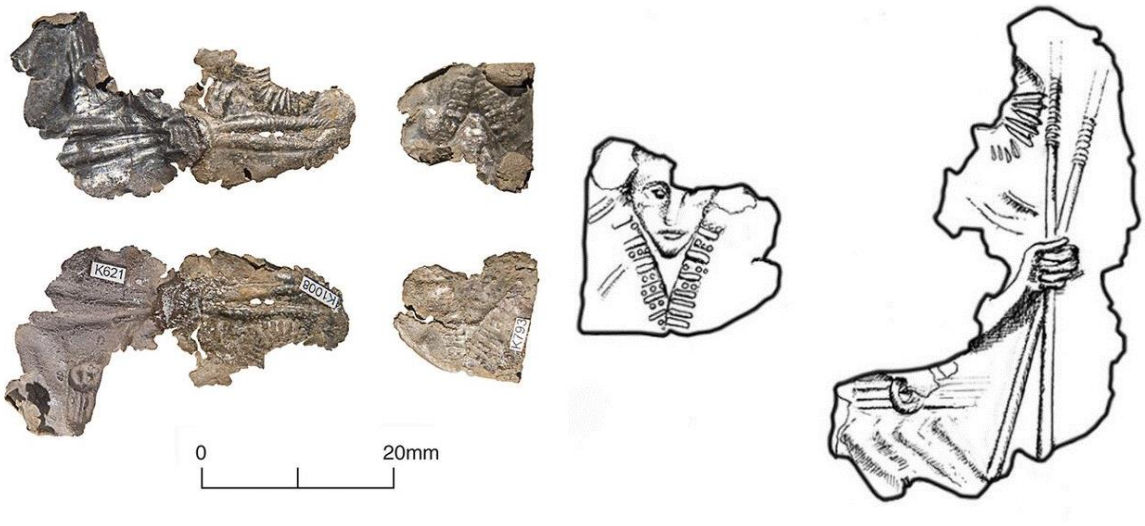


Figure 7.19 'Dancing warriors' panel on the helmet from Hammerwich (Staffordshire). Catalogue number 599 (Largest fragment Length: 36 mm) (App. Table 7.2.5) (Fern et al. 2017: 16; Photograph by Lucy Martin, drawing by George Speake). Illustration not to scale.

dancing pair is predominantly plain with a patterned border decorated with chevrons, whereas the caftan worn by the fallen individual is decorated with dots and a ridged patterned border comprised primarily of horizontal strokes (Owen-Crocker 2004: 180) (Figs. 7.16, 7.17). It has been argued that both examples represent textile coats (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 187-96). Alternatively, the dotted variant has been interpreted as chainmail (Bruce-Mitford 1949: 48; Owen-Crocker 2004: 180). Similarly, the knee-reaching garments worn by the three processional warriors all display different patterns on the two Staffordshire hoard helmet panels (Fig. 7.18). Karen Høilund Nielsen has questioned whether the different patterns represented a chainmail or textile garment. However, it was concluded that they were likely wearing visually differentiated textile tunics (Høilund Nielsen 2010). George Speake has argued that the central figure on panel 596 is wearing a tunic and that the flanking figures are wearing hauberks (Speake 2019: 241) (Fig. 7.18a). Similarly, Speake suggests the central figure on panel 597 is wearing a dotted hauberk whereas the flanking figures are wearing tunics (ibid.) (Fig. 7.18b). The cross-hatched costume visible on the die

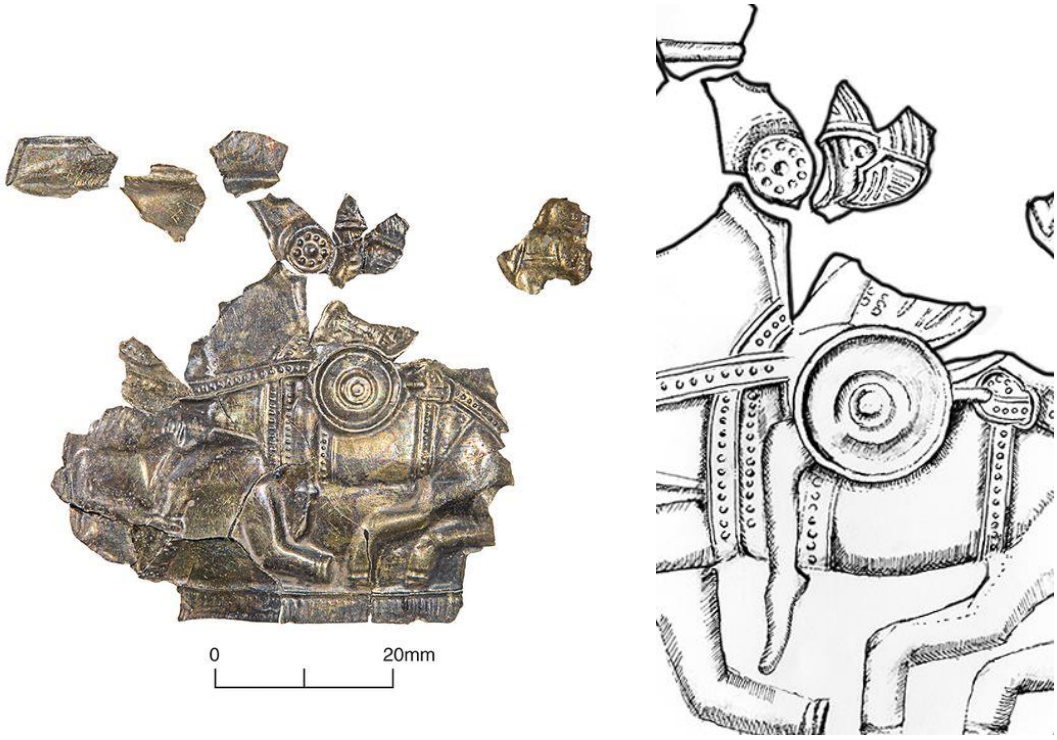


Figure 7.20 ‘Rider and fallen warrior’ panel on the helmet from Hammerwich (Staffordshire) (Catalogue number 595) (Length: 55 mm; Width: 60 mm) (App. Table 7.2.6) (Fern and Speake 2019: 73. Fig. 2.51, Speake 2019: 237. Fig. 5.18; photograph by Lucy Martin, drawing by George Speake). Illustration not to scale.

from Fen Drayton (Cambridgeshire) has also been interpreted in various ways. Identifications include a coat, a chainmail hauberk/tunic and a chevron-patterned tunic (Leahy 2006: 279; Brundle 2019: 47; PAS NLM-468D41) (Fig. 7.21b). Collectively, it is unclear whether patterned surfaces communicate information relating to the material and construction of a garment and if so, it is not agreed what each pattern represents. It is also possible that garments were differentiated in the group scenes on the Sutton Hoo and Staffordshire helmets for aesthetic, narrative or identification purposes. Whatever the patterning represents, the ‘clearly dressed’ group reflect an emerging artistic interest in representing detailed and decorated garments in the 7th century.



A)



B)

Figure 7.21 ‘Clearly dressed’ bodies from Caenby (Lincolnshire) and Fen Drayton (Cambridgeshire). A) Silver foil fragment from Caenby (Lincolnshire) (App. Table 7.2.8) (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 206. Fig. 153); B) Die stamp from Fen Drayton (App. Table 7.2.7) (Length: 52.6 mm; Width: 30.9 mm) (PAS NLM-468D41); B) Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 7.22 Mount from East Cambridgeshire (Length: 28 mm) (App. Table 7.2.9) (PAS FAHG-8EAAA3). Illustration not to scale.

7.3.1.2 Cuffs and hems

Pronounced or decorated cuffs and hems can serve as an indicator of clothing. For example, a defined plain trim is visible on the edges and base of the caftan worn by the fallen individual on the Sutton Hoo rider panel (Fig. 7.17). A similarly plain pronounced trim is visible on the figure represented on the mount from Cambridgeshire (Fig. 7. 22). This trim is the only visual evidence of dress on an otherwise 'bare' body. Contrastingly, the trims on the caftan worn by the Sutton Hoo dancing twins are composed of a row of oblongs. Yet, hemlines or trims are not always consistently represented. For instance, on the two panels that feature three warriors on the Staffordshire helmet, only one figure features a defined hemline at the base of their costume (Fig. 7.18). This may reinforce the suggestion that they

are wearing different forms of dress. The pronounced cuffs on the caftans featured on the Sutton Hoo helmet are also of note. On the dancing pair, the cuffs are presented as a series of vertical ridges crowned by two horizontal strokes. These cuffs are wider than the wrists and slightly protuberant. However, the cuffs on the fallen individual are depicted without the crowning horizontal strokes. The width of the cuff also tapers towards the wrist. The size and detailing on these cuffs suggest they are significant features of this costume, although some of the caftans are represented without cuffs (Figs. 7.17, 7.19a, 7.20). Some of these variants may be sleeveless or have short sleeves, this possibility is reinforced by two continental examples (Fig.7.21). Short sleeves are also visible on the Staffordshire hoard panels that depict the three warriors. The terminal ends of these sleeves are not particularly pronounced. Instead, it is the transition from the patterned surface to the 'bare' skin that indicates their termination and short length (Fig. 7.16). Had this garment been plain, it may be difficult to distinguish such transitions. Again, this might have implications when considering the presence of dress on the more ambiguous bodies. A final point of note is that the belt is also a popular costume accessory found on several dressed figures (Figs. 7.14-7.17). Consequently, the belt is not exclusively associated with the naked body.

7.3.1.3 Concealment and masking

The concealment and alteration of the body's morphology is also an indicator that the body is dressed. For example, the caftan and tunic/hauberk garments on the Sutton Hoo and Staffordshire helmets terminate in a skirted fashion. This acts to conceal and alter the shape of the upper legs and thighs. The length of these garments conforms to the standard length of a tunic worn in this period (Owen-Crocker 2004: 111-13). This would suggest that the

A)



B)

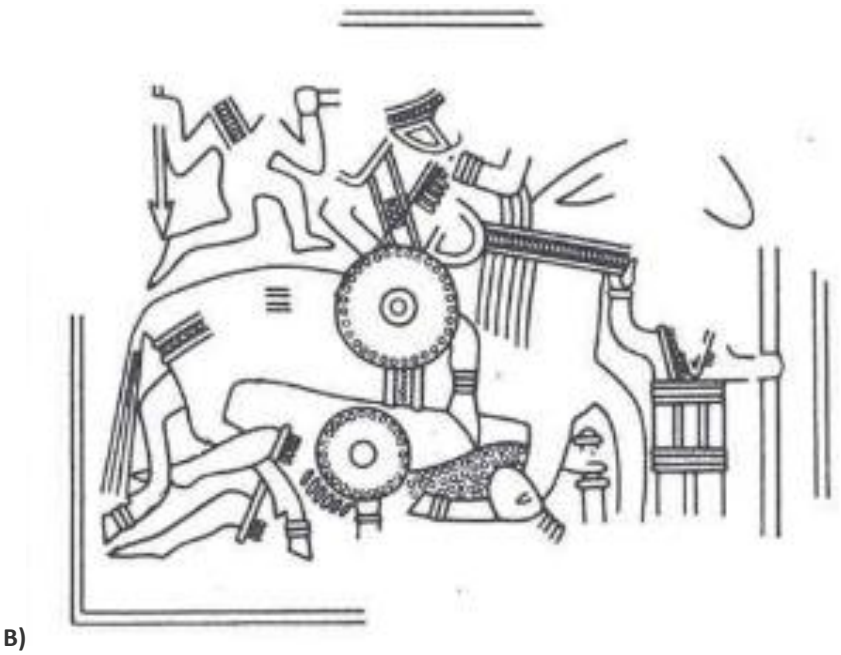


Figure 7.23 Sleeveless and short sleeve variants of the caftan. A) Gold pendant from Pliezhausen (Germany) (7th century) (Height: 41 mm; Width: 54 mm) (Drawing by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington 2010: 458. Fig. 13.64); B) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 7 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (680 AD) (Mannering 2017: 91. Fig. 4.2c). Illustrations not to scale.

figures whose crotches and upper thighs are exposed are not wearing a tunic or a comparable skirted garment. Similarly, the legs on the figurine from Halesworth are completely masked, the skirt drastically transforms the lower body into the shape of a ridged cylinder (Fig. 7.10). The caftan alters the shape of the upper body, this can be more clearly observed when comparing the Sutton Hoo weapon dancers, the Staffordshire example and the Caenby figure to the iconographically similar Finglesham man (Figs. 7.9, 7.16, 7.19, 7.21a). The collar of the caftan masks part of the neck, the garment also enlarges and rounds the chest, waist and shoulders. By contrast, the Finglesham man's body shape is more slender, linear and angular. Consequently, the caftan wearing figures display an enlarged rounded top-heavy upper body akin to the male figurines. The processional warriors on the Staffordshire helmet also appear to have large upper bodies, absent necks and softened shoulders. However, the caftan wearing figure from Cambridgeshire and the hauberk or tunic wearing figure from Fen Drayton are seemingly closer in their morphological appearance to the Finglesham man (Figs. 7.21). As such, the torso and neck were not represented consistently even on bodies wearing similar articles. The shape of the chest of the fallen warrior on the Sutton Hoo rider panel is also affected by the presence of the caftan. For instance, the combination of the figure's posture and the folds of the garment gives the body an angular appearance.

7.3.2 Semi-dressed 'bound' and 'belted' bodies?

Many of the 'clearly dressed' bodies feature 'bare' limbs which could be interpreted as naked. For example, the 'bare' legs on certain figures appear in a shapely and slender fashion (Figs. 7.16, 7.18, 7.20, 7.21b). However, it has been argued that they are wearing

skin-tight trousers or leggings (Walton Rogers 2007: 214; Pollington et al. 2010: 475). Yet, the legs are devoid of any details that support this interpretation. Whereas the presence of pronounced ankles on the fallen warrior, on the Sutton Hoo helmet, and the procession of warriors, on the Staffordshire helmet, implies that the legs were occasionally represented naked. Furthermore, the feet of various figures on the Sutton Hoo and Staffordshire helmets are depicted with arched soles, pointed toes and prominent heels (Figs. 7.16-7.18, 7.20). Feet of this kind were commonly represented in Style I and were interpreted in Chapters 5 and 6 as naked. The potentially sleeveless caftan and the short-sleeved tunics also demonstrate that the costumes in the 7th-century repertoire were not wholly concerned with the complete coverage of the limbs. A 'bare' surface area can also be identified at the V-shaped neckline on the caftan. This suggests that the garment was worn without an undershirt and that the chest was partially exposed (Figs. 7.16, 7.19, 7.21a). Given these various instances of exposure, one might question whether these clothed figures are closer to a state of a semi-dress.

It is also plausible that many of the 'clearly dressed' figures are adaptions of the 'bound' and 'belted' body motifs. Excluding the figurine from Halesworth, all the bodies discussed here are derived from Scandinavian prototypes, many of which were also represented on helmet plates found in Sweden (for all helmet panels see Mannering 2017: 88-106). Subsequently, it has been questioned whether the Sutton Hoo helmet was imported from Sweden (Wilson 1983; Evans 1986: 49, 114-16). The figures featured on the helmet panels have been variously interpreted as representing gods, ritualists or the aristocratic elite engaged in combat, dance, ceremony, dramatic performance and transformative rituals where animal powers were accessed (Holmqvist 1960: 121; Chadwick Hawkes et al. 1965: 19; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 187-88; Speidel 2004: 22-23; Gunnel 1995: 36-37, 66-72; Hedeager

2011: 76-80, 90, 84; Brundle 2019: 22). Thus, several thematic links can be drawn with the portrayal of the 'bound body' and 'belted body' in the bracteate corpus and in Style I. Across the panels, there are examples of topless figures wearing a belt as well as some 'bare' 'belted' and 'bound' bodies (Figs. 7.23a, 7.24.b/f, 7.25c/d, 7.28a/c, 7.29a). This indicates the enduring importance of the two motifs and reinforces the artistic link between the helmet panels and the bracteates/Style I. On the helmet panels, the horned headdress is a costume accessory that occurs primarily on 'bare' 'belted' bodies, which are sometimes supplemented with a baldric, and the long-sleeved caftan wearing figures (Fig. 7.16, 7.21a, 7.22, 7.24b, 7.25a, 7.29a) (an additional example is present on pressblech fragments from Old Uppsala (Sweden); see Arrhenius and Frei, 1992). The only other horned headdress wearing figure is a 'bare' individual represented on the helmet from mound 7 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (Fig. 7.28c). As touched upon, thick and elaborately detailed belts are also a costume accessory associated with the caftan. Consequently, the presence of a horned headdress and belt is a recurrent combination. Another iconographic quality shared amongst this group is the presentation of the legs which are usually bent and in movement. The emphasis placed on the movement of the legs might explain why they were visually and physically differentiated from the remainder of the caftan clothed body. Arguably, these various links strongly suggest that the horned headdress and caftan wearing figures are a clothed variant and adaption of the 'bare' 'belted body' motif.

Numerous links can also be drawn between the dressed figures represented on the helmet panels and the 'bound body' motif. Firstly, anklets can be identified on several figures (Fig. 7.24). As with the short breeches, the various skirted garments result in exposed lower legs which are visually differentiated from the thighs (e.g. Fig. 7.22). The nakedness of the 'bare' legs is reinforced by the figures wearing patterned and textured

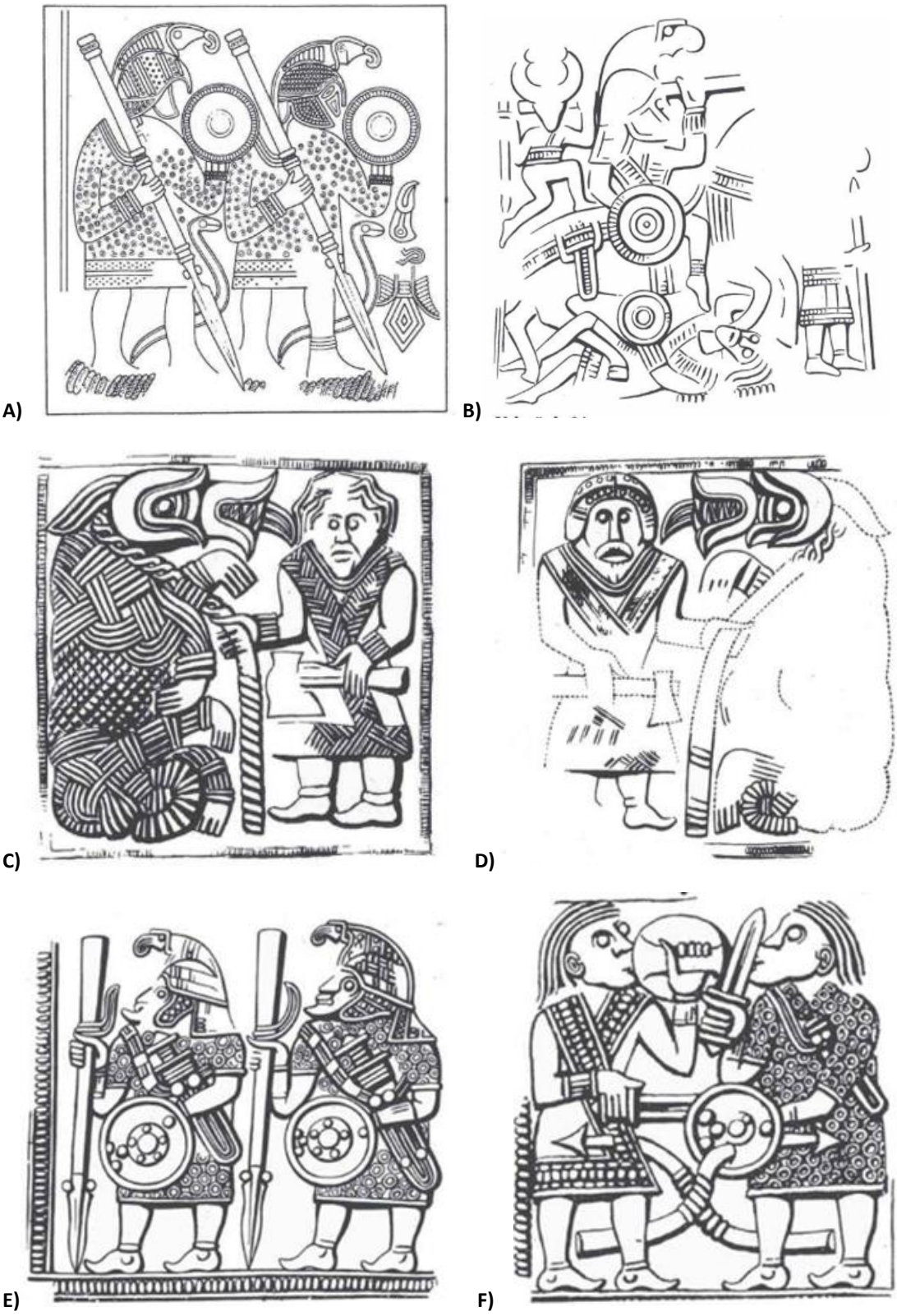


Figure 7.24 Figures wearing anklets on Scandinavian helmet panels. A) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 7 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (AD 680) (Mannering 2017: 91. Fig. 4.2a); B) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 8 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (post AD 610-620) (Mannering 2017: 94. Fig. 4.3); C) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 1 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 600-630) (Mannering 2017: 95. Fig. 4.4); D) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 11 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 600) (Mannering 2017:96. Fig. 4.5b); E-F) Copper alloy helmet plates from Mound 14 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 560-570) (Mannering 2017:98. Fig. 4.6. C-D). Illustrations not to scale.



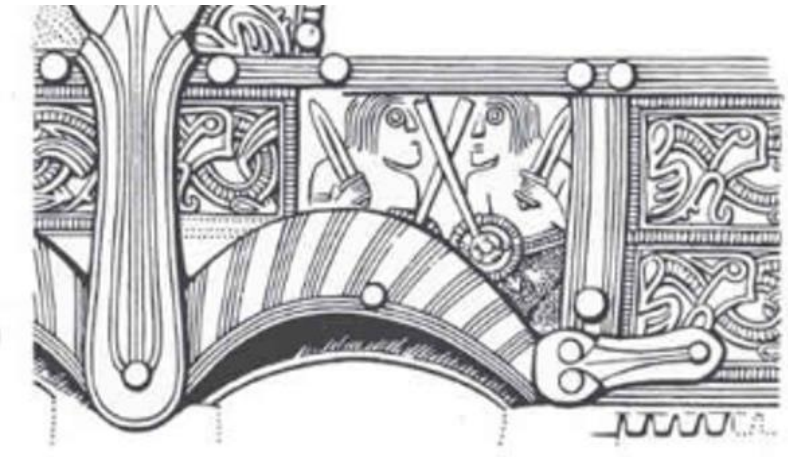
A)



B)



C)



D)

Figure 7.25 Trouser wearing figures present on Scandinavian helmet panels and die stamp. A) Copper-alloy helmet plate from Mound 8 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (Post AD 610-620) (Mannering 2017: 94. Fig. 4.3); B) Copper-alloy helmet plate from Mound 11 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 600) (Mannering 2017: 96. Fig. 4.5a); C) Copper-alloy die plate from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (6th -7th centuries) (Arrhenius and Freij 1992: 98. Fig. 44); D) Copper-alloy helmet panel from mound 12 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 610-620) (Mannering 2017: 96. Fig. 4.5d). Illustrations not to scale.

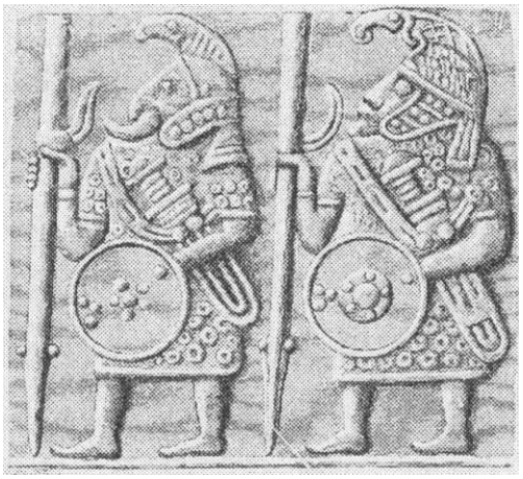
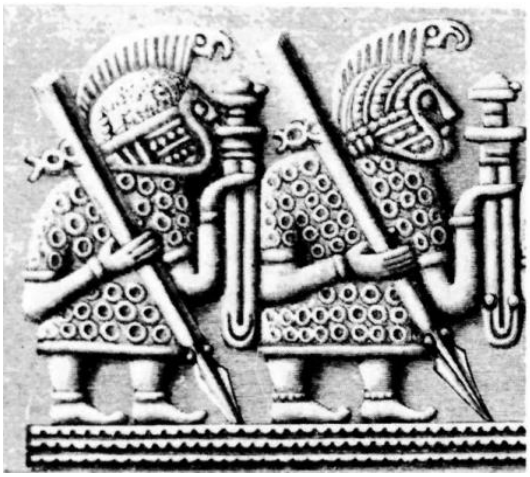
A)  B) 

Figure 7.26 Arm-ring wearing figures on Scandinavian helmet panels. A) Copper-alloy helmet panel from mound 14 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 560-570) (Arrhenius and Freij 1992: 85. Fig. 12); B) Copper-alloy helmet panel from mound 14 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 560-570) (Arbman 1980: 27). Illustrations not to scale.

trousers which are clearly identifiable (Fig. 7.25). Some of the figures wearing trousers also demonstrate that naked feet were represented on the helmet panels (Fig. 7.25a/c). There are no instances of conclusively identifiable footwear across the English and Swedish helmet plates. Thus, the majority, if not all, appear to be represented barefooted. Again, the characteristic qualities associated with the naked feet in Style I, pointed toes, arched sole, and prominent heel, are visible across the various plates. Furthermore, some of the figures wearing short-sleeved garments are also wearing arm-rings or bracers (Fig. 7.26). An arm-ring is also visible on the wrist of a topless figure represented on a die plate, likely used for stamping helmet panels, from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (Fig. 7.25c). One might question whether the pronounced cuffs, which are also common to the Scandinavian plates, serve as a successor to the arm-rings as they serve a similar function by drawing attention towards and adorning the wrists (e.g. Figs. 7.24a/b/c/f, 7.25a/b). Had arm-rings been exclusively worn on the skin they would have been concealed by the long sleeves, therefore, elaborate cuffs would have served in their absence. Some of the short-sleeved garments also feature



Figure 7.27 Copper-alloy die plate from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (6th -7th centuries) (Arrhenius and Freij 1992: 98. Fig. 41). Illustration not to scale.

pronounced cuffs, these recall the rings that were occasionally situated on the upper arm (Figs. 7.18b, 7.27). One rider depicted on a helmet from Vendel (Sweden) displays clear links to the 'bound body' as they are wearing a double-tiered neck-ring, arm-ring, and possibly an anklet (Fig. 7.28). In place of the neck-ring, the decorated borders and plain trims of the caftan also draw attention to the collar area (e.g. figs. 7.24c/d, 7.25b, 7.28b). The decorated borders on the caftan also distinguish the torso from the plain 'bare' limbs, this is particularly pronounced on the sleeveless variants. The differentiation of the torso from the arms was characteristic of the 'bound body' and the 'sleeveless garment'. Similarly, the short-sleeved pattern decorated coats and tunics are visually distinguished from the 'bare' lower arms and legs (e.g. figs. 7.24e/f, 7.26). The lower limbs of the 'bound body' were often comparably distinguished from the alternatively stylised torso and upper limbs in Style I (e.g. Figs. 5.71, 5.72, 6.5b, 6.17g, 6.20). Aspects relating to bodily incapacitation and binding can also be observed. Examples include human figures who are entwined and

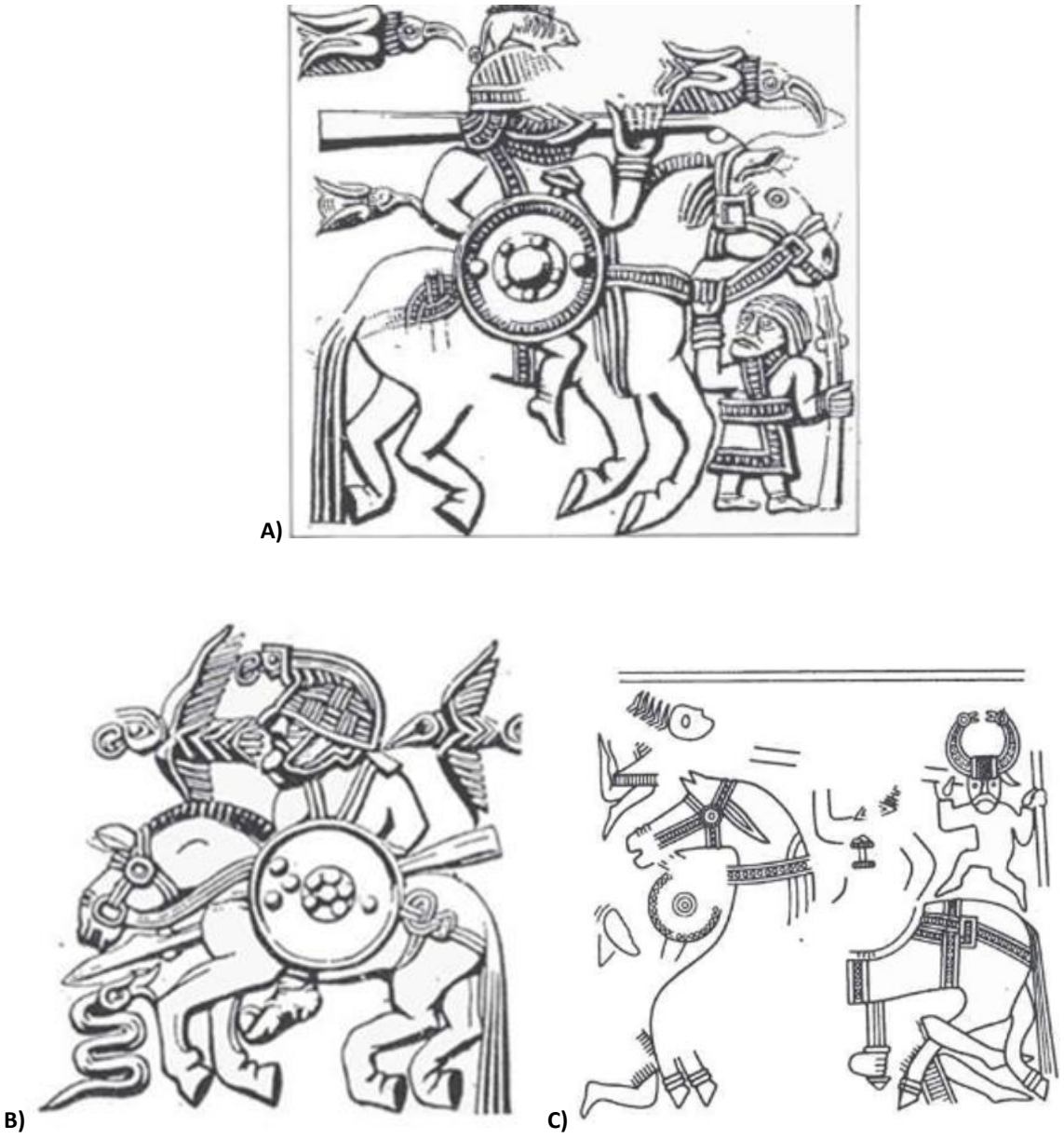


Figure 7.28 Horse and rider scenes on Scandinavian helmet panels. A) Copper-alloy helmet plate from mound 1 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 600-630) (Mannering 2017: 95. 4.4b); B) Copper-alloy helmet plate from mound 1 (Vendel, Sweden) (AD 600-630) (Mannering 2017: 95. 4.4c); C) Copper-alloy helmet plate from Valsgärde 7 (Sweden) (AD 680) (Mannering 2017: 91. Fig. 4.2). Illustrations not to scale.



A)



B)



C)

Figure 7.29 Anthropomorphic figures wearing animal headdresses/pelts. A) Copper-alloy die plate from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (6th -7th centuries) (Arrhenius and Freij 1992: 98. Fig. 42); B) Stamped silver foil from Obrigheim (Germany) (7th century) (Paulsen 1967. Fig. 71); C) Stamped silver scabbard foil from Baden-Württemberg (Germany) (7th century) (Speidel 2004: 24. Fig. 1.5). Illustrations not to scale.

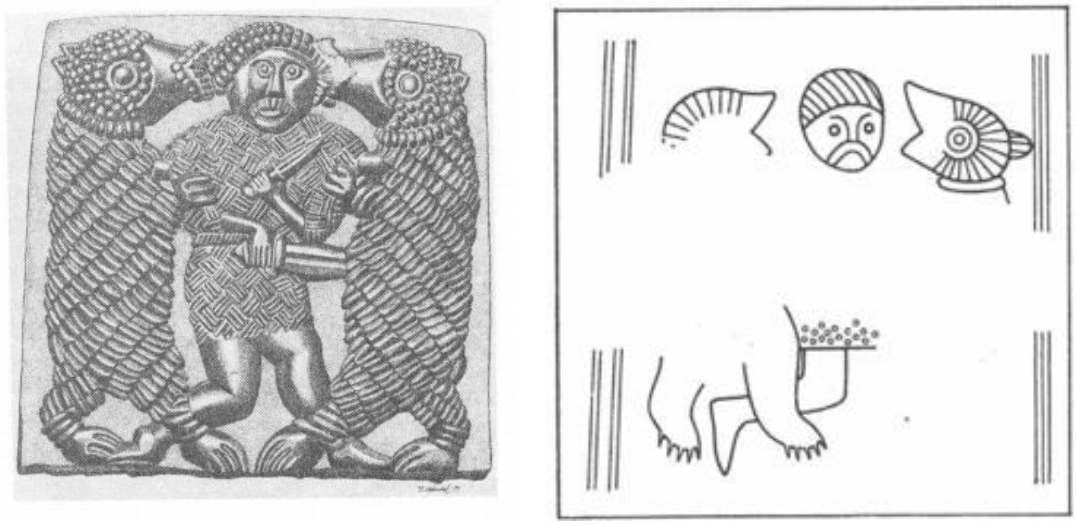


Figure 7.30 Vendel period Scandinavian figures represented between beasts. A) Copper-alloy die plate from Torslunda (Öland, Sweden) (6th-7th centuries) (Arrhenius and Freij 1992: 98. Fig. 43); B) Copper alloy helmet plate from Mound 7 (Valsgärde, Sweden) (AD 680) (Mannering, 2017:94. Fig. 4.3b).

assailed by flanking beasts, animals being chained and collared, skewered feet and a spear-like feature that pierces and encircles two figures (Figs. 7.24c/d, 7.25c, 7.29a/b, 7.30).

The hybrid and transformative qualities associated with the 'bound body' can also be recognised on the helmet panels and some iconographically related stamped foils from northern Germany. For example, animal crested helmets, some of which have inbuilt face-masks that feature tusks, horned headdresses with bird head terminals, and animal pelt headdresses are common costume articles amongst this group of figures (for pelts see figs. 7.21, 7.29). It has been suggested that the dancing figures wearing horned headdresses are wearing masks (Herman 2015: 280). The Sutton Hoo helmet and certain Vendel period helmets baring these images were also designed to protect and conceal the head of the wearer. It has been argued that the helmets were intended to transform the wearer into a divine or non-human entity with supernatural or animal powers/qualities (Danielsson 2010b: 127-36; Herman 2015: 291-92; Price and Mortimer 2014). Across the helmet panels, there are no examples of human contortionists which visually resemble a zoomorphic

quadruped. However, the reverse is visible as several quadrupeds are presented upright or bipedally, these figures 'stand' alongside an anthropomorphic figure (Figs. 7.24c/d, 7.25c, 7.30). In these scenes, the detailed bodily surfaces of the zoomorphic figures visually resemble the patterned surfaces of the costumes worn by the anthropomorphic figures. This marks a stylistic shift whereby 'bare' and plain surfaces were no longer deployed to generate a visual overlap amongst the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic bodies. Instead, the similarities are produced via the allocation of similar superficial details. In addition to creating a form of visual hybridity, the appearance of detailed dress and animal skins also reflects a growing artistic and cultural interest in representing costume. The detail allocated to the animal skins implies its human value, this coincided with the appearance of anthropomorphic figures represented wearing animal pelts (Figs. 7.21, 7.29). Together, the figures represented on the helmet panels demonstrate that human-animal hybridity remained a popular artistic subject. However, contortion and contour lines no longer play an important role in facilitating this hybridity. Instead, it is primarily achieved and evoked through costume.

Collectively, the various iconographic and thematic overlaps strongly suggest that the figures represented on the helmet panels reflect the adaption and evolution of the 'bound' and 'belted' body motifs. In turn, the motifs have been adapted so that they now feature elaborate and detailed costumes which have altered the surface and morphology of their bodies. Yet, certain areas of the body continue to be adorned, exposed and distinguished in a way that is comparable to the earlier variants. The unusual and somewhat paradoxical qualities of their costumes are explained by the fact that these clothed bodies are adaptions of naked and semi-naked motifs. While parts of the body are concealed,

masked and protected, other areas are exposed and adorned. The artistic, symbolic and social significance of these developments is further explored in Chapter 9.

7.3.3 Summary: 'clearly dressed' bodies.

In summary, the 7th century was marked by an increasing interest in representing superficially detailed costumes. However, these costumes are stylised and not presented in a naturalistic fashion as folds, rolls, bunches, bindings, stitching, and seams are largely absent. The previous analysis provides valuable insight into the iconographic conventions that underlie the portrayal of dress. It also highlighted what kinds of costumes were represented in this century. All costumes discussed here featured a skirted component that conceals the upper thighs. They often featured detailed surface patterns, trims, and elaborate cuffs. Additional figures present on the Scandinavian helmet panels provide further evidence that these costumes often alter the morphology of the body so that it is top-heavy with a visually obscured neck and broad rounded shoulders and chest (e.g. figs. 7.24, 7.26, 7.27, 7.30a). Some of the topless and 'bare' variants also display some of these qualities which suggest they were iconographically influenced by the dressed models or vice versa (7.25c/d, 7.29a). It is questionable whether these 'clearly dressed' figures reflect all the iconographic conventions associated with the portrayal of costume in 7th-century England. Equally, other costumes may have also been represented that differ in style from those discussed above. As seen, certain garments featured plain surfaces which stylistically resembled the 'bare' skin visible elsewhere on the body. This raises the possibility that certain 'bare' figures are wearing a costume composed of skin-tight plain trousers and a shirt with little to no indication of its cuffs, collar, or hemlines. If these figures were

intended to be perceived wearing a skin-tight costume, one might question whether its invisible appearance resulted in its overlook and thus was counterproductive. Similarly, while the 'bound body' was often represented in a visually ambiguous fashion, there were adequate markers on the body that signalled the presence of various costume articles. Combined with the 'clearly dressed' sample, it is apparent that when symbolically significant forms of dress were represented, they tended to be recognisable. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the 'clearly dressed' figures in England are presented in costumes that could be considered practical, conventional or forms of dress worn in the context of daily life. The frequent exposure of the limbs alongside the links to the 'bound' and 'belted' body suggest that these costumes were either iconographic inventions or costumes with close links to the ritualistic sphere. However, individual articles incorporated into these ritualistic costumes may have also been deployed within other contexts or alongside more conventional forms of dress. It is also significant that the semi-dressed 'bound bodies' and the 'clearly dressed' figures discovered in England were all derived from Scandinavian prototypes. This suggests that between the 5th and 7th centuries, metalworkers showed no interest in portraying real-world costumes like those present within the archaeological record (see Owen-Crocker 2010). This also means that the iconographic conventions of dress established here were not devised in England, thus the extent to which they can be deployed to comparatively analyse some of the ambiguous bodies, discussed below, that were produced in England is questionable.



Figure 7.31 Sites and findspots for the 'bare' bodies catalogue.

7.4 Ambiguous 'bare' bodies

This section presents and analyses the schematically and ambiguously represented human figures that cannot be conclusively interpreted as naked or clothed (7.32-7.49) (App. Table 7.3). Figure 7.31 maps the sites and findspots associated with the 'clearly dressed' catalogue Many of the figures presented here are discussed individually.

A)



B)



Figure 7.32 Double-sided gold seal matrix ring from Postwick (Norfolk) (Diameter: 12 mm) (App. Table 7.3.1) (A) Photograph of the obverse and reverse from PAS 8709C; B) Illustration of the possible sexual scene (NWHCM 2000.42: A).

7.4.1 Postwick seal matrix ring

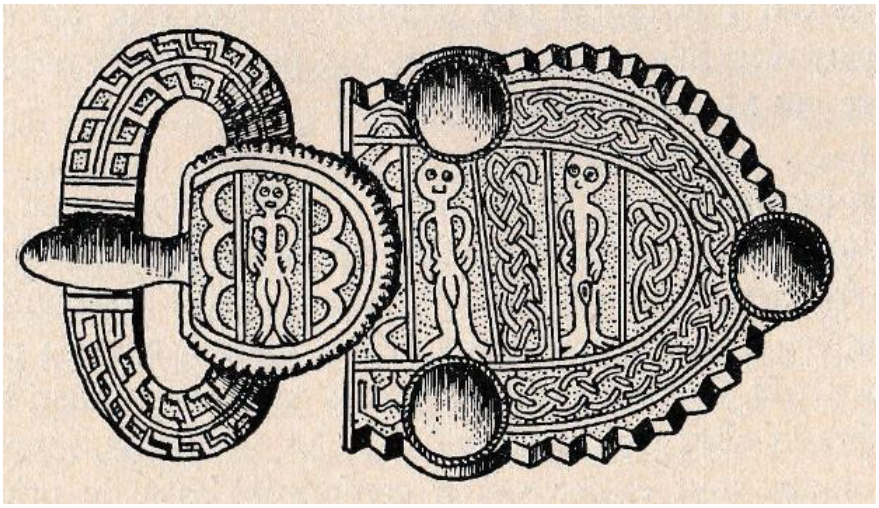
Two 'bare' figures are represented on a gold seal matrix ring from Postwick (Norfolk) (Fig. 7.32a) (App. Table 7.3.1). This object is thought to have been imported from Frankia and so its iconographic content may not have been developed within an 'Anglo-Saxon' context (PAS 8709C3). The figure on the left is presumably a man as they are depicted with a beard and the figure on the right is represented with long hair, this difference might imply that the second figure is female. The only anatomical details depicted on these bodies are the eyes, nose and mouth. The arms of both figures appear to be situated under the beard, but there

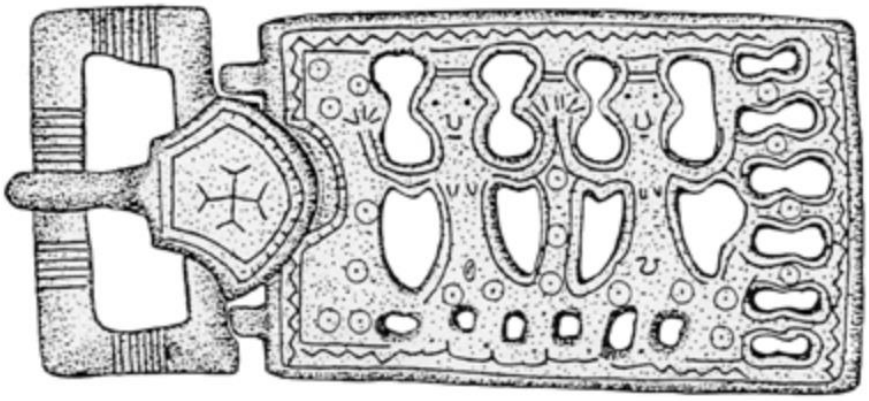
A)  B) 

Figure 7.33 Naked male and female couple represented on the Series X Type 30a silver penny (sceat) (720-730 AD). A) Series X type 30a from unknown provenance (BM Keary.145); B) Series X type 30a from Gosford and Water Eaton (Oxfordshire) (PAS BERK-F7CE12). The figure with a moustache is represented with a 'bare' chest, the pellet situated at the crotch presumably represents a penis. The female figure is represented with two pellets for breasts.

are no defined fingers which complicate their interpretation as limbs. It has been suggested that the close physical intimacy of the man and woman implies a sexual union (PAS 8709C3; NWHCM: 2000.42; Karkov 2011:123-24). The iconographic details situated adjacent to the figures' crotches have been interpreted as a graphic representation of the genitals engaging in penetrative sex (NWHCM: 2000.42) (Fig.7.32b). This may be a misidentification as these details are crudely represented. Alternatively, the couple has been interpreted as holding hands, a similar motif is known on a contemporary Frankish betrothal ring (Webster, 2000: 31-2). However, 'explicitly naked' mixed-sex couples, interpreted as Adam and Eve, also appear on coins produced in the early 8th century in England, which may reinforce the former interpretation (Fig. 7.33) (see Gannon 2003: 104). Furthermore, given the possible Frankish origin of this ring, it is of note that contemporary depictions of naked male/female couples, also interpreted as Adam and Eve, are known from northern and southern France (Fig. 7.34) (for additional examples see Salin 1959: 257-58; Billoin et al. 2006: 241. Fig. 10.1). Physically embracing couples are also a common motif in the guldgubber corpus and are

A)





B)

Figure 7.34 Belt plates featuring a naked man and woman from France. A) Belt buckle and plate from Picardy (northern France) (7th century) (Salin 1959: 257. Fig. 67); Copper-alloy belt set from Arbon (Haute-Garonne, France) (Late 6th -7th centuries) (Billoin et al. 2006:241. Fig. 10.1).

thought to symbolise a marital union, yet, these figures are depicted clothed (Ratke 2009a: 152, 155; Sundqvist 2019: 361). While these various contemporary parallels reinforce the possibility that the figures were naked or physically intimate, none represent the couple engaging in penetrative sex. If genitals are represented on the seal matrix, this couple belongs to the 'explicitly naked' group. Even if these markings do not represent genitals, their 'bare' appearance may have represented a state of nakedness with sexually suggestive implications.

7.4.2 Man gripping snakes

This group contains five variations of the same motif which represent a man gripping the zoomorphic figures that flank him. The slender zoomorphic figures can appear double-headed and with claws or beaks, which likely represent some form of snake, wyrm or drake (see Behr 2017; Pesch 2017c). This group includes two gold bracteate imitation pendants from Riseley (Kent) and Shrewton (Wiltshire) (App. Table 7.3.2, 7.3.3) (Fig. 7.35). A copper-alloy die stamp carrying this motif was found in Lincolnshire and the motif was also repeatedly stamped on a copper-alloy bucket mount from Loveden Hill (Lincolnshire)(App. Table 7.3.4, 7.3.5) (Figs. 7.36). The final example is a copper-alloy disc from Thornham (Norfolk) which is a heavily stylised or degenerated variant (App. Table 7.3.6) (Fig. 7.37). Within this motif cluster, the appearance of the anthropomorphic figure is not consistently represented. For example, the figure on the pendant from Riseley is split at the waist and separated by a row of dots. These dots potentially represent a belt with a decorative pattern, or they reflect a stylised adaption of a belt that was originally present (Eagles et al. 2016: 97; Behr 2017: 238). Alternatively, they are a stylised adaption of a body part that belongs to one or both flanking zoomorphic figures (Eagles et al. 2016: 97). In either scenario, the dots act like a belt and draw focus to the waist while also splitting the body into two. A thick oval band is visible on each ankle which likely represents anklets. However, these markings have also been interpreted as the cuffs of skin-tight trousers (Owen-Crocker 2004: 188; Brundle 2014: 156). The figure from Shrewton is closely related to the Riseley design, but the overall composition is further simplified and abbreviated. Both figures are represented with a large downward pointing beard. Neither figure has demarcated toes as the feet are represented in profile. The fingers are defined, and splayed thumbs are also visible. The legs of the Shrewton figure are not as naturalistically rendered as the Riseley

A)





B)





Figure 7.35 Man between beasts represented on two gold pendants. A) Pendant from Riseley (Kent) (Diameter: 29 mm) (App. Table 7.3.2) (Photograph from Eagles et al., 2016:93. Fig. 4, illustration from Hawkes et al. 1965: 22. Fig.3.); B) Pendant from Shrewton (Wiltshire) (Diameter: 26-7 mm) (App. Table 7.3.3) (Eagles et al. 2016: 92. Fig. 3; illustration by Jane Sandoe). Illustrations not to scale.

A)



B)





Figure 7.36 Die stamp and bucket mount from Lincolnshire. A) Die stamp from an unknown location in Lincolnshire (Diameter: 54.5 mm) (App. Table 7.3.4) (BM 1981,0102.1); B) Stamped bucket mount from Loveden Hill (Lincolnshire) (Width: 47 mm) (App. Table 7.3.5) (Photograph- Eagles et al. 2016: 95. Fig. 6; Illustration- Fennel 1969: 213, fig. 1) Illustration not to scale.



Figure 7.37 Disc from Thornham (Norfolk) (Diameter: 32 mm) (App. Table 7.3.6) (Eagles et al. 2016: 96. Fig. 7; Illustrations by Sue Heaser). Illustration not to scale.

example. The anklets are also absent, and no other indicator of dress appears on the legs. Further differences are observable when compared with the figures on the bucket from Loveden Hill and the die from Lincolnshire. On these figures, the torso is encircled by a zoomorphic figure and not intercut by the dots. As with the dots, the zoomorphic figure could also be interpreted as a surrogate belt. The beard has also been downsized and is represented alongside a distinctive moustache. No anklets are visible on either figure, yet, the figure on the Lincolnshire die has ankles that are slightly fractured and distinguished from the feet. This break is thought to signify the presence of trousers (Brundle 2014: 156). However, this figure and the one from Loveden Hill display similar breaks at the waist and neckline. The adjacent zoomorphic figures display similar fractures, these are visible at points where the bodies of the various figures have intercrossed or where the shape or orientation of the body undergoes a change. The minor breaks at the ankles occur at the points where the vertical lower legs, with rounded ends, encounter the rounded horizontal plane of the feet. Arguably, this transition gives a false impression of trousers and that these breaks are either a stylistic feature or an insignificant technical detail. The figure on the die

has also been interpreted as wearing a short robe as evidenced by the curve at the crotch that represents its hemline (Behr 2017: 237). Across all examples, the lower body is represented awkwardly in profile whereas the upper body is front-facing. The legs are bent and appear to be moving forward, the buttock and thighs appear particularly pronounced. Subsequently, the proportions of the limbs are imbalanced, and the lower body has a squat and compacted appearance. The lower body is rendered differently in each example, but none appear to be wearing a robe. Instead, this seems to be a misinterpretation of the compressed pelvis and thighs. This area also appears to have suffered some wear and damage. The final figure is the degenerated example from Thornham. A belt appears to be visible on the body, although it may represent an overlapping zoomorphic figure as in the previous two examples. The torso also features some chevron-shaped markings, while these may be symbolic, they are possibly scratches as the disc was found in a poorly damaged and fragmented condition.

Summarily, this scene represents a man, indicated by the facial hair, gripping/grappling with the encircling and flanking zoomorphic figures. The grabbing suggests this scene may represent a struggle, the open jaws of the zoomorphic figures reinforce the possibility that they are hostile. The closest contemporary parallel in England encountered thus far is the 'explicitly naked' figure on the Sutton Hoo purse lid (Fig. 7.7). As with the Sutton Hoo example, several iconographic links can also be drawn between the motif under discussion and various antecedent 'bound bodies'. Of note is the B-bracteate from Nebenstedt (IK 308) which displays several similarities, parallels include a struggle with encircling and flanking zoomorphic figures, a belt-like feature and anklets (Fig. 5.32a). Consequently, this motif appears to be an adaption of the 'bound body', the 'bare' appearance of the central figure suggests they are a naked variant.



Figure 7.38 Pelta mount from an unknown findspot (England) (App. Table 7.3.7) (Hammond 2009: 101. Fig. 1.14.d.)

7.4.3 Pelta mount figure

A variation of the previous motif can also be identified on a pelta mount discovered from an unknown location in England (Fig. 7.38) (App. Table 7.3.7). The anthropomorphic figure's hands are open-palmed and are reaching for the heads of the flanking zoomorphic creatures. The zoomorphic figures appear to have thin elongated bodies and may also represent snakes or wyrms. The helmet-like face-mask and the split at the waist can be paralleled with the figure on the pendant from Riseley. Unlike the earlier circular examples, this scene is confined to a trapezoid-shaped frame. The adaption of this motif to fit a non-circular space would explain its abbreviated and simplified appearance. The head is crowned with two curling features, similar details can be identified on the face-masks present on the

drinking cup mounts from Taplow discussed below. As with the previous group, there are no clear indicators of clothing on this body, therefore, it appears to be an additional example of a naked 'bound 'body' situated between beasts.

7.4.4 Taplow drinking cups

Eighteen identical gilded silver vandyke drinking cup mounts were discovered in the princely burial from Taplow (Buckinghamshire) (Fig. 7.39) (App. Table 7.3.8). The Style I decorated drinking horn fixtures from the same burial were discussed in Chapter 6 (Fig. 6.31). There has been some debate over whether the motif repeated on these vandykes belongs to Style I, Style II or neither (Speake 1980: 75, Webster 2003: 16; Pollington et al. 2010: 433). Since they do not appear to belong to the Style I repertoire, they were likely produced in the late 6th-7th centuries and so are discussed in this chapter. While the central figure does not feature a torso, the motif merits a brief mention as a notable 'bound body'. The moustache on the face-mask suggests the figure is male. Above the distinguished strands of hair are two circular features which were also present on the previously discussed figure. These possibly represent animal ears. The hands are raised to the face, the fingers and thumbs are individually demarcated. Thick bands are worn on each wrist, these potentially represent arm-rings or another form of binding. Further down the arms, the limbs gradually transform into a zoomorphic figure situated at the base of the vandyke. While a state of nakedness or dress cannot be identified, the presence of the arm-rings, the compressed presentation of the two figures and the bound and transforming limbs strongly recall the portrayal of the 'bound body' in Style I. As such, these vandykes further demonstrate the continued development and adaption of the 'bound body' motif into the 7th century.



A)



B)

Figure 7.39 Drinking cup vandykes from Taplow (Buckinghamshire) (Height: 44-45 mm) (App. Table 7.3.8) (A- Photograph by the British Museum 1883,1214.40; B- Drawing by Lindsay Kerr in Pollington et al. 2010: 433. Fig. 13.47). Illustration not to scale.



Figure 7.40 Finger ring from Uttelsford (Essex) (Height: 25.3mm; Width: 26.6mm) (App. Table 7.3.9) (PAS ESS-E396B1).

7.4.5 Uttlesford ring

A 'belted body' can be identified on a gold finger ring from Uttlesford (Essex) (Fig. 7.40) (App. Table 7.3.9). The ring-type is Frankish and so it was potentially imported to England (PAS ESS-E396B1). Like the Finglesham man, this individual is wearing a belt, wielding an object in each hand and appears to be depicted in a state of movement. It has been suggested that the bulge at the right hip may represent a downward-facing and pointed phallus (Wallis 2020: 416). While this would provide an additional iconographic link to the Finglesham man, the 'bulge' is probably part of the clumsily executed and awkwardly positioned legs. Beyond the belt, no other identifiable article of clothing or signifier of dress is visible on the body. The individual is possibly wearing a headdress which gives the head an angular appearance. Alternatively, the head and face are turned upwards towards the bird, thus, the angular point represents the nose and the demarcated strands represent the



Figure 7.41 Workbox lid from Burwell (Cambridgeshire) (App. Table 7.3.10) (Lethbridge 1928: 99. Fig.a). Illustration not to scale.

hair. A similar arrangement is visible on the kneeling figures depicted on the Staffordshire helmet discussed below (Fig. 7.42). This figure further reinforces the enduring importance of the 'belted body' motif, the presence of the cross also indicates that the motif was being symbolically adapted and redeployed within a Christian context in the late 6th-7th centuries.

7.4.6 Burwell workbox

A heavily schematic figure is represented on the lid of a copper-alloy workbox from Burwell (Cambridgeshire) (Fig. 7.41) (App. Table 7.3.10). What seems to be a headdress is recognisable and there is a slight protuberance on the wrist which possibly represents an arm-ring or cuff. The individual is wielding a sword and has stabbed the adjacent zoomorphic figure. The physical proportions are awkwardly imbalanced, the size of the hand is greatly exaggerated, and the torso appears elongated when compared to the undersized pelvis and legs. The thighs and crotch are visible which suggests the figure is not wearing a

tunic. While the arm-ring implies a link to the 'bound body', little more can be said regarding this figure's state of dress.

7.4.7 Staffordshire helmet: kneeling figures

A procession of kneeling or running 'belted bodies' are present on a stamped gilded silver decorative band situated on the helmet from the Staffordshire hoard (Fig. 7.42) (App. Table 7.3.11). Swords in their scabbards are suspended from the pellet decorated belts (Speake 2019: 239). The only other example of a 'belted body' with a suspended weapon is on one of the roughly contemporary die stamps from Torslunda (Öland) (Fig. 7.29a). As such, only rarely is the belt represented as a weapon belt. This adaption also appears to be a novel iconographic development that occurred in the late 6th-7th centuries. The Staffordshire figure is also wielding a spear and shield. As stated, the upward-facing head and short hair resemble the 'belted body' on the Uttlesford ring. The figure is represented without a neck and so a collar or neckline cannot be identified. There are no visible indicators of costume on the wrists. While all derived from the same stamp, the thighs are not represented consistently and, in some instances, appear to bloat and sag. These swellings could be interpreted as the hangs of a tunic, yet, the 'clearly dressed' group demonstrated that there was a lack of artistic interest in representing details like folds, hangs, and bunches. Instead, these bulges are technical inconsistencies that have resulted in malformed thighs. It seems, therefore, that these are additional examples of naked 'belted bodies'.



Figure 7.42 Procession of kneeling warriors on the helmet from Hammerwich (Staffordshire) (catalogue number 593) (Estimated original length: 550 mm) (App. Table 7.3.11) (Fern et al. 2017: 8; Photograph by Lucy Martin; Lucy Martin, drawing by George Speake). Illustration not to scale.

7.4.8 Caistor figurine

The next example is a copper-alloy three-dimensional figurine from Caistor (Lincolnshire) (Fig. 7.43) (App. Table 7.3.12). Unlike the previously discussed figurines, no costume articles are present on the body and there are no anatomical details represented below the neck. The back is flattened as the figurine was likely mounted to another object (Brundle 2013: 209). As such, there are no demarcated buttocks or distinctive details on the reverse. It has been suggested that the figure is wearing a short plain tunic as evidenced by the elongated torso, the shortened legs and the curved widening hips (Brundle 2014: 83). While the elongation of the torso gives the impression of a tunic, there are no other signifiers of dress present on the body. Shortened legs and elongated torsos were also a recurrent trait of some of the previously discussed three-dimensional figurines (Figs. 7.2-7.5, 7.8, 7.10,



Figure 7.43 Mount from Caistor (West Lindsey, Lincolnshire) (App. Table 7.3.12) (Height: approx. 50 mm)(PAS NLM-A243C8).

7.12a). If this figure is wearing a tunic, the exposure of the upper legs suggests the length is far shorter than the skirted garments discussed previously. The 'hemline' is also represented as a recessed curve as opposed to a straight horizontal line, this suggests it is an exposed 'bare' crotch. The figure is either depicted with a beard or a pointed chin, similar beards were visible on the figurines from Carlton Colville and Oxborough (Figs. 7.2, 7.3). The wide hips were characteristic of certain female figurines. Yet, the shoulders are broader which suggests the figure is male, although the wide breadth of the shoulders is partly due to the akimbo pose. The figurine from Mautby (Norfolk) shares this pose, excluding the penis, this figurine was comparably schematic in its appearance (Fig. 7.8). The figurines from Carlton Colville, Broadstairs and Higham also feature individually distinguished legs that are fused at the feet (Figs. 7.2. 7.11, 7.12b). In summary, this figurine is devoid of any signifiers on the body that are suggestive of a state of nakedness or dress. However, its closest parallels are 'explicitly naked' male figurines.

7.4.9 Rider figurines

This group is comprised of two copper-alloy three-dimensional horse and rider figurines that display no clear indicators of clothing. The first example is from Bradwell (Norfolk) and depicts a horse and rider equipped with a sword and shield (Fig. 7.44) (App. Table 7.3.13). The base of the figurine suggests it was originally fixed to another object, possibly a sceptre or the crest of a helmet (Hills and Ashley 2017: 522). The presence of facial hair suggests the rider is male. The head of the rider is upturned, and the hair is individually demarcated. A prominent nose and chin are also visible. It has been suggested that the engraved lines on the right leg possibly indicate the presence of trousers and that the pointed toes indicate they are wearing shoes (Hills and Ashley 2017: 515). As seen, demarcated toes are usually absent on 'explicitly naked' figures. Pointed toes, an arched foot and a prominent heel have also been characteristic attributes of naked feet. The rider's feet also share these attributes. There are faint seams where the ankles are joined to the feet and where the torso joins to the neck. These seams could represent the neckline of a top and trouser cuffs. Alternatively, they simply reflect points where there is a substantial change in the body's form and contours. The figurine has suffered some damage and various deeply incised markings can be observed across the body. Thus, it is questionable whether the markings on the right leg are visual evidence for trousers. There is a comparable deeply incised line on the right wrist. Again, whether this is damage or represents the cuff of a sleeve is unclear. For both the horse and rider, additional detailing is primarily allocated to the face, the hair and the equipment. The rider also displays demarcated fingers and a splayed thumb. Beyond these details, the bodies of the horse and rider are comparably schematic in appearance. While the physical proportions of both bodies are imbalanced, the portrayal of the rider's physical

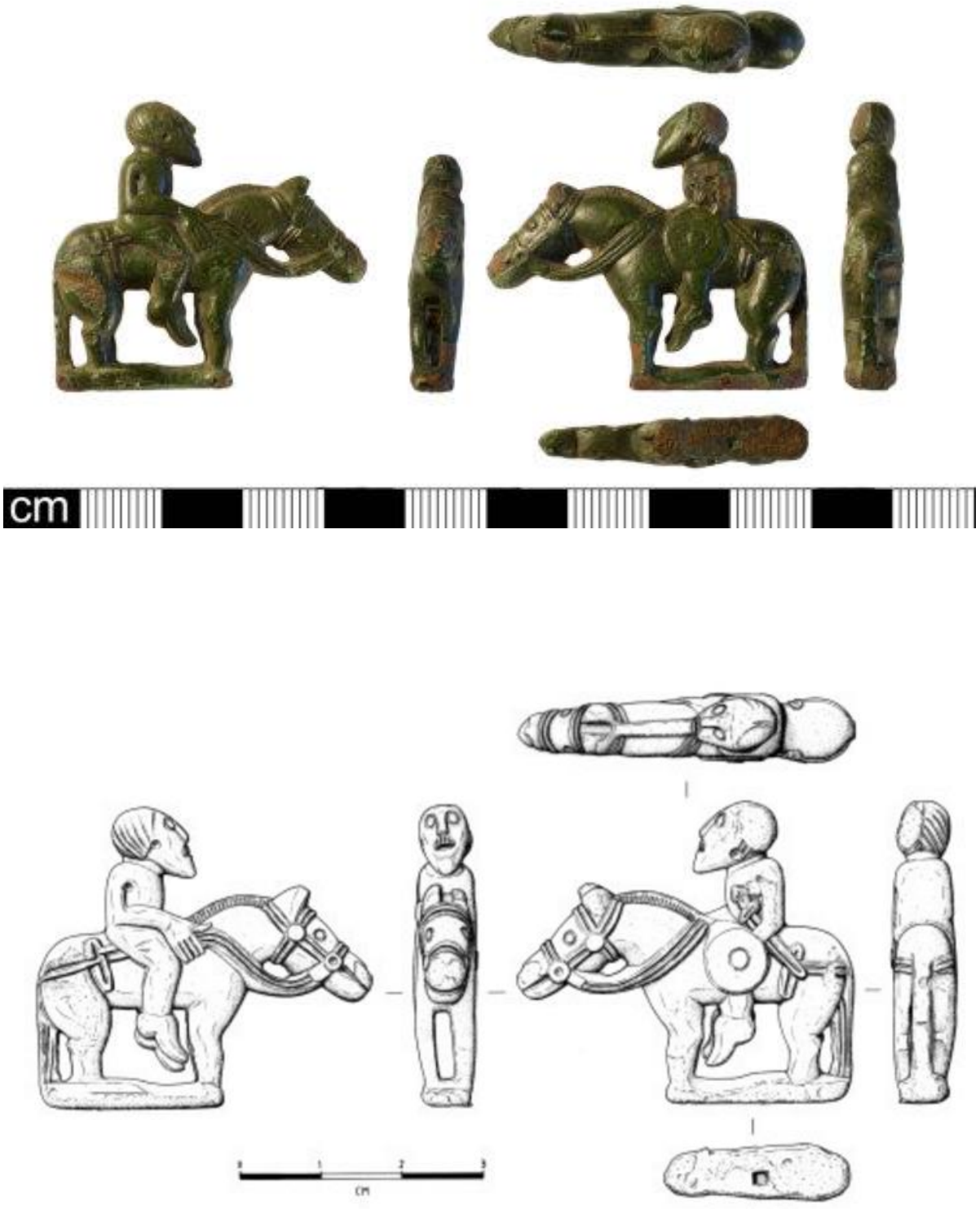


Figure 7.44 Rider figurine from Bradwell (Norfolk) (Height: 37.5 mm) (App. Table 7.3.13) (PAS NMS-40A7A7; drawing by Jason Gibbons). Illustration not to scale.

morphology displays a higher level of naturalism when compared to previously discussed figurines.

The selective details allocated to the oversized face and hands suggest these areas are the most symbolically significant. The feet are also important as they too are oversized and are distinctive in form. The visible details on the horse trappings and martial equipment also indicate they are points of focus. Arguably, had articles of dress been represented that were symbolically significant, their presence would be less ambiguous and more clearly highlighted akin to the previously mentioned accessories. The absence of clothing is further reinforced by the iconographically similar riders on the Sutton Hoo, Staffordshire and Scandinavian helmet panels (Figs. 7.17, 7.20, 7.23, 7.24b, 7.28). Many of these panels are fragmented and incomplete so the costumes of the riders cannot be conclusively identified, this includes the examples from England. Nonetheless, the cuff on the Sutton Hoo rider and the patterned surface on the Staffordshire example suggests they are dressed. The Bradwell and Sutton Hoo riders are more closely paralleled, but the presence of a caftan is a substantial point of difference. Whether a state of nakedness is relevant to this figurine is also questionable. The selective emphasis placed on the face, hands and feet is characteristic of the Scandinavian repertoire. The upward-facing head, the strands of hair, prominent nose and chin recall several previously encountered figures, these include the Sutton Hoo rider and the 'bare' 'belted' bodies on the Staffordshire helmet and ring from Uttlesford (Figs. 7.17, 7.40, 7.42). Iconographic links have also been drawn to the Spong person as its closest three-dimensional parallel (Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). This has prompted the suggestion that the figurine may predate the 7th century (Hills and Ashley 2017: 521). Interestingly, a comparable 'bare' rider with an upturned head is also visible on the second ring of the larger Gallehus horn (Fig. 5.20). As an earlier variant, this might



Figure 7.45 Rider figurine from Warham (Norfolk) (Height: 28 mm) (App. Table 7.3.14) (PAS NMS-32FEA3). Illustration not to scale.

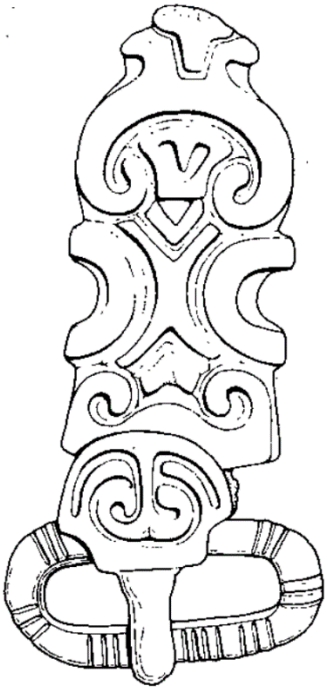
suggest that the motif was originally depicted in a schematic or naked fashion. Subsequently, the helmet panels demonstrate that the motif was increasingly being presented dressed in the 6th-7th centuries. Since the Bradwell figurine is stylistically closer to the earlier 'bare' variant, the rider is either naked or represented as an abbreviated schematic body.

The second example is a horse and rider from Warham which also shows no signs of clothing (Fig. 7.45) (App. Table 7.3.14). The morphological form and superficial appearance

of this figurine are poorly executed when compared to the Bradwell example. The figurine is also badly worn. Visible details are limited solely to the eyes and mouth, this suggests the bodies of the rider and horse were intended to be represented completely 'bare'. The surviving hand may feature a splayed thumb. The feet appear flat and do not resemble those on the example from Bradwell. Both figurines were found in Norfolk which might suggest they are related, but it is difficult to draw any substantial iconographic parallels. Ultimately, the overall poor condition hinders the interpretation of this rider's state of dress.

7.4.10 Schematic figures

This section discusses two figures whose bodies have been heavily abbreviated and so cannot be assigned a state of dress. However, they can be comparatively associated with previously discussed figures. The first example is on a copper-alloy belt buckle from Icklingham (Suffolk) (Fig. 7.46) (App. Table 7.3.15). This stick-figure is wearing a headdress with downward-pointing horns and is represented with raised arms. The V-shape feature on the head represents the face-mask, the head is situated above a second V-shape detail. This feature could be interpreted as a neck-ring. No other details are present on the body. This belt buckle is recorded as a Frankish type and so is possibly an import. The presence of an individual wearing a horned headdress on a belt plate parallels the Finglesham man, although their physical appearances are far from comparable. The next object is also a copper-alloy Frankish belt plate from Wingfield (Suffolk) (Fig. 7.47) (App. Table 7.3.16). A full-bodied figure also appears to be represented on this belt plate, but the specifics of its appearance are hard to discern. The face-mask consists of a nose, two



A)

B)



Figure 7.46 Belt plate from Mitchell's Hill (Icklingham, Suffolk) (Length: 58 mm; Width: 26 mm) (App. Table 7.3.15) (A) illustration from West 1998: 169.fig. 52.8; B) Photograph from AM AN1909.479.b).



Figure 7.47 Belt plate from Wingfield (Suffolk) (Length: 36 mm; Width: 25 mm) (App. Table 7.3.16) (PAS SF-672624). Illustration not to scale.

oval-shaped eyes and what appears to be an elongated mouth. The angular corners of the face-mask may symbolise a horned headdress. Two horizontal incisions at the waist probably represent a belt, below this are two distinguished legs. The hands appear to be rested on the waist area. This figure has been interpreted as flanked between two beasts, these are represented with circular heads, a dot for an eye and possibly with beaks (PAS SF-672624). As such, this figure is a heavily abbreviated variant of one of the 'between beasts' figures discussed previously, all of which have had some kind of distinguished waist (Figs. 7.7, 7.35-7.38). These examples were identified as naked 'bound bodies', but this interpretation cannot be confidently extended to the example from Wingfield as it is too abbreviated.

7.4.11 Human-animal hybrids in Style II

Two human-animal hybrid figures that feature a body that could be interpreted as anthropomorphic have been identified. Both figures belong to Germanic animal Style II (see 4.4.3). However, one possible hybrid is represented on the gilded copper-alloy stamped foils that decorate the rim of the shield boss from mound 1 (Sutton Hoo, Suffolk) (Fig. 7.48) (App. Table 7.3.17). This scene appears to be iconographically related to the figure represented between two beasts on the Sutton Hoo purse lid (Fig. 7.7). In this instance, the body of the central figure is partly constructed by the limbs of the flanking quadrupeds. Like the purse lid figure, this individual is represented in a squatting pose while bringing their hands to their chest and face. The anthropomorphic quality of the face-mask is questionable. Yet, the two horns situated on the top of the head and the pointed ears emanating out from its side are features shared with certain face-masks wearing horned headdresses (Figs. 7.16, 7.21a).

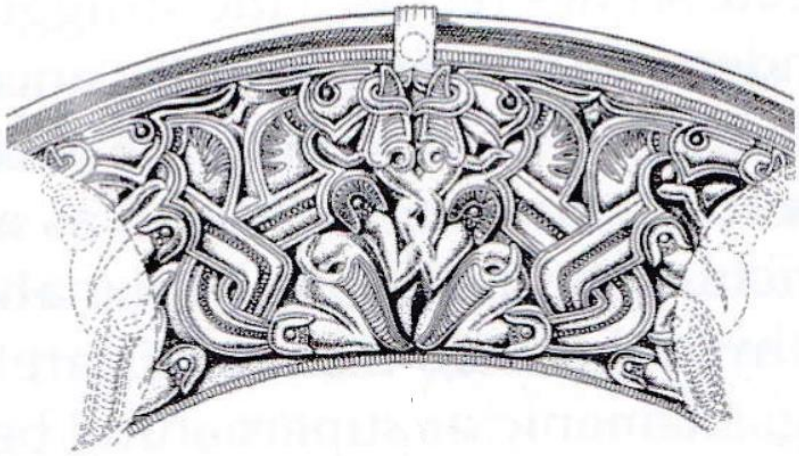


Figure 7.48 Decorative panel on the Sutton Hoo shield boss (App. Table 7.3.17) (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 50. Fig. 36). Illustration not to scale.

Like the hybrids on the C-bracteates discussed in the previous chapter, this appears to be a distinctive anthropomorphic figure whose hybrid body relies upon the body parts of the adjacent quadrupeds. Like the figure on the purse lid, this entangled and compressed squatting figure flanked by biting quadrupeds displays several of the characteristics associated with the 'bound body'.

Another example that relies on mirrored zoomorphic figures to produce a distinctive anthropomorphic entity is visible on a silver clasp from Desborough (Northamptonshire) (Fig. 7.49) (App. Table 7.3.18). This figure is represented standing with their arms raised above their head. The eyes of the encircling snakes combine and double as the eyes of the face-mask which is possibly wearing a helmet/headdress akin to those frequently represented in Style I (see Fig. 6.3). The feet and hands are distinctively zoomorphic, yet, the upturned orientation of the limbs resembles the contorted pose associated with the 'bound body' (see Fig. 6.46). As seen, transforming and hybrid bodies have often been represented

A)   B)

Figure 7.49 Silver clasp from Desborough (Northamptonshire) (Length: 33 mm; Width: 15 mm) (App. Table 7.3.18) (A) Photograph BM 1876,0504.3; B) Illustration from Smith 1923: 76. Fig. 89). Illustration not to scale.

in this pose. The body and arms also appear to be bound by the interlacing double-headed snake and ribbons. The binding of the hands recalls the bound figure on the drinking cup mounts from Taplow (Fig. 7.39). The 'bound body' on the bucket from Loveden Hill was also encircled by a double-headed snake (Fig. 7.36). As with the figure on the Sutton Hoo shield boss, all evidence suggests the figure on the clasp from Desborough is a hybrid 'bound body'.



Figure 7.50 Sites and findspots for the damaged and fragmented catalogue.

7.5 Damaged, fragmented and incomplete bodies

This section presents and analyses an assortment of bodies which are badly damaged, fragmented and/or incomplete, figure 7.50 maps the sites and findspots associated with this catalogue (App. Table 7.4). The sustained damages greatly complicate attempts to formally analyse the appearance of these figures. However, this problematic sample warrants consideration. The following figures display no visible attributes or details that would

classify them as ‘clearly dressed’ or ‘explicitly naked’. As such, their current appearances suggest they are badly damaged ‘bare’ bodies. Comparative material will be utilised to aid the analysis of certain figures.

7.5.1 Staffordshire helmet: rider and fallen warrior

Two bodies, one ‘bare’ and one ‘belted’, can be identified on the stamped gilded silver panel featuring a rider and fallen warrior on the Staffordshire helmet (Fig. 7.51) (App. Table 7.4.1). As already seen, this scene is paralleled on the Sutton Hoo helmet and there are also several continental variants (Figs. 7.17, 7.23, 7.24b, 7.25a, 7.28c). All of these parallels represent the fallen warrior in a ‘clearly dressed’ state. By contrast, the Staffordshire figure features no indicators of clothing on the body other than a potential headpiece. A smaller figure with raised arms is also represented behind the rider. Bar the belt this figure also appears to be ‘bare’. This ‘bare’ ‘belted body’ has an upturned head and resembles the kneeling figure repeated elsewhere on the helmet (Fig. 7.42). While the smaller figure has been reconstructed wearing a caftan on the Sutton Hoo helmet, ‘bare’ variants, including ‘belted bodies’, of this motif are common amongst the continental parallels (7.23a, 7.24b, 7.25a, 7.28c). These parallels and the sharp visual contrast with the ‘clearly dressed’ bodies elsewhere on the Staffordshire helmet indicate these two bodies were not originally represented wearing clothing. Furthermore, it seems likely these two figures were intended to be interpreted as naked as they occur in a group scene alongside a dressed rider. These contrasting states of dress may be of significance to the narrative or the scene’s symbolism.

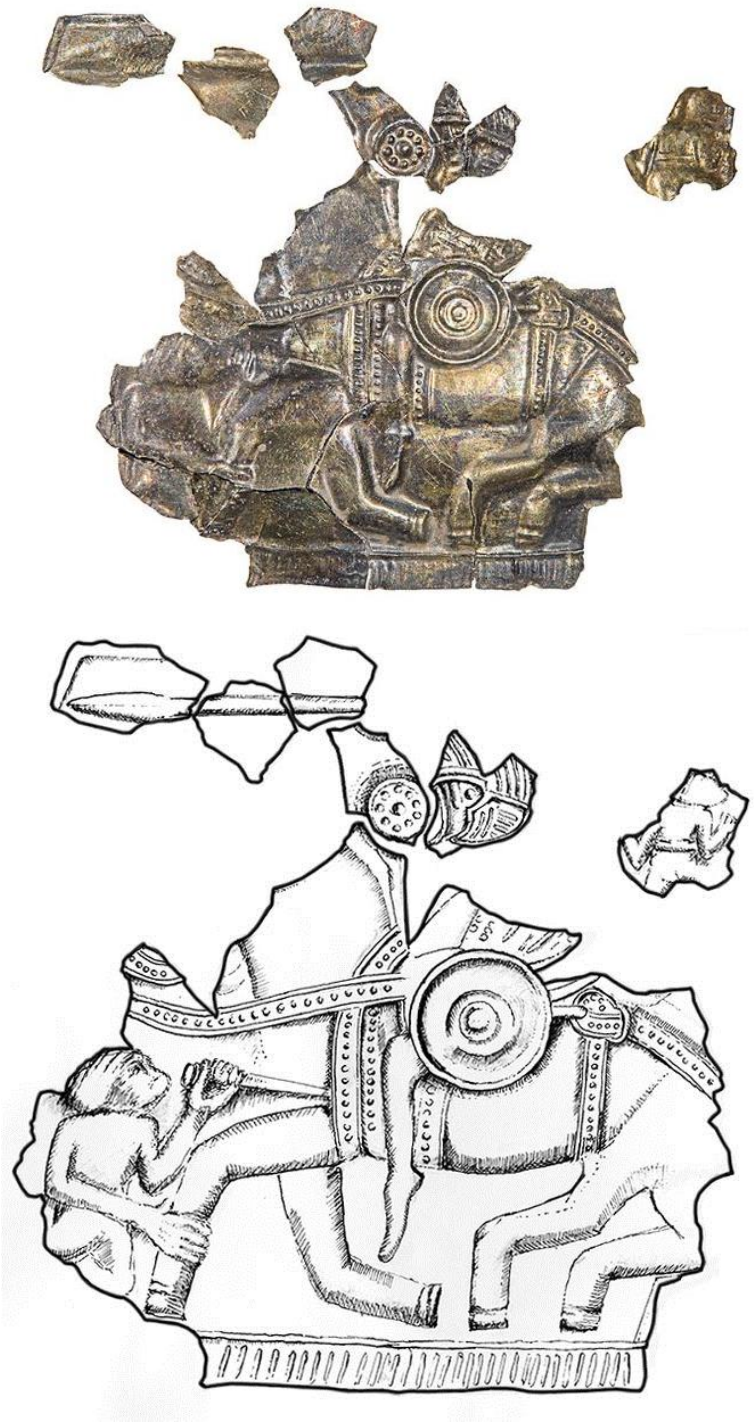


Figure 7.51 Fallen warrior and rider panel on the helmet from Hammerwich (Staffordshire) (catalogue number 595) (Height: 55 mm; Width: 60 mm) (App. Table 7.4.1) (Fern 2017: 11; photograph by Lucy Martin; drawing by George Speake). Illustration not to scale.



Figure 7.52 Belt plate from Ayton (Berwickshire) (Length: 33.5 mm) (App. Table 7.4.2) (Blackwell 2007: 166. Fig.1, Fig.2). Illustration not to scale.

7.5.2 Horned figures

This group is comprised of an assortment of figures wearing horned headdresses. The first is present on a copper-alloy belt plate recovered from Ayton (Berwickshire) (Fig. 7.52) (App. Table 7.4.2). This figure is wearing a belt and a horned headdress. The object is badly eroded and fragmented; however, the figure does not appear to be wearing a patterned garment akin to the 'clearly dressed' figures discovered in England wearing a caftan and horned headdress (Figs. 7.16, 7.19, 7.21a). This implies the Ayton figure is iconographically closer to the Finglesham man who was also represented on a belt plate (Fig. 7.9). Consequently, it is possible that this figure originally possessed a penis. A copper-alloy mount recovered from West Isley (Berkshire), also carries a figure wearing a horned headdress and belt (Fig. 7.53a)



A)



B)

Figure 7.53 Two horned headdress wearing figures. A) Mount from West Ilsley (Berkshire) (Length: 23.71 mm; Width: 9.37 mm) (App. Table 7.4.3) (PAS BERK-4F2E17); B) Possible die stamp from Crawley (Winchester, Hampshire) (Length: 31.3 mm; Width: 18.1 mm) (App. Table 7.4.4) (PAS HAMP-B292C2).



Figure 7.54 Mount from Streatley (Berkshire) (App. Table 7.4.5) (Length: 40.28 mm; Width: 15.08 mm) (PAS SUR-EC1C9E).

(App. Table 7.4.3). It has been suggested that the figure is wearing a robe and belt, though, no clear traces of clothing are visible on the 'bare' torso (PAS BERK-4F2E17). The bottom segment of this figure is hard to interpret as the legs are incomplete and so a conclusive interpretation of dress cannot be reached, but from what survives the figure does appear to be a bare 'belted body'. Another comparable figure is present on a possible die stamp composed of copper-alloy from Crawley (Hampshire) (Fig. 7.53b) (App. Table 7.4.4). At first glance, the incisions on the chest could be interpreted as evidence for clothing. Yet, these

markings are confined to the neck region, this suggests these markings do not represent the patterned decorated borders of a caftan and are the result of wear and damage. This is reinforced by its overall eroded appearance. The slender proportions of the body and the lack of cuffs on the wrists further imply that this figure is not wearing a caftan. Since the waist and legs are absent it cannot be confidently determined whether this figure was represented clothed or naked. The final example is present on a copper-alloy mount from Streatley (Berkshire) (Fig. 7.54) (App. Table 7.4.5). The poor state of preservation complicates its interpretation, but it has been suggested that a full-bodied figure is represented (PAS SUR-EC1C9E). The facial features situated beneath the horned headdress are visible, yet, the appearance of the body is less readily discernible. The brown areas were enamelled and appear to represent the surface of the body, therefore, the brown space situated beneath the face-mask represents the torso (PAS SUR-EC1C9E). The arms and hands appear to be resting on the hips or waist akin to the figurines from Oxborough and Mautby (Figs. 7.3, 7.8). The undecorated space beneath the hands may represent the legs. Little more can be inferred regarding the appearance of this figure.

7.5.3 Three-dimensional figurines

This group includes an assortment of incomplete and/or badly eroded three-dimensional figurines. It is important to note that the semi-dressed figurine from Halesworth (Suffolk) has been the only three-dimensional example discussed thus far wearing any clearly identifiable clothing (Fig. 7.10). By contrast, most of the figurines dated to this period have been categorised as ‘explicitly naked’. This reinforces the possibility that some of the following figurines were comparably naked in their original and complete state.

The first figurine is composed of copper-alloy and was discovered at Lenham (Kent), it survives only as a head and torso (Fig. 7.55) (App. Table 7.4.6). This figure appears to be wearing cap or helmet is potentially present which parallels the headgear worn by the figurines from Carlton Colville, Oxborough and Friston (PAS KENT-9D1706). Beyond this feature, the erosion complicates any further identifications or interpretations.

Another fragmented copper-alloy figurine has been discovered at Marham (Norfolk) (PAS NMS-4C3AD7) (App. Table 7.4.7) (Fig. 7.56). The lower half of this figurine is missing. The horns emanating from the head have also suffered damage. A cast transverse round hole is visible at the base of the figurine, another object may have originally been inserted or fixed here. As such, the figurine may not have been cast with legs. Two faint rows of dots have been identified at the waist, these are present on the front and back of the body and may represent a belt (PAS NMS-4C3AD7). No other indicator of clothing is visible on the body. On this basis, the figurine appears to be another example of a 'belted body' wearing a horned headdress.

The next figurine is composed of copper-alloy and was found at Rodmell (East Sussex) (App. Table 7.4.8) (Fig. 7.57). The figurine is badly worn and is missing legs. The waist of the figurine is tapered and so the body appears top-heavy. There is little evidence to suggest arms were originally fixed to this figure. As such, the arms were either absent or rendered onto the torso surface in some capacity. A nose and some form of headgear or bowl-shaped hairstyle are visible. The headgear and top-heavy body suggest the figure is male, but it cannot be inferred whether the body was represented clothed, naked or neither.



Figure 7.55 Figurine from Lenham (Maidstone, Kent) (Height: 45.1 mm) (App. Table 7.4.6) (PAS- KENT-9D1706).



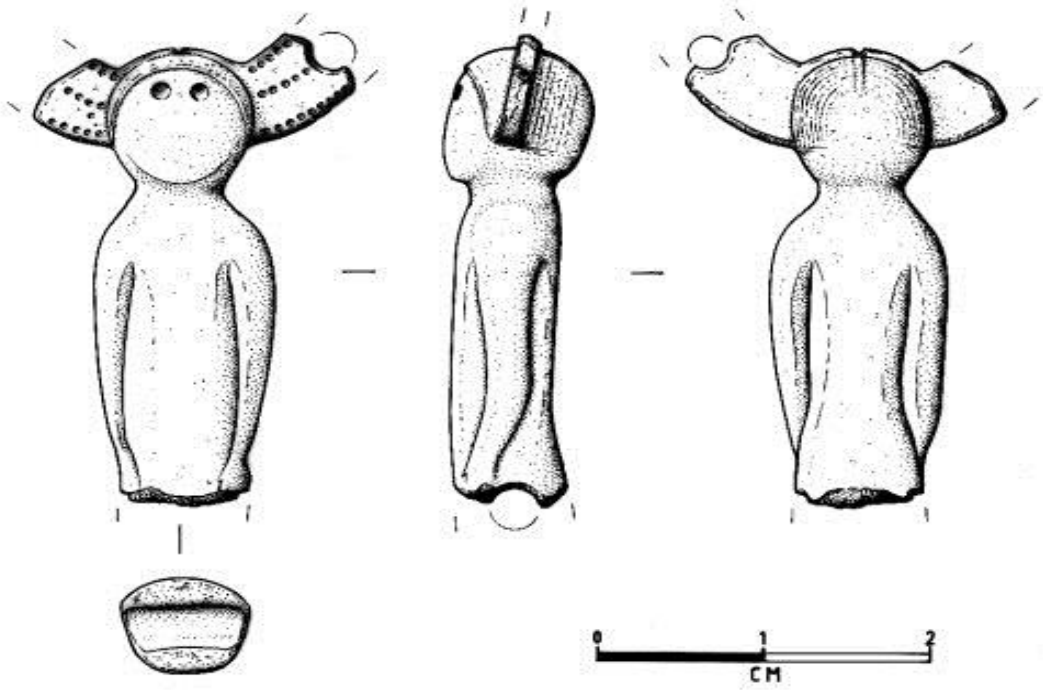


Figure 7.56 Figurine from Marham (King's Lynn, West Norfolk) (Height: 32.7 mm) (App. Table 7.4.7) (PAS NMS-4C3AD7). Illustration not to scale.



Figure 7.57 Figurine from Rodmell (Lewes, East Sussex) (Height: 42.29 mm) (App. Table 7.4.8) (PAS SUR-3785A7).



Figure 7.58 Figurine from Barkston Ash (Selby, North Yorkshire) (Length: 32.8 mm; Width: 21.4 mm) (App. Table 7.4.9) (PAS YORYM-CB17FB).

This example is a copper-alloy figurine from Barkston Ash (North Yorkshire) (App. Table 7.4.9) (Fig. 7.58). This sculpture is akin to a bust as it consists of a head, shoulders and chest. A hole is present in the base of the torso which suggests it was originally fixed to another object or possibly the other half of the body. The only visible costume article is a horned headdress with downward-pointing horns. The chest is badly worn which complicates its interpretation. However, there are no obvious traces of clothing present. A similar copper-alloy figurine has been found at Tuddenham St. Martin (Suffolk) (Fig. 7.59a) (App. Table 7.4.10). This limbless figurine is wearing some form of horned headdress, but no other traces of costume can be identified. The protuberant neck is perforated from the side. Additional body parts or a secondary object was possibly inserted into this circular hollow space. A parallel copper-alloy figure/object has been found at Great Waldingfield (Suffolk) (Fig. 7.59b) (App. Table 7.4.11). This figure does not display a horned headdress, although visible wear on the head suggests some form of headgear was originally present (PAS SF5471). Again, the bulging neck is perforated from the side. It is not obvious what function this figurine and the previous example served, it has been suggested that they functioned as a handle grip for tweezers or some other tool that was inserted into the circular hole (PAS SF5471; PAS SF3807). Another copper-alloy figurine/toilet article has been found in Sancton (East Riding of Yorkshire) (Fig. 7.60) (App. Table 7.4.12) (PAS DUR-230B47). Unlike the previous two examples, the circular perforation is situated at the torso. This object has also been tentatively identified as a toilet article, although it could have been socketed to a range of implements or objects (ibid.). This figurine is wearing a horned headdress and appears to be represented with upturned legs, a pose associated with the 'bound body'. The surface of the object is poorly damaged. The upper part of the torso appears to be 'bare', whereas the limbs and horned headdress feature incised decorative linear patterns. These



A)



B)

Figure 7.59 Figurines from Tuddenham St. Martin (Suffolk) and Great Waldingfield (Suffolk). A) Tuddenham St. Martin (App. Table 7.4.10) (Height: 51 mm) (PAS SF3807); B) Great Waldingfield (App. Table 7.4.11) (Height:30 mm) (PAS SF5471). Illustrations not to scale.





Figure 7.60 Figurine/toilet article (?) from Sancton (East Riding of Yorkshire) (App. Table 7.4.12) (Length: 56.93 mm) (PAS DUR-230B47).



Figure 7.61 Figure from Louth (East Lindsey, Lincolnshire) (App. Table 7.4.13) (Length: 61 mm; Width: 13 mm) (PAS LIN-756E6A).

patterns are only visible on the front of the object. This figure does not appear to be naked or dressed, instead, it is a stylised figure with distinguished and decorated limbs. Another parallel comes from Louth (Lincolnshire) (Fig. 7.61) (App. Table 7.4.13). This object/figurine features a head wearing some form of headdress, the 'body' is a narrow shaft and the circular perforation is situated at the neck. It is questionable whether the previous five examples could be considered representations of the body. While additional body parts may have fixed to these objects, they appear to have been functional objects which were supplemented with some selective anthropomorphic elements. It is, therefore, possibly redundant to even consider their states of dress since they do not feature a distinctive body. A further example of this sort is an unidentified object, composed of copper-alloy and iron, discovered at Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Fig. 7.62) (App. Table 7.4.14). This object is capped with a three-dimensional anthropomorphic head wearing a horned headdress. The neck is

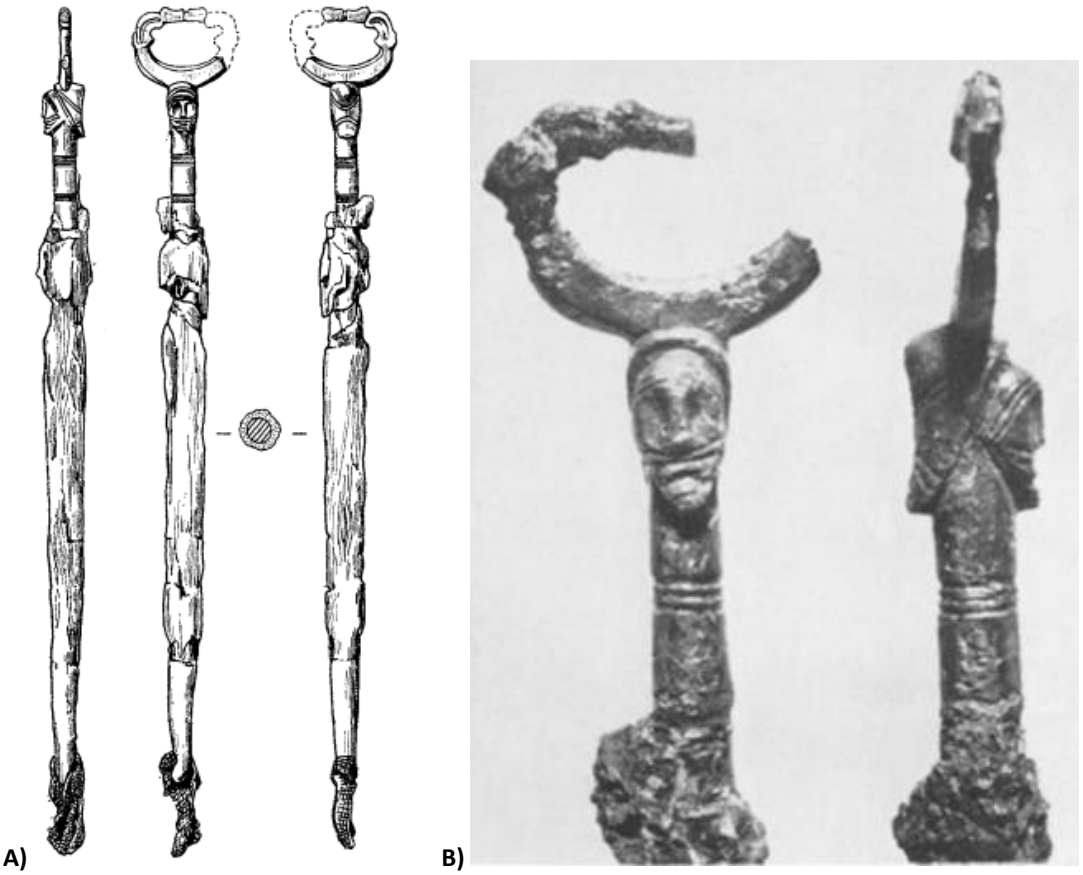


Figure 7.62 Unidentified object from Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Length: 122 mm) (App. Table 7.4.14) (A) Evison 1965: 215. Fig.1; B) Bruce-Mitford 1972: LII.b)

scored by transverse incised lines, these decorative markings may represent neck-rings or a collar. Beneath the elongated neck, the form of the object expands in a way that resembles sloping shoulders. The 'body' of the object then progressively narrows towards the base. While the object's overall form has an anthropomorphic quality, the surface damage complicates any further interpretation.

The final object to be considered is a whetstone recovered from Loveden (Hough-on-the-hill, Lincolnshire) (Fig. 7.63) (App. Table 7.4.15). Again, this is a functional object which has been supplemented with a face-mask composed of two deep eye sockets, a nose, and a mouth. The bulbous sides of the head may represent hair or a headdress. Beneath the deeply incised neckline, the form of the object widens as if to represent shoulders. The top-



Figure 7.63 Whetstone from Loveden (Hough-on-the-hill, Lincolnshire) (Length: 105 mm) (App. Table 7.4.15) (Everson & Stocker, 1999. Pl. 209).

heavy upper 'body' increasingly narrows towards the break. There are subtle circular markings on the chest that resemble breasts or areolas. However, similar markings can also be observed on the reverse which suggests they stem from surface damage. Parallel early medieval whetstones are known from Scotland, Ireland and Wales, this might suggest the current example was influenced by an insular source (see Bruce-Mitford 1949: 57-58; Enright 1983: 121). Again, as a functional object, it is questionable whether states of dress or nakedness are relevant to this example.

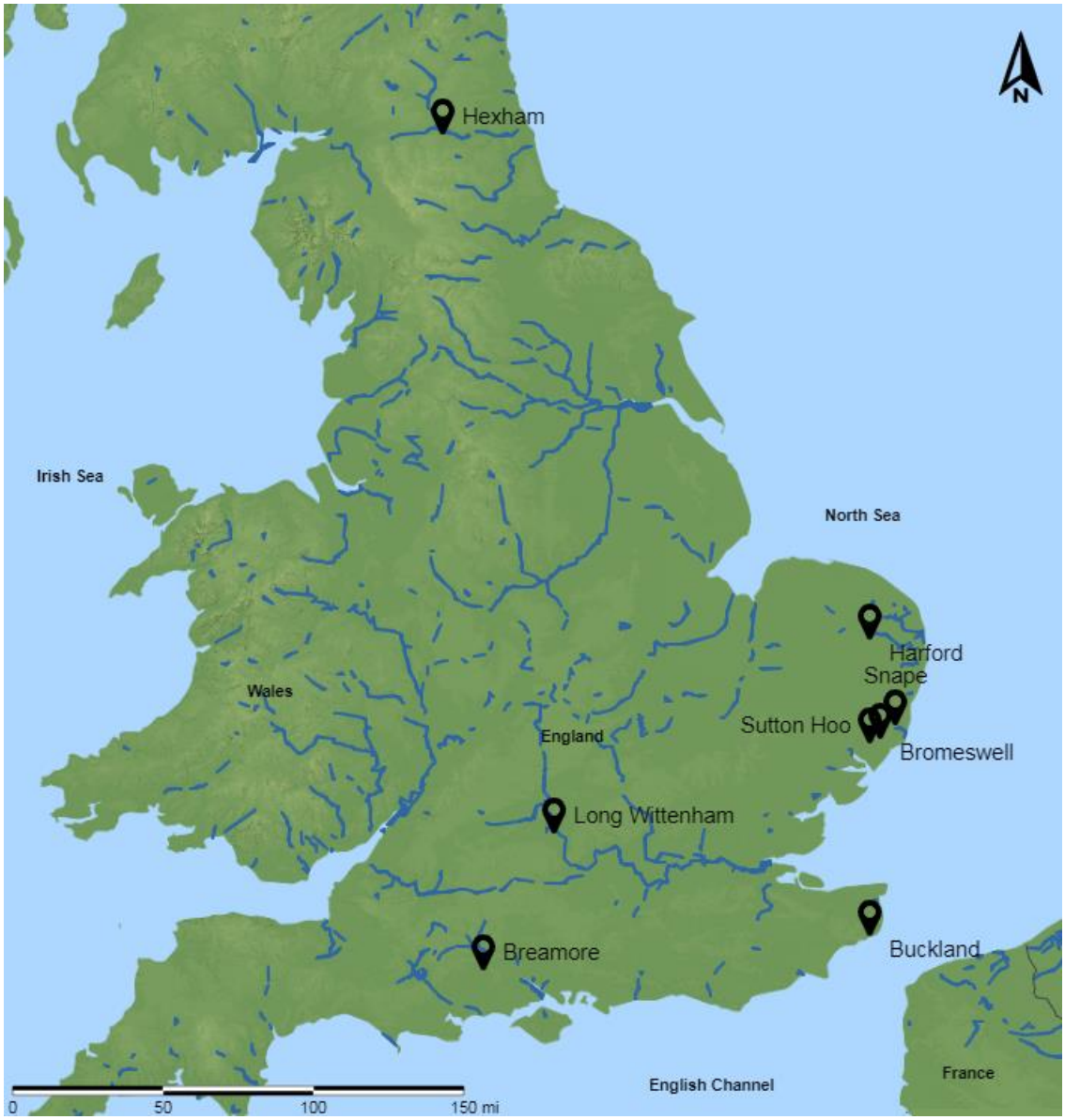


Figure 7.64 Sites and findspots for the re-used and imported catalogue.



Figure 7.65 Finger ring with onyx gemstone from (Snape, Suffolk) (App. Table 7.5.1) (Diameter: 25 mm) (BM 1950,1206.1).

7.6 Re-used and imported instances of nudity

This section explores instances of direct contact with Roman, Byzantium and Christian representations of nakedness in England between the 5th and 7th centuries, figure 7.64 maps the sites and findspots associated with this catalogue (Figs. 7.65-72) (App. Table 7.5). The first example is an instance of re-use whereby a Roman onyx gemstone intaglio has been set into a 6th-century gold finger-ring (Fig. 7.65) (App. Table 7.5.1) (Filmer-Sankey 1992: 40-42). This ring was discovered in a high-status boat burial at Snape (Suffolk) (Ibid.). The intaglio features the divine personification *Bonus Eventus*, the personification of success, good fortune and fruitful agricultural cultivation, holding a sheaf (Henig 1974: 71-72). While an example of ideal nudity, the body's appearance is understandably simplified given the spatial constraints when engraving small gemstones. As such, visible muscular definition is primarily confined to the upper body. The genitals also appear to be absent. Two 6th-century

A)



B)

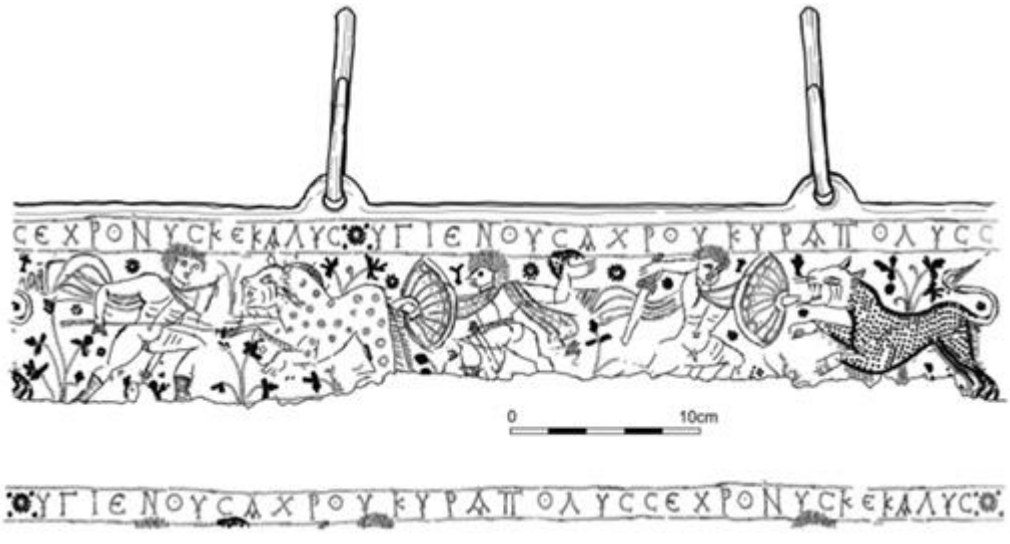


Figure 7.66 Bucket from Breamore (Hampshire) (Rim diameter: 168 mm) (App. Table 7.5.2) (Photograph- Hinton and Worrell 2017: 90. Ill 12. Illustration- Hinton and Worrell 2017: 93. Ill. 15). Illustration not to scale.



A)



B)



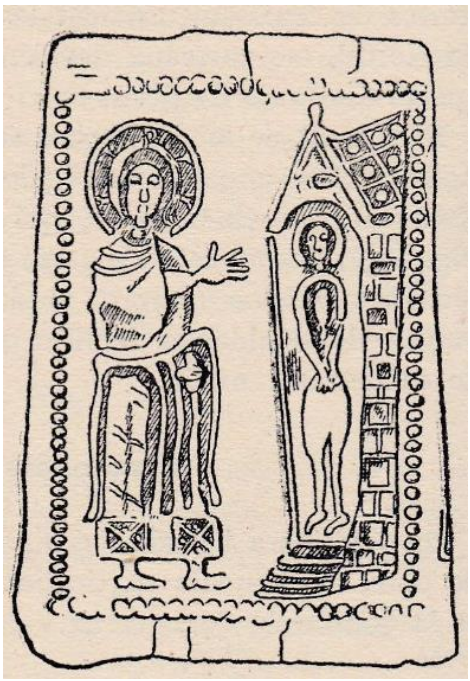
C)

Figure 7.67 Bucket from Bromeswell (Suffolk) (App. Table 7.5.3) (A) Mango et al. 1989: 296. Fig. 2.; B) Mango et al. 1989: 300. Fig. 4a. ; C) Mango et al. 1989: 301. Fig. 4b). Illustrations not to scale.

copper-alloy pails/buckets produced in the east Mediterranean have been found in England, one in Breamore (Hampshire) and the other in Bromeswell (Suffolk) (Figs. 7.66, 7.67) (App. Table 7.5.2-3). These buckets are decorated with stamped punch marks and incised details. The friezes depict a hunting scene composed of heroically nude figures engaged in combat with various quadrupeds. While the friezes are similar, they are not identical. The nude human figures are wielding weaponry and represent warriors or hunters, additional costume articles are featured across the bodies and can include a cape, boots, quiver, or sword belt. The undersized male genitalia, characteristic of ideal male nudity, can be recognised on the frontal facing bodies. These figures lack the stylised naturalism associated with Roman forms of heroic nudity. Instead, they reflect a more abstract approach to rendering the body common within contemporary Byzantine visual culture. As such, the musculature and morphology of the bodies are represented in a simplified fashion. A naked body associated with the Christian figural repertoire may have originally been present on a damaged and incomplete late antique bucket or stoup found at Long Wittenham (Oxfordshire) (Fig. 7.68a) (App. Table 7.5.4). The stoup is thought to have been produced in Gaul in the late 5th century (BM 1875,0310.1). Copper-alloy embossed plates depicting various scenes from the gospels decorate the outer surface, these are severely damaged and fragmented. A parallel and better-preserved vessel is known from Lavoye (France) which shares at least two of the scenes present on the Long Wittenham example (Salin 1959: 417) (Fig. 7.68b). The vessel from Lavoye also features a plate that depicts the resurrection of Lazarus. In the art of Late Antiquity, Lazarus was often represented naked in this scene (Smith 1966: 221; Himmelman 1985: 44-45). On the Lavoye plate, Lazarus' schematic body displays no clear signs of clothing, he also appears to be concealing his nakedness via the placement of his hands. This scene may have originally been present on



A)



B)

Figure 7.68 Bucket/stoup from Long Wittenham (Oxfordshire) (Height: 113 mm; Diameter: 98 mm) (App. Table. 7.5.4) (A- White 1988:326. Fig. 70); B) Embossed bucket panel from Lavoye (France) (Salin 1959: 416b). Illustrations not to scale.



Figure 7.69 Intaglio pendant from Caistor St Edmund (Norfolk) (Total Height: 69 mm) (App. Table 7.5.5) (NHER 9794).

the Long Wittenham vessel, although while the two vessels are similar, they are not identical.

The following examples were found in 7th-century 'Anglo-Saxon' contexts. The first is a 3rd-century cornelian intaglio set into a gold pendant from Harford farm (Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk) (Fig. 7.69) (App. Table 7.5.5). Engraved on the intaglio is a nude male satyr with horns. As with the intaglio from Snape, the body is presented in a simplified manner. The notch on the crotch presumably represents the penis. An additional re-used intaglio has been found at Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Fig. 7.70a) (App. Table 7.5.6). This Roman rock crystal intaglio was set into a silver sling and turned into a pendant. The figure engraved into the intaglio is thought to be the Lydian Queen Omphale (BM 1995,0102.671). However, her visibility is obstructed by the silver sling. Consequently, it is not possible to confirm her exact state of dress without removing this feature. Comparative intaglios suggest that Omphale

A)



B)



Figure 7.70 Intaglio pendant from Buckland (Dover, Kent) (Total object Height: 69 mm) (App. Table 7.5.6) (BM 1995,0102.671); B) Intaglio engraved with Omphale (unknown provenance) (1st-3rd centuries AD) (Height: 20 mm) (BM 1923,0401.597).

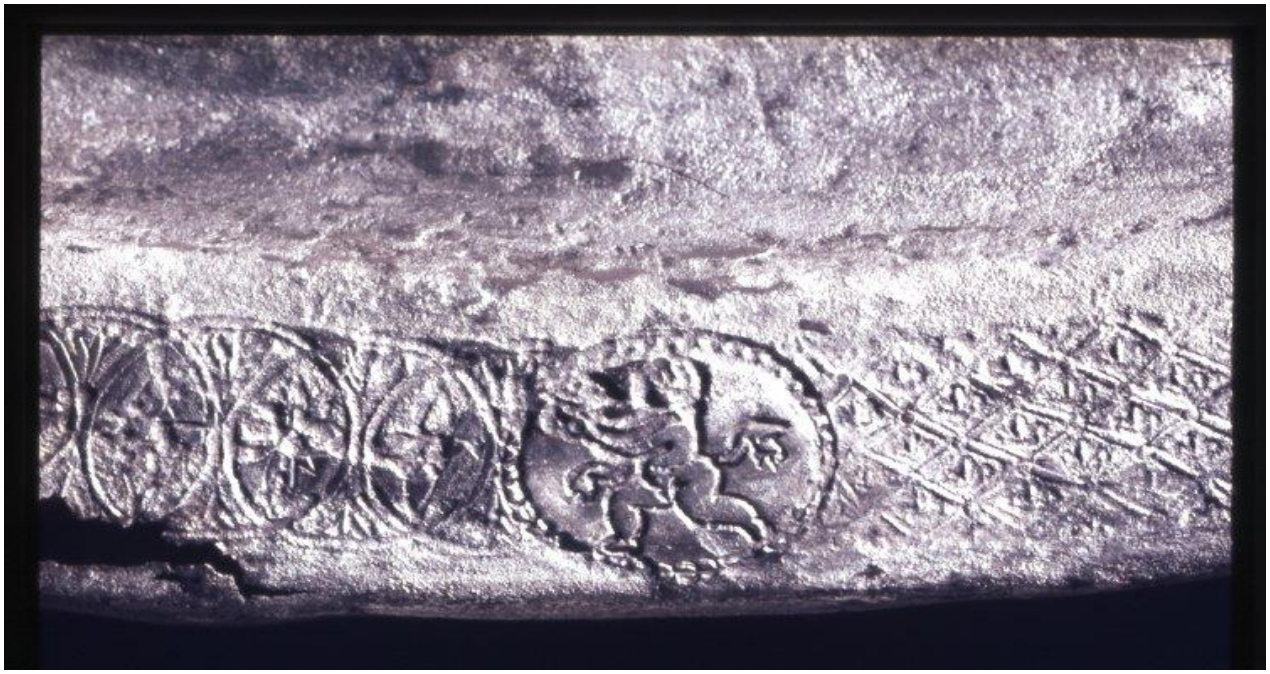


Figure 7.71 The Anastasius dish from Mound 1 (Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge, Suffolk) (App. Table 7.5.7) (BM 1939,1010.76).

was presented in a state of partial undress with her breasts and genitals concealed (Fig. 7.70b). A similar bent naked leg is recognisable on the Buckland example, as such, she may have been represented in a comparable state of nudity.

The next object is a Byzantine silver dish, produced between the late 5th and 6^{t}-centuries, found within the mound one assemblage at Sutton Hoo (Fig. 7.71) (App. Table 7.5.7). A possible putto has been stamped on the outer rim of the dish. The figure is small in size and represented schematically. The crotch is partially obscured by the legs and stomach. As such, it is hard to discern if the genitals are represented.

The final examples are present on two stone carved fragments, which likely belonged to the same composition, from Hexham (Northumbria) (Cramp 1984: 185-86) (Fig. 7.72) (App. Table 7.5.8, .5.9). One of the stones features a putto wielding a bow (Fig. 7.72a). While the body's surface is badly worn, a pronounced stomach, navel, nipples and small penis are

A)



B)



Figure 7.72 Stone carved fragments from Hexham (Northumbria) (Roman or late 7th century). A) Naked archer (Height: 305 mm; Width: 406 mm) (App. Table 7.5.8) (Cramp 1984.Pl.179. 961); B) Naked legs and vine scroll (Height: 340 mm; Width: 300 mm) (App. Table 7.5.9) (Cramp 1984. Pl.179. 960).

visible. A single leg survives on the second fragment, it is also thought to have belonged to a second nude putto (Cramp 1984: 185-86) (Fig. 7.72b). It has been suggested that these figures were either carved in the Roman period and redeployed within a 7th-century 'Anglo-Saxon' context or produced in the late 7th century by a foreign carver (Cramp 1984: 185-86; Karkov 2011: 62). Subsequently, these two examples may belong to the catalogue of 'explicitly naked' representations analysed at the beginning of this chapter.

7.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the 7th-century pre-Christian figural repertoire was akin to the visual culture of preceding centuries in displaying a continuingly strong artistic interest in representing naked and adorned bodies. These artistic themes are recurrent across the bodies that belong to the categories of 'explicitly naked', 'bare' and 'clearly dressed'. The appearance of the naked female body further demonstrates the significance of this bodily state in the 7th century. When assessed in conjunction with previously discussed bodies of the 5th-6th centuries, the 7th-century corpus adds further weight to the argument against there being an 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural disinterest in representing or interacting with naked images. The enduring representation and adaption of the 'belted body' and 'bound body' motifs demonstrate their lasting importance. It also supports the notion that their predecessors in the bracteate catalogue and in Style I were recognised, understood and attributed some kind of symbolic and artistic importance in England in the previous centuries. Furthermore, the popularity of these motifs is demonstrated by their application to new media and their portrayal in three-dimensional metal forms. Subsequently, the motifs were deployed and encountered in new ways and contexts. Of note are the variants which now feature a penis, as these bodies strengthen the possibility

that the parallel antecedent 'bare' 'belted' and 'bound' motifs were associated with a state of nakedness. This is also true for the contemporary examples which were well represented in the 'bare' group. None of the 'bare' bodies discussed within this chapter could be confidently assigned a state of dress, despite many having been interpreted as such in current literature. Arguably, these bodies represent a continuation of the earlier stylistic conventions regarding the portrayal of the naked body. This means that the only dressed bodies in the pre-Christian repertoire were the small sample of models imported from Scandinavia that comprised the 'clearly dressed' group. Thus, if the 'bare' bodies do represent undressed bodies, then the 7th-century repertoire was heavily dominated by naked imagery. The clothed group demonstrates that there was a growing taste for elaborately decorated textiles garments in Scandinavia which subsequently influenced the visual culture of England. It was also suggested that these clothed bodies represent the dressing of the 'bound' and 'belted' bodies, and that these bodies were not fully concealed as the limbs were often left exposed. Subsequently, no figure could be identified as fully clothed, in a modern sense, or wearing practical or conventional forms of dress. Instead, the complete costumes, including the naked limbs, were possibly iconographic inventions. However, the individual articles that contributed to these costumes may have existed and been worn in ritual, ceremonial or martial contexts.

The catalogue of human images discussed in this chapter is the largest to date. The sample of bodies discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate that the human body was represented more frequently than has been traditionally recognised. When considered alongside the earlier repertoire, there is clear evidence for the existence of enduring figural conventions and an artistic tradition surrounding the body that spanned the 5th-7th centuries. It is possible that representations of the body in organic materials, now lost,

played an important role in sustaining and developing this tradition. As stated, the scarcity of the human image in this period has been used to support the argument that there was a cultural disinterest or aversion to the body. Instead, this was a visual culture dominated by zoomorphic figures and ornamentation (Webster 2017: 36; Cross 2020: 422). While this remains true, as finds continue to be uncovered, the question needs to be asked about sample size must be reached before the human image is no longer considered rare. Further questions must also be asked regarding how quantitative assessments consider technical quality, originality, different levels of patronage, the context of display, and the symbolic and social importance of particular motifs. These are difficult questions to answer, but arguably the use of the terms 'rare' or 'scarce' inevitably contribute to the notion that representing the human body was a low priority which could be construed as an indicator of its limited cultural status. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7 that the body may have been represented in greater numbers, but that its ambiguous portrayal has occasionally hindered a modern audience from recognising it. Arguably, the insistence that the body is a rarity discourages modern audiences from looking for and making such identifications.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the findings from Chapters 5-7 and explores the social function and ideological meanings of certain motifs and their relevance to contemporary corporeal practices and identities. The socio-political significance of some of the key artistic developments regarding the changing portrayal of the body is also considered. The first motif to be discussed is the 'bound body'. The motif's symbolic and socio-cultural significance in Scandinavia, where it originated, is explored, before looking at how it changed after its introduction to 'Anglo-Saxon' England. The major artistic developments identified concerning 7th-century England are then analysed and particular emphasis is placed on the novel representation of the penis and the female body. Finally, the symbolism of the 'belted body' between the 5th-7th centuries is assessed. As part of this discussion, the relationship between the 'belted body' and the 'clearly dressed' figures that appear in the 7th century is also considered.

8.2 The 'bound body' in a Scandinavian context

The following discussion considers two thematic dimensions regarding this motif. The first is the significance of its nakedness and adornment, the second is its hybrid qualities. Arguably, these two aspects are closely related and cannot be considered separately. The former is concerned with the binding of the body, whereas the transformative and hybrid figures represent the 'unbound body'. The constrictive costume articles associated with this motif

are explored here as symbolically significant, imbuing the body with meaning. These articles also served visual functions by highlighting focal areas, areas included the wrists, ankles, knees, neck, waist, the upper arm/shoulder and upper leg/pelvis. Thus, the costume accessories were often situated on or near the socket and hinge joints that bind the body. These same areas are often the points where the body is fractured and dismembered as part of its artistic and physical transformation, thus the body becomes 'unbound'. These two related bodily states are now examined in greater detail.

8.2.1 Binding the body (3rd-4th centuries)

'Bound bodies' were primarily identified on the basis of the wearing of a decorative ring on any limb. Many of the figures wearing arm-rings and/or anklets were also frequently presented wearing a neck-ring and/or belt. Representations of naked bodies wearing a belt and/or a neck-ring appeared in Denmark and Sweden in the late Roman Iron Age (3rd-4th centuries). Whereas arm-ring and anklet-wearing figures did not appear until the 5th century. Consequently, the 'bound body' appears to be a later development that grew out of a pre-existing iconographic tradition centred on adorned naked bodies. The cultural significance of these various articles and the naked image between the 3rd and 4th centuries is therefore worth some closer consideration.

Starting with the neck-ring, this object has a long cultural history in southern Scandinavia. Neck-rings have frequently been discovered in contexts with ritualistic or high-status associations from the late Bronze Age onwards (Görman 1996: Kaul 2003: 26-37; Pesch 2015b: 523-5, 668). As such, it is generally thought that the neck-ring was a symbol of secular, religious and possibly divine power (Görman 1996; Fabech 2006: 30; Pesch 2015b:

523-25, 668). Up until the 1st-2nd centuries AD, neck-rings were primarily deposited in bogs in Denmark and are interpreted as votive offerings (Hedeager 1992: 37-47; Kaul 2003: 32-36). A shift occurred in the 3rd-4th centuries as gold rings were predominantly deposited in richly furnished high-status graves, particularly in Zealand (Hedeager 1992:45-48, 68; Axboe, 2003: 227). It has been argued that this shift reflects a process whereby the local elites were signalling control over the ritual sphere and establishing themselves as the primary point of contact with the other-world (Hedeager 1992:80). At the same time, elaborate belt sets appear in a small number of high-status graves in Scandinavia and northern Germany (Carnap-Bornheim 2003: 244-45). Of note, a high-status male grave at Neudorf-Bornstein (grave 7) (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany) contained a gold-neck ring and an elaborate silver belt plate decorated with zoomorphic figures (Carnap-Bornheim 2003: 244).

The growing taste for decorative and elaborate belt sets was likely influenced by Roman military fashions, subsequently, the Scandinavian martial elite adopted belts sets as a way of signifying one's military rank and status (Andersen 2003: 250-51; Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjaer 1996: 483; Jensen et al. 2003: 312-14). Between the 3rd and 5th centuries, high-quality belt sets were more commonly deposited in bogs as votive offerings as seen at Ejsbøl Mose, Illerup Ådal, and Nydam II in Denmark and Sjorup in Sweden (Carnap-Bornheim 2003: 242-45; Andersen 2003: 250-55; Jørgensen and Petersen 2003: 266-68, 273-74, Welch 2011b: 867). These belt sets were ritually deposited within large assemblages of military equipment, these are thought to have been deposited by elite warrior groups affiliated with local religious centres (Welch 2011b: 867). These war booty deposits are just one source of evidence that indicate martial aspects became increasingly important to the ritual practices and cosmological beliefs of southern Scandinavia in the 3rd -5th centuries (Andrén 2003: 35-37; 2014:98-105).

The Scandinavian archaeological record demonstrates that arm-rings became an increasingly popular costume accessory from the 3rd century onwards (Werner 1980; Axboe and Kromann 1992: 279; Hedeager 1992: 46). For example, several elite graves at Stevns (Zealand, Denmark), dating to the 3rd-4th centuries, were furnished with a gold arm and neck-ring (Hedeager 1992: 46, 51). Arm-rings are predominantly found in male graves, but are very occasionally discovered in high-status female burials throughout Scandinavia (Hedeager 2011: 237; Fonnesbech-Sandberg 2004: 100-01; Sundqvist 2015: 375; Reiersen 2018; 49). Arm rings also occasionally appear in bog contexts alongside weaponry. For example, two Kolben type arm-rings were found within the Illerup A weapon deposit at Illerup Ådal (Denmark) (Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær 1996: 182–84). Seven heavy gold neck or arm rings, weaponry and belt sets were found alongside animal and human sacrifices in a fen at Skedemose (Öland, Sweden) (Görman 1996: 119-20). This assemblage is of note as it reinforces the close links between the belt, the rings and the spheres of ritual and warfare. Öland is also where the second group of figurines were discovered, one of which was wearing a belt and one example was possibly wearing an arm-ring (Figs. 5.8b, 5.9b). The emerging elite fashion for arm-rings in Scandinavia was likely stimulated by the Roman armillae, a military trophy awarded for exceptional service (Werner 1980: 24; Axboe and Kromann 1992: 297; Gaimster 1996: 219).

The arm-ring symbolised how power, which was heavily dependent on alliance-based reciprocal political strategies, was enacted in this period (Hedeager 1992: 246-52). Chieftains would enter into relationships of mutual dependence with their retainers, this relationship was defined by each person adhering to a series of obligations and expectations towards the other (Holst 2014: 184). This typically involved the chief redistributing his wealth, resources and other forms of provisioning in return for loyalty and service

(Hedeager 1992: 251; Holst 2014: 184; Gaimster 2011: 876). In later Norse society, arm-rings are closely associated with the swearing of oaths, making pacts and were symbols of loyalty, supplication, and obligation between a lord and his retainers (Eriksen 2014: 80). They likely held a similar symbolic function in the Roman Iron Age (Hedeager 2011: 252). When worn by women they may have symbolised a political marriage, another important elite strategy in this period (Reirsen 2018: 48-9; Holst 2014: 184). Arm-rings may have also functioned as symbols of dignity, leadership and status (Werner 1980; Axboe and Kromann 1992: 297; Hedeager 2011: 204-05). Different arm-ring types are thought to signify different ranks or roles within the military hierarchy (Werner 1980: Axboe and Kromann 1992: 297). For example, the Kolben type arm-rings are a recurring feature of high-status male graves in southern Scandinavia during the late Roman Iron Age and appear to have been worn by those of the highest military and social rank (Werner 1980: 21; Hedeager 2011: 205). Interestingly, the shape and form of this arm-ring type prevent it from being removed without breakage (Hedeager 2011: 205). The social position, obligations and expectations the ring symbolises, therefore, were potentially physically and psychologically inscribed as a life-long commitment. Snake-head arm-rings are also known in this period and are thought to symbolise a high military rank (Fonnesbech-Sandbergad 2004: 101). The constrictive qualities of the snake align with the ring's binding role as a symbol of sworn pacts and political alliances (Werner 1980: 24; Reiersen 2018: 48-49). This symbolic link would explain the occasional portrayal of the 'bound body' encircled by snake-like creatures (e.g. Figs. 5.32a/b/c).

The other aspect to consider is the recurrent association with these dress articles and the naked body. On one level, the downplayed naked and schematic appearance of the body helps direct attention towards the dress accessories. However, not all of the 'explicitly

naked' figurines were represented with costume accessories. This suggests that the state of nakedness was itself symbolically significant. The state of nakedness appears to be closely associated with the sphere of religion and ritual. For example, explicitly sexed wooden figures are known from several bogs in Scandinavia and northern Germany, these were primarily deposited from the late Bronze Age to the Roman Iron Age, but a few examples are known from the migration period (for a corpus of finds see Sanden and Capelle 2003; Capelle 1995). Naked bodies dating to the Iron Age have also been discovered within bog contexts in northern Germany and southern Scandinavia, some show signs of having being stripped, bound and potentially ritually sacrificed (see Williams 2003; Kaul 2003). In this context, it has been suggested that the state of nakedness was ritualistically significant and worked to heighten the drama while also distinguishing the sacrificial victim (see Williams 2003: 99, 103-04). The naked body is also a recurrent feature of the visual culture of the late Scandinavian Bronze Age (see Yates, 1993; Bengtsson 1999; Goldhahn 2013; Rowlands and Ling 2015; Bevan 2015). Of particular note are the three-dimensional metal figurines that represent the naked and semi-naked body, some of these are also wearing neck-rings, belts, horned helmets and performing acrobatic acts (see Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 308-12; Anderssen et al. 2004). Rather than assuming any direct deep-time artistic continuity, the cultic or cosmological significance of the naked body may have endured in some capacity. This possibility is reinforced by the findspots of some of the figurines from Denmark. While their contexts of discovery were poorly recorded, many were found near lakes and bogs and so are thought to have been ritually deposited (Hedeager 1992: 48; Andersson et al. 2004: 77-79). The Gallehus horns were also potentially deposited as sacrificial offerings (Pesch, 2011d: 49). This strengthens the association with the naked body and ritual practices and their contexts in the 4th and 5th centuries.

It is also possible that concepts of divine or ritualistic nakedness were introduced to northern Europe via external sources such as decorated portable objects. The Gundestrup cauldron is one such example as it appears to depict scenes of ritual activity that feature topless bodies. Some of the metal figurines found in Denmark and Öland, discussed in 5.2.1, were shown to have been modelled on nude Roman prototypes. Many of the Danish examples were found on the island of Funen, Denmark, where the sites of Gudme and Lundeborg were located. From the 3rd century onwards the sites were emerging as high-status centres of production and trade (Jørgensen 2009: 332-34; 2011: 77-88). These sites demonstrate a high level of access to Roman imports which were subsequently redistributed as prestige goods amongst the Scandinavia elite (Pesch 2012: 677-78). This access and exposure to Roman figural images may have played an influential role in the appearance of the naked figurines in Iron-Age fashions. More than simply a process of copying, it is argued that the frequent exposure of people to the goods, ideas and decorative repertoires of the Roman world, via various pathways, effectively 'Romanised' the southern Scandinavian elite (Behr 2010b: 459). In turn, the elite may have had a familiarity with certain motifs, their symbolism and social functions (Axboe and Kromann 1992; Gaimster 2011: 874; Wicker 2016: 255; 2017). Thus, the elites were exposed to the Roman deployment of figurative art as a political tool that served to legitimise the divine authority of the emperor (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 294). This imperial propaganda frequently represented the emperor with divine attributes or in association with divine bodies (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 294; Elsner 1998: 199-202). Furthermore, the emperor would be represented with an ideal nude body to communicate his divine status, although this practice declined in the 4th century (see Hallett 2005). In late antique society, the patronage, possession and in-depth knowledge of religious and mythological figurative art

was an essential component of elite civilian identity (Henig 1995: 148; Cleary 2013: 471; Elsner 2018: 97-100; Gerrard 2013: 246-47). This esoteric knowledge played an important role in distinguished the aristocracy from the general populace as well as the military elite (Gerrard 2013: 246-47). Roman visual culture may also have introduced concepts relating to nudity as a symbol of other-worldly power which could be used to ideologically legitimise socio-political inequalities. It is interesting in this context to consider that the site of Gudme and its comparanda in southern Scandinavia are places considered to have been administered and organised by a military elite or warrior aristocracy (Jørgensen 1995: 205-06; Holst 2014: 183). As stated, the spheres of ritual and cosmology were undergoing increasing militarisation in the 3rd-5th centuries and that the belt and arm-ring were articles with martial associations. The athletic and martial associations of male heroic nudity may have been of appeal to a northern elite. This is potentially reinforced by two 3rd-century stamped and gilded silver phalerae discs deposited at Thorsbjerg Mose (Schleswig-Holstein, northern Germany) (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 274-75). These discs are thought to be Roman in origin, yet, they were adapted for a northern European owner as they have been decorated with zoomorphic figures rendered in a northern European regional style (Axboe and Kromann 1992: 275; Pesch 2012: 642). Interestingly, a semi-nude seated Mars is visible on both discs and may reflect a cultural interest in the god of war. The iconography of Mars has been identified as a template for various motifs within the bracteate corpus, including the neck-ring wearing B-bracteate figures discussed in Chapter 5 (Gaimster 1996: 219; 1998: 37).

Collectively then, a range of artistic and cultural influences may explain the appearance of the representation of the naked body in late Iron Age Scandinavia. Most

likely, the figurines reflect the negotiation of pre-existing and novel concepts relating to the naked body as my formal analysis seems to suggest (see Chapter 5).

8.2.2 Binding the body (5th-6th centuries)

8.2.2.1 Iconological context

The development and production of Style I and the bracteates are processes thought to reflect a collective enterprise orchestrated by the elite groups who administered high-status central complexes spread across southern Scandinavia and northern Germany (Axboe 1994; Hauck 1994; Pesch 2007; 2011b; 2011c: 381-85; 2011d: 49-55; 2012: 677-78; Behr 2010b: 459; 2015: 17). Warrior aristocracies administered these sites, within this governing system, institutionalised and specialised roles within the socio-political and religious arena were allocated based on military rank (Holst 2014: 183). Features of a central place or complex site typically include an elite residence, a hall, craft areas, landing places, farms, utility buildings and cult buildings (Fabech 1999: 445, 457). These sites served many purposes and functions on a local and supra-regional scale, these include economic, political-administrative, military, religious-ideological and residential (Näsman 1991: 169-70; 2000: 46; Fabech 1999: 457; Wicker and Williams 2013:171; Høilund Nielsen, 2014: 14-19). It is speculated that elite groups from across Scandinavia may have attended large assemblies held at these sites where they exchanged ideas and goods (Behr 2010b: 461; 2015: 17-18; Pesch 2011b: 274-75; Wicker and Henry 2013: 171). These hierarchically organised multifaceted sites are thought to have provided the necessary resources, as well as the social, political, militaristic and ideological conditions, that prompted the mass production of pictorial representations (Behr 2015:17). The collaborative development and adoption of

a shared repertoire and visual language across Scandinavia are seen as evidence for the emergence of a supra-regional elite identity which was bound by political and economic cooperation (Pesch 2011b: 272-73; 2012: 659-60; 676-78; Behr 2010b: 462-63; 2015: 16-18). Furthermore, the iconography expressed a political, social and religious ideology that reaffirmed and legitimised the hierarchical order at the local level (Behr 2010b: 461-62; 2015: 17). The elite ideologies expressed within these visual materials drew variously upon late antique symbols and concepts of power, Nordic oral traditions and religious beliefs, various forms of elite material culture and a range of other socio-political ideas and messages (Axboe and Kromann 1992; Hauck 2011: 2; Pesch 2012: 684; Behr 2010b: 453-63; 2015:15-18; Høilund Nielsen 2015: 31-36; Wicker 2016; 2017). Generally, the figures represented within the bracteate corpus and Style I are thought to represent either divine bodies, or secular and religious leaders (see Behr, 2011a; Hauck, 2011; Wicker 2015: 31-36; 2016: 255). The exclusive control over the visualisation of the divine body and the supernatural world would have had considerable political implications resulting in the rise and establishment of new leaders across northern Europe (Behr 2015: 17).

Traces of ritual activity at central complexes further demonstrate how the elite ideologically legitimised their pre-eminent position. Central complexes are often linked to areas with sacral place names (Fabech 1999: 457; Pesch, 2011d: 48). Archaeological traces of communal ritual activity can also be recognised at some of these central complex sites (Hedeager 2001: 480; 2002: 4, 11-15). In the preceding centuries, large scale sacrificial offerings were confined primarily to bogs and marginal landscapes, whereas in the 5th century, sacrificial hoards are increasingly found in dry and wet contexts near elite settlements (Fabech 1991:301-2; Pesch 2011d: 50; Høilund Nielsen 2015: 26-32). The martial aristocracy presumably organised and presided over these rites and religious

activities (Pesch 2011d: 52). A high density of gold neck-ring and arm ring hoards have been discovered at wet and dry sites in the local vicinity and hinterlands of Gudme (Hedegeaer 1992: 60-64). While rings had appeared primarily in high-status graves in Denmark in the 3rd -4th centuries, in the migration period they were deposited within hoards as ritual investments (Hedeager 1992: 251; Høilund Nielsen 2015: 26). Bracteates and Style I brooches were also deposited in bogs close to Gudme (Hedeager 1992: 58). In some instances, these objects are deposited in the same hoards as seen with the Broholm treasure, also in the Gudme area, which contained 4kg of gold objects including bracteates, arm-rings and neck-rings (Hedeager 2001: 472; 2011: 155). These deposits are thought to have been votive offerings made by the elite on behalf of the local community, in turn, the elite positioned themselves as the primary point of contact with the other-world while also receiving the support and favour of the gods (Parker-Pearson 1984: 80; Hedeager 1992: 251). It has also been suggested that these hoards may have had the benefit of generating debts, expectations and loyalty amongst the community who were then expected to repay in other forms of service (Parker-Pearson 1984: 70). The simultaneous appearance of these hoards across southern Scandinavia is likely rooted in peer competition whereby local elites were attempting to attract supporters through conspicuous displays of their wealth (Hedeager 1992: 80-81; 2011: 170). Consequently, while rings were less frequently directly associated with elite bodies in this period, they remained an emblematic symbol of sacred and earthly power between the 5th and mid-6th centuries (Hedeager 1992: 250-51). Also, of note are three migration period Swedish gold collars discovered at Ålleberg, Färjestaden and Möne (see Pesch 2015b). The exceptional craftsmanship, elaborate details and immense material value associated with these collars distinguishes them as some of the finest examples of worked gold in the first Millenium AD (Pesch 2015b: 657). For this reason,

the collars were likely worn by those of the highest rank in the political and religious arena (Pesch 2015b: 668). A comparable collar was represented on the wooden figure from Rude Eskilstrup and similar tiered features worn on the neck can be identified on various A-bracteates (Figs. 5.48, 6.39-40). As discussed, two variations of a 'bound body' are also present on the collar from Ålleberg (Fig. 5.65). One is wearing a neck-ring, belt arm- rings and anklets, whereas the second is wearing a belt, neck-ring and anklets. Both torsos are stylistically distinguished from the limbs as was common in Style I and on certain bracteates. The figure with raised hands (Fig. 5.65a) is repeated multiple times and prominently placed so that it is directly visible when viewing the collar from the front (Pesch 2015b: 664). Thus, a direct parallel is drawn between the wearer of the collar and the neck-ring wearing 'bound body'. This provides a strong example of how images were deployed in this period to construct and reaffirm elite identities and the power of the sacred articles worn on their bodies.

8.2.2.2 The emergence of the 'bound body'

The 'bound body' first appeared in Nydam Style wearing an arm-ring, additional rings were subsequently applied to the upper arms and legs when further developed on the bracteates and in Style I. Whether rings were actually worn on the legs is questionable. The adornment of the legs may have been an iconographic development whereby the body was further decorated to increase the presence of this symbol and to emphasise its cultural importance. Whether depicted wearing one ring or several, the ring-adorned bodies signal and stress their overall state of being 'bound'. So do the contorted figures who were represented bringing their legs over their head so that the body appeared in the shape of a ring. The ring

was a symbol of various socio-political expectations and obligations that exerted an influence over the mind and the body. Thus, the presentation of the body *as a ring*, or adorned with various types of rings ultimately seems to symbolise that the body and its parts were in service, or 'bound', to another. The state of being 'bound' was shared by all, including the gods, as the maintenance of the hierarchical order was heavily dependent on co-operation, mutual obligations and reciprocity. That the 'bound body' and its associated imagery of binding is so pronounced within the bracteate corpus and Style I is unsurprising. These visual materials were essentially formulated, mass-produced and circulated to foster political-economic co-operation and to 'bind' the supra-regional elites into a single collective.

It is unclear whether the naked and semi-dressed variants of the 'bound body' represent different entities/individuals or if the two variants are drastically different regarding their symbolism. This is also the case for the 'bound bodies' that are wearing different ring combinations. When viewed in profile, both the clothed and naked variants resemble Style I zoomorphic figures. The neck-ring, belt and arm-rings are also visible on both variants. Thus, the same symbols are emphasised across the two variants and they both display a zoomorphic quality when viewed in certain conditions. This suggests their symbolism overlap. However, the semi-dressed variant is a notable departure from antecedent and contemporary figural conventions which have typically represented ring-wearing bodies as naked. Identifiable and detailed costumes were not a characteristic feature of the Scandinavian figural repertoire between the 3rd and early-6th centuries, and as I have argued elsewhere in the thesis, the 'sleeveless garment' may have been an iconographic development that arose when adapting the emperor's cuirass and/or cloak on the A-bracteates. It has been argued that the emperor's image was transformed and

repurposed to represent Scandinavian secular leaders or deities who were associated with and appeared comparable in power to the emperor (Axboe and Kromann 1992; Näsman 1998: 115-17; Axboe 2003: 231-32; Wicker 2016: 225). From the 3rd century onwards, the emperor was increasingly represented in military attire, a cuirass and cloak, to symbolise his strength during a period of political instability (Hebblewhite 2017: 40-41). Subsequently, the practice of representing the emperor nude declined within imperial portraiture as heroic nudity was considered too idealised and unable to convey an authentic sense of being a military leader (Hebblewhite 2017: 40-41; Hallett 2005: 264). This shift may have prompted the development of a similarly attired 'bound body'. Like the cuirass, the 'sleeveless garment' may have been a symbol of political and military leadership. Unlike the cuirass, the exposure of the pectorals implies the 'sleeveless garment' was not intended to represent a practical form of protective armour. Armour, such as chainmail, was not a characteristic component of elite military costume in the 3rd -5th centuries (Hedeager 1992: 162). This suggests that the cuirass was not adapted to represent a comparable form of defensive equipment with military associations. Instead, the cuirass appears to have been transformed into a ceremonial or ritual costume article. Whatever the 'sleeveless garment' symbolised, its appearance marks a significant shift whereby ritual leaders or divine bodies were being represented in a state of semi-dress. However, the clothed variant still displayed a substantial amount of skin and was adorned with the same articles as the naked variant. This is not so much a drastic overhaul of pre-existing figural conventions or a wild reimagining of the divine body, but a process by which the divine body was slowly becoming both partially clothed and concealed. This semi-clothed variant can be considered an important steppingstone to the appearance of the 'clearly dressed' bodies in the figural repertoire of the late 6th-7th centuries.

8.2.2.3 Identifying sex

The 'bare' physical appearances of the 'belted' and 'bound' bodies represented in the bracteate corpus complicate an interpretation of their biological sex. Generally, the central figure in the B7 bracteate family is thought to represent the only female body in the male-dominated bracteate corpus (Gaimster 2011: 880; Pesch 2011c: 385; Wicker 2015: 35). Between the 4th and mid-6th centuries, the 'explicitly naked' and sexed bodies that were represented wearing a neck-ring or a belt were male. The belt and arm-ring were also associated with the 'explicitly naked' male bodies from England. The elaborate belt sets and arm-rings that date to the late Roman Iron Age discovered in Scandinavia were primarily associated with male bodies and the martial sphere. Yet, in the migration period, arm and neck-rings were predominantly deposited in hoard contexts. Subsequently, it has been argued that these neck and arm rings were not associated with a specific sex or gendered identity, instead, they symbolised a particular rank or social role (Høilund Nielsen 2015: 26). This suggestion might explain the sexual ambiguity that surrounds the 'bound body'. If these bodies were represented naked, their absent genitalia implies that the identities or embodiments they symbolised were not concerned with biological sex. Instead, it is the costume articles that play a central role in the construction of bodily meanings. The belt, neck-ring and arm-ring were symbols of leadership, wealth, and status within ritual, social, military and political contexts. These costume pieces are also emblematic symbols of one's rank and position within a multi-faceted hierarchical order that extends into the other world. These symbols of power seem to have possessed a sacred quality attested in their recurrent ritualistic deposition and close association with naked imagery. In turn, the act of wearing these articles signalled one's proximity to the other world and a comparable status to that of the divine body. While these costume pieces may be more closely associated with

male bodies and the masculine sphere, being born male presumably did not guarantee access to these proposed elite identities. Equally, representations of the 'bound body' ideologically legitimised a hierarchial order led by a warrior aristocracy, but the social, religious and political arenas would have also included aristocratic women. Exactly how these women fit into this hierarchy is not properly understood, but it is widely accepted that they held important roles within these spheres (Behr 2000: 51-52; Holst 2014: 181; Pesch 2011c: 385-91; Gaimster 2011: 876-77; Wicker 2015: 35-36; 2019). That these motifs were also relevant to elite women is reinforced by the fact that bracteates appear to have been primarily displayed on the bodies of high-status women (Pesch 2011c: 377; Wicker 2005: 58-59; 2015:35-37; 2019; Gaimster 2011: 876-78). Similarly, while objects associated with the male sphere were decorated with Style I, it primarily occurs on female brooches (Haseloff 1981; Dickinson 2009: 8; Wicker 2019: 30; Gaimster 2011: 876). Subsequently, it has been suggested that these elite image-bearing women may have possessed a specialist knowledge of the iconography and performed in various ways and roles to disseminate, uphold and reproduce their ideological messages (Gaimster 2001: 150-52; 2011: 876-81; Behr 2000: 51-52; Pesch 2011c: 387-91; Martin 2013: 11-14; Brundle 2014: 32-139). The 'bound body' motif thus played an important role in reinforcing the pre-eminent socio-political positions of certain men and women. Its relevance to both sexes would explain the absence of the penis. Another possibility is that the penis was a symbol that was deemed inappropriate, for whatever reason, for display on the female body. This is supported by the fact that the penis was represented on objects that were not associated with the female body, this includes various figurines and certain figures present on the small Gallehus horn. Equally, the 'explicitly naked' male bodies we find in the material and visual culture of early

medieval England are not on objects or in contexts that allow us to connect their display with female bodies.

8.2.3 The body unbound: transformation and human-animal hybridity

As outlined in Chapter 3, scholars have often interpreted representations of the naked body produced in Iron Age Scandinavia within a framework of cult and religion. In this literature, nakedness has been understood as a liminal, otherly and transformative state. Human-animal hybridity, shape-shifting and shamanism are also understood to be central to the cosmological beliefs and ritual practices of Iron-Age Scandinavian society (Gaimster 1998: 13-20; Motz 1994; Wiker 2001; Hedeager 1999; 2004; 2011: 75-80; Kristoffersen 2010). The iconography of the bracteates and Style I is believed to represent the visual exploration of these concepts and practices (ibid. see Behr 2011a: 224-26; Wicker 2015: 32, 35-36). Subsequently, it has been suggested that the elites wearing and facilitating the production of these images were attempting to establish themselves as an authority capable of regulating or possessing these ritual and magical powers (Hedeager 1999: 154; Behr 2010b: 461-62; Pesch 2011b: 275). Through controlling the making, distribution and wearing of such figural images, elite groups may have been trying to establish themselves as the primary point of contact with the other world—a special relationship that could be of great use in ideologically legitimising social inequalities (Hedeager 1999: 154; Danielsson 1999: 18).

In Chapters 5 and 6, the two costumes associated with the 'bound body' were shown to have been creatively developed so that the human body visually resembled certain quadrupeds represented in Style I and the bracteate corpus. Likewise, the zoomorphic

figures are also adorned with rings, collars and harnesses so that they mirror the anthropomorphic figures. This visual overlap was further accentuated by the presentation of the 'bound body' in various contorted poses. Modern scholarship has primarily focused on headdresses and acts of masking when considering the contribution of costume pieces to ideas of bodily transformation (e.g. Gunnell 1995: 74-84; Danielsson 1999; 2002; 2007: 117; Kristoffersen 2010: 264-66; Hedeager 2011: 76). However, the 'bound body' demonstrates that the costumes worn by transforming bodies could be far more extensive and elaborate. Haseloff traditionally defined the Style I animal-men (*Tiermenschen)* as zoomorphic figures that have a body part, usually the head, swapped with an anthropomorphic individual (1981: 111). Yet, it is also recognised that Style I metalworkers deploy a range of visual techniques so that the processes of metamorphosis and transformation could be seen to be taking place (e.g. Leigh 1984; Hedeager 2004: 232-42; Kristoffersen 1995; 2010: 265-66, 2017; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001). Similarly, the visual transformation of the 'bound body' appears to be more creative and complex than simply switching body parts. Originating in Nydam Style, a visual grammar was continually developed that deployed contortion, costume accessories and contour lines to blur the appearance of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. Arguably, a case could be made that the 'dancer'/ 'bound body' motifs were represented in a process of gradual transformation into a hybrid quadruped whose body was neither exclusively anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic. This was demonstrated during the discussion of the Style I objects from England in which the line between the two motifs became increasingly blurred to the point they could no longer be distinguished. This recalls Danielsson's suggestion that the visually diverse bodies, represented in various costumes and states of dress, in the guldgubber corpus do not represent an assorted group of people (1999; 2002; 2007: 117). Instead, they portray a

single individual enacting a shamanic ritual that involves masking and costume changes to blur and transform their state of being (ibid.). A similar narrative journey may be expressed in Style I that begins with a body or bodies wearing ritualistic costumes and performing acrobatics and contortion. From this, the body takes on a zoomorphic quality. This physical performance produces a liminal and ecstatic state which leads to some form of psychological or spiritual transformation. This immaterial stage is then visualised through the abstract and stylised treatment of the body in Style I and on the D-bracteates whereby it is fragmented, pulled apart, re-arranged and transformed. Within this framework, certain hybrids, most likely those wearing rings on their limbs, are manifestations of the 'bound body'. This would imply that the 'bound body' is of notable symbolic significance to Style I, despite the low occurrence of clear coherent anthropomorphic examples. If so, this challenges the notion that 'Germanic animal Style I' primarily revolves around zoomorphic figures. Instead, the Style appears to be centred around hybridity as the appearances and boundaries of human and animal bodies are mutually blurred and distorted.

It has been argued that the shamanic practices performed in this period were grounded in a form of taboo magic (Danielsson 1999: 18; 2002; Hedeager 2011: 132-34; Motz 1994a: 594-96; 1994b: 6-15; Wiker 2001: 51-60; Martel 2007: 67-73). This involved the ritualist acting in ways that subverted normative identities and behaviours, examples include cross-dressing and homosexual acts (ibid.). By entering a liminal and transgressive state, the ritualist was able to transcend and access other-worldly powers (ibid.). As stated, the areas of the 'bound body' that were adorned or emphasised were often joints and hinges, subsequently, these were the areas where the body was fractured and pulled apart when represented in Style I. This recalls Kristoffersen's recognition that the more coherent Style I human and animal figures are commonly represented with defined and emphasised

boundaries (2017: 367-68). These fixed borders arguably were developed precisely so that they could be visually broken, to highlight the transgressive character of the transforming and category blurring hybrids (Kristoffersen 2017: 368-70). The arm-rings, neck-ring, and belt are symbolic of various bonds, obligations and social roles which structured and maintained the social order. As the body comes undone, it potentially symbolises the breaking of these constraints, and the subversion of the socio-political systems that regulated various identities and behaviours. This possibly includes the breaking of oaths and the rejection of one's expected duties, these actions would have been considered socially and politically dangerous. As such, the 'unbound body' appears to represent the transcendental powers acquired through deviant behaviours. Ultimately, the 'bound' and 'unbound' bodies were dependent on each other for their meaning. The taboo and danger associated with the 'unbound body' would have reinforced and normalised the highly regulated state of being 'bound'. Likewise, the transgressive power of the untethered body is entirely dependent on there being social boundaries and constraints to subvert.

Whether the 'bound body' motif is representative of actual ritual practices is impossible to discern as it represents physical and psychological processes that are not overtly visible within the archaeological record. Rings were frequently deposited in ritual contexts in the 5th-6th centuries. This might suggest they were also worn within such contexts. While the 'sleeveless garment ' worn by the Gudum figurine could be an artistic invention, sleeveless tunics dating to the Roman Iron Age have been found in bogs at Obenaltendorf and Marx-Etzel in northern Germany (Ewing 2006: 76-77; Möller-Wiering 2011: 109, 114). Interestingly, short trousers were also recovered from the bog at Marx-Etzel (Möller-Wiering 2011: 109; Ewing 2006: 76-78). These limb exposing costume pieces do find resonance in the partially bare bodies in Style I and thus could have a ritual

significance as garments given their deposition in bogs. However, short breeches are argued to be a common fashion across northern Europe (Ewing 2006: 77-78; Owen-Crocker 2004: 118, 188-9; Mannering 2017: 170-74). Nevertheless, while hard to reify archaeologically, it is plausible that Iron-Age Scandinavian ritualistic traditions existed that involved naked and semi-dressed performances.

8.3 The 'bound body' in England

How the 'bound body' motif was interpreted within England following the appearance and adoption of Style I and the bracteates in the late 5th century is hard to discern. The small sample of stylised 'bound bodies' found in England raised concerns that this was not a prevalent or widespread motif and when represented it was often difficult to identify and interpret. Thus it is questionable whether this motif had a significant impact on the visual culture, corporeal practices and bodily ideologies in England. However, the identification of several 'bound bodies' in the 7th-century repertoire demonstrates the motif was adopted and treated as culturally significant. Subsequently, it is necessary to consider whether the symbolism of the motif remained unchanged or whether it was reinterpreted once introduced to England. This can be achieved by comparing the iconological and archaeological contexts in Scandinavia and England. If the two contexts are comparable, the motif may have retained some or all of its original symbolic meaning and function. If not, the motif can perhaps be assumed to have been reinterpreted once resituated in a significantly different context. Within a Scandinavian context, the gold rings worn by the 'bound body' had a strong presence in the archaeological record, both the motif and the

rings were associated with elite groups who administered high-status settlements and presided over ritualistic ceremonies.

Sacrificial hoards of neck-rings and arm-rings are essentially absent in England. The closest example is a small hoard of damaged gold objects, dated to the late 5th -6th centuries, deposited in a dryland context at Binham (Norfolk) (Behr and Pestell 2014). This contained six bracteates, discussed in Chapter 6, as well as two arm-rings or bracelets, one made of gold and the other copper-alloy (Behr and Pestell 2014; PAS LVPL-5146E4). The gold content of this arm-ring is exceptional as the small number of comparable arm-rings found in England are made from silver (Behr and Pestell 2014: 52: PAS LVPL-5146E4). While a small assemblage, the composition of the Binham hoard is similar to those found near Gudme (Behr and Pestell 2014: 45). The lack of comparable bracteate and ring hoards in England suggests that the Binham example is an anomaly. In part, the scarcity of gold rings in England can be explained by the fact that gold was incredibly scarce in the 5th-6th centuries (Harrington and Welch 2014: 162, 167). Most gold objects are found in furnished burials in Kent, gold and silver objects are rarely found in grave contexts outside of this county (Harrington and Welch 2014: 162). Gold may perhaps have been too precious to remove from circulation via sacrificial hoards.

Comparable sites to the poly-focal central complexes of southern Scandinavia are also absent in eastern England (Behr 2000: 32-33; Williams 2002: 342-43; Thomas 2013: 139). In part, this absence may stem from the limited number of settlement excavations that have taken place (Hamerow 2011: 119; Ulmschneider 2011: 156; Crabtree 2018: 57). However, the settlements that have been excavated, occupied between the 5th and late 6th centuries, show little sign of settlement hierarchy (Hamerow 2012: 70-72; Ulmschneider

2011:157; Loveluck 2013: 105; Crabtree 2018: 67). This is believed to reflect a lack of centralised power and the absence of a strong elite (Wickham 2005: 545). Yet, recent excavations at the sites of Lyminge (Kent) and Rendlesham (Suffolk), have demonstrated that high-status centres were emerging from the early 6th-century onwards, at these sites, there is evidence for metalworking, trade and exchange, and possible ritual activity (Thomas 2013:139; McBride 2020: 99). Furthermore, the rising number of bracteate finds in East Anglia has prompted the suggestion that a high-status site, with political and religious functions, was present in this area and affiliated in some capacity with the elite centres in Scandinavia (Behr and Pestell 2014: 45, 71). Equally, D-bracteates and Style I decorated silver Scandinavian type brooches are recurrent features in several high-status female graves in Kent, these are some of the richest graves in the region (Harrington and Welch 2014: 162; Behr 2000: 39-41; Welch 2007: 216-18). The high density of bracteates in Kent represents a concentration of power and wealth that indicates the presence of a nearby high-status central place that had elite contacts on the Continent (Behr 2000: 43-49). The cemetery of Finglesham and the settlement site of Eastry are situated near Woodnesborough. This is the only known pre-Christian sacral-place name in Kent and is thought to be linked to the cult of Odin/Wodan (Behr 2000: 40). Subsequently, it has been argued that the mythological concepts of power and rulership expressed by the bracteates were disseminated in Kent to ideologically legitimise the pre-eminent positions of local aristocratic families (Behr 2002: 50-52). This possibility is touched upon again below.

An examination of the burial rite also highlights the apparent absence of rings connected to bodily adornment. Furnished inhumations are the primary source for the artefacts produced in the 5th -6th centuries (Dickinson 2011: 221). The recurrent act of interring objects alongside the deceased also provides one of the strongest insights into

ritual practice in this period (Dickinson 2011: 221, 229-31; Crawford 2004: 97; Williams 2011: 238-39). It has also been suggested that cemeteries and the graveside may have acted as the primary place of ritual group activity, a place of assembly and ceremony that is comparable on some level with the ritual activities performed at the Scandinavian central complexes (Williams 2002: 357-58, 2004: 126-27; Crawford 2004: 97). It is currently debated whether the interred objects were personal possessions that reflected one's living identity or whether other factors influenced the composition of the grave assemblage (Stoodley, 1999; 2011: 657-64; Lucy 2011: 691-94; Williams 2006a: 9-11; 2011: 249-51, Crawford 2004: 97; 2011: 635-36). If the goods reflect identity in life, it is of note that gold neck-rings and arm-rings are absent from the mortuary record which implies that they weren't owned or were inherited/recycled (Owen-Crocker 2004: 89-90, 126-27; 2011: 103; Walton Rogers 2007: 132-33; Gräslund 2020: 128). Gold arm and neck rings do not occur in high-status burials in Southern Scandinavia in the 5th -6th centuries and so their absence in early 'Anglo-Saxon' graves is perhaps unsurprising. Yet, bracteates are deposited in burial contexts in England, primarily in the Kent region and this differs from Denmark where they are usually deposited within jewellery hoards or as stray finds (Pesch 2011c: 377; Behr 2010a: 35; Wicker 2019: 28-31). A connection has been drawn between the female graves in Kent which feature bracteates, Style I brooches and additional necklace accessories to similarly composed jewellery hoards found in Denmark (Hines 1989: 198; Wicker 2019: 31; Welch 2011b: 867). It has been suggested that their overlapping compositions reflect comparable sacrificial practices that were enacted in different contexts (ibid.). Equally, Sally Crawford has argued that the frequent deposition of weapons and jewellery in 'Anglo-Saxon' inhumation contexts represents a considerable economic loss to a rural society (Crawford 2004: 87-88, 97). Thus, Crawford suggests these burial assemblages may have been

communal votive offerings sacrificed to the gods (ibid.). If so, gold arm and neck rings ought to appear in early medieval 'Anglo-Saxon' furnished mortuary contexts, the same way that bracteates do in Kent – a process mirroring their sacrificial deposition in Scandinavia in non-funerary contexts. More broadly, it is of note that Style I decorated objects and bracteates are generally associated with a class of people whose burial assemblages display higher levels of wealth and access to resources than their buried contemporaries (Behr 2000: 39-42, 45-9; 2010b: 460; Webster 2003: 14; Dickinson 2009; Gerrard 2013:203; Brundle 2014: 101).

While wealth disparity is visible in the burial record, it is not sufficiently drastic that it implies the existence of regional or paramount elites in this period (Scull, 2011: 852). Combined with the lack of any clear settlement hierarchy, it has been argued that differences in status and hierarchical rank were expressed within the household and not between them (Scull 1993; Härke 1997: 151; Hamerow 2012: 71-72; Ulmschneider 2011: 159). Consequently, the ring as a symbol of leadership, role, rank and service may not have been particularly applicable to the humbler and less stratified socio-political and economic context of England in the 5th -6th centuries. However, this is not to say that the symbolism of the 'bound body' was irrelevant to 'Anglo-Saxon' communities. It has been argued that the elite initiative that drove the production and dissemination of Style I and the bracteates helped bring some socio-political stability to northern Europe during a period of immense change following the decline of the Roman West (Behr 2010b: 463). This would align with the argument that these visual materials expressed an elite ideology that emphasised obligation and reciprocity as a means to consolidate power and ensure social order. This ideology would have been equally relevant to certain communities within England. Between the 5th and 6th centuries, power was gradually accumulated over generations which

eventually resulted in the emergence of local hegemonies (Scull 1993: 77; 2011). As part of this process, social and economic inequalities were gradually widened as notable families established interregional contacts and gained access to prestige goods from the continent, these goods were then redistributed, gifted or deployed within conspicuous displays of wealth to gain support and loyalty (Scull 1993: 73; 2011; Basset 1989: 23-24). Accompanying these acts of giving were expectations that they would be reciprocated in various ways, this included physical service (labour/military) (Scull 1993: 73; 2011: 850-52). Another important strategy that aided the centralisation of power was marriage as it generated kin-alliances amongst pre-eminent families (Halsall 2004: 27; Scull 2011: 857). It has been recognised that strictly gendered masculine and feminine identities were expressed within the early Anglo-Saxon burial record (Stoodley 1999; Halsall 2004: 27). Since marriage played an important role in advancing a family's prospects, it has been argued that the burial rite reflects idealised and strict gender roles and performances that were promoted to ensure successful unions (Halsall 2004: 27). Good behaviour would prevent potential familial or tribal conflicts while also increasing the reputation of the involved families (ibid.). Some form of military organisation, like the retinue institution, may have also existed that extended beyond the immediate kin or family, this would have also generated obligations and alliances between households (Scull 2011: 850, 857). By adopting the ideological message expressed by the 'bound body', high-status Anglo-Saxon families would have acquired elite continental contacts who provided political support and access to prestige goods. Furthermore, the ideology of binding would have strengthened the expanding web of obligations and responsibilities that had enabled certain families to gradually accumulate power. In turn, the 'bound body' may have played an important role in re-ordering the fractured socio-political landscape of post-Roman Britain.



Figure 8.1 Silver repoussé disc brooch from Eichtersheim (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) (7th century) (Klein-Pfeuffer 1993: 334. No.54). Illustration not to scale.

While gold arm and neck rings have no real archaeological presence in England, there are other forms of material culture that might have functioned in their place. For example, drinking vessels are common finds in 'Anglo-Saxon' weapon burials. These were likely used within a feasting context and in ceremonial drinking rituals where oaths and pledges were sworn (Härke 1997: 145; Gerrard 2013: 202). The importance of these high-status rituals would explain the presence of a drinking vessel on the A-bracteates from Leicestershire (Fig. 6.37). Furthermore, the drinking horn found in Mound 1 (Sutton Hoo) may have originally featured a gilt copper-alloy ring fixture (Davidson 1998: 73-74; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 45-46, 133-37). Style I decorated high-status drinking vessels are known from Taplow and Scandinavia. 'Bound bodies' are commonly represented on these vessels grappling or interwoven with additional figures (see Hårdh 2004). A rare pair of full-bodied semi-naturalistic 'bound bodies' are depicted on a silver disc brooch from Eichtersheim (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) (Fig. 8.1). While this example was produced outside of Scandinavia in the 7th century, the figural style and iconographic elements display a clear northern European artistic influence (Helmbrecht 2019a: 302-03). These figures are wearing

the ‘sleeveless garment’ and anklets, just one figure is wearing a single arm-ring. The drinking horns and seats suggest these figures are participating in a drinking ritual. The ‘bound body’ was also represented on a small number of shield fixtures found in England. Style I decorated shield fittings, such as these, are thought to have functioned as sigils and emblems that identified and distinguished military leaders and their associated warbands and tribes (Dickinson 2005: 162). This thesis has argued that the ‘bound body’ was closely affiliated with the institution of the retinue and the presence of this motif on a shield would have evoked the sworn promises between a lord and retainer to protect and serve one another. It has been suggested that the gilt copper-alloy ring found in the Sutton Hoo assemblage was attached to the shield and not the drinking horn (Davidson 1998: 73; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 45-46, 133-37).

High-status sword hilts and pommels with gold ring attachments dating to the 6th century have also been discovered in England, these are primarily found in Kent with examples from Bifrons, Faversham, Sarre and Gilton (Davidson 1998: 71-73). These ring-fixtures are thought to symbolise rank and to have been gifted by a lord and may have been used in oath swearing ceremonies (Davidson 1998: 75-77; Underwood 2000: 57-58; Scull 2011: 856). The sword-rings and other forms of weaponry deposited in inhumation contexts in England are plausible evidence that the institution of the retinue had existed in this period (Härke 2000: 379-86; Scull 2011: 857). Another interesting piece of evidence are the abbreviated arm-ring wearing figures present on the scabbard fixture from Chessel Down (Isle of Wight), these figures are presented in an interwoven arrangement and appear to be grabbing the ribbon-like strands (Fig. 6.33c). Parallels can be drawn with the Style I decorated sword hilt from Snartemo (Norway) which featured a mirrored pair with

entwined hair wearing rings on their interwoven arms (Fig. 5.61). These entangled bodies strongly suggest that swords were closely associated with binding rituals.

Alternative forms of material culture may thus have served as a symbolic substitute in England for gold body rings, but it is important to acknowledge that there is also little evidence that golds rings were worn and used in non-ritual contexts in Scandinavia. Subsequently, the primary point of difference between the two regions is that arm and neck rings were not being used within any discernible ritual contexts in England. In the 5th-6th centuries, it is argued that the Scandinavian military elite expressed their status with horse equipment and display weapons (Hedeager 1992: 250). The possibility exists, therefore, that arm and neck rings were not important status symbols regularly worn on the body in this period and this is supported by a declining presence in votive deposits n Scandinavia by the second half of the 6th century (Fabech 1994: 170; Hedeager 1992: 69, 81: Parker-Pearson 1984; Gräslund 2020: 128). Similarly, 'Anglo-Saxon' men are argued to have signalled their status and rank via weaponry and equestrian equipment in this era too (Härke 1992; 1997: 145; Fern 2005: 67; Scull 2011: 856-57; Gerrard 2013: 203; Loveluck 2013: 101-02).

In this context, it is important to consider the 'belted body'. The visual and symbolic character of this motif resonates more strongly with the archaeological record in England (see below). Consequently, one might suggest that the declining power of arm or neck rings in Scandinavia and their absence in England is due to the popularity of the 'belted body' and the masculine ideals it expressed, which were more commonly embodied and performed by the living population. For this reason, arm and neck rings were perhaps not commonly worn in Scandinavia or England by the 5th and 7th centuries even though the imagery of such

bodily adornments seems to underscore practices, memories or mythologies that encompass these ideas.

Instead, the symbolic power and cultural significance of bondship or fealty may have been maintained and expressed in other ways and by alternative forms of material culture. Arm and neck rings continued to be deposited in the 6th century in Scandinavia suggesting that this type of object was still in circulation. But we might consider that other object types were assuming greater importance. These were not worn directly on the surface of the body and included items like ring-swords, drinking vessels and shields which both evoked and substituted the arm and neck rings. Likewise, objects carrying the 'bound body' motif may have functioned in place of the rings as symbols of the binding relationships between lord and retainer.

Style I decorated objects and the bracteates helped cultivate political, military and economic alliances and a common supra-regional elite identity. Subsequently, the gifting and acceptance of these high-status objects would have generated reciprocal relationships comparable to those associated with arm-rings. These visual materials were primarily displayed on the female body, however, and some argue this is to emphasise the important role women played in the context of high-status political marriages (see Gaimster 2011: 877; Wicker 2015: 35; 2019), while others suggest this reflects the vital socio-political roles women played as peace-weavers, social mediators and alliance brokers (Gaimster 2001: 144-45, 152; 2011: 876-80; Brundle 2014: 130-32; Wicker, 2015: 35; 2019). Neither scenario is mutually exclusive and in each women acted out an important role in binding together families, people and loyalties as well as bodies.

In summary, it is likely that the symbolism of the 'bound body' motif changed when introduced to England. This is because the social, economic, political and religious context differed significantly from that in Scandinavia. The virtual absence of gold rings in England implies there was no large-scale practice of bodily adornment and that they were not utilised in gift-giving ceremonies, ritual contexts or conspicuous displays of wealth. Of course 'ring giving' and 'ring wearing' feature in later written accounts; *Beowulf,* a 10th-century written account of a likely 8th-century story, being a prominent example. This and other written evidence is not discussed in detail here as these accounts reflect the ideas of their much later time periods and broader notions of history, the past, mythology and social relationships combined from multiple tales, accounts and sources from across the North Sea zone. While actual arm or neck rings may have been absent in England, their associated symbolism was evoked in alternative media. The 'bound body' motif was one example that was featured on objects which, like the rings, were often worn and displayed on the body. Unlike the rings, which were presumably worn on the skin, the objects found in England that carry visual imagery suggestive of binding and ring wearing, could be situated above clothing and so their visibility did not require any form of bodily exposure. Ultimately, the symbol of the ring was made more visible via multiple forms of artistic representation – giving the notion of the bound and loyal body a sustained visible presence on portable objects and bodily dress items. Repeated exposure to this 'bound body' imagery can be suggested to have functioned in a similar way to actual arm and neck rings – reminding the image carrier of the bonds of loyalty, duty and oath taking. The evidence suggests that being 'ring-bound' was, therefore, largely a state of mind and not a physical state of being in early medieval England in these centuries.

8.4 The 7th century: a period of artistic transformation?

The 7th century is currently thought to be a period of artistic transformation regarding the human image. Recognised developments include the increasing representation of complete semi-naturalistic bodies with defined and fixed physical boundaries (Brundle 2013: 213-14; 209; 118-26, 159; Webster 2011: 474; 2012: 38-40, 82-84; 2017: 36; Pestell 2012: 80-87). Human-animal hybrids are less prevalent, and the human body is increasingly portrayed in isolation without adjacent zoomorphic figures (Brundle 2019: 118; 159; Webster, 2017: 36). Higher levels of mimesis and detail result in less ambiguity and so the dressed and naked body can be recognised, so too can the male and female body (Brundle 2013: 213-14; 2019: 118-26; Pestell 2012: 80-87; Webster 2017: 36). Three-dimensional portrayals of the body produced in metal also appear in the archaeological record (Brundle 2013; 2019: 159; Pestell 2012: 84-87; Webster 2017: 36). It has also been recognised that the human image is increasingly displayed on the male body, these images are typically featured on helmets and belt plates (Webster 2011: 474; 2017: 36; Herman 2015: 286-87, Brundle 2019: 92). The catalogue compiled for this thesis and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 quantitively supports these artistic developments. In this period, the visual diversity of the human image is greater than in the 5th-6th centuries, the media types and its context of display/deposition are also more varied. A broader range of artistic influences can be observed as the human image is not as heavily influenced by the Scandinavian repertoire in this period (further demonstrated below). In turn, it is easier to view the 7th-century repertoire as a reflection of local artistic tastes and patronage in a way that that the figural repertoire of the 5th-6th centuries, which primarily originated in Scandinavia are not. In summary, how the human image was portrayed and deployed changed in the 7th century. These shifting artistic preferences are presumably a response and reflection of internal cultural change and novel

external influences, some of which are elaborated upon in the subsequent discussions. That said, there is also a notable level of iconographic and stylistic continuity. For example, many of the figures discussed in Chapter 7 were, in some capacity, related to the 'bound body' and the 'belted body'. We need to question, therefore, how innovative or drastic the artistic developments of the 7th century truly were or whether they reflect the continuation and evolution of pre-existing traditions.

While the human image appears to have been represented more frequently, many of the figures dated to the 7th century are done so on a stylistic basis and lack any contextual information. If some of these figures and figurines pre-date the late 6th century it would challenge the current narrative, especially if 'explicitly naked' examples were represented in the 5th-6th centuries. The B-bracteate catalogue demonstrates that full-bodied human imagery was mass-produced and circulated across northern Europe in the 5th-6th centuries. The 7th-century repertoire is argued to reflect a growing interest in representing the body whole and in a naturalistic fashion (Brundle 2013: 201-03; 213-14; 2014: 118-19, 159-60; Webster 2017: 36). In part, this narrative has been shaped by comparing the abstract and stylised bodies featured in Style I with the two-dimensional and three-dimensional semi-naturalistic human representations produced in the 7th century (ibid.). It is important to recognise in this context that three-dimensional sculpture will naturally display higher levels of mimesis as two-dimensional art relies on visual techniques and illusion to give the impression of depth and form (Wicker 2016: 252). Three-dimensional models are often far more representational when compared to the more abstract two-dimensional figural tradition (Wicker 2016: 252) (see Chapter 5). It is worth considering, therefore, a comparison of the 7th-century semi-naturalistic figures with the more coherent figures portrayed in the bracteate corpus and with the Spong person. This has been undertaken in

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 with the conclusion that there is no significant advance in the naturalistic representation of the morphology and surface of the body. Imbalanced physical proportions, awkward poses, and schematic 'bare' bodily surfaces are characteristic qualities of the figures produced across the 5th-7th centuries. The simplistic and often crudely rendered genitals and breasts/nipples represent the only advance in the portrayal of anatomical detail. These details do not necessarily reflect an attempt to represent the body more realistically, although the appearance and significance of these details/symbols should not be understated. While naked bodies are argued here as a feature of visual culture before the 7th century, the appearance of the sexed body is an important novel artistic development in this era.

The semi-dressed 'bound body' was ambiguously represented in preceding centuries. Late antique costumes were also adapted on the A and C type bracteates, and in certain instances, the fine details present on the prototypes continued to be represented. The artistic novelty of the 7th century is that, alongside more explicit attempts at genitalia, new forms of costume were represented that featured skirted bases, decorative patterns and detailed textures. These costumes are more clearly visible. As with the earlier models, the 'clearly dressed' bodies featured in the 7th-century repertoire were ultimately conceived and developed in continental northern Europe and were then adopted/adapted in England. These dressed bodies appear to be adaptions of the earlier 'bound' and 'belted' body motifs. While not wholly innovative, this wardrobe change is a significant development that warrants further consideration.

The declining popularity of fragmented and ambiguous bodies alongside human-animal hybrids is argued to reflect a substantial shift in corporeal ideologies and practices

(Brundle 2013: 213-14; 2019: 104-05; 118-27; 159-60). Instead, there was a growing preference for strictly defined and stable bodily identities as evidenced by the increasing investment in sexed and dressed bodies (ibid.). Again, these interpretations are partly derived from comparing the abstract portrayal of the body in Style I with the semi-naturalistic bodies produced in the 7th century. Style I presents a window into a particular set of bodily ideologies that were being explored artistically in the 5th-6th centuries. However, other corporeal concepts, identities and practices would have also existed in this period. This is implied by the representation of semi-naturalistic full-bodied figures in the bracteate corpus and the existence of the 'belted body' motif which was not affiliated with Style I. As such, the popularisation of alternative motifs or figural forms in the 7th century may reflect a process where alternative pre-existing bodily ideologies were, for whatever reason, being increasingly subjected to artistic representation. Underlying these comparisons of semi-naturalistic forms and those that are abstract, abbreviated, or schematic is the common misconception that higher levels of mimesis indicate a more literal and marked interest in the represented subject (Danielsson 2007: 76-77, 89-90; Abadia et al. 2012: 236; Conkey 2018: 28-29). It is also worth questioning whether interest in various concepts and practices relating to blurred states, transformation, hybridity and animal-human relations were in decline as well. Various aspects relating to animal-human hybridity can be identified alongside the 'clearly dressed' bodies on the helmet plates from England and Scandinavia. 'Explicitly naked' and 'bare' figures wearing bird terminal horned headdresses are also relevant as they carry zoomorphic associations. A significant proportion of the 7th-century repertoire was comprised of ambiguous 'bare' bodies. As Chapter 7 has shown, hybrid and blurred states continued to be explored artistically in traditional and novel ways. This suggests that these concepts remained culturally important

and that their artistic expression was not necessarily diminished by the presence of less ambiguous forms of human representation.

In summary, the representation of the body changed in the 7th century, but these were more subtle alterations that had clear roots in antecedent figural traditions in a North Sea context. The human figural repertoire was expanded and diversified. The primary driver of this change is argued here to be the socio-economic and political backdrop of the late 6th-7th centuries. Archaeological and textual evidence indicates this period was marked by political centralisation, increasing wealth inequality and a reordering of the socio-political hierarchy (Carver 2005: 497-99; 2011: 845-46; Scull 2011: 849-52). At the same time, the character of the market economy was altered following the establishment of commercial/trading settlements operating within regional and long-distance networks (Scull 2011: 849, 859; Pestell 2011: 560-62). These networks, which included contact and a flow of objects from the late Antique and early Christian East, offered access to new ideas, motifs, materials and specialist knowledge. These developments provided the necessary socio-political stability and economic surplus to encourage high-status artistic patronage and artistic experimentation in non-essential inorganic art (see Cleary 2011: 25-26). This substantial difference separates the visual cultures of the 5th-6th and 7th centuries. For instance, the collapse of the Roman administration of Britain had a lasting and damaging impact on the production of crafts and art in non-organic materials, thus surviving high-status metalwork became scarcer and more selectively produced in the early 5th century (Henig 1995: 167-73; Cleary 2011: 22, 25-26; Swift 2019: 43-48). In the late 5th-6th centuries following the adoption of Style I and the bracteates, an artistic investment in the human image gradually assumed a place again in early medieval English repertoires. As argued in previous chapters, these visual materials reflect the development of an elite pictorial

language that was disseminated and reproduced across northern Europe. While some unique bracteate models can be identified in England, the surviving human images produced in the 5th-6th centuries are mostly derivative adaptions of continental models. Beyond this sample, the Spong person suggests that the body may have primarily been rendered in more readily accessible and less permanent organic materials (Webster 2011: 474; 2017: 36). Subsequently, the increasing portrayal of full-bodied human imagery in metal in the 7th century is not necessarily evidence for the increasing cultural status of the body. Instead, higher levels of artistic patronage in the 7th century may mean the body was more frequently represented in materials that survive in the archaeological record. The declining popularity of the bracteates and Style I in the late 6th century paved the way for a more regionally distinctive and diverse visual culture. The changing portrayal of the body between the two periods can therefore be explained within a socio-economic context. It is argued here the 5th-6th centuries provide the artistic foundation that was elaborated upon and supplemented to meet changing artistic demand in an evolutionary, as opposed to transformative, fashion.

8.5 The appearance of 'explicitly naked' bodies

The 'explicitly naked' bodies are restricted to a distribution in eastern England (Fig. 7.1). This pattern can be potentially explained by the metal detector bias in this area (Pestell 2012: 86); the distribution of the 'explicitly naked' figurines overlaps with the English regions where Style I decorated objects and bracteates are more frequently found. Subsequently, the presence of these earlier visual materials in these regions may have fostered a greater cultural and artistic interest in the naked body when compared to western England. In turn,

this earlier artistic tradition was elaborated upon and further developed in the 7th century. However, the main difference that must be questioned is why sexed male and female bodies were represented for the first time in this period. With that said, isolated phallic symbols have been identified on dress accessories and funerary urns dating to the 5th-6th centuries (see Ravn 2003: 122; Martin, 2013: 9-10; Brundle 2014: 132).

Many of the 'explicitly naked' bodies found in England were rendered in three-dimensional form. When representing certain motifs in the round, such as the 'belted body', metalworkers may have simply presented the body in a fuller fashion and elaborated upon the motif's associated state of nakedness. A similar point of difference was observed in Chapter 5 as the two-dimensional 'belted body' and neck-ring wearing figurines represented in the bracteate corpus lacked a penis. However, both motifs were paralleled with several phallic-baring three-dimensional figurines. Subsequently, the inconsistent presence of the penis on specific motifs may be influenced by the image's dimensional form. It was previously suggested that the penis was omitted from the naked bodies represented in Style I and the bracteate catalogue because of their association with the female body. In the 7th century, human imagery is less frequently associated with the female body. The Finglesham man and figure on the Sutton Hoo purse lid were both found in male grave contexts. Thus, the penis was seemingly 'reattached' to the 'belted' and 'bound' body motifs once they became associated with the male body. Who the owners of the three-dimensional figurines were, and the contexts where they were displayed, are not properly understood as most of them lack contextual information. The figurine from Broadstairs was found in a female grave and is thought to have been suspended from a chatelaine (Webster and Minter 2007: 225). The Carlton Colville and Oxborough figurines also feature suspension loops and may have also functioned as a costume accessory. Alternatively, certain figurines may have been

displayed in shrines or deposited as votive offerings (Pestell 2012: 86-87). Similar practices can be observed in Scandinavia. For example, three metal figurines, dating between the 6th and 8th centuries, were discovered at a settlement context at Lunda (Sweden) (Andersson et al. 2003; 2004; Gräslund 2008: 253-54) (Fig. 8.2). These figurines are thought to have been ritually sacrificed (ibid.). These figurines measure between 2cm and 4cms and so are comparable in size to those found in England. All three feature a phallus, one is a 'belted body' and another wears a belt and neck-ring. The face of one of the figurines had been selectively gilded in a way that recalls the figurine from Carlton Colville (Fig. 8.2a). The placement of the hands on the lower abdomen was also a gesture shared by the figurine from Oxborough. Also, of note are the 'explicitly naked' bodies represented in the guldgubber corpus. In the mid-6th century, bracteate production ceased and was succeeded by mass-produced gold figure foils (guldgubber). Over three thousand are currently known and found almost entirely in Denmark and Sweden (Watt 2004: 167; Mannering 2017: 17-70; Helmbrecht 2019b: 137; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019). These small rectangular foils (between 7-30cm in height) were die-stamped, the known motifs are relatively standardised and, like the bracteates, conform to a small number of prototypes or die families (Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 430). 'Explicitly naked' phallic baring figures are known in the guldgubber corpus, this includes 'belted bodies' and figures wearing a neck-ring or a neck-ring and belt (Fig. 8.3) (for a brief discussion of these motifs see Watt 2004: 211-13; 2015a; 2015b). Current evidence suggests that these foils had several functions. However, there is little evidence to suggest they were used as dress accessories (Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 440-42). As such, the 'bare' 'belted body' of the bracteate corpus was preceded and succeeded by 'explicitly naked' variants which were not displayed on the surface of the female body. Collectively, it seems that the context of display and the dimensional form of the image

A)



B)



C)



Figure 8.2 Three figurines from Lunda (Södermanland, Sweden) (6th-8th centuries). A) Copper-alloy figurine with gilded head (Height: 30 mm) (Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand in Andersson et al. 2003: 124.Fig.1); B) Gilded copper-alloy figurine (Height: 32 mm) (Photograph by Jan Dunér in Andersson et al. 2003: 125.Fig. 2); C) Gold figurine (Height: 20 mm) (Photograph by Jan Dunér in Andersson et al. 2003: 125.Fig.2).



A)

B)



C)



Figure 8.3 Selection of 'explicitly naked' Vendel period gold foils from Scandinavia. A) Figure wearing a neck-ring and belt from Uppåkra (Sweden) (ID 75) (Photograph by B. Almgren in Watt 2004: 198. Fig. 30b); B) Figure wearing a neck-ring from Sorte Muld (Bornholm, Denmark) (Ratke 2009b. D-1-21); C) Figure wearing a belt from Sorte Muld (Bornholm, Denmark) (Ratke 2009b. D-I-36).

influenced whether the penis was omitted on certain naked bodies/motifs. Biological sex, as previous chapters argued, may not have been central to the ideological meanings of the 'belted' and 'bound' bodies represented without a penis in the 5th-6th centuries. The reappearance of the penis and the increasing display of the human image on male bodies in the 7th century implies that sex and/or gender had become more relevant to the symbolism of these motifs.

Since the 'explicitly naked' figures were distributed in eastern England, it has been suggested that this group of images was influenced by the trade and exchange within the North Sea littoral (Pestell 2012: 86; Brundle 2014: 63-65, 191). Contemporary representations of biologically sexed bodies have been discovered on the continent in western and northern Europe, this reinforces the possibility that external cultural contacts stimulated or influenced the models produced in England. As such, the symbolism and social function of naked images within adjacent visual cultures may help contextualise the artistic developments in England. The majority of the 'explicitly naked' figures lack any useful contextual information to be able to construct a profile of their owners. The figure on the Sutton Hoo purse lid is the only example that was discovered within a high-status context. The Finglesham buckle was buried with a young male (grave 95) whose grave goods were not indicative of a high-status (Hawkes et al. 1965:22; Chadwick Hawkes 2006: 78-81). Subsequently, it has been suggested that the belt set may have been gifted to the deceased by his lord (Hawkes et al. 1965: 22; Chadwick Hawkes 2006: 80). The figurine from Bradstow School (Broadstairs, Kent) was interred within a female grave (grave 5). Bar the figurine, the grave good assemblage was not particularly indicative of such a high-status (Meaney 1981: 231). While this might suggest that the figurines were not always affiliated with high-status owners, the unique appearance of each figurine and their general scarcity suggests they are

the product of craft-specialists and high-status patronage. This is reinforced by the gilding on the figurines from Halesworth, Carlton Colville, Oxborough and Friston. These items seem to have special and sometimes elite contexts which might underline that these biologically explicit renderings carried some inherent meaning and power in aristocratic and dynastic family strategies.

8.6 The phallus: fertility, prosperity and lineage

The artistic portrayal of the penis in the 7th century may reflect an elite preoccupation with various aspects relating to reproduction, lineage and fertility. The figurines from Oxborough and Carlton Colville both feature a distinguished oversized penis. This enlargement may signify its erect or aroused state, or alternatively it may be a symbol of male potency, virility and fecundity. Two of the parallel figurines from Lunda (Sweden) feature a penis that projects either outwards or upwards, this strongly implies they are ithyphallic representations (Figs. 8.2a/b). Like the 'explicitly naked' male bodies found in England, the figurines from Lunda and the phallic baring guldgubber foils are represented without testicles. It is unclear whether the isolated depiction of the phallus was a shorthand symbol for male genitalia (penis and testicles) or if the functions and symbolism of the penis alone was being specifically highlighted. This overlapping omission reinforces the connection between the two visual cultures. Roman portrayals of the naked body typically feature testicles, although provincial style Romano-British figurines represented with only a penis are known and offer an alternative source of artistic inspiration (Fig. 8.4). The coinciding interest in the three-dimensional portrayal of the 'belted body' also indicates some form of contact and exchange between England and Scandinavia. The figurines from Lunda were

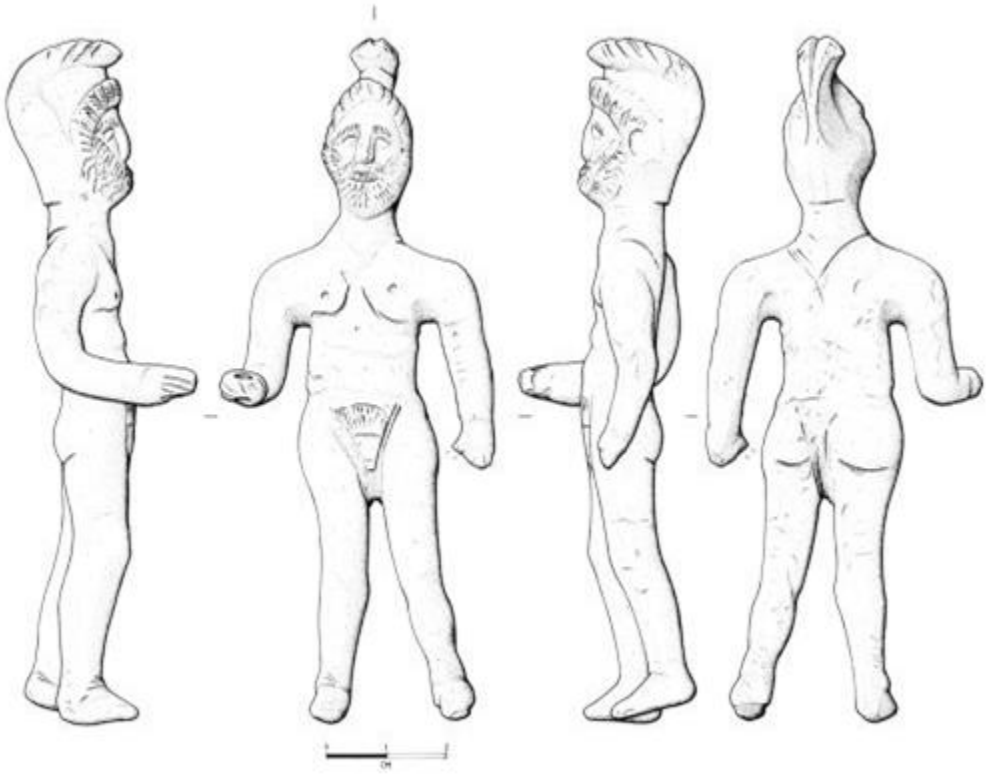


Figure 8.4 Romano-British copper-alloy figurine of Mars depicted nude and wearing a helmet from Fleggburgh (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk) (Length: 115 mm) (PAS NMS-632BD3). Illustration not to scale.

discovered within a high-status settlement context and are thought to have been deposited as a votive offering, possibly as part of a fertility rite (Andersson et al. 2003: 125-26; 2004: 124, 158, 164-65). The increasing portrayal of 'explicitly naked' male and female bodies within the guldgubber corpus also provides a notable comparative case study (see Watt 2015a). While current evidence suggests they had more than one function, the guldgubbers were often deployed as votive offerings within rituals and ceremonies presided over by petty kings and local warlords (for a review of current literature see Pesch and Helmbrecht: 2019: 440-44). In Later Norse cosmology, gold is associated with wealth, peace and fertility (Helmbrecht 2013: 12; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 429-30). It has been argued that the gold foil offerings were intended to strengthen the relationship between the elite and the divine; the gods would reciprocate by blessing the marital unions and family dynasties of the

elite while also bringing peace, prosperity and fertility to the wider community (Danielsson 1999: 16-18; Watt 2004: 217; 2015a; 2019: 202-04; Ratke 2009a: 155-56; Mannering 2017: 23-25; Sundqvist 2019: 361; Helmbrecht 2013: 12; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 429-30; 441-45). Agricultural, economic and demographic growth signalled a divinely blessed rulership which translated into popular support and political legitimisation. Furthermore, fertility became an increasingly important concern in this period. Between AD 536-660, increasing volcanic activity triggered a climactic event that subjected the northern hemisphere to dark cold summers, crop failures, famine, violent unrest, and pandemics (see Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 444-45). In Scandinavia, the regional elites appear to have responded to these events by trying to control, centralise and standardise cultic practices associated with fertility rites (Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 445). The increasing importance placed on fertility powers may explain the addition of the penis to pre-existing motifs such as the 'belted body' and neck-ring wearing figures present in the 6th-7th-century Scandinavian repertoire.

Whether English aristocratic families were influenced by the practices and concerns of the Scandinavian elite is questionable as the total number of 'explicitly naked' figures in England is far smaller than those in Scandinavia. However, there is a simultaneous interest in both regions in representing palm-sized sexed bodies. Like the guldgubber, the small size of the figurines suggests the iconographic details were not intended to be conspicuously observed in a populated public setting (Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 440). Instead, it was necessary to handle the objects/images to inspect their details, this might indicate they were deployed within private rituals or owned as personal objects (Brundle 2013: 209). Unlike in Scandinavia, the 'Anglo-Saxon' figurines do not appear to be affiliated with high-status settlements or sites of cultic importance. Some of the figurines are freestanding and

others were possibly slotted/fixed to another object, these may have been displayed within a shrine context (Pestell 2012: 86-87). Certain figurines may have functioned as personal pendants or charms intended to bestow other-worldly blessings of good fertility onto the owner. As stated, the Broadstairs figurine was suspended from a chatelaine and the figurines from Oxborough and Carlton Colville featured suspension loops. The figurine from Breach Downs was probably found in a tumulus which reinforces the possibility that some figurines were personal objects (Evison 1965: 215). The presence of the purse lid within the potentially royal burial context at Sutton Hoo suggests a link between kings and phallic imagery. Several scholars have drawn upon textual and archaeological sources to argue that ensuring fertility, peace and plenty via the communion with other-worldly forces was also central to the ideological and political legitimisation of contemporary kings in England (Chaney 1970; Enright 1983; North 1997). Agricultural fertility was also central to a ruler's power base in the 7th century. As the political territories of the emerging kingdoms expanded, rural agricultural communities would have been drawn into the king's sphere of governance. Various food renders were extracted from these communities in return for the right to farm or own the land and to receive the king's protection and favour; the redistribution of this agricultural surplus, as well as gifts of land, were also strategies central to the maintenance of the king's power (Charles-Edwards 1989: 28-30; Yorke 1990: 162; Lee 2007: 43). It has been argued that the animal imagery and feasting and dining wares present within the royal or princely assemblages at Sutton Hoo and Taplow reflects the role of the king as a provider of food (Arnold 1997: 208; Frantzen 2014: 43-44). Consequently, fertility could be considered a form of political currency as it was essential to survival, population expansion, hospitality, the king's agricultural surplus and land value.

Roman-British models provide an alternative source of artistic influence that may explain the appearance of the penis. The suspension features on the Carlton Colville and Oxborough figurines are not shared by the Scandinavian parallels. Whereas provincial style Romano-British figurines/pendants with suspension hoops are known from England, these figurine's display additional parallels like their unequal physical proportions, selective anatomical details and 'bare' surfaces (Fig. 8.5). The overall form of the Oxborough and Carlton Colville figurines was noted as displaying a phallic quality. Interestingly, small (between 20-50 mm) metal pendants and ornaments shaped like a penis, some of which feature suspension loops, produced in the Roman period have been found in significant numbers in Suffolk (see Plouviez 2005). These personal pendants and charms were linked to the Roman god Priapus whose penis was a symbol of fertility, luck and protection (Plouviez 2005: 162-63). While figurines of Priapus are rare in Britain, two have been found in Suffolk which display an emphasised beard, penis and helmet akin to the Carlton Colville and Oxborough figurines (Fig. 8.6). Subsequently, it has been suggested that a cult of Priapus may have existed in Suffolk during the Roman period (Worrell 2005: 465-66). The extent to which Romano-British religious beliefs and practices endured in eastern England following the collapse of the Roman administration is not properly understood (Cleary 2015), but there is the possibility that Romano-British religious and ritual concepts pertaining to the naked and sexed body endured into the 5th century and beyond. Toby Martin has suggested that certain Style I face-masks present on the footplates of cruciform brooches have a visible and intentional phallic quality. Parallels can be located in the Roman world where jewellery was often decorated with phallic symbols (2013: 9). Furthermore, phallic-shaped stamps have been identified on funerary urns dating to the 5th-6th centuries at the cremation cemetery at Spong Hill (Norfolk) (Ravn 2003: 122). The adoption of Style I and the

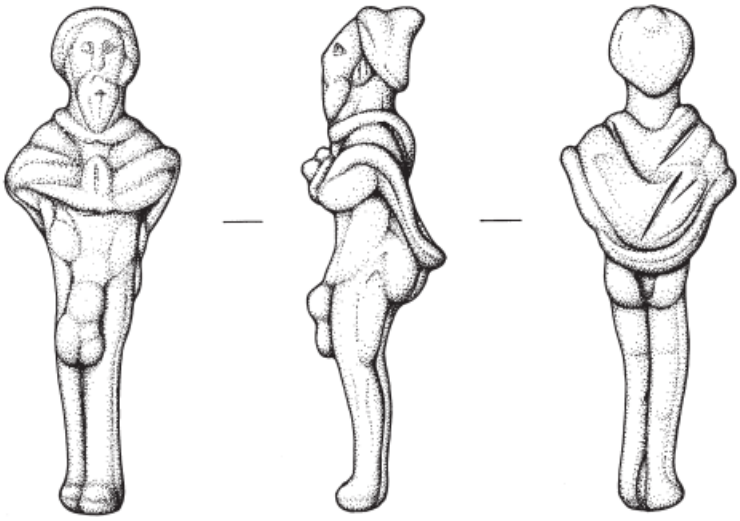
A)



B)



Figure 8.5 Romano-British figurine pendants with suspension hoops. A) Copper-alloy figurine/pendant from Little Chishill (Cambridgeshire), dated broadly to the Roman period (PAS SF-9B73E9) (Height 37.8mm; Width, 9.29 mm): B) Copper-alloy figurine/pendant from Bramber (Horsham, Sussex) (BC 100- AD 100) (Height: 38. 22mm; Width: 13.22 mm) (PAS SUSS-F6B98D).



A)



B)

Figure 8.6 Romano-British figurines of Priapus from Suffolk. A) Roman period copper-alloy figurine from Ingham (Suffolk) (Height: 60.5 mm; Width: 20.7 mm) (Illustration by D.Wreathall in Worrell, 2005: 465. Fig. 16; PAS SF-177545); B) Roman period copper alloy statuette of a herm of Priapus from Pakenham (Suffolk) (Height: 84 mm; Width: 37 mm) (BM 1990,0601.1). Illustration not to scale.

bracteates may have introduced a foreign cosmological ideology to England, but it has been argued that this ideology was primarily adopted by the elite who were actively engaging with these visual materials (Behr 2015: 18). In rural communities, it is generally accepted that local cultic beliefs and practices persisted (ibid.). The intersection of introduced and indigenous beliefs and ideas may well have prompted forms of cultural and artistic exchange within eastern England enabling the blending of rulership and fertility.

The placement of the phallic displaying figures on the Sutton Hoo purse lid may thus have symbolised the relationship between fertility and economic prosperity. The purse lid figure was interpreted as a 'bound body', the placement of this motif on the lid evokes the role of the king as a 'ring-giver' who repays loyalty and service with wealth. It has also been suggested that the two birds depicted adjacent to this figure are copulating, therefore, the birds may be an additional symbol of fecundity (Klein-Pfeuffer 2015: 281-82). The coin purse has also tentatively been suggested as a symbol of abundance, wealth and prosperity associated with Mercury in Roman and Romano-Celtic art (Green 2003: 53-56; Aldhouse-Green 2004: 63). The association between sexed bodies and economic wealth can be posited and this is reinforced by the presence of 'explicitly naked' male/female and male/male couples on 8th-century sceattas minted in England (Gannon 2003:104) (Figs. 7.33, 8.7). Like the seal matrix from Postwick, the male/female couples may have symbolised marital/sexual unions and their accompanying financial exchanges, socio-economic contractual agreements and offspring. As royal power increased, we know broadly from the record that inequality became more prominent in terms of wealth. It seems possible within this 7th-century context that the appearance of the penis could be connected with an emerging notion of royal power and its connection to the wealth and the growing prosperity of the kingdom.



Figure 8.7 Two phallic baring figures on a silver sceatta (Series X, type 30a) from Hothfield (Ashford, Kent) (710-750) (Diameter: 10.8 mm) (PAS KENT-E83372).

Likewise, kings emerged as the primary authority on law in this period (Loyn 1984: 43-44; Wormald 1999: 37-41; Lambert 2017:34). For instance, the 7th-century written law codes of Æthelberht, King of Kent, demonstrate the responsibilities of the king to maintain the social order and to protect the bodies and property rights of his subjects (Oliver 2002: 52-117; Lambert 2017: 44-63). An important aspect of the king's law was to ensure victims of violence received adequate economic compensation, higher fines were incurred if the functionality of a body part was compromised resulting in an economic loss for the individual and community (O'Keeffe 1998: 212; Oliver 2002: 99). 'Anglo-Saxon' law was heavily invested in protecting a man's ability to create and participate in the various activities and ongoings of daily life, and Law 64 in the laws of Æthelberht covers damages incurred to the male genitals (Crawford 2010:95; Oliver 2002: 99). The perpetrator of this crime faced an enormous fine which was the equivalent of three *wergilds* (murders) (Oliver 2002: 99; 2014: 48-49). The high fine is suggested to equate to the loss of three unborn children –valuable prospects capable of advancing the socio-economic position of a family (Richards 2003: 112; Oliver 2002: 99; 2011: 128-29). High fines also protected a man's ability to procreate and establish a lineage (Oliver 2014: 69, 71). These dimensions would have

been particularly salient to the 7th-century elite who were highly invested in establishing dynastic power over new kingdoms. All of these broader aspects of 7th-century society offer an interesting context for the appearance of visual depictions of male genitalia on objects and items we can associate with special and elite contexts and individuals. Luck, prosperity, fertility and lineage are ideas that would have carried great resonance within elite male contexts.

8.7 The female body: iconographic parallels

The following sections explore the appearance of the female body, its symbolic meanings and social functions. Until depictions of the dressed female body are discovered, the current sample of female representations indicates that the body was only ever presented naked or semi-naked. By contrast, the female body is usually represented clothed in the visual cultures of Scandinavia and the Merovingian/Frankish world (e.g. Ratke 2009a; 2009b; Watt 2015a; Mannering 2017; Salin 1959; Klein-Pffeuffer 1993). It is also of note that the female body is portrayed far more frequently in these visual cultures (ibid.). The 'Anglo-Saxon' artistic preference for the naked female body is unsurprising given the recurrent artistic interest in representing naked bodies between the 5th and 7th centuries. The artistic demand to represent the female body emerged in the 7th century, it was portrayed naked to align with existing figural traditions and a repertoire dominated by naked and semi-dressed male bodies. Exploring contemporary parallels, the female wearing a skirt with exposed breasts observed in the B7 bracteate family is also a motif found in the guldgubber corpus (Figs. 5.33, 8.8). Either of these media may have influenced the iconographically similar figurine from Halesworth (Suffolk). Contemporary examples of the female body with distinguished



A)



B)

Figure 8.8 Vendel period guldgubber foils depicting a woman with bared breasts and wearing a skirt. A) Two foils from Vestermarie (Aakirkeby, Bornholm, Denmark) (Photograph by René Laursen in Eilsøe 2018); B) Foil from Sorte Muld (Bornholm) (Watt 1991: 97. Figs.9b). Illustration not to scale.



A)

B)



Figure 8.9 Naked female representations from Bornholm (Denmark). A) Vendel period guldgubber foil depicting a woman possibly wearing a belt and exposing her vulva and breasts from Vestermarie (Aakirkeby, Bornholm, Denmark) (Photograph by René Laursen in Eilsøe 2018); B) Gold figurine from Smørenge on Bornholm (6th century) (Length 42 mm) (Photograph by René Laursen in Bondeson and Bondeson 2014: 53. Fig. 1).

breasts and/or genitals are also known from Scandinavia and France (Figs. 7.34, 8.9). However, the only three-dimensional example is the Vendel period gold figurine from Bornholm (Denmark) (Fig. 8.9b). This figurine is highly significant as the belt, arm-rings and anklets indicate this is the first variant of the 'bound body' that can be sexed female. The presence of these articles is a significant point of difference when compared to the examples from England. The Bornholm figurine is stylistically closest to the elongated figurine from Breach Downs and not the three figurines from Higham, Eyke and Broadstairs. While a continental influence may have stimulated an interest in representing female nakedness, the latter three figurines appear to be locally developed as to date comparable figurines are absent from the continent. Instead, the female figurines were possibly inspired by Romano-British models. For example, figurines of Venus, the goddess of love and sex, were popular in Roman Britain and are predominantly found in southeastern England (Birney 1990: 22; Durham 2012: 3.31, Fittock 2015: 111-15; 2017: 253). Venus was often portrayed completely nude, the *Venus Pudica* variants are of note as her hands are placed on or near to the breasts and groin akin to the figurine from Higham (for a corpus of metal Venus figurines found in Britain see Durham 2012: 3.31). Provincial style female figurines are rare, but a few examples are known which represent the body completely undressed (for additional examples see Durham 2012: 3.30, 2014) (Fig. 8.10). In Chapter 5, late antique depictions of Adam and Eve were discussed that adapted the posture and gesture associated with the *Venus Pudica* motif (Fig. 5.36). This pose is associated with the postlapsarian state when the naked and sexed body carries sinful and shameful associations (Karkov 2001: 162; 2003: 192-95). Yet, unlike postlapsarian Eve and certain portrayals of Venus, the figurines from England openly display and emphasis their genitals and/or breasts. As such, this group appear to be unconcerned with concepts relating to bodily



A)



B)

Figure 8.10 Provincial style Romano-British naked female figurines. A) Copper-alloy provincial style figurine, possibly representing Venus, from Welton Le Marsh (East Lindsey, Lincolnshire) (Length: 41.7mm; Width: 13.8mm) (PAS NLM-8EE352); B) Copper-alloy figurine of a breastfeeding mother goddess from Gower peninsula (Swansea) (Height: 60mm) (0-100 AD) (Durham 2012. ID 157).

shame. The potential iconographic influence of Venus would align with the prior suggestion that the sexual and reproductive body was the primary symbolic focus of the completely naked female figurines, especially the figurine from Higham which was potentially represented pregnant.

8.7.1 Female fertility, maternity and sexual anxieties

The processes of emerging complex political structures and nascent kingdoms in England coincides with the elevated socio-political status of elite women. Brundle has argued that the figurines are, in some capacity, connected to these developments as their appearance coincides with the visible preferential treatment of high-status women in the mortuary sphere (2013: 213-15; 2014: 191-92). Whether the female figurines belonged to these high-status women is unclear. However, it is a possibility as the figurine from Broadstairs (Kent) was found in a female grave where it is thought to have been suspended from a chatelaine. This demonstrates that these representations could be owned by women and displayed on their body (Meaney 1981: 231). A similar artistic development is observable in contemporary Scandinavia where the female body is represented far more frequently at a time when pre-eminent elite families were consolidating power and exercising greater control over the ritual sphere (Watt 2002: 89-91; 2004: 213; 2011: 229-31; 2019: 197-204; Helmbrecht 2019b: 138; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 444). As households became increasingly ranked in England, fertility and reproduction would have heightened in importance as political concerns. For royal women, status and authority in part lay in the fertile and maternal body. As Karkov argues this was the 'vehicle through which power could be achieved; real power rested in, and was symbolised by the sons born from that

body' (2003: 196-97). According to later 'Anglo-Saxon' textual sources, it was expected that a queen would provide an heir, and thus infertility and chastity were considered un-queenly traits. The provision of an heir also protected a woman's socio-political position in the event of the husband's untimely death (Lapidge et al. 2013: 392; Stafford 1983: 81-82, 86-88; Tyler 2017:138). Political marriages played an important role in expanding the influence of a kingdom, dominant families would marry their daughters into noble or royal houses of lesser status as a way of integrating and binding them into their familial network (Yorke 1990: 172). The political authority a woman could derive from their matrimonial and sexual status to a man of rank is reflected in the iconography on the seal ring from Postwick (Norfolk). The name *BALDEHILDIS* is inscribed on the ring's obverse which has led to the suggestion that it was associated with Queen Balthild, a member of the East Anglian royal court who married King Clovis II of Frankia in 648 (PAS 8709C3; Karkov 2011: 123-24). The reverse of the ring potentially represents a marital and sexual union between a man and a woman. Karkov suggests that if this scene is sexual, it presumably symbolises ideas relating to fertility, peace, lineage and the hopes for the political dynasty (Karkov 2011: 123-24). The man is represented in what is considered the position of honour, thus the subordinate position of the woman is visually emphasised (ibid.). The seal ring would have been used to lend the owner's authority to written documents (Karkov 2011: 124). The woman associated with the gold ring may well have wielded a significant level of political influence.

While the political implications surrounding female reproduction may have been amplified in the 7th century, the cultural importance placed on the reproductive and sexual qualities of the female body preceded this period. This can be observed in the inhumation practices of the mid-5th-6th centuries in eastern England. During this period, osteological age profiles suggest that maternal and prenatal mortality were high (Stoodley 1999: 119; Sayer

and Dickinson 2013: 293). It has been recognised that women who died during the peak of their child-rearing years, in their twenties and thirties, were typically interred with the richest and most diverse assemblages of grave goods (Stoodley 1999: 103, 120; 2011: 662-63; Sayer and Dickinson 2013: 285). This economic investment reflects the important cultural status of the mother and a familial or communal appreciation of what was a highly dangerous necessity to ensure social reproduction. It is possible, as Meaney has argued, that the female figurines may have functioned as personal fertility amulets which appealed to supernatural forces for an easy pregnancy and delivery, but without further contextual evidence this can only remain conjecture (1981: 238).

Cultural anxieties towards the female body may explain its limited representation in this period. Early 'Anglo-Saxon' attitudes to the female sexual body are expressed within the 7th-century law codes of Æthelberht. This law code is thought to reflect an older oral legal tradition practised in the preceding centuries (Oliver 2002: 34-41; Lambert 2017: 32-33). Laws 73-76 are concerned with the female body, particularly its sexual, marital and maternal status (Oliver 2002: 106-14). These laws punished women who practised adultery and women who failed to safeguard their virginity until marriage. Male sexual behaviours were also regulated to deter these scenarios from occurring (ibid; Sayer and Dickinson 2013: 293-94). It has been argued that the prevention of pre-marital sex was to avoid unwanted pregnancies and the dangers posed by childbirth (Sayer and Dickinson 2013: 293-94). Alternatively, chasteness/virginity and marital faithfulness were upheld as important feminine traits so that the men could trust the children they raised were their own and that the line of succession was legitimate (Oliver 2002: 107). In the 5th-6th centuries, arranged intermarriages are thought to have played an important role in the development of a social, political and economic network (Halsall 2004: 19-20, 27; Sayer 2013: 95-97). Strict and

idealised gender roles and behaviours may have been promoted and expected of the exchanged family members to maintain a positive family relationship while also avoiding familial and tribal conflicts (Halsall 2004: 27). This would also explain the regulation of the female sexual body as acts of sexual infidelity and impropriety would have threatened the stability of this network and the social order.

In the 5th-6th centuries, inhumation practices in eastern England demonstrate a high level of uniformity regarding the types of grave goods buried with men and women (Stoodley, 1999). These assemblages potentially reflect standardised or idealised gendered identities and roles that were embodied in life as well as death (see Stoodley 1999; 2011). Toby Martin has recognised that the standard female fashions in this period functioned to conceal the body's morphology and to constrict certain movements. By contrast, standard male dress was relatively tight and form-fitting (2014: 32-36). The perceived dangers surrounding female sexuality may have led to the visibility and physical presence of the female body being regulated. The types of jewellery and dress accessory interred within female graves also appear to change according to the age of the deceased (see Stoodley, 1999). Notable developments are identifiable in relation to the early teenage years, followed by the twenties-thirties, and then during the forties-fifties (Stoodley, 1999: 106-18; 2000: 458-65; 2011: 662-63; Gowland 2006: 147-51). These trends have been related to the female reproductive life course, e.g. puberty, child-rearing years and the menopause, and the changes in one's familial status, e.g. wife/mother, that accompany these developments (Stoodley 1999: 117-18; 2000: 465-68; 2011: 662-63; Sayer and Dickinson 2013: 293-94). Interestingly, Martin has noted that the costume accessories associated with the women in the middle group functioned to visually distinguish the breasts, waist area and shoulders (Martin 2014: 32). As seen, the sleight sloping shoulders, narrow waist/wide hips and

breasts were areas of focus on certain female figurines. If the costumes associated with the early 'Anglo-Saxon' burial rite were worn in life, the construction of the female costumes appears to have been influenced by the paradoxical values of fear and veneration that surrounded the sexual and reproductive female body. The concealment of the body in daily life suggests that female bodily exposure was possibly a taboo permitted only for certain contexts and audiences. If so, the illicit nature of female nakedness may have generated a certain self-awareness or self-consciousness when undressed. Equally, the physically restrictive character of female fashions would have cultivated gendered gestural/postural performances that were either replicated or subverted when naked.

The cultural importance placed on the maternal body would have inevitably shaped how a woman judged and experienced the status and value of their own body based on their reproductive successes and failures. This experience was not unique to women as men may have also judged the status of their body on their ability to procreate (Richards 2003: 112). Both the broader social contexts around male and female life offer an interesting framework in which to explore and interpret the appearance of explicit sexual characteristics in the rendering of the human form in the 7th century.

8.7.2 Breastfeeding: nourishing and nurturing

One additional aspect to consider regarding the female body is the cultural importance that would have been placed on the breasts and the act of breastfeeding. In past societies, breast milk was essential to the health, development and growth of the infant as it offered a sterile food source that was rich with nutrients and immunological protections (Lewis 2007: 98-99). Breastfeeding responsibilities may have also been communally shared given the high

mortality rate associated with mothers and the act of childbirth in this period (see Sayer and Dickinson 2013: 291-93). Nitrogen isotope data from the early 'Anglo-Saxon' cemetery at Raunds, Northamptonshire indicates infants were typically breastfed for three years (Haydock et al. 2013: 610). For women who had multiple children, breastfeeding would have been an activity practised for over a decade. Subsequently, breastfeeding would have simultaneously constrained a woman's physical agency while also being a key expression of their gendered identity. Furthermore, at three years old a child would have formed lasting memories of this intimate interaction; therefore, the breast may have symbolised and evoked concepts relating to childhood, nourishment/food, comfort and the maternal bond. Within this context, the breasts could be considered a symbol of social reproduction.

The symbolic associations with breastfeeding may have also been evoked within a political context. For elite and royal women, the breasts may have symbolised their role in nurturing and nourishing a political dynasty. This could explain the distinguished and accentuated breasts on the semi-dressed and naked female figurines. Interestingly, in a much later source, Eve is positively represented with emphasised breasts within the MS Junius 11 manuscript (Karkov 2003: 193; Dockray-Miller 2003: 221-22). In this context, the breasts are thought to be a symbol of maternal care (ibid.) The unusual positive portrayal of Eve coincides with the rising status of queens in the kingdom of Wessex in the late 10th century, the vital role of the queen as the mother to future kings was increasingly highlighted at this time (Karkov 2003: 196-98). The iconography of the breastfeeding Roman empresses explored in Chapter 5 is also thought to have expressed a political statement of maternal authority, abundance, nourishment and generosity (Sperling 2016: 310). It is possible that such perceptions and motifs potentially inspired the figure represented in the B7 bracteate family which, in turn, may have iconographically influenced the figurine from



A)



B)

Figure 8.11 Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf on 8th-century silver sceattas. A) Series V (Type 7) silver sceat from North Kesteven (Lincolnshire), a bird sitting on a vine is represented on the obverse and Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf on the reverse (Diameter: 12mm) (AD 720-740) (PAS LIN-D87A61); B) Late 8th-century silver sceat with a portrait of Æthelberht of East Anglia on the obverse and Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf on the reverse (Gannon 2003: 146. Fig. 4.56).

A)



B)



Figure 8.12 8th-century carved whalebone panels depicting Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf. A) Panel from Larling (Norfolk) (Length: 72 mm; Width: 48 mm) (Smith 2015: 273. Fig. 320); B) Left panel on the Franks casket (BM 1867,0120.1).

Halesworth. It is worth considering that the cult of Dea Nutrix (the nursing goddess), which possibly stimulated the representations of the breastfeeding empresses, was present in Roman Britain (see Jenkins 1957; Vanderspoel and Mann 2002; Burleigh et al. 2006; Fittock 2015: 115). This suggests that the act of breastfeeding and the role of the mother was culturally venerated within this region before the 5th century. While of a slightly different character, the iconography of Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf also taps into similar ideas as this act marks the mythological origins of a political lineage and empire. Such symbolism features in 5th-7th-century visual art but only rarely, e.g. the bracteate from Undley (Suffolk). However, the iconography of the suckled twins appears more frequently from the 8th century and is often interpreted as a motif harnessed to the mechanisms and visual display of emerging royal dynasties (Figs. 8.11, 8.12) (Gannon 2003: 145-46; Karkov 2011: 106-07).

8.7.3 Religious nakedness and maternal authority

The figurine from Halesworth potentially displays a Christian influence. As seen, Scandinavian prototypes for this model are present in the bracteate and guldgubber corpora. Romano-British parallels can also be identified in a classical and provincial style, both thought to represent Venus (Fig. 8.13). The Halesworth figurine can therefore be related to several Romano-British and Scandinavian parallels all of which appear to have some form of religious or ritual significance. In Chapter 5, the possibility that the iconography of Mary influenced the female figure in the B7 bracteate group was considered. Interestingly, a comparable motif existed in 7th-century France, representing Mary during her assumption (Fig. 8.14) (Salin 1959: 412). Another bare-breasted figure interpreted as

A)



B)



Figure 8.13 Romano-British topless female figurines A) Copper-alloy figurine of Venus with cloak tied around the thighs and waist from St. Albans (Hertfordshire) (Height: 200mm) (AD 200-300) (Durham, 2012. ID 132); B) Copper-alloy figurine, possibly of Venus, from Woodeaton (Oxfordshire) (Height: 58mm) (AM AN1896-1908. R.105.b).



Figure 8.14 Embroidered linen canvass depicting the assumption of the Virgin Mary, the canvass is currently held in the treasury at Sens cathedral (Burgundy, eastern France) (7th-8th centuries) (Salin, 1959:412-3. Fig. 187). The Virgin is surrounded by ten apostles dressed in short tunics, the surrounding inscription reads '*Cum transisset Maria mater Domino de apostolis'* (Salin 1959: 412). Additional naked figures can be observed flanking this scene.



Figure 8.15 Copper-alloy disc brooch from Ditzingen (Germany)(Mid-7th century) (Klein-Pfeuffer 1993. Fig. 63). Illustration not to scale.

Mary is represented on a copper-alloy disc brooch dating to the mid-7th century from Ditzingen (southern Germany) (Fig. 8.15) (Klein-Pfeuffer 1993: 198-201). Mary's breasts are also highlighted through her dress in the Book of Kells, an insular manuscript produced in the late 8th-9th centuries in the British Isles (Fig. 8.16). Furthermore, several topless figures wearing long skirts are represented on 8th-century coins minted in England, these figures have also been interpreted as Mary (Gannon 2011: 99-100) (Fig. 8.17). The frequent emphasis on Mary's breasts is thought to have symbolised her role as the mother of Christ and the Church (Clayton 2003: 148; Gannon 2011: 99-100). Veils are also a recurrent attribute associated with late antique and early medieval representations of Mary; this article is thought to have signified her status as a virgin (Clayton 2003: 144). Collectively, the combination of the skirt, breasts and possible veil on the Halesworth figurine suggests that the figure could represent Mary or was influenced by her image.

The Church played a highly significant role in guiding and fostering emerging early kingships within England in the late 6th-7th centuries (Yorke 1990: 172-77; Blair 2005: 49; Higham and Ryan 2013: 153-63). In the late 7th century, royal women were founders and heads of newly emerging double minister religious houses, and these nunneries played an important role in furthering the influence of different royal dynasties and in the ideological legitimisation of kingship (Yorke 1989: 95-97; 2003: 145-47; Gaimster 2011: 880-81). Subsequently, the women associated with these institutions wielded a significant level of political and religious power (Blair, 2005: 81-5; Yorke, 2003:145-7). Whether the Halesworth figurine represents Mary or not, its overall appearance suggests that it represented a comparable maternal authority figure. It has been argued that the influence wielded by the 7th and 8th-century Christian women was partly a continuation of the important role women played as cult specialists within the pre-Christian religious sphere (Behr 2000: 50-52;



Figure 8.16 Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells (Folio 7V) (MS A. I. 58) (late 8th-9th centuries) (Digital Collections- The Library of Trinity College Dublin).



Figure 8.17 Topless figures represented on 8th-century coinage. A) Silver penny Series K Type 101 ('Triquetras Eclectic Group') from Woodham Walter (Essex) (Gannon, 2011:99. Fig. 12); B) Series U (Type 23b) silver sceatta from East Lindsey (Lincolnshire) (Diameter: 11mm) (PAS LIN-1A9486); C) Series U (Type 23 C) silver sceatta from an unknown findspot (Isle of Wight) (Diameter: 11.8mm) (PAS IOW-12C6B7).

Gaimster 2011: 880-81). The close association between the female body, Style I and the bracteates is thought to reflect this specialist role (Behr 2000: 50-52 Gaimster 2011: 867-80). Martin has argued that cruciform brooches that carry Style I were owned by distinguished female 'elders' who were valued for their wisdom and experience and not their reproductive capabilities (ibid.). In this context, it is possible that the Halesworth figurine could be either Christian or non-Christian, symbolising a distinguished and authoritative maternal identity with religious associations.

8.8 The 'belted body'

8.8.1 The 'belted body' and its iconological context (4th-7th centuries)

The following section explores the symbolism and social significance of the belt and the 'belted body' motif in England in the 5th-7th centuries. As explored, the 'belted body' motif appeared in the Scandinavian repertoire in the 4th century, at this time the belt was a symbol of military rank that had been influenced by Roman military fashions. However, the increasing cultural status of the belt was not unique to Scandinavia. At this time, the political and social instability affecting the western Roman provinces prompted a shift in elite funerary practices within southeastern England, northeastern Gaul and the Rhine area (Gerrard 2013: 199-201; Cleary 2013; 58-60; 469; Halsall 2010: 97-106; Cool 2015: 417). In an attempt to portray an image of strength the civilian aristocracy adopted symbols associated with the martial elite, these included belt sets, weaponry, and cross-bow brooches (Cleary 2013: 58-60, 469; Halsall 2004: 26; 2010; Cool 2015: 417). The military belt signalled that the wearer had served within the Roman army, it was also a symbol of authority, status, rank and martial prowess (Cleary 2002: 27-28; 2013: 58; Gui 2018: 265; Hoss 2012: 29-30; 2017: 96). Subsequently, the belt was serving similar symbolic functions across the western Roman provinces and beyond the northern frontiers in the 4th century.

Late Roman elite burial practices continued on a smaller scale and in a simpler fashion in southeastern England in the early 5th century. For example, male inhumations containing belt sets and/or weapons are known from Roman London's eastern cemetery and the cemeteries at Lankhills (Winchester, Hampshire), Richborough (Kent), Mucking (Essex), Dyke-Hill, Dorchester (Oxfordshire), and Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk) (Härke 2011:10; Owen-Crocker 2004: 120; Gerrard 2013: 200-01). For much of the 20th century,

these burials were thought to have contained the earliest 'Germanic' mercenaries who settled in England (ibid.). However, the 'Germanic' character of these burials has since been disputed (Gerrard 2013: 201). Contemporary inhumation contexts containing similar assemblages, which have also been traditionally interpreted as 'Germanic' graves, are common in northern France, the Rhine region, and central Germany, (e.g. Schutz 2001: 32-33; Halsall 2010: 97-106; 2011: 21; 2020: 169-71; Cleary 2013: 469). The recurrence of weaponry and belt sets across these regions signal the increasing militarisation of masculine identity and status, this was likely a response to the socio-political instability that followed the collapse of the Roman state (Yorke 1990: 2; Gerrard 2013: 200-01; Halsall 2010: 97-106; 2020: 168-71; Cleary 2013: 342-43; 469). During this time of political uncertainty and impermanence, the provincial style belt sets likely espoused a sense of continuity by evoking the power of the Roman past (Cleary 2011: 24-25; Swift 2019: 44).

By the end of the 5th-6th centuries, weapon burials had become far more common in eastern England (Härke 1989: 49; 1992; 2011: 7; Stoodley 1999). Within this context, belt plates/buckles tend to be the only inorganic dress accessory that survives in male graves (Owen-Crocker 2004: 119-21; Walton Rogers 2007: 111). While belt buckles were predominantly buried with men, they are not uncommon finds in female burials (Stoodley 1999: 39, 48-49; Marzinzik 2003: 59). Sonja Marzinzik has argued that certain belt sets may have been used in gift-giving rituals to cement social relationships while also signalling wealth (2003: 81-83). High-quality or distinctive buckles are also more frequently found in richer furnished graves, suggesting that they also demarked social status (Marzinzik 2003: 89). Gender and age-based correlations have also been observed in the inhumation record between the belt buckles (see Stoodley 1999; Marzinzik 2003). Subsequently, it has been argued that the belt buckle may have acted to construct and express one's social and

biological identity (Stoodley 1999; Marzinzik 2003). It is thought that weaponry, and to a lesser extent belt sets, played an important role in signalling the owner's social status, they also expressed a martial masculinity, regardless of whether the deceased was, in life, a warrior or soldier (Härke 1990: 43; 1992: 164; Stoodley 1999: 77, 139; 2011: 657-63; Marzinzik 2003: 69-74, 89-90; Gerrard 2013: 203). These weapons burials have traditionally been interpreted as a marker that the individual was of 'Germanic' ancestry, but again, there is sufficient cause to question the ethnic identity of the deceased (see Härke 2011; Harland 2019). Instead, the burial rites that emerged and were popularised throughout the 5th century are better considered a form of display that straddled the Late Roman and early medieval worlds (Gerrard 2013: 201). These were material and symbolic expressions that appealed to both the indigenous and migrant populations (ibid). This overlap is also exemplified by the B-bracteates from Binham and the Byzantine buckets from Breamore and Bromeswell. These objects essentially carry variations of the same motif, a naked warrior wearing a belt fighting zoomorphic figures. While stylistically dissimilar and produced in very different contexts, they are rooted in the same classical artistic tradition. Subsequently, both of these artistic expressions would have resonated with a British audience regardless of their ethnicity.

In Chapter 7, the 'explicitly naked' and 'bare' 'belted bodies' are shown to be well represented in the 7th-century repertoire. 'Explicitly naked' 'bodies wearing belts which date to the 6th-7th-have also been discovered in France, Germany and Scandinavia (Figs. 8.2a/c, 8.3a/c, 8.19). The cross-regional presence of this motif reflects the shared emphasis placed on the belt as a symbol of masculine status within these areas from the 4th century onwards. The Finglesham man is unique when compared with other contemporary horned headdress wearing figures produced in Scandinavia. None of the Scandinavian parallels are 'explicitly



A)



B)

Figure 8.18 ‘Explicitly naked’ ‘belted bodies’ from France and Germany. A) Frankish buckle of unknown provenance currently in the Diegardt Collection (Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln) (6th -7th centuries) (Speidel 2011: 24. Taf 5. 19); B) Silvered copper-alloy openwork plaque from Wanquetin (France) (Diameter: 102 mm) (Brown 1989: 72. Fig. 2).

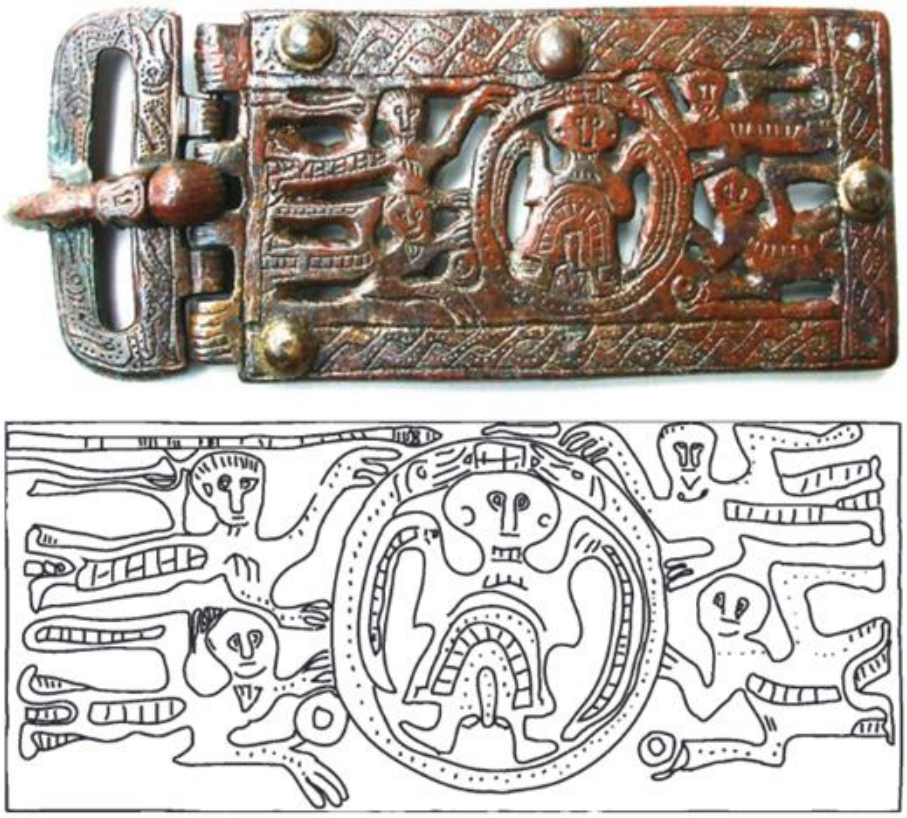


Figure 8.19 Copper-alloy belt set from Saint-Quentin (northern France) (Dimensions: 168 mm X 71 mm) (6th -7th centuries) (Speidel 2011: 22. Taf. III. 11-12). Illustration not to scale.

naked' nor are they represented on belt plates. The only other contemporary continental example of an 'explicitly naked' 'belted body' with horns was found just across the channel in Wanquentin (northern France) (Fig. 8.18b). The phallic displaying 'belted body' on the Diegardt belt buckle presents another notable parallel (Fig. 8.18a). Furthermore, human figures in varying states of dress are represented far more frequently on belt plates in France and Germany (e.g. Salin 1959: 257-411; Schutz 2001: 234-38; Speidel 2011; de Sémainville 2011). This includes two belt sets from northern France which feature 'explicitly naked' phallic baring figures (Figs. 7.34a, 8.19). This suggests that the Finglesham man, and other 'explicitly naked' male bodies produced in England, may have been influenced by Merovingian models or vice versa. The appearance of belt plates carrying full-bodied

representations was a 7th-century development in England. The Finglesham man is depicted on a high-status triangular-shaped buckle, others of which have been found in Kentish elite male graves (Owen-Crocker 2004: 195). The heavy and elaborately decorated gold belt sets found in the princely burials at Taplow, Prittlewell and Mound 1 (Sutton Hoo) provides further evidence of the increasing elite investment in this costume article (Owen-Crocker 2004: 195-96). These examples are a stark contrast to the smaller and less ostentatious buckles that continued to be an important component of standard male dress in the 7th century (Marzinzik 2003; Owen-Crocker 2004: 195). Investment in large, ornate belt sets in this period can also be observed in northern France (Halsall 2010: 354; 2020: 177). This overlapping high-status appreciation for the belt reinforces the possibility that the Finglesham man and other image carrying belt plates were stimulated by cultural exchanges across the channel. Interestingly, in the late 6th-7th centuries, belt buckles were no longer commonly included in female burial contexts and are instead predominantly found in male graves (Stoodley 1999: 39, 49; Marzinzik 2003: 69-73; Walton Rogers 2007: 221, 241-42). This coincides with the attribution of the phallus to the 'belted body', and indicates that the belt had become increasingly gendered towards the male body.

8.8.2 The 'belted body': a symbol of physical status

Given this context, it is interesting that the 'belted body' is a motif that strongly resonates with the archaeological record in England, particularly within the 5th-6th centuries. In this period, standard male dress has been characterised as insipid, conventional, practical, and unostentatious (Brush 1993: 128; Stoodley 1999: 74-75; Walton Rogers 2007: 199; Martin 2014: 29). Surviving evidence indicates that male dress was centred around a woven tunic

which some argue was undyed, earthen tone and typically worn alongside similarly plain trousers and the costume featured no additional decorative dress accessories other than the belt and added weapon-related kit (Dodwell 1982: 222-23; Stoodley 1999: 74-75; Owen-Crocker 2004: 111-18, Walton Rogers 2007: 199-205; Martin 2014: 29). Nick Stoodley has argued convincingly that the visual appearance of the male body was centred around weaponry (1999: 74). Arguably, the relatively unostentatious character of male dress resonates with the schematic and stripped back portrayal of the 'belted body'.

It has been argued by Herman that the naked figures wearing a belt symbolised a form of masculinity stripped down to the essential basics (2015). These fundamental masculine symbols include the phallus, as a symbol of virility and potency, weaponry, and the belt (Herman 2015: 288). Since the phallus and weaponry are not always present, I would argue the body and belt are the primary symbolic aspects of the motif, especially in the 5th-6th centuries. While often depicted in isolation, the belt may have also symbolised the objects that were typically suspended from it. These include a sword, knife, tools, pouches/purses, grooming implements and fire-making materials (Davidson 1989: 12; Owen-Crocker 2004: 121-22). Within Old English poetry, the skilful construction and handling of tools and weaponry are presented as essential to survival as it enables humanity to subdue chaotic forces and control nature (Clark 1965: 409; Robinson 1985: 71; Neville 1998: 115; Cavell 2016: 17-18, 91). Similarly, the actions of the hands are often highlighted in the heroic tradition, the hands were a potent symbol of masculinity as they enabled a man to materialise his intent and exert his will over the external world (Hill 2003: 117-29; Oswald 2010: 86-89). 'Anglo-Saxon' law was also heavily invested in protecting the physical functionality of the male body so that it could create (O'Keeffe 1998: 212; Oliver 2002: 99; Crawford 2010: 95). As such, it is possible that the 'belted body' symbolised a masculine

ideal that advocated self-reliance whereby a man ought to be able to influence and control his environment solely through his body and tool kit.

More compellingly, the unburdened naked 'belted body' may have signified the importance of mobility and free movement to the performance of masculinity. In the 5th-6th centuries, standard male dress was relatively tight-fitting, thus the body's morphology and movements were more clearly discernible (Martin 2014: 34-36). By contrast, the various layers and costume accessories associated with female dress acted to conceal the body and impede its physical actions (ibid). Similarly, the largest great square-headed and cruciform brooches would have been impractical and cumbersome objects that hindered the wearer (Lucy 1997: 163; Martin 2013: 35-36; 2015: 206-07). As such, female costume acted to conceal and restrict a superficially decorated body, whereas male dress facilitated greater mobility while also visually highlighting the physical form and actions of the body. A similar contrast was observed between the 'belted' and 'bound' bodies. 'Bound bodies' were more extensively adorned, often physically constricted and could be concealed within Style I arrangements, whereas the 'belted body' was usually represented in a free state of movement. With that said, athleticism was equally important to both motifs as evidenced by their arched pointed feet and pronounced calves, thighs and buttocks. Within the Old English poetic tradition, the ability to act and to react swiftly were heroic ideals, whereas the forces that bind, lock and incapacitate the body had an emasculating power (Neville 1999: 45-46).

The 'belted body' may have been synonymous with a physical and postural performance intended to signify male dominance, authority and competency. Unlike the 'bound body', the 'belted body' is typically represented standing upright or in a state of free

movement. The ‘belted body’ is also not associated with human-animal hybridity, thus the boundaries and structure of the body were typically represented intact and uncompromised. Symbolic themes of subservience and supplication were central to the ‘bound body.’ The various bent, contorted and compromising poses associated with this motif may have also carried associations of humility and submissiveness (see Green 2006). The negative associations of physical incapacitation can be observed in early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ law whereby the limbs of criminals could be forcibly amputated (Oliver 2002; Reynolds 2009: 85-86). Cramped, crouched, prone, decapitated, restrained bodies are also found in the early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burial record, while such burials are rare they have often been interpreted as the graves of wrongdoers, social outlaws, deviants and those who died in unusual circumstances (Reynolds 2009: 61-95). In contrast to the ‘bound body’, the central ‘belted body’ figure represented within the B1 family was depicted upright and stood taller than the adjacent figures – the central ‘belted body’ had taken the position the emperor held on the prototype that inspired this scene. This adaption suggests that the ‘belted body’ was considered comparable in some form to the emperor, possibly as a symbol of authority and leadership. This is archaeologically reinforced by the significance high-status men and military leaders placed on the belt in northern and northwestern Europe (see above). Within Roman art, heroic male nudity was a symbol of male physical dominance, the body was confidently presented in its physical prime standing upright with outwardly positioned arms (Davies 2018: 118). While three-dimensional variants of the ‘belted body’ are often represented with their arms held to their body, possibly for practical and technical reasons, the body language of the two-dimensional variants is generally comparable and possibly rooted in a classical influence. The belt is also an article capable of affecting posture. For instance, reconstructions of Roman military belts have demonstrated that encourage the

wearer to stand upright and walk with a swagger (Hoss 2012: 30-31; 2017: 85-87). A belt that tapers and cinches the waist gives the upper body an inverted triangular appearance, in turn, the shoulders and chest appear broader. As seen, broad shoulders and top-heavy bodies were a feature of the 7th-century repertoire. The upper arms and shoulders were also frequently distinguished and emphasised in Style I. Dana Oswald has noted that hands and arms are essential to the performance of masculinity in *Beowulf*, the strength that resided in a man's arm was a measure of his potency and authority (2010: 86-89). In this regard, Oswald states it was the arm, not the phallus, that ultimately defined the man and his masculine identity (Oswald 2010: 86). Similarly, the Old English Kenning 'shoulder-companion' is attributed to the most distinguished, competent and valued thanes (Greenfield 1989: 57-59).

One other dimension to consider is the open exposure and presentation of the body, especially the chest, as a symbol of confrontation, bravery, and self-assured confidence. Naturally, this taps into ideas surrounding naked warfare and the machismo and prestige that accompanies this daring act (see Speidel 2004: 51-72). Beowulf acts similarly when he boastingly forgoes armour and weaponry, essentially fighting naked, to demonstrate his inherent physical superiority over Grendel (Beo. 434-40, 671-690). The active exposure to and endurance of the dangers posed by the elements and natural world was also presented as a heroic ideal, exemplified by Beowulf, within Old English poetry (Neville 1998: 129-36; Hill 2003: 124-25). Examples of forward-facing 'belted bodies' wielding weaponry, like the Finglesham man with his three penetrative symbols (horns/phallus/spears), may have symbolised a similar mentality that advocated actively and boldly embracing danger and harm.

In summary, the 'belted body' is a motif that strongly resonates with the archaeological record in England in the 5th-7th centuries. It may have evoked a series of austere, self-sufficient and practical masculine ideals centred around the body, its physical capabilities and prowess. The appearance of this motif and its symbolism can be related to standard forms of male costume in the 5th-6th centuries. Thus, the 'belted body' motif may reflect a hegemonic masculine identity that was embodied and performed widely in eastern England. The symbolic concepts associated with the 'belted body' would have been relevant to warriors and men engaging in other physically intensive roles relating to craft and agriculture.

8.8.3 Semi-dressed bodies: a negotiation of ideals?

One final aspect to briefly consider is whether the masculine ideals associated with the 'belted body' were challenged in the 7th century, specifically, as elite men increasingly expressed their status via costumes that adorned and concealed the body. The 7th century witnessed the appearance of the semi-dressed 'belted' body which reflects a wider artistic development in Scandinavia where the dressed body was being increasingly represented on helmet panels and within the guldgubber corpus (see Mannering 2017). The expanding catalogue of dressed bodies is thought to contain divine and high-status bodies wearing the same costumes (Watt, 2015a/b; Pesch and Helmbrecht 2019: 438-39). These representations may have functioned to ideologically endorse certain garments and regalia worn by the elite as symbols of divine power and leadership (ibid.).

In England, many of the objects carrying 'clearly dressed' figures were found in exceptionally high-status contexts, this includes the Sutton Hoo Mound 1 assemblage, the

Staffordshire Hoard and a princely barrow burial from Caenby. This suggests that elite families were particularly receptive to the artistic developments in Scandinavia. These images may have also functioned to ideologically endorse certain costume items as parallels can be drawn between the 'clearly dressed' bodies with contemporary forms of elite display. For instance, the Mound 1 Sutton Hoo assemblage included a chainmail vest, an image baring helmet, shoulder clasps inlaid with garnet cloisonné and glass, the purse lid, an oversized ornamented shield as well as various evidential traces that indicate elaborate and decorative textiles/cloaks were included in the assemblage (Bruce-Mitford 1978; 1983; Walton Rogers 2007: 239; Welch 2011a: 269). The martial gear and regalia are considered by some as not intended as practical within a battle context, instead, they served to signal the wearers social and political role as a military leader (Welch 2011a: 269). Presumably, the Staffordshire helmet functioned similarly (Speake 2019b: 85). Growing elite investment in the shield in this period is demonstrated by the three that were found in the princely burial at Taplow (Buckinghamshire) (Dickinson and Härke 1992: 63-64). Two or three shields were also commonly included in the Swedish chieftain graves at Vendel and Valsgärde (ibid.). This coincides with the increasing representation of the shield, an object scarcely represented in the bracteate corpus, on the Scandinavia and English helmet plates. This protective article served as a symbol of status, wealth and rank, it could also highlight the king's role as the protector of his people (Dickinson and Härke 1992: 61-62). In this period the frequency of weapon burials drastically decline. Instead, weapons are primarily deposited alongside high-status men who are thought to have been appropriating these martial symbols to distinguish their pre-eminent socio-political position and military prowess in death (Härke 1992: 164; Stoodley 1999: 49, 97). In addition to the martial symbols, the textile clothing and soft furnishings incorporated within the Mound 1 assemblage reflect a larger 7th-

century shift where elite men became the dominant consumers of specialist and valuable textiles (Walton Rogers 2007: 237-41). This coincides with the appearance of specialist textile workshops and increasing textile trade in the elite-controlled emporia (Harrington 2007:115; Walton Rogers 2007: 46, 239-40). Penelope Walton Rogers has argued the gold-brocaded bands discovered in the princely burials at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, and Prittlewell, Essex, are potentially the remains of a caftan (2007: 239). Collectively, these various articles demonstrate an interest in superficial forms of elite display that resonate with those worn by the 'clearly dressed' bodies. At this time, expanding political territories meant that rulers were no longer able to interact directly with all of their subjects, thus it became more important to be publically seen as powerful via outward displays of wealth and status (Keynes 2013: 17). These elite expressions meant that the body's physicality was protected and preserved, while its movement was masked and hindered. These aspects are possibly antithetical to what was discussed previously regarding the physical ideals of the naked 'belted body'.

The elite deployment of the human/divine image to ideologically endorse the power and importance of certain costume articles was not an original strategy in this period. The 'belted' and 'bound' bodies may have served a similar function by emphasising the cultural value of the belt, arm and neck rings. These articles also visually signalled the wearer's rank and status in the martial, social and ritual arenas. However, these were elite symbols that were compatible with the state of nakedness. While nakedness may have signalled powerful states of divinity, otherness, and liminality, particularly within a ritual and religious context, it was essentially a common and universal physical state that heavily contrasted with contemporary elite tastes for distinctive body concealing costumes. The earlier 'semi-dressed' 'bound body' was already broaching the possibility that the divine body could be

subjected to a wardrobe change. The figures on the helmet panels reflect the continuation of this transitional process.

This would explain the paradoxical nature of the costumes worn by the 'clearly dressed' bodies as they represent the mediation of old and new ideals relating to masculine display. The undressed limbs recall the earlier figural tradition and expressed ideas relating to exposure, adornment and physical status. Meanwhile, the primary bulk of the body, the torso and upper legs, were concealed or protected depending on the costume article. Additional examples can also be located that represent this mediation of ideals. For instance, the kneeling 'bare' 'belted bodies' repeated on the Staffordshire helmet were supplemented with a shield (Fig. 7.42). By contrast, no 'belted body' is represented with a shield in the bracteate corpus. As such, a motif that potentially encouraged exposure to harm is now portrayed wielding a symbol of protection. The novel presence of the 'belted body' motif on objects worn by men in the 7th century, such as the Staffordshire helmet, is also significant. This context shift may reflect an attempt to carry forward the physical prowess associated with the 'belted body' to the image carrier whose state of dress likely expressed a contrasting set of ideals. Similarly, the Finglesham man was carried on a belt plate, the Sutton Hoo coin purse is also thought to have been suspended from the belt (Owen-Crocker 2004: 195). The active placement of a figure wearing a belt on a belt worn by a man was intended to evoke a direct link between the two bodies. In addition, elaborate belt sets associated with the paramount elite are suggested elsewhere as a form of attire intended to emphasise the crotch so that the wearer could signal their virile and potent masculinity (see Halsall 2020: 177). This might also explain why the penis was represented in the 7th century, in which the elites were associating themselves with a hypermasculine variant of the 'belted body' to emphasise their physical prowess. Equally, the growing

investment in the 'belted body' and its application to new media can be explained by a similar process.

To a certain extent, these artistic and cultural developments imply the fading power of the naked image in England and Scandinavia. However, the cautious and gradual approach to altering the appearance and meaning of the 'bound' and 'belted' body motifs on the helmet panels implies the corporeal ideologies associated with the naked variants remained culturally relevant. This is further reinforced by the occasional presence of topless and 'bare' bodies on the Scandinavian and English helmet panels. Current evidence indicates that the 'Anglo-Saxon' repertoire was dominated by 'explicitly naked' and 'bare' representations, many of which were 'bound' and 'belted' bodies. The appearance of three-dimensional figurines, male and female, and the deployment of two-dimensional figures to a wider range of media demonstrates that naked images continued to be invested in and adapted in this period. Similarly, the high-status gold ring from Uttlesford (Essex) is significant as the presence of the cross demonstrates the 'bare' 'belted body' was modified to fit a Christian context. The evolution of this motif in response to new cultural and artistic influences demonstrates its continuing relevance and cultural significance. The power of elite bodies had grown with the addition of genitalia providing new dimensions of fertility and fecundity, lineage and family to an already potent elite visual culture geared to enabling power in theatrical expressions of display and authority with their growing territorial claims.

8.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has drawn together key findings from Chapters 5-7 and considered the symbolism and social functions of the naked images produced in northern Europe between

the 4th-7th centuries. Particular focus has been placed on the 'bound body' and 'the belted' body motifs and their changing meanings within a Scandinavian and English context. The socio-political changes that stimulated some of the key artistic developments regarding the portrayal of the body were considered. These included the adoption of the 'belted' and 'bound' motifs in England, as well as the appearance of the 'explicitly naked', male and female, and 'clearly dressed' bodies in the 7th century. The symbolism of these motifs and the significance of these artistic developments were explored with reference to the archaeological and literary records. Subsequently, numerous links were drawn between the iconography and other forms of evidence that provide insight into the socio-political context and the corporeal identities and ideologies that existed at this time. Arguably, these links support the notion that many of the schematic and ambiguous bodies were portrayed in a symbolically meaningful state of undress. It has been argued that the naked and semi-dressed images produced in this period expressed a range of religious, gendered and socio-political concepts and that many of these images were produced and deployed within various elite strategies to assist with the consolidation and reach of power. Naked representations played a fundamental role in enabling the elite to signal and endorse their own bodily pre-eminence so that they could more easily govern and control the bodies of others.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

This thesis has sought to redefine how the relationship between the naked body and the early 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples has been traditionally understood. Throughout this work, the scholarly notion that the early 'Anglo-Saxons' were averse to, or disinterested in, the body has been challenged and deconstructed on multiple fronts. This thesis has provided an alternative narrative that has instead argued that the naked body was a recurrent and popular form of figural representation within the visual culture of early 'Anglo-Saxon' England. The interpretation of this imagery demonstrates that these naked images were typically produced and deployed by the elites who were consolidating their authority and power. In turn, these representations exerted a significant influence over the corporeal ideologies, identities and practices that performed in this period. Collectively, this thesis has demonstrated that the naked body held a far more important position within the cultural mentality than previously recognised.

A detailed historiographical exploration of how the topic of the body had been dealt with in 'Anglo-Saxon' studies since the 16th century has provided a foundation for a new exploration of naked and semi-naked imagery in the 'Anglo-Saxon' visual corpus. The scholars and antiquarians of the 16th to 19th centuries repeatedly distorted and censored the 'Anglo-Saxon' human body to suit nationalistic agendas, current socio-political discourses and moral sensibilities. In doing so they attempted to produce a more desirable vision of the past for their contemporary audiences, but the result has been a long shadow that has hindered and prevented fresh exploration of the topic.

Depending on the political and religious standpoint of the writers, the 'Anglo-Saxons' were portrayed as the clothed and well-dressed progenitors of the English nation or, within

Christian and classical frameworks, as unclothed, discomforting, primitive and ungodly. In the 19th century, aspects relating to the superficial appearance and physical qualities of the 'Anglo-Saxons' were increasingly politicised as they were drawn into various racial, nationalistic and imperialistic discourses. This racialised Anglo-Saxonism has left a legacy whereby the topic of 'Anglo-Saxon'/ 'Germanic' bodies remains a contentious subject of research. As the 19th century progressed, Victorian sensibilities resulted in further regulation and censorship of the 'Anglo-Saxon' naked and sexual body. The myths cultivated by the Victorians, that the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples were culturally disinterested in the naked body, have endured unchallenged late into the 20th century. By exposing this historiographical tradition, the research questions, aims and objectives of the thesis have been more clearly defined. This thesis responds to the misconceptions in modern scholarship in understanding the early medieval interest and visualisation of the body and how such images were used.

New Discoveries

By taking on a challenging and ambitious topic, that ranges from England to Iron Age Scandinavia and the near continent, I have shown clearly that the populations of 5th-7th century England had strong interests in the human body in its clothed, semi-clothed and naked states. This, in turn, has enabled a detailed exploration of the ways in which the body operated in the visual culture of the time: how it was displayed, worn and manipulated by different genders and different strata in society.

A primary focus has been the portrayal of the body in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany between the 3rd-6th centuries (Chapter 5). This thesis has established that the naked body was increasingly represented in metal from the 3rd century onwards and that there were recurrent themes of naked bodies wearing various costume

accessories, including belts, neck-rings, headwear and arm-rings. Stemming from these visual repertoires, the iconic symbols of the 'bound body' and 'belted body emerge', both of which have been shown to have enduring status in the North Sea world.

Via a formal and comparative analysis of the bracteate corpus, I have also argued in Chapter 5 that there were different forms of naked representation on these objects in particular. These comprise human images which belonged to an older artistic tradition developed in Scandinavia from the 3rd century onwards – demonstrating interesting and long roots of iconographic tradition and the evocation of old motifs. These naked representations were influenced by the classical conventions of ideal nudity. Other bodies are argued here to belong to a more recent tradition influenced by late antique Christian prototypes of ideal nakedness (Chapter 5). With these different traditions and artistic influences recognised, the human figures within the B-bracteates were broken down and grouped according to their states of dress. In turn, a significant quantity of the bodies represented on B types could be interpreted as either naked or semi-dressed. However, none of these bodies were represented with genitalia. Most of these figures could be interpreted as 'belted' or 'bound' bodies.

As Chapter 6 describes, the 'bound body' and 'belted body' had a small presence in the visual culture of England in the 5th-6th centuries, but that the 'bound body' was increasingly abbreviated and stylistically altered to the point it was no longer easily identifiable in Style I and on certain D-bracteates. By exploring this process, novel links were drawn between the heavily abstract anthropomorphic elements in Style I with the more coherent and naturalistic designs present on B-bracteates. Subsequently, the isolated and fragmented body parts present in Style I were interpreted as limbs that had originally

belonged to naked and semi-dressed bodies. Original identifications of human-animal hybrids on a sample of C-bracteates and heavily abbreviated 'bound bodies' on certain D-bracteates were also put forth. The notion that the body was rarely represented within the zoomorphic dominated visual culture of the 5th-6th centuries is now in question and further study is needed to draw out additional details of the human physical form in its dressed, undressed, hybrid and stylised states.

The human images found in England that date between the late 6th and 7th centuries can be classed as 'explicitly naked', 'clearly dressed' and 'bare'. The majority of the 'explicitly naked' male bodies were interpreted as an adapted form of the 'belted' or 'bound' body motifs. These models frequently sported a penis, something not present in the bracteate corpus. It is clear that naked and semi-naked humans forms were present in England in the 5th and 6th-century repertoires and this challenges the narrative that the naked male body was depicted for the first time in the 7th century. However, sexually explicit detail is new in the 7th century and the appearance of the penis seems to be the primary artistic development along with the representation of the sexed female body.

This catalogue has demonstrated that the 7th-century repertoire was dominated by male and female bodies represented in various states of undress that could often be connected to elite performative contexts. Many of the male bodies were usually adorned with one or more costume accessories, these included belts, anklets, arm-rings and headwear. Thus, there appears to have been a strong and enduring artistic interest in exploring ideas relating to bodily exposure, adornment and display. While the sample of dressed bodies is small, motifs that were traditionally represented naked were increasingly rendered in states of dress. Again, the size of the 7th-century catalogue poses a challenge to

the long-enduring narrative that full-bodied human imagery was rarely represented within this period.

A pre-eminent argument here is that the naked body and the sexual body both became powerful tools in the visual culture of authority and dynastic claims in the 7th century, but that this was not novel. The roots of this interest lay in the migration period and in the intercultural and political connections between England, Scandinavia and the near continent, and the late antique and late Roman world at this time. This thesis argues that the 7th-century catalogue has strong inherited connections to earlier Scandinavian traditions of visual portrayal perhaps connected to ideas of deities, religious figures, mystical characters and antique notions of power, bondship, ritual action and shape-changing. But, there is also considerable influence too that has been underestimated from Romano British and Roman ideas of nakedness and the body. Models and images from the contemporary North Sea and the more distant late antique and eastern world are also at play in the 7th century. It is in this cosmopolitan world of ideas and visual media that sexual and gendered differences were conceptualised and visually expressed in the production of objects that were worn on the body or that adorned regalia. These often seem to have special contexts or elite connections in the grave or in terms of the quality of workmanship or the context of the find. Subsequently, this thesis demonstrates that naked human imagery was repeatedly deployed within various elite strategies throughout the early 'Anglo-Saxon' period.

Concluding thoughts

This thesis offers a new way of seeing the relationship between the hybrids and human figures featured in Style I and the bracteate corpus. It also provides an interpretive framework whereby the human component of Style I is of far greater significance than traditionally thought since certain hybrids are argued here as a physical manifestation of the 'bound body'. How the 'bound body' was interpreted once imported and adapted within eastern England is interesting. Arm and neck rings associated with this motif are essentially absent from the archaeological record. The socio-political and economic situation was far from comparable to that of southern Scandinavia and the motifs were likely interpreted in different ways in early 'Anglo-Saxon' England. It was suggested that Style I may have played an important role in disseminating an elite ideology that was relevant to men and women, reminding its audience to uphold their oaths, pledges, obligations and responsibilities. Thus in England, the 'bound body' motif potentially served in place of the rings. In turn, the 'bound body' may have exerted a significant influence on embodied identities and corporeal practices. It would have also affected socio-economic and political relationships in a way that benefitted how elite families were consolidating and expressing power.

At the same time, the 'belted body' functioned as a symbol of masculine status, encouraging men to appear and perform in such a way that demonstrates their martial and physical prowess. While this motif originated in Scandinavia, it was heavily influenced by late antique elite expressions in the Roman west. Subsequently, the motif resonated with expressions of masculinity visible in the archaeological record in England throughout the late 4th-7th centuries. The enduring potency of this motif is visible into the 7th century where it was now displayed on male bodies as part of an elite strategy to visually signal the wearer's hypermasculine authority and power.

The artistic emphasis on the penis can also be argued to occur at a time when royal families were establishing political dynasties, increasingly responsible for upholding law and order, governing agricultural populations and administering economic centres. Subsequently, it was suggested that the penis was a symbol of fertility, prosperity and peace that was displayed by the elite to signal and encourage various agricultural, reproductive and economic successes. These same socio-political developments also partly explain the artistic investment in the female body. Building on Brundle's suggestion that the female image coincides with the rising status of women in the archaeological record, it was argued that the figurines reflected the important roles women played as wives and mothers in elite households (2013). However, it was noted that the role of the mother was not suddenly elevated in the 7th century as a cultural appreciation for this role can be observed archaeologically between the 5th-6th centuries.

Future research

The iconographic and stylistic conventions identified within this thesis may help locate and identify additional sources of anthropomorphic imagery produced within northern Europe. Subsequently, the entirety of the bracteate corpus ought to be explored to identify any overlooked hybrids or heavily stylised anthropomorphic figures. Whether the bodies featured on the A and C bracteates were represented naked should be examined in greater detail. A more extensive survey and analysis of Nydam Style and Style I decorated objects from the continent may provide further insight into the artistic development of the 'bound body' motif. An examination and breakdown of the naked/dressed images represented in Vendel and Viking period Scandinavia, especially those within the guldgubber corpus, could

be valuable. Instances of artistic continuity may strengthen certain identifications and arguments put forth within this thesis. It would also extend the current art historical narrative regarding the portrayal of the naked body in Iron Age Scandinavia.

The impact that the conversion to Christianity had on pre-existing representational practices, corporeal ideologies and embodiments in England needs to be explored. To properly understand the impact of the Church, the significance of the earlier Christian influence on the B-bracteates needs to be considered (see Chapter 5). It is also of note that the 'bound body' appeared at a time when crucifixion iconography was being popularised in the Roman West. The possibility that these naked 'bound bodies' are iconographically linked should be examined. In turn, it may be demonstrated that Christian concepts and attitudes relating to the naked body had been encountered in northern Europe prior to the advent of Christianity. The possibility of a Merovingian artistic influence on the naked body warrants further analysis. A substantial number of contemporary phallic baring figures are known from western and central Europe, these bodies have been variously linked to the Christian and 'Germanic' repertoires (see Speidel 2011). The phalli on these figures have been interpreted as symbols of protection, rejuvenation and resurrection (Speidel 2011: 4, 8, 16, 22-25; Klein-Pfeuffer 2015: 281-82). Whether the phallic baring figures in England were influenced by this imagery or had similar meanings is an area of potential further research.

Appendices

Table 1.1 Key terms utilised within the thesis.

Key terms	Definition
Germanic	'Germanic/Germani' are ethnic labels originally ascribed to the peoples settled in *Germania Magna* by Roman ethnographers. This region included Germany, Scandinavia, the Baltic and North Sea coasts as well as areas across the Danube (Halsall, 2007: 45-60; Harland, 2019:961; Carnap-Bornheim 2020: 409-12). The term 'Germanic' is frequently used within 20th-century scholarship to refer to the peoples who inhabited or migrated from these regions, and the term carries the assumption of a common ethnic identity rooted in comparable languages, material cultures, cosmological beliefs and social-political structures (Harland 2019: 961). However, the notion of a 'Germanic' identity that was consciously upheld amongst diverse and widely dispersed peoples has lost popularity in recent decades (Halsall 2007: 35-62; Harland 2019: 961). Within this thesis, the concept of a 'Germanic' ethnic identity and the historical application of the term is further explored, but the term is avoided when discussing the peoples and bodies traditionally affiliated with this label. Within an art historical context, the term 'Germanic' is utilised to describe images, styles and visual media conceived and/or produced within southern Scandinavia (primarily Denmark/Sweden) and northern Germany in the Iron Age, particularly in the 1st-7th centuries AD. (see Pesch 2011a; 2012; Behr 2015; Blankenfeldt 2007; 2015). Thus, 'Germanic' can be deployed as a term to indicate that the image was either produced in these regions or has been heavily influenced by the visual vocabulary developed within this area. 'Nordic' and 'Scandinavian' are alternative terms that narrow the geographic parameters to the peoples and the artistic products of southern Norway, Sweden and Denmark (Wicker 2017: 23).
Anglo-Saxon	The term 'Anglo-Saxon' was first used in England in the 9th century to refer to the peoples who inhabited England, but these populations were not ethnically homogenous nor is it likely that they saw themselves as 'Anglo-Saxon' (Hills 2003: 14-15; 2011: 4; Crawford et al. 2011: XXI; Baylis et al. 2013: 27). The 'Anglo-Saxons' have traditionally been considered 'Germanic' peoples whose ancestral origins were from the Angle, Saxon and Jutish tribal regions in continental northern Europe (Brugmann 2011: 31-42). As mentioned, this process of mass migration is no longer widely accepted and the English population is thought to have been ethnically diverse (Gerrard, 2013:5). Subsequently, the term is increasingly used to reference or evoke a specific material/visual culture, a chronological period (c. 400/410-1066.) and geographical regions of England (Hamerow 2012: 1; Crawford et al. 2011: XXI; Webster 2012: 2017: 23). This thesis

	deploys the term in a similar capacity. However, the ethnic implications of the label 'Anglo-Saxon' are also further explored.
Celtic	The term 'Celtic' is an ethnic label with its origins in classical antiquity, modern scholarship has subsequently attributed it to various Iron-Age peoples who were dispersed widely across western, central and southeastern Europe and shared similar languages, visual and material cultures (Laing 2006: 1-9; Green 1995: 1-7; Gosden et al.,2014: 2; Koch 2014: 6-7). As with 'Germanic', the notion of a consciously upheld 'Celtic' ethnic identity has been increasingly contested (ibid.). This thesis briefly touches upon the use of 'Celtic' in early modern and modern scholarship to refer to the Celtic-speaking areas of contemporary Britain, as well as the indigenous Iron-Age populations that resided within the British isles before and following the Roman conquest and Anglo-Saxon settlement (see Laing 2006: 1-9). 'Celtic' is also occasionally used to conveniently reference Iron-Age art styles and figural repertoires developed in specific areas of western, central and southeastern Europe (e.g. Megaw and Megaw 2001: Gosden et al. 2014; Green 2003, Aldhouse-Green 2004).
Pre-Christian repertoire	This thesis' primary data set is composed largely of metal objects carrying images and art styles that belong to the 'pre-Christian' 'Anglo-Saxon' / 'Germanic' repertoire. In most cases, 'pre-Christian' refers to the visual materials produced before the Christianisation of Anglo-Saxon England (late 6th century onwards) and the Church's introduction and proliferation of alternative figural motifs, styles and media in the late 7th-8th centuries (see Webster 2011: 461-91; Webster 2012: 40). At times, 'pre-Christian' models display a Christian influence and/or were produced during the conversion period (Pestell 2012: 80-87; Webster 2011: 474-75; 2012: 38-40; 2017: 36; Brundle 2013). In these cases, 'pre-Christian' indicates that the overall character of the image/object is more characteristic of the 'Germanic'/early 'Anglo-Saxon' repertoire.
Visual culture	The term visual culture is deployed frequently within this thesis; however, this term is not easily defined. In part, visual culture studies seek to challenge art historical master narratives which present themselves as true, natural and inevitable (Bal 2003: 22). These narratives have frequently elevated the status of realism and the genres of painting, sculpture and architecture while side-lining alternative narratives and other forms of visual expression (Bal 2003: 22). Instead, visual culture studies include all forms of art, design, fashion, visual technologies, and any item whose visual appearance is a significant aspect of its being or purpose, it also includes other forms of visual communication such as gestures or facial expressions (Jenks 1995: 16: Krauss and Poster 1996: 3; Barnard 2001: 2; Elkins 2002: 93). Visual culture studies also emphasise how values and identities are constructed, communicated and contested within a specific historical period or geographical location via visualised media (Mirzoeff 1999: 4; 2009: 1; Barnard 2001: 2; Smith 2008: 3).

Table 1.2 Period labels utilised within this thesis. The abbreviations BC and AD, as opposed to BCE and CE, are utilised within this thesis.

Period	Regions and date ranges	Reference
Roman Britain	c. AD 43-410.	Millet et al. 2016 : XXIX-XXXVI
Post-Roman and sub-Roman Britain	Generally dated between c. AD 400-600. The 'Post-Roman' or 'sub-Roman' period lasts until the 6th century in western Britain. Southeastern England is considered 'early Anglo-Saxon' in the 5th century (see below).	Gerrard 2013: 1-2, 7-11, 14; Cleary 2002: X-XIII; Carver 2013: 25
Late Antiquity	In western Europe, Late Antiquity is usually dated between the 3rd-5th/6th centuries and ends with the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. However, it is argued to last until the 7th-8th centuries in the Byzantine East and the Mediterranean world.	Cameron 2015: 208-14.
Early medieval period	In Britain, the early medieval period ranges between c. AD 400–1100.	Williams 2006a: 3
Anglo-Saxon period	c. AD 400/410-1066 in England.	Bayliss et al. 2013: 27.
Early Anglo-Saxon period	Occasionally dated to c. AD 450 – 650 in eastern and southern England while others consider it to begin with the end of Roman Britain and last until the conversion c. AD 400/410-600. This thesis defines the early period to c. AD 400-650.	Dickinson 2009: 1 ; Gerrard 2013: 8-9. Carver 2013: 25; Baylis et al. 2013: 27-28; Ravn 2003: 93.
Middle Anglo-Saxon period	c. AD 650- 850 in England.	Wright 2015: 25; Ravn 2003: 93.
Late Anglo-Saxon period	c. AD 850-1066 in England.	Ravn 2003: 93.
Conversion period	This period is defined by the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to Christianity (c. AD 597-680).	Welch 2011a: 267; Geake 1997: 309-10. Carver 2013: 26
Germanic Iron Age/ Scandinavian Iron Age/ Nordic iron Age	The Iron Age in Denmark, Sweden, southern Norway and northern Germany is further subdivided: • Pre-Roman Iron Age (5th-1st centuries BC) • Early Roman Iron Age (1st-2nd centuries AD) • Late Roman Iron Age (3rd-4th centuries AD) • Early Germanic Iron Age (5th-6th centuries AD) • Late Germanic Iron Age (7th-8th centuries AD).	Hedeager 1992: 12
Migration period	c.AD 400- 550/70 in Scandinavia.	Rau 2020: 628.
Vendel/Merovingian period	c. AD 550-800 in Scandinavia.	Larsson 2002: 19
Viking period	c. AD 800-1050 in Scandinavia.	Larsson 2002: 19
Merovingian period	c. AD 480-750. The Merovingians were the ruling family of the Franks. Within this time frame, the Merovingian/Frankish Kingdom expanded to cover the majority of France, the low countries, Switzerland, Austria and areas of western and southern Germany.	Effros and Moreira 2020: XX-XXI, 3-4. Brown 1984: 8-14.

Table 4.1 General bracteate classifications developed by C.J. Thomsen in 1855 and further developed by Oscar Montelius in 1869 (adapted from Axboe and Kromann 1992: 278-79; Gaimster 1998:22-23, 71; Mannering 2017: 71-73).

Bracteate type	**Description**
A	Features a face or bust in profile modelled after the Imperial bust present on late antique coins.
B	Features one to three human representations, typically full-bodied, in a variety of poses and can be accompanied by animals.
C	Features a horse and rider, the anthropomorphic element is usually limited to a face-mask situated above the quadruped.
D	Features one or more highly stylised zoomorphic figure, occasionally features detached human body parts. Closely affiliated with the development and emergence of Style I.
E	Zoomorphic triskelion situated under a semi-circular shape. Typically restricted to Gotland.
F	Features an animal or monster creature, also stylistically connected to Style I.
M	M-bracteates are double-sided and are imitations of Roman medallions. M-bracteates typically depict a head in profile on one side and a horseman on the other. This type of bracteate was produced in the 4th century and was not produced during the main phase of bracteate production.

Table 4.2 Approaches and evidential sources that aid the interpretation of early medieval human imagery.

Evidential source	**Purposes and uses**
Findspot, find context and find combinations	When available, contextual information relating to the deposition of the object can provide invaluable insight into who engaged with these images and in what setting.
Object type	Information relating to the object carrying the image can provide insights into the craftsperson, owner, patron, geographic origins, date, and context of display.
Context of production and display	On one level, this involves a consideration of the evidential sources that indicate where certain images/objects were likely to have been produced, displayed and encountered and by who. It also requires a consideration of the socio-political and economic backdrop that fostered the artistic demand for these images and influenced their function and interpretation. The iconological context ought to be considered at a local, regional and international scale. This may help identify localised and cross-regional developments that exerted an influence on the visual record.
Late antique prototypes	Late antique iconography played a significant role in the emergence of the visual culture of Southern Scandinavia in the 3rd-6th centuries. As part of this process, Roman and Byzantium prototypes were selected and gradually adapted. This was not a mindless process of copying, instead, northern European patrons and metalworkers potentially possessed an understanding of the symbolism and social function of the prototype. In turn, prototypes may have been actively selected with the intention of carrying forward some degree of original meaning. Consequently, the identification of the late antique prototype may provide clues as to what the adaption was intended to represent or symbolise (Pesch 2011c: 389-90).
Additional comparative visual materials	In addition to the concept of the 'ideal image', additional iconographic comparisons may offer insight into the analysis of the body. This might include considering the iconographic conventions associated with depicting the bodily surfaces of zoomorphic figures and clothed bodies. These can then be compared with the bodies of naked, or potentially naked, figures. Antecedent and later iconographic parallels could also be drawn upon (in a similar capacity) as they may represent an earlier prototype or a later adaption of the same motif.
Osteoarchaeology and mortuary archaeology	Osteoarchaeology and the study of the relationship between objects and skeletal remains within mortuary contexts provide some of the richest insights into past bodies in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Crawford 2011: 624-26). Skeletal remains can provide a wide range of information including age at death, diet, sex, height, injury, disease and even genetics. This information can then be related to the body's mortuary treatment and the objects that have been interred alongside the deceased. Patterns have been recognised linking material expressions to biological

	factors. Subsequently, these insights have demonstrated how the body had contributed to the formation and embodiment of certain identities and how they were materially expressed and negotiated (e.g. gender, status, ethnicity) (Crawford 2011: 626-27).
Costume and material culture studies	Studies of dress and other forms of material culture closely associated with the body (e.g. weaponry) provide insight into the construction, performance and embodiment of corporeal identities and practices (Martin 2014: 27-28). Fashions reflect cultural attitudes to the body which are communicated in the way a specific costume functions to accentuate, highlight, or conceal certain areas of the body (Martin 2014). While costumes may be influenced directly by contemporary attitudes to the naked body, clothing also plays an important role in constructing, reinforcing and challenging these attitudes (Martin 2014: 27-28). Subsequently, the embodied and sensory experiences associated with the state of being clothed directly affects the perception and experience of nakedness and vice versa (Hollander 1993: XIII-XIII). Furthermore, archaeological studies of dress may assist the identification of costume elements, or their absence, when studying ambiguously dressed representations (e.g. Ewing 2006; Walton Rogers 2007; Owen-Crocker 2010; Mannering 2017).
Textual sources	As outlined in chapter three, the relevance of classical and medieval texts to the study of figural images produced in this period has been called into question, therefore, links should only be drawn when there is a strong resonance between the visual details and the written accounts. The primary textual sources utilised within this thesis are written Anglo-Saxon law codes produced from the 7th century onwards (see Oliver 2002). These codes provide direct insight into the cultural value placed on the body from a legal and economic standpoint (O'Keeffe 1998: 212; Richards 2003; Oliver 2011: 4-5).

Table 5.1 Three-dimensional metal figurines from Scandinavia (4th-6th centuries AD).

ID	Findspot	Country	Material	Dimensions	Find context	Associated finds	Fig.	References
1	Gislev Parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 104mm	Stray find	None	5.2a	NMD C6063; Mackeprang 1935: 238; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-8.
2	Odense, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy				5.2b	NMD C31113; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003:77-78.
3	Gudme area, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 67mm			5.3a	NMD C30241; Björklund et al. 1996: 198. Fig. 623; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-78.
4	Lindet, Birket parish, Lolland	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 90mm	Stray find		5.3b	NMD 8151; Mackeprang 1935: 238; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-8.
5	Rytterbakken, Østerlar parish, Bornholm	Denmark	Copper-alloy				5.4a	NMD C31725; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-78; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 89
6	Epse Mark, Espe Parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 106mm	Stray find		5.4b	NMD 15141; Mackeprang 1935: 238; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-78.
7	Gudme area, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy				5.5a	NMD C36543; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-78.
8	Thorslundsminde, Flemløse parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 99mm			5.5b	NMD 1208/75; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Björklund et al. 1996: 198. Fig. 622; Andersson 2003: 77-78.
9	Bregnebjerg, Højrup parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 126mm.	Stray find		5.6a	NMD-C23182; Mackeprang 1935: 237. Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-78; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 89.

10	Højby parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 160mm			5.6b	NMD-C29982; Voss 1990; Thrane 1990; Andersson 2003: 77-8; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019:89.
11	Lundeborg, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 80mm			5.7a	Björklund et al. 1996: 198. Fig. 626.
12	Sønders, Søndersø parish, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 58mm			5.7b	Björklund et al. 1996: 197. Fig. 618.
13	Ferritslev, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy				5.7c	Andersson et al. 2004: 93
14	Hillerslev, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 67mm	Stray find		5.7d	Henriksen 2019
15	Laxeby, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy	Height: 134mm	Stray find		5.8a	SHM 145175, Arne 1909: 180-82; Björklund et al. 1996: 197. Fig. 617; Andersson 2003: 79.
16	Himmelsberga, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy	Height: 114mm	Stray find		5.8b	SHM 267712; Arne 1909: 180-82; Andersso 2003: 79.
17	Vipetorps, Högsrum, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy	Height: 103mm	Hillfort		5.9a	SHM 266694; Arne 1909: 180-82; Andersson 2003: 79.
18	Vanserum, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy				5.9b	SHM 267713; Arne 1909: 182-83.
19	Glömminge, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy				5.9c	Arne 1909: 182-83
20	Køng, Funen	Denmark	Copper-alloy	Height: 95mm	Stray find		5.10a	NMD-C13688; Mackeprang 1935: 236; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 89.

21	Frøyhov	Norway	Copper-alloy	Height: 76mm; Width: 36mm	Grave (male).	Sword; knife; three spearheads; shield; copper-alloy bucket; glass fragments.	5.10b	Rygh 1885. No. 322; Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær 1996: 317-20; Claudi-Hansen and Axboe 2019: 88-90.
22	Haglunda, Kalmar, Öland	Sweden	Copper-alloy	Height: 55mm	Stray find		5.11	SHM 109041

Table 5.2 ‘Explicitly naked’ figures in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘C’ in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under ‘A’.

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Marker of 'explicit nakedness'	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
13.1	B	Allesø, Funen	Denmark	'Explicitly naked'			B4	Nipples or breasts	
13.2	B	Bolbro, Funen	Denmark	'Explicitly naked'			B4	Nipples or breasts	
13.3	B	Vedby, Funen	Denmark	'Explicitly naked'			B4	Nipples or breasts	
129.1	B	Nebenstadt, Lower Saxony	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B4	Nipples or breasts	
129.2	B	Darum, North Jutland	Denmark	'Explicitly naked'			B4	Nipples or breasts	
190	B	Trollhättan, Västergötland	Sweden	'Explicitly naked'				Nipples or breasts	
308	B	Nebenstedt, Lower Saxony	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B3	Nipples or breasts	
583	B	Söderby, Södermanland	Sweden	'Explicitly naked'	'Explicitly naked'	'Explicitly naked'		Nipples, and clavicle (?)	

259	B	Grossfahner, Thüringen	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B7	Breasts	Three struck
311	B	Oberwerschen, Bezirk Halle, Saxony-Anhalt	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B7	Breasts	
350	B	South west Germany	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B7	Breasts	
389	B	Welschingen, Baden-Württemberg	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B7	Breasts	
391	B	Gudme, Funen	Denmark	'Explicitly naked'			B7	Breasts	
574	B	Issendorf, Lower Saxony	Germany	'Explicitly naked'			B7 (bastard variant)	Breasts	

Table 5.3 'Belted bodies' in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed 'A', 'B' and 'C' in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under 'A'.

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (After Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
6	B	Års	Denmark	Belted body	Belted body			
20	B	Zagórzyn	Poland		Belted body	Belted body	B1	
39	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark		Belted body	Belted body	B1	
40	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark		Belted body		B1	
51.1	B	Faxe	Denmark		Belted body		B1	
51.2	B	Killerup	Denmark		Belted body		B1	
51.3	B	Gudme	Denmark		Belted body		B1	
66	B	Gummerup	Denmark		Belted body		B1	
92	C	Kitæs	Denmark		Belted body		C2	
149.1	B	Skåne	Sweden	Belted body			B2	Two Struck
149.2	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Belted body			B2	
165	B	Skovborg	Denmark		Belted body		B1	Two Struck
353	B	Tønder	Denmark	Belted body				
595	B	Fuglesang/ Sorte Muld	Denmark		Belted body	Belted body	B1	Three struck
599	B	Derenburg	Germany	Belted body			B6	

604.1	B	Binham	England	Belted body			B6	
604.2	B	Binham	England	Belted body			B6	
604.3	B	Binham	England	Belted body			B6	
604.4 (?)	B	Rendelsham	England	Belted body (?)			B6	

Table 5.4 Figures wearing a neck-ring in the bracteate corpus.

IK	**Bracteate type**	**Findspot**	**Country**	**Formula family (After Pesch 2007)**	**Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)**
7.1	B	Års	Denmark	B1 (bastard variant)	
7.2	B	Rugbjerg	Denmark	Bastard variant)	

Table 5.5 Figures wearing a belt and neck-ring in the bracteate corpus.

IK	**Bracteate type**	**Findspot**	**Country**	**Formula family (After Pesch 2007)**	**Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)**
132	B	Obermöllern	Germany		
206	B	Värpalota	Hungary		
584	A	Brinton	England		

Table 5.6 Figures wearing a skirt in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed 'A', 'B' and 'C' in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under 'A'.

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
20	B	Zagórzyn	Poland	Skirt/Dress			B1	
39	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Skirt		Skirt	B1	
40	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Skirt			B1	
51.1	B	Faxe	Denmark	Skirt		Skirt	B1	
51.3	B	Gudme	Denmark	Skirt		Skirt	B1	
66	B	Gummerup	Denmark	Skirt		Skirt	B1	
165	B	Skovborg	Denmark	Skirt		Skirt	B1	Two struck
595	B	Fuglesang/ Sorte Muld	Denmark			Skirt	B1	Three struck

Table 5.7 Naked variants of the 'bound body' in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed 'A', 'B' and 'C' in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under 'A'.

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
13.1	B	Allesø	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
13.2	B	Bolbro	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
13.3	B	Vedby	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
65	C	Gudbrandsdalen,	Norway	Bound body				
71	B	Hamburg	Germany	Bound body			B6	Seven struck
131	B	Unknown findspot	Norway	Bound body				
129.1	B	Nebenstadt,	Germany	Bound body			B4	
129.2	B	Darum	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
168	B	Sletner	Norway	Bound body				
206	B	Värpalota	Hungary	Bound body				
245.1	B	Freilaubersheim, Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	Bound body			B11	Two struck
245.2	B	Vester Nebel	Denmark	Bound body			B11	

308	B	Nebenstedt	Germany	Bound body			B3	
347	B	Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse	Germany	Bound body				
583	B	Söderby	Sweden	Bound body				

Table 5.8 ‘Bound bodies’ wearing the ‘sleeveless garment’ in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘C’ in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under ‘A’.

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
23	B	Bifrons	England	Bound body			B3 (Bastard variant)	
74	B	Heide	Germany	Bound body			B4 (Bastard variant)	
143	B	Ravlunda	Sweden	Bound body				Two struck
149.1	B	Skåne	Sweden	Bound body			B2	Two struck
149.2	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Bound body			B2	
166	B	Skrydstrup	Denmark	Bound body			B6 (Bastard variant)	
167	B	Sletner	Norway	Bound body				
333	B	Sievern	Germany	Bound body			B3	
337	B	Sjöhagen	Denmark	Bound body			B3	

Table 5.9 ‘Bound bodies’ wearing short breeches or knee-rings in the bracteate corpus. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘C’ in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under ‘A’

IK	Bracteate type	Findspot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
23	B	Bifrons	England	Bound body			B3 (Bastard variant)	
65	C	Gudbrandsdalen,	Norway	Bound body				
71	B	Hamburg	Germany	Bound body			B6	Seven struck
74	B	Heide	Germany	Bound body			B4 (Bastard variant)	
166	B	Skrydstrup	Denmark	Bound body			B6 (Bastard variant)	
167	B	Sletner	Norway	Bound body				
168	B	Sletner	Norway	Bound body				
308	B	Nebenstedt	Germany	Bound body			B3	
333	B	Sievern	Germany	Bound body			B3	
337	B	Sjöhagen	Denmark	Bound body			B3	

Table 5.10 Costume breakdown of the 112 figures represented across 83 B-bracteates. In cases where there are several figures on an image, they are termed ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘C’ in order from left to right. Single figures are grouped under ‘A’. Those listed under ‘schematic’ and ‘stylised’ could not be related to any of the costume groups due to their ambiguous appearances.

IK	Type	Find spot	Country	Figure A	Figure B	Figure C	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Copies struck (after Pesch 2007)
6	B	Års, North Jutland	Denmark	Belted body	Belted body			
7.1	B	Års, North Jutland	Denmark	Neck-ring			B1 (bastard variant)	
7.2	B	Rugbjerg, Zealand	Denmark	Neck-ring			B1 (bastard variant)	
13.1	B	Allesø, Funen	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
13.2	B	Bolbro, Funen	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
13.3	B	Vedby, Funen	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
20	B	Zagórzyn, Nowy Sącz	Poland	Skirt	Belted body	Belted body	B1	
23	B	Bifrons, Kent	England	Bound body			B3 (bastard variant)	
39	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Skirt (stylised)	Belted body (stylised)	Belted body (stylised)	B1	
40	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Skirt	Belted body	Skirt (stylised)	B1	
51.1	B	Fakse, Zealand	Denmark	Skirt	Belted body	Skirt	B1	
51.2	B	Killerup, Funen	Denmark	Belted body			B1	
51.3	B	Gudme, Funen	Denmark	Skirt (stylised)	Belted body	Skirt	B1	
61	B	Galstead, Zealand	Denmark	Bound body (stylised)			B9	
66	B	Gummerup, Funen	Denmark	Skirt (stylised)	Belted body	Skirt (stylised)	B1	
71	B	Hamburg	Germany	Bound body			B6	Seven struck
74	B	Heide, Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	Bound body			B4 (bastard variant)	

104	B	Lau Backar, Gotland	Sweden	Bound body (stylised)			B10	
105	B	Lellinge, Zealand	Denmark	Bound body			B2	
128	B	Nebenstadt, Niedersachsen	Germany	Schematic			B4	
129.1	B	Nebenstadt, Niedersachsen	Germany	Bound body			B4	
129.2	B	Darum, North Jutland	Denmark	Bound body			B4	
131	B	Unknown findspot	Norway	Bound body				
132	B	Obermöllern, Saxony-Anhalt	Germany	Belt and neck-ring				
141	B	Penzlin, Mecklenbur-Vorpommern	Germany	Schematic	Schematic			
143	B	Ravlunda, Skåne	Sweden	Bound body				Two struck
148	B	Sædding, North Jutland	Denmark	Bound body (stylised)			B5	
149.1	B	Skåne	Sweden	Belted body			B2	Two struck
149.2	B	Unknown	Denmark	Belted body			B2	
161	B	Skodborg, Southern Jutland	Denmark	Bound body (stylised)			B5	
165	B	Skovborg, West Jutland	Denmark	Skirt (stylised)	Belted body	Skirt (stylised)	B1	Two struck
166	B	Skrydstrup, Southern Jutland	Denmark	Bound body			B6 (bastard variant)	
167	B	Sletner, Østfold	Norway	Bound body				
168	B	Sletner, Østfold	Norway	Bound body				
176	B	Söderby, Uppland	Sweden	Bound body (stylised)			B10	Four struck
190	B	Trollhättan, Västergötland	Sweden	Skirt				

195	B	Ulvsunda, Uppland	Sweden	Bound body (stylised)			B10	
197	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Stylised	Schematic			
206	B	Várpalota, Veszprém	Hungary	Belt and neck-ring				
232	B	Daxlanden, Baden-Württemberg	Germany	Bound body (stylised)				
245.1	B	Freilaubersheim, Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	Bound body			B11	Two struck
245.2	B	Verster-Nebel, Østjylland	Denmark	Bound body			B11	
259	B	Grossfahner, Thüringen	Germany	Skirt			B7	Three struck
278	B	Hohenmemmingen, Baden-Württemberg	Germany	Bound body (stylised)				
308	B	Nebenstedt, Niedersachsen	Germany	Bound body			B3	
311	B	Oberwerschen, Bezirk Halle, Sachsen-Anhalt	Germany	Skirt			B7	
333	B	Sievern, Niedersachsen	Germany	Bound body			B3	
337	B	Sjöhagen, Västergötland	Sweden	Bound body			B3	
341	B	Sønder-Rind, North Jutland	Denmark	Schematic				Two struck
347	B	Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse, Bayern	Germany	Bound body				
350	B	South west Germany	Germany	Skirt			B7	
353	B	Tønder, Sønderjylland	Denmark	Belted body	Schematic			
361 (Obverse)	B	Unknown findspot	Unknown findspot	Stylised			B8 (bastard variant)	

361 (Reverse)	B	Unknown findspot	Unknown findspot	Skirt (stylised)			B8	
362	B	Unknown findspot	Denmark	Skirt (stylised)			B8	
389	B	Welschingen, Baden-Württemberg	Germany	Skirt			B7	
391	B	Gudme, Funen	Denmark	Skirt			B7	
394	B	Slipshavn, Funen	Denmark	Bound body (stylised)			B9	
574	B	Issendorf, Lower Saxony	Germany	Skirt (stylised)			B7 (bastard variant)	
583	B	Söderby, Södermanland	Sweden	Bound body	Schematic	Schematic		
595	B	Fuglesang, Sorte Muld	Denmark	Belted body	Belted body	Skirt	B1	Three struck
599	B	Derenburg-Meerenstieg II, Saxony-Anhalt	Germany	Belted body (stylised)			B6	
604.1	B	Binham, Norfolk	England	Belted body			B6	
604.2	B	Binham, Norfolk	England	Belted body			B6	
604.3	B	Binham, Norfolk	England	Belted body			B6	
604.4 (?)	B	Woodbridge, Suffolk	England	Belted body			B6	

Table 6.1) Saxon Relief Style and Style I decorated objects carrying anthropomorphic bodies discovered in England.

Entry	Object	Site/findspot	County	Object date	Typology	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Equal-arm brooch	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	Mid-5th century	Dösemoor type	Gilt-silver	Length: 99 mm; Width: 49 mm	Cemetery (Stray find)		6.1	Evison 1977; Bruns 2003: 53-59; Inker 2006: 17, 41; Webster 2011: 466. Fig. 25.3
2	Cast plate (Wrist clasp or gusset plate)	West Stow	Suffolk	6th century		Copper-alloy cast plate	Length: 51 mm; Width: 21 mm	Cemetery		6.3a	West 1985: 67. Fig. 265.8, Brundle 2014: 278; CUMAA Z20456B
3	Shield boss-apex disc	Empingham II	Rutland	Late 5th-6th centuries	Boss type Dickinson 1.1	Gilt Copper-alloy	Diameter: 22 mm; Thickness: 5 mm	Cemetery (grave 112). Adult male (Aged 35-45).	Spearhead; short shield grip with flanged bifurcated terminals; iron buckle; iron knife	6.4a	Timby 1996: 67-68, 125-26, 223. Figs. 29, 155.1a. Dickinson 2005: 118. Fig. 3a.
4	Shield boss-apex disc	Wasperton	Warwickshire	Late 5th-6th centuries	Boss type Dickinson 1.1	Gilt Copper-alloy garnet inlay	Diameter: 56 mm; Thickness: 0.3 mm	Cemetery (grave 64)	Two iron board discs; iron buckle; knife	6.4b	Dickinson 2005: 122. Fig. 6e; Scheschkewitz 2006: 147-48, 289-90. Plate.65. Fig.34.
5	Great square-headed brooch	Bidford-on-Avon	Warwickshire	500-550	Hines group VI	Gilt copper-alloy	Length: 139 mm; Width: 63 mm	Cemetery (grave 88). Worn on the right breast	Pair gilt copper-alloy cast saucer brooches; copper-alloy and iron buckle; iron knife; copper-alloy-bound wooden bucket; silver finger ring	6.5	Humphreys et al. 1923: 103; Hines 1997: 321. Pl. 19b.
6	Great square-headed brooch	Offchurch	Warwickshire	500-550	Hines group VI	Probably gilt copper-alloy		Cemetery		6.6a, 6.7a	Leeds 1949. No 72; Hines 1997: 338.Pl. 20b.
7	Great square-headed brooch	Beckford	Worcestershire	500-550	Hines group VI	Gilt copper-alloy	Length: 143 mm	Cemetery (grave 11). Female 25-30.	Two copper-alloy applied saucer brooches; beads-amber and one faceted crystal; iron buckle and plate; small iron rings; bone crescent with copper alloy attachment; ear-pick; copper-alloy fragments.	6.6b, 6.7b	Evison and Hill 1996: 76, 98. Fig. 11.3; Hines 1997: 320. Pl. 21b.

8	Great square-headed brooch	Cherbury Camp	Oxfordshire	500-550	Hines group VI	Gilt copper-alloy	Length: 135 mm; Width: 68 mm	Isolated find.		6.6c, 6.7c	AM AN1931.527; Leeds 1949. No.73; MacGregor and Bolick 1993:114. Cat no.13.6; Hines 1997: 323.
9	Great square-headed brooch	Baginton	Warwickshire	500-550	Hines group VI	Gilt copper-alloy		Cemetery		6.6d, 6.7d	HAGW AR.A.1013.3; Leeds 1949. No.75; Hines 1997: 319.
10	Square-headed brooch	Finglesham	Kent	480-500	Jutlandic Group (Haseloff)	Gilt-silver	Length: 95 mm	Cemetery (grave D3). Female burial.	Glass claw beaker; iron weaving sword; eighteen small beads; three bracteates; five silver brooches; two silver-gilt with garnet inlay bird-brooches; pair of silver-gilt radiate brooches; great square-headed brooch; silvered buckle; pair of tinned bronze shoe-shaped rivets; bronze tube and keys; two fragments of an iron key; iron knife.	6.8	Haseloff 1974: 11; Chadwick 1958: 11-18. Fig. 9b
11	Great square-headed brooch	Chessell Down	Isle of Wight	500-550	Hines group III	Gilt-silver	Length: 138 mm; Width: 66.5mm	Cemetery (grave 22).	Two gilt copper-alloy disc pendants; copper-alloy shield-on-tongue buckle; iron knife; copper-alloy tweezers.	6.9a	Leeds 1949. No.8; Arnold 1982: 22-23; BM. 1867,0729.5; Hines 1997:323.
12	Great square-headed brooch	Linton Heath	Cambridgeshire	500-550	Hines group III	Gilt-copper alloy	Length: 133 mm; Width: 67.0 mm	Cemetery (grave 9). Worn on the right breast	Pair of copper-alloy applied disc or saucer brooches with gilt copper-alloy plates; beads-amber, glass, faceted crystal and jet; copper-alloy buckle; iron buckle; iron belt-ring with attachment loops; iron knife; two pairs of wrist-clasps; bronze-bound wooden bucket; two small copper-alloy studs; copper-alloy Iron age terret	6.10a, 6.11a	Leeds 1949.No. 9; Hines 1997: 332; CUMAA 1948.1520

13	Great square-headed brooch	Paglesham	Essex	500-550	Hines group III	Gilt-copper alloy				6.10b, 6.11b	Hines 1997: 338. Pl. 14a.
14	Great square-headed brooch	Tuddenham	Suffolk	500-550	Hines group III	Gilt-copper alloy				6.10c, 6.11c	Hines 1997: 341. Pl. 15a.
15	Square-headed brooch	Aunsby and Dembleby	Lincolnshire	500-540		Silver and partly gilded with niello.	Weight: 8.74 g	Stray find		6.12a	PAS LIN-723345.
16	Miniature square-headed brooch (Frankish)	North Cave	East Riding of Yorkshire	500-600		89% silver with copper, lead, gold and tin also detected.	Length: 35 mm; Width: 24 mm; Weight: 3.51g	Stray find		6.13a	PAS SWYOR-747ED0.
17	Square-headed brooch	Bifrons	Kent	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	Jutlandic Group (Haseloff)	Gilt-silver	Length: 131 mm	Cemetery (Grave 41)	Knife; iron key; two iron rings; iron buckle with a copper-alloy ferrule; two copper-alloy brooches set with pieces of red glass, small copper-alloy bird-shaped brooch; copper-alloy buckle; a strap tongue; four brass Roman coins; beads; silver ring; green glass fragment; glass cup.	6.14	Leeds 1949. 3. Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313-15; Haseloff 1974: 11-12; 1981. Pl. 18; Chadwick Hawkes 2000: 32-34.
18	Shield-boss apex disc	Bidford-on-Avon	Warwickshire	Late 5th-6th centuries		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 55 mm; Thickness: 3.9mm	Cemetery (Grave 182). Male.	Five gilt copper-alloy plates terminating in a boar's head at each end; five tinned or silver-plated rivets; handle of iron; copper-alloy bowl/.	6.16	Humphries et al. 1925: 287; Dickinson 2005: 116, 118, 124. Figs. 3c, 7b.
19	Saucer brooch (1 of 2)	Hooper's field, Barrington B	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 69 mm	Cemetery (Grave 61).	Eleven beads at neck; pair of copper-alloy clasps on each wrist.	6.18	CUMAA Z 16118; Foster 1883: 22; Leeds 1912: 178-79. Pl. XXVII.4. Haseloff 1981:

											275. Fig. 187; Dickinson 2002: 176-77.
20	Saucer brooch (2 of 2)	Hooper's field, Barrington B	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 69 mm	Cemetery (Grave 61).	Eleven beads at neck; pair of copper-alloy clasps on each wrist.	6.18	CUMAA Z 16118; Foster 1883: 22; Leeds 1912: 178-79. Pl. XXVII.4. Haseloff 1981: 275. Fig. 187; Dickinson 2002: 176-77.
21	Applied saucer brooch (1 of 2)	Alwalton	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 52 mm	Cemetery (Grave 1358). Female inhumation	Long-copper alloy pin; Ivory bag hoop; Copper-alloy ring; Amber bead; 21 glass beads; Iron knife; Iron latch; lifters; Iron buckle with a copper-alloy strap plate.	6.21	Dickinson 2002: 176-77; Gibson 2007: 307, 341-42. Fig. 20; Brundle 2014: 285-86; HER Cambridge CB15465.
22	Applied saucer brooch (2 of 2)	Alwalton	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 52 mm	Cemetery (Grave 1358). Female inhumation	Long-copper alloy pin; Ivory bag hoop; Copper-alloy ring; Amber bead; 21 glass beads; Iron knife; Iron latch; lifters; Iron buckle with a copper-alloy strap plate.	6.21	Dickinson 2002: 176-77; Gibson 2007: 307, 341-2. Fig. 20; Brundle 2014: 285-86; HER Cambridge CB15465.
23	Cruciform brooch	Yaxley	Suffolk	6th century	Martin group 4.1.2	Copper-alloy	Length: 37.7 mm; Width: 39 mm; Weight: 23.39g	Stray find		6.22, 6.23	PAS SF-1E0527; Martin 2015 (ID 1169).
24	Cruciform brooch	Kenninghall	Norfolk	6th century	Martin group 4.1.2	Copper-alloy	Length: 149 mm; Width: 46 mm; Weight 72g	Cemetery, unstratified.		6.22, 6.23	MacGregor and Bolick 1993: 110 (12.38); Brundle 2014: 231. Fig. 4.2b.; Martin 2015 (ID 1148); AM AN1909.360.
25	Cruciform brooch	Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham	Suffolk	6th century	Martin group 4.1.2	Copper-alloy	Length: 154 mm; Width: 85 mm	Cemetery (grave 1)	Annular brooches and wrist-clasp	6.22, 6.23	AM AN1909.470; MacGregor and Bolick 1993: 109 (12.36); West 1998: 45-49; Brundle 2014: 231. Fig. 4.2a. Martin 2015 (ID 1147).

26	Square-headed brooch	Bifrons	Kent	6th century		Gilt-silver	Length: 130 mm	Cemetery (grave 63)	Small bucket with copper-alloy hoops and iron handle; small black earthenware container; copper-alloy and iron rings; diamond-shaped iron ornaments; beads; gold bracteate.	6.24	Godfrey-Faussett 1880: 553; Leeds 1949. Fig.2; Haseloff 1981: 272. Fig. 185; Hines 1997: 227; Chadwick Hawkes 2000: 43-50.
27	Square-headed brooch	Buckland, Dover	Kent	475-525		Gilt-silver	Length: 86 mm	Cemetery (grave 13). Female (old?).	Silver-gilt square-headed brooch; beads (3 amber, 1 jet, 13 glass); iron rivet; small-long silvered copper-alloy brooch; copper-alloy ring brooch with an iron pin; knife; a fragment of an iron rod; iron key.	6.25	Evison 1987: 35, 135-38; 218-9, 280. Fig. 9.1
28	Mount	Loddon/Mundham	Norfolk	6th century				Stray find		6.26	Norfolk HER 21872; Brundle 2014: 229, 271. Fig. 2e.
29	Great Square-headed brooch	Saxby, Stapleford park	Leicestershire	500-550	Hines group VIII	Gilt-copper alloy	Length: 85 mm	Cemetery		6.27a	Leeds 1949. No 78; Hines 1997: 340. Pl 30b; BM 1905,1122.1
30	Great Square-headed brooch	St. Andrew's Hospital, Northampton	Northamptonshire	500-550	Hines group VIII	Gilt-copper alloy	Length:128 mm	Cemetery		6.27b/c	Leeds 1949. No. 77. Hines 1997: 338. Pl. 30a; Shepherd 1998: 147. Ill. 10.9
31	Square-headed brooch	Snetterton	Norfolk	500-530		Gilt-silver	Length: 31 mm; Width: 27 mm; Weight 4.95g	Stray find		6.28	PAS NMS-F29BC1; NMS-750C07
32	Harness pendant (?)	Unknown	Isle of Wight	450-550		Gilded copper-alloy	Length: 34.8 mm; Width: 24.1 mm; Thickness: 2.1 mm; Weight: 5.44 g	Stray find		6.29	PAS IOW-7B6628
33	Saucer brooch	Upton	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy		Cemetery		6.30	Ponting 1867: 342; Smith 1901: 228-29; Leeds 1912: 199; Dickinson 2002: 165, 167. Fig. 4h.

34	Applied saucer brooch (1 of 2)	Hooper's field, Barrington B	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 75 mm	Cemetery (Grave 108)	Twenty beads at the neck; a fragment of copper-alloy with a hook.	6.30	CUMAA Z 24595.1; Foster 1883: 29; Leeds 1912: 176; Brundle 2014: 260.
35	Applied saucer brooch 2 of 2)	Hooper's field, Barrington B	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 75 mm	Cemetery (Grave 108)	Twenty beads at the neck; a fragment of copper-alloy with a hook.	6.30	CUMAA Z 24595.1; Foster 1883: 29; Leeds 1912: 176; Brundle 2014: 260.
36	Applied saucer brooch (1 of 2)	Barrington A (Edix Hill)	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 66 mm	Cemetery (Grave 29b)- worn on the shoulders of an unsexed individual.	11 glass beads; 3 amber beads; iron buckle; copper-alloy strap-end; flint axe	6.30	Malim et al. 1998: 57, 113. Fig. 3.45. 18.
37	Applied saucer brooch (2 of 2)	Barrington A (Edix Hill)	Cambridgeshire	500-550		Gilt-copper alloy	Diameter: 67 mm	Cemetery (Grave 29b)- worn on the shoulders of an unsexed individual.	11 glass beads; 3 amber beads; iron buckle; copper-alloy strap-end; flint axe	6.30	Malim et al. 1998: 57, 113. Fig. 3.45.19.
38	Drinking horn with rim mount and twelve vandykes (1 of 2)	Taplow	Buckinghamshire	6th-century mounts in a 7th-century burial context		Gilt-silver	Diameter: 119 mm (rim); Height: 77 mm (rim-mount),	Cemetery. Barrow burial. Male.	Iron sword; two iron shield bosses; an iron link and iron ring; iron knife; three iron spearheads; iron cauldron lined with copper-alloy; two buckets with copper-alloy fittings, copper-alloy bowl; two large drinking horns with gilded silver mounts; four smaller horns/cups with mounts; gold buckle decorated with garnets; two pairs of metal clasps; crescent-shaped metal ornament; bone gaming pieces.	6.31	Stevens 1884; Webster 2007; 2011: 470; Pollington et al. 2010: 326, 440. Figs. 10.01; 13.51; Brundle 2017 ; BM 1883,1214.19 ; BM 1883,1214.20.
39	Drinking horn with rim	Taplow	Buckinghamshire	6th-century mounts		Gilt-silver	Diameter: 119 mm (rim); Height: 77	Cemetery. Barrow	Iron sword; two iron shield bosses; an iron link and iron ring; iron knife; three iron spearheads;	6.31	Stevens 1884; Webster 2007; 2011: 470; Pollington et al. 2010

	mount and twelve vandykes (2 of 2)			in a 7th-century burial context			mm (rim-mount), Length: 40 mm (Vandyke).	burial. Male.	iron cauldron lined with copper-alloy; two buckets with copper-alloy fittings, copper-alloy bowl; two large drinking horns with gilded silver mounts; four smaller horns/cups with mounts; gold buckle decorated with garnets; two pairs of metal clasps; crescent-shaped metal ornament; bone gaming pieces.		:326, 440. Figs. 10.01; 13.51; Brundle 2017 ; BM 1883,1214.19 ; BM 1883,1214.20.
40	Drinking horn vandyke fitting	Holton-le-Moor	Lincolnshire	500-550		Gilt-silver		Stray find		6.33a	Leahy 2007: 93. Pl. 11.
41	Sword-sheath fitting	Chessell Down	Isle of Wight	late 5th-6th centuries		Gilt-silver		Cemetery (grave 76).	Sword; Iron nails; Shield boss and rivets; Spearheads; Iron knife; Buckle and two rivets.	6.33b	BM 1867,0729.150; Haseloff 1981: 275. Fig. 188); Arnold, 1982:32-33.
42	Sword-sheath fitting	Great and Little Chishill	Cambridgeshire	480-550		Gilt-silver with niello inlay	Length: 26.6 mm; Width: 17.1 mm; Thickness: 2.4 mm; Weight: 5.42 g	Stray find		6.34	PAS BH-A99B35
43	Saucer brooch	Baginton	Warwickshire	500-550		Copper-alloy		Cemetery		6.58	HAGW AR.A.1013.6; Meaney 1967: 257; Dickinson 2002: 166, 170. Fig. 3.

Table 6.2 Bracteates carrying anthropomorphic bodies and human-animal hybrids discovered in England.

Entry	Findspot	County	Object date	IK number	Formula family (after Pesch 2007)	Type	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Undley Common, Lakenheath	Suffolk	450-480	374		A	Gold	Diameter: 23 mm; Weight: 2.24 grams	Stray find	None	6.36	West 1983: 459; Hines 1984: 204-09; Hauck et al. 1986a: 234-35; 1986b: Taf. 151; Hines and Odenstedt 1987; Suzuki 2006; Behr 2010a: 69-70; BM 1984,1101.1.
2	Scalford, Melton	Leicestershire	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	635.1		A	Gold	Diameter: 24 mm; Weight: 2.48 g; Thickness: 1 mm;	Stray find	None	6.37a	Behr 2011b ; 2011c ; Axboe et al. 2011: 904 ; PAS LEIC-EDD980.
3	Hoby with Rotherby, Melton	Leicestershire	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	635.2		A	Gold	Diameter: 36 mm; Thickness: 1 mm; Weight: 3.59 g	Stray find	None	6.37b	Scott 2015; PAS LEIC-1E63A8
4	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	630.1		A	Gold	Diameter 70 mm; Weight 27.35g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.	6.42a/b	Behr 2010a: 81; Axboe et al. 2011: 991; Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 95; Behr and Pestell 2014; PAS LVPL-43ADD1; NCM 2011.755.
5	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	630.2		A	Gold	Diameter: 50 mm; Weight: 8.23g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.		Behr and Pestell 2014; PAS LVPL-43ADD1; NCM 2013.67.4.;
6	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	630.3		A	Gold	Diameter: 50 mm; Weight 12.9g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.		Behr and Pestell 2014; PAS LVPL-43ADD1; NCM 2015.124.1

7	Kingston Bagpuize	Oxfordshire	Late 5th century	577		A	Gold	Diameter: 32 mm; Weight: 4.73g	Stray find		6.43a	Hines 1993 ; Suzuki 2006 :40 ; Behr 2010a: 73 ; Axboe et al. 2011 : 926-27 ; Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf. 22.
8	Unknown findspot	Unknown		33	C2 (Bastard)	C	Gold	Diameter: 28. 4 mm; Weight: 2.582g			6.43b	Smith 1923: 161; Hauck et al. 1985b: 68; 1985c.Taf.37; Behr 2010a: 36. Note 19
9	St. Giles	Oxfordshire	Late 5th century	323		A	Gold	Diameter: 32.8 mm; Weight: 2.849g	Stray find		6.43c	AM AN2009.1; Hines 1984: 219; 1993b: 220; Hauck et al. 1986a: 160-61; 1986b.Taf. 107 ; Findell 2012: 410-11.
10	Brinton	Norfolk	475-525	584		A	Gold	Diameter: 31 mm; Weight 2.76 g	Stray find		6.44	Behr 2010a : 53-56. Fig. 11 ; Axboe et al. 2011 : 936 ; NCM L2008.160.
11	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	604.1	B6	B	Gold	Diameter: 44 mm; Weight 6.93g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.	6.45a	Ashley and Ager 2006: 79; Behr 2006: 21; Behr 2010a: 56-58; Axboe et al. 2011: 964; Behr and Pestell 2014; NCM 2005.756A.
12	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	604.2	B6	B	Gold	Diameter: 44 mm; Weight: 8.5g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.	6.45b	NCM 2013.67.3; Behr and Pestell 2014
13	Binham	Norfolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	604.3	B6	B	Gold	Diameter: 50 mm; Weight: 10.7g	Stray find	5 additional gold bracteates; gold bracelet; copper-alloy bracelet; silver equal-arm brooch.		PAS NMS-D18CC1
14	Rendlesham, Woodbridge	Suffolk	Late 5th-early 6th centuries		B6	B	Gold		Stray find		6.45c	Treasure report 2015 T115; Scull et al. 2016: 1605

15	Bifrons	Kent	Late 5th-early 6th centuries	23	B3 (Bastard variant)	B	Gold	Diameter: 21.5 mm; Weight: 1.634g	Cemetery (Grave 29). Female.	Roman copper-alloy coin, two radiate brooches, three iron keys; an iron knife; two iron rings; a small diamond-shaped plate of iron; copper-alloy buckle; thin copper-alloy armlet; amber beads; three additional bracteates.	6.46	Haigh 1872: 196 ; Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 309-10 ; Leeds 1946: 24 ; Hauck et al. 1985b : 52-53 ; 1985c. Taf. 25 ; Chadwick Hawkes 2000 : 22-23.
16	Kirmington	Lincolnshire	525-550	288	C16	C	Gold	Diameter: 28.5 mm	Stray find		6.47a	Axboe 1982: 52, 74 ; Hines 1984: 210-11 ; Hauck et al. 1986a : 116-17 ; 1986b. Taf.73 ; Behr 2010a: 62,69
17	Bridlington	East Riding of Yorkshire	525-550	643	C16	C	Silver	Diameter: 29 mm; Weight: 1.71g	Stray find	Found together with several other finds, probably representing a ploughed-out sixth-century female grave.	6.47b	BM 2014,8015.1; PAS FAKL-500088
18	Bridlington	East Riding of Yorkshire	525-550	607	C16	C	Gold	Diameter: 36 mm; Weight: 4.99g	Stray find		6.47c	Behr 2010a: 60-62. Fig. 14 ; Axboe et al. 2011: 968-69 ; PAS NCL-C85065.
19	Lessingham	Norfolk	500-600	Not classified		C	Gold	Diameter: 29 mm; Weight: 3.1g	Stray find		6.47d	PAS NMS-A13EDD
20	East Leake	Nottingham	525-550	602	C16	C	Silver	Diameter: 30mm.	Cemetery.	Two annular brooches and some beads.	6.47e	Behr 2010a: 49-50. Fig.9 ; Axboe et al. 2011 : 962-63.
21	Morning Thorpe	Norfolk	525-550	306.1	C16	C	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 32mm	Cemetery (grave 80). Young female adult. Possibly a double burial.	Copper-alloy wrist-clasps; textile remains; curved iron object; iron knife; iron rings; pair of copper-alloy brooches; copper-alloy cruciform brooch; pair of copper-alloy annular brooches; one additional copper-alloy bracteate; part of a copper-alloy circular ’	6.47f	Hauck et al., 1986a: 138-39 ; 1986b. Taf. 94 ; Green et al. 1987: 58

										pendant'; copper-alloy loop; small copper-alloy wire ring; copper-alloy wire; twenty-one beads; four potsherds in filling (Romano-British).		
22	Morning Thorpe	Norfolk	525-550	306.2	C16	C	Copper-alloy		Cemetery (grave 80). Young female adult. Possibly a double burial.	Copper-alloy wrist-clasps; textile remains; curved iron object; iron knife; iron rings; pair of copper-alloy brooches; copper-alloy cruciform brooch; pair of copper-alloy annular brooches; one additional copper-alloy bracteate; part of a copper-alloy circular 'pendant'; copper-alloy loop; small copper-alloy wire ring; copper-alloy wire; twenty-one beads; four potsherds in filling (Romano-British).	6.48a	Hauck et al. 1986a: 138-39 ; Green et al. 1987: 58. Fig. 320.
23	Eriswell	Suffolk	525-550	634.1		C	Silver		Eriswell (Grave 42)	Two silver finger rings; two copper–alloy annular brooches; two pairs of clasps; a necklace of four glass and 51 amber beads suspended from two small copper-alloy rings; a knife; an iron key; an iron belt ring; iron fragments.	6.48b	Axboe et al. 2011: 994-95; Behr and Pestell 2014: 68, 70. Note 133. Fig. 15.
24	Eriswell	Suffolk	525-550	634.2		C	Silver		Eriswell (Grave 42)	Two silver finger rings; two copper–alloy annular brooches; two pairs of clasps; a necklace of four glass and 51 amber beads suspended from two small copper-alloy rings; a	6.48c	Axboe et al. 2011: 994-95; Behr and Pestell 2014: 68. Note 133; Heizmann and Axboe 2011. Taf.98

										knife; an iron key; an iron belt ring; iron fragments.		
25	Morley	Norfolk	6th century	637		Die stamp	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 32 mm; Weight: 113.84 g	Stray find		6.48d	Axboe et al. 2011: 998 ; PAS NMS-25CDD3.
26	Bifrons	Kent	500-550	410	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 18.7 mm; Weight: 0.98g.	Cemetery (Grave 29). Female.	Roman copper-alloy coin, two radiate brooches, three iron keys; an iron knife; two iron rings; a small diamond-shaped plate of iron; copper-alloy buckle; thin copper-alloy armlet; amber beads; three additional bracteates.	6.52a	Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 309-10; Hauck et al. 1989a: 90; 1989b. Taf. 6 ; Chadwick Hawkes, 2000: 22-23.
27	Buckland, Dover	Kent	500-550	421	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 20.3 mm; Weight: 1.677g.	Cemetery (Grave 20)	Iron weaving batten; disc brooch; silver pin; beads (amber 21; glass 33); silver-gilt square-headed brooch; silver wire bracelet; silver-gilt square-headed brooch; copper-alloy buckle; copper-alloy bracelet; knife; iron; two rods; fragments of an iron riveted loop; iron diamond (x2); brown glass claw-beaker; spun copper-alloy bowl; large cylindrical bead; wooden belt.		Evison 1987: 220-21; Hauck et al. 1989a: 100-01.
28	Finglesham	Kent	500-550	425	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 26.5 mm; Weight: 2.094g	Cemetery (Grave D3). Female burial.	Glass claw beaker; iron weaving sword; eighteen small beads; three bracteates; five silver brooches; two silver-gilt with garnet inlay bird-brooches; pair of silver-gilt radiate brooches; great square-headed	6.52c	Chadwick 1958: 11-18; Hauck et al. 1989a: 104; 1989b. Taf. 14.

										brooch; silvered buckle; pair of tinned bronze shoe-shaped rivets; bronze tube and keys; two fragments of an iron key; iron knife.		
29	Finglesham	Kent	500-550	426.1	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 20-22 mm	Cemetery (Grave D3). Female burial.	Glass claw beaker; iron weaving sword; eighteen small beads; three bracteates; five silver brooches; two silver-gilt with garnet inlay bird-brooches; pair of silver-gilt radiate brooches; great square-headed brooch; silvered buckle; pair of tinned bronze shoe-shaped rivets; bronze tube and keys; two fragments of an iron key; iron knife.		Chadwick 1958: 11-18; Hauck et al. 1989a: 105.
30	Finglesham	Kent	500-550	426.2	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 20.5 mm	Cemetery (Grave 203). Female (25-35 years).	Bone comb; Iron weaving sword; Golden brown glass claw beaker; Festoon; Silver pin (X2); Gold pendant set with red glass; Large quantity of beads; Gold D-bracteates; Gold pendant set with red glass; Silver small square-beaded brooch; Silver small square-headed brooch; Silver great square-headed brooch; Silver-gilt rosette brooch set with garnets; Waist belt fittings; Tinder pouch; Iron knife; Chatelaine; Brass openwork cast wheel-	6.52d	Hauck et al. 1989a: 105-06; 1989b. Taf. 16; Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 136-146.

										shaped ornament; Antler ring; Gilt-bronze ornament; Iron key; Tinned gunmetal strap-tag (x2); Iron diamond shaped-plate; Iron Ring; Brass tweezers; Copper-alloy bowl.		
31	Monkton	Kent	500-550	467	D9 (Bastard variant)	D	Gold	Diameter: 23.15 mm; Weight: 1.922g.	Cemetery (Grave 26). Male	Iron shield-grip fragment; silver stud; end of an iron tang; sword-blade; copper-alloy buckle; shield-boss fragments; shield-grip fragments; iron objects; whetstone; gold bracteate; copper-alloy disc; stud head.		Perkins and Chadwick Hawkes 1984: 91-92; Hauck et al. 1989a: 145.
32	Sarre	Kent	500-550	492.1	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 25 mm; Weight: 3.064g	Cemetery (Grave 90). Female burial.	Copper-alloy buckle; iron ring; amber beads.	6.52e	Brent 1866: 172-73 ; Hauck et al. 1989a :169.
33	Unknown findspot	Kent	500-500	492.3	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 22 mm	Unknown findspot			Akerman 1855: 25; Hauck et al. 1989a: 170
34	West Stow	Suffolk	500-550	565	D9	D	Silver	Diameter: 21.1 mm; Weight 1.2g	Cemetery		6.52f	Hines 1984 215; Hauck et al. 1989a: 238-39; 1989b. Taf. 126; Behr 2010a: 69.
35	Unknown findspot	Kent	500-550	575	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 21 mm; Weight: 2.04g.	Stray find			Axboe et al. 2011: 924-25
36	Buckland, Dover	Kent	500-550	580	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 32 mm; Weight 3.3 gr	Cemetery (Grave 204). Female grave.	Disc brooch with garnet inlay; over 100 amber and glass beads; iron needle; silver ring with garnet inlay; copper-alloy buckle; three rivets belonging to a belt; remains of an iron and copper-alloy chatelaine; Roman coin; spindle whorl; Roman		BM 1995,0102.1 ; Behr 2010a: 39-40 ; Axboe et al. 2011: 930-31.

										copper-alloy coin; conch; small stone; two copper-alloy strand-ends.		
37	Buckland, Dover	Kent	500-550	582	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 41 mm; Weight: 9.2 g	Cemetery (Grave 250).	5 amber and 139 glass beads; serrated gold bead; copper-alloy spiral fingering; shield pendant; an iron needle; iron knife; copper-alloy mount in the shape of a fire steel; copper-alloy ring; a round bone disc; iron chatelaine; ivory ring; round copper-alloy disc; iron fragments; seven garnet discs; weaving sword; bowl and two glass cups.		Behr 2010a: 41-43 ; Axboe et al. 2011: 933-34 ; BM 1995,0102 ;
38	Northbourne	Kent	500-550	616	D9	D	Gold	Diameter: 22.2 mm; Weight 2.19 g.	Stray find		6.52b	Behr 2010a: 44-45. Fig. 5.c ; Axboe et al. 2011: 978.
39	Bifrons	Kent	500-550	411	D10	D	Gold	Diameter: 30.3 mm; Weight: 4.209g	Cemetery (Grave 63). Female.	Copper-alloy hoops and iron handle; small black earthenware container; copper-alloy and iron rings; diamond-shaped iron ornaments; beads; gold bracteate.	6.53d	Godfrey-Fausett 1880: 553; Hauck et al. 1989a: 91; Chadwick Hawkes 2000: 43-50.
40	King's field, Faversham	Kent	500-550	456	D10	D	Gold	Diameter: 20.8 mm; Weight: 3.116g.	Findspot unknown		6.53e	Smith 1923: 39; Hauck et al. 1989a: 135; 1989b. Taf. 38 ; BM .1142.'70.
41	Sarre	Kent	500-550	494	D10	D	Gold	Diameter: 26.5 mm; Weight: 2.836g	Cemetery (Grave 4)	Gold braid/flat wire; silver ring; five additional bracteates; beads; two circular bronze fibulae.	6.53b	Brent 1863: 310-11 ; Hauck et al. 1989a :173 ; 1989b. Taf. 74.
42	Sarre	Kent	500-550	495	D10	D	Gold	Diameter: 30.5 mm; Weight: 4.185g.	Cemetery (Grave 4)	Gold braid/flat wire; silver ring; five additional bracteates; beads; two circular bronze fibulae.	6.53a	Brent 1863: 310-11 ; Hauck et al. 1989a: 174 ; 1989b. Taf. 74.

43	Billingford	Norfolk	500-550	589	D10 (Bastard variant)	D	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 28.4-29.9 mm	Stray find		6.53f	Behr 2010a: 50-51. Fig. 10b ; Axboe et al. 2011 : 942-43 ; BM 2000,1110.1
44	Blakeney Freshes	Norfolk	500-550	601	D10 (Bastard variant)	D	Gold	Diameter: 41 mm; Weight: 7.67 g	Stray find		6.53c	Behr 2010a: 58-60. Fig. 13b ; Axboe et al. 2011 : 961.
45	Freshwater	Isle of Wight	500-550	629	D9/10 (?)	D	Gold	Diameter: 29 mm; Weight 4.0 g.	Stray find	Silver and silver-gilt brooches, silver-gilt sieve spoon and a rock-crystal ball have been found at the same findspot, with the bracteate these may be the remains of a single female grave.		Behr 2010a: 64-65; Axboe et al. 2011: 990.
46	Bifrons	Kent	500-550	412.1	D7	D	Gold	Diameter: 25.4mm; Weight: 2.587	Cemetery (Grave 64)	Glass ball set in silver; iron dagger; copper-alloy chain; iron fragments; copper-alloy radiate brooches; beads; round brooch		Godfrey-Fausett 1880: 553; Hauck et al. 1989a: 91-92; Chadwick Hawkes 2000: 50-51.
47	Bifrons	Kent	500-550	412.2	D7	D	Gold	Diameter: 28.4 mm; Weight: 3.188g	Cemetery (Grave 29). Female.	Roman copper-alloy coin, two radiate brooches, three iron keys; an iron knife; two iron rings; small diamond-shaped plate of iron; copper-alloy buckle; thin copper-alloy armlet; amber beads; three additional bracteates.		Godfrey-Fausett 1876: 309; Hauck et al. 1989a: 92-93; Chadwick Hawkes 2000: 22-23.
48	Lyminge	Kent	500-550	462	D7	D	Gold	Diameter: 21.3 mm; Weight: 1.976g	Cemetery (Grave 16).	Iron knife: amber bead; copper-alloy bangle; silver ring; silver-plated copper-alloy buckle; copper-alloy radiate headed brooch; copper-alloy gilt button brooch; 105 beads (amber and glass).		Warhurst 1955: 13-15; Hauck et al. 1989a: 140-41.

49	Driffield	East Riding of Yorkshire	500-550	422	Unclassified	D	Gold	Diameter: 27.5 mm; Weight: 0.8g	Cemetery (Grave 26). Female (25-35).	Copper-alloy flat ring fibula; 24 beads; iron knife; fragments of wood; two pieces of copper-alloy; iron ring		Mortimer 1905: 281 ; Hauck et al. 1989a : 101-02.
50	Unknown findspot	Kent	500-550	554	D8 (Bastard variant)	D	Gold	Diameter: 24.4 mm; Weight: 2.2g	Unknown findspot			BM OA 2986 ; Hauck et al. 1989a: 229-30.
51	Shalfleet Parish	Isle of Wight	500-550	624	Unclassified	D	Gold	Diameter 22 mm, weight 1.88 gr.	Stray find	Found near an S-shaped brooch and pseudo-Imperial gold tremissis		Behr, 2010a:62-3.
52	Chippenham	Wiltshire	500-550	228		D	Gold	Diameter: 19. 9 mm; Weight: 1.38g.	Stray find		6.59	Hines 1984: 210; Hauck et al. 1986a: 34; 1986b. Taf.17
53	Sarre	Kent	500-550	493.1		D	Gold	Diameter: 30.2 mm	Cemetery (Grave 4).	Gold braid/flat wire; silver ring; five additional bracteates; beads; two circular bronze fibulae.	6.60	Brent 1863: 310-11 ; Hauck et al. 1989a:172-73 ; 1989b. Taf.72
54	Sarre	Kent	500-550	493.2		D	Gold	Diameter: 30.2 mm	Cemetery (Grave 4).	Gold braid/flat wire; silver ring; five additional bracteates; beads; two circular bronze fibulae.		Brent 1863: 310-11 ; Hauck et al. 1989a : 172-73; 1989b. Taf.72.
55	Sarre	Kent	500-550	493.3		D	Gold	Diameter: 30.2 mm	Cemetery (Grave 4).	Gold braid/flat wire; silver ring; five additional bracteates; beads; two circular bronze fibulae.		Brent 1863: 310-11 ; Hauck et al. 1989a :172-73; 1989b. Taf.72.

Table 6.3 Independent full-bodied human imagery (5th-6th centuries).

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Cremation urn lid with three-dimensional figurine	Spong Hill	Norfolk	Mid-late 5th century	Ceramic	Height: 143mm	Cremation cemetery. Eastern edge.		6.61, 6.62	NCM 1994.192.1; Hills 1980; Hills et al. 1987: 162. Fig.82. Hills 2014; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521; Carver 2019: 96; Norfolk HER 1012;
2	Open-work rider brooch	Buckland, Dover	Kent	Mid-6th century	Silver-gilt	Width: 24mm; Weight: 3.7g	Cemetery (Grave 223).	Copper-alloy buckle; iron knife fragments; iron pin with a hooked head; 12 beads (8 amber, 3 glass,1 unknown).	6.64	Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 392-93, 459. Fig. 10.6.

Table 6.4 Iconographic and stylistic characteristics and traits associated with the ‘bound body’.

Stylistic/iconographic feature	**Examples (Fig.)**
The presence of a belt and/or neck-ring.	5.28b, 5.59, 5.64, 5.65
The presence of a sleeveless costume article.	5.60, 5.61, 5.64, 5.65
The presence of short trousers or knee-rings.	5.66, 5.67, 6.46
The presence of nipples or a navel.	5.50
A semi-naturalistic ‘bare’ limb distinguished from a visually distinctive torso, the torso may have been abbreviated, contoured or decorated in an alternative manner.	5.35a/b/c, 5.38c, 5.52b/c/d, 5.56, 5.71, 6.5, 6.15g, 6.18b, 6.20, 6.31, 6.32a,
The upper portion of the arm or leg is emphasised in some capacity, usually via contouring.	5.60, 5.61, 5.67d, 5.71, 5.72, 6.4a, 6.5b, 6.18, 6.20, 6.31c, 6.33a, 6.46, 6.56
Bent and contorted bodies and limbs.	5.38c, 5.50a, 5.51d, 5.52b/c/d, 5.53a, 5.54, 5.56, 5.57, 5.71, 5.72, 6.4, 6.5, 6.15e/f/g/h, 6.46
Entangled, constricted and immobilized bodies.	5.32a/b/c, 5.38c, 5.53a/b, 5.59, 5.61, 5.70a, 5.71a, 6.4, 6.5, 6.15h, 6.32, 6.52b/e, 6.53d
A hand that grips a body part or the body of an adjacent figure.	5.31b, 5.32b, 5.59, 5.72a, 6.31b, 6.32a, 6.33c
Associations with transformation and human-animal hybridity.	5.29, 5.38c, 5.56, 5.57, 5.70, 5.71, 6.4, 6.12, 6.18b, 6.23a/b, 6.25, 6.26, 6.29, 6.31b, 6.46

Divides, fractures or overlapping features/figures which occur at specific points on the body. These points are where the various costume articles associated with the 'bound body' are typically situated e.g. wrist, ankle, below the knee, upper arm, pectoral/shoulder, waist and neck.	5.53b, 5.66e, 5.67a, 6.15e/f, 6.18b, 6.31b, 6.56

Table 6.4 Iconographic and stylistic characteristics and traits associated with the 'bound body'.

Table 7.1 'Explicitly naked' bodies from England (late 6th-7th centuries).

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Figurine	Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville	Suffolk	7th century	Gilt-silver	Height: 43 mm; Weight 12.2g	Spoil heap at an early Anglo-Saxon settlement and cemetery site		7.2	Webster 2002a; 2002b; 2011: 474; 2012: 38-40; Webster and Minter 2007; Lucy et al. 2009: 178; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24; Pestell 2012: 84-85; Pollington et al. 2010: 295; Hills and Ashley 2017: 521; Carver 2019: 96; BM 2001,0902.1
2	Figurine	Oxborough	Norfolk	7th century	Copper-alloy with traces of Mercury gilding, silver attachment wire.	Height: 41 mm; Width: 10 mm; Thickness: 6.8 mm; Weight: 10.27g			7.3	PAS NMS-D6704B
3	Figurine	Friston	Suffolk	7th century	Copper-alloy with traces of gilding	Height: 51.2 mm; Width: 10.6 mm; Weight: 25.1 g	Stray find		7.4	PAS SF-01ACA7; Webster and Minter 2007: 225-27; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24; Pestell 2012: 84-85
4	Figurine	Breach Downs	Kent	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 55mm	Found within or near to a barrow		7.5, 7.6	J.B.A.A. III: 346; Evison 1965; Webster 2002: 45-46; Webster and Minter 2007: 225; Pollington et al. 2010: 294-95; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24; BM-1884,0408.1
5	Purse lid mount	Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge	Suffolk	7th century	Cloisonné garnet work with stamped gold foil underlays and millefiori cells	Length: 33 mm; Width: 30 mm; Weight: 15.56g	Cemetery (Mound 1). Male.	Large high-status assemblage (see Bruce-Mitford, 1975; 1978; 1983)	7.7	Bruce-Mitford 1949: 36-38, 51-57; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 512-54; Speake 1980: 45-50, 90; Pollington et al. 2010: 444-46; Brundle 2019:61, 122-23; BM 19391010.2
6	Figurine	Mautby, Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 37 mm; Width: 17 mm; Thickness: 4 mm; Weight: 6.96g	Stray find		7.8	PAS NMS-34ACBB
7	Belt set	Finglesham	Kent	7th century	Gilt copper-alloy	Length: 80 mm	Cemetery (Grave 95). Male (Late teenage years).	Wooden casket with metal fittings; pottery bottle; copper-alloy bound	7.9	Hawkes et al. 1965; Gunnel 1995: 65-67; Evans 1991: 22, 25; Speidel 2003: 105-08; Chadwick Hawkes 2006: 78-81 ; Blackwell 2007; Helmbrecht 2008; Pollington et al.

								wooden bucket; iron spearhead; iron knife; buckle fitting; copper-alloy shoe fittings.		2010: 434-36; Webster 2011: 474; 2012: 38-40; Herman 2015.
8	Figurine	Halesworth	Suffolk	7th century	Gilt-silver		Stray find		7.10	Pestell 2012: 85-86; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24; Webster 2017: 36. Fig. 218.
9	Figurine	Bradstow School, Broadstairs	Kent	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 38 mm	Cemetery (Grave 5). Female burial.	Iron buckle; knife; key; iron tweezers; iron girdle-hanger and iron box fittings which contained copper-alloy staples probably from a belt or headband.	7.11	Meaney 1981: 231; Webster 2002b: 15; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24; BM 1988,0412.1.
10	Figurine	Eyke	Norfolk	7th century	Gunmetal	Height: approx. 55 mm	Recovered from the river Deben		7.12	Pollington 2011: 209; Pestel 2012: 85-86. Fig. 5.6e; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24.
11	Figurine	Higham	Suffolk	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 44 mm	Stray find		7.13	BM-2001,0711.1; Brundle 2013; 2019: 116-24.
12	Pendant	Compton Verney	Warwickshire	late 7th-8th centuries (?)	Gold	Diameter: 28 mm	Mound. Contained two skeletons.	Additional gold pendant	7.14	Smith 1904: 264-65; Gannon 2003: 101-02; AM AN1948.135

Table 7.2 'Clearly dressed' bodies from England (late 6th-7th centuries).

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Helmet panel 'Dancing warriors'	Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge	Suffolk	7th century	Copper-alloy stamped sheets	Height: 47 mm; Width 58 mm	Cemetery (Mound 1). Male.	Large high-status assemblage (see Bruce-Mitford, 1975; 1978; 1983)	7.16	Maryon 1947; Holmqvist 1960: 103, 109, 121-22; Arent 1969: 141; Bruce-Mitford 1949: 47-50; 1972; 1978: 186-89; Wickham-Crowley 1992: 50-51; Gunnell 1995:35-6; 66-67; Owen-Crocker 2004: 180; Marzinzik 2007; Blackwell 2007; Helmbrecht 2008; Pollington 2010: 437. Fig. 13.49; Herman 2015; Brundle 2019: 22; BM 1939,1010.93
2	Helmet panel 'Rider and fallen warrior'	Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge	Suffolk	7th century	Copper-alloy stamped sheets	Height: 53 mm; Width: 60 mm	Cemetery (Mound 1). Male.	Large high-status assemblage (see Bruce-Mitford, 1975; 1978; 1983)	7.17	Maryon 1947; Bruce-Mitford 1949: 47-50; 1972; 1978: 190-97; Gaimster 1998: 57; Owen-Crocker 2010: 180; Speidel 2004: 151; Pollington et al. 2010: 457-59. Fig. 13.62; Herman 2015: 284-85; BM 1939,1010.93
3	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 596)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Gilt-silver	Height: 50 mm; Width: 55 mm	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.18a	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-37; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78; Speake 2019: 239-45.
4	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 597)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Gilt-silver	Height: 47 mm; Width: 51 mm	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.18b	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-37; Fern et al. 2017: 14-15; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78; Speake 2019: 239-45.
5	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 599)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Silver	Length: 36 mm (largest fragment)	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.19	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-37; Fern et al. 2017: 16; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78; Speake 2019: 239-45.
6	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 595)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Gilt-silver	Length: 55 mm; Width: 60 mm	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.20	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-37; Fern et al. 2017: 11; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78; Speake 2019: 239-45.

7	Stamped foil/plaque fragment	Caenby	Lincolnshire	7th century	Silver		Barrow mound. Male burial, possibly buried with a horse.	Buckle; two shields with Style II ornamented metal mounts (copper-alloy and silver); silver fragments; horse trappings; sword.	7.21a	Jarvis 1850: 36-44; Bruce-Mitford 1978: 206. Fig. 153; Owen-Crocker 2004: 180; Speidel 2004: 108; Leahy 2007: 95
8	Die stamp	Fen Drayton	Cambridgeshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 52.6 mm; Width: 30.9 mm; Thickness: 3.3 mm; Weight: 22.93g	Stray find		7.21b	Leahy 2006 ; Brundle 2019: 47, 127 ; PAS NLM-468D41
9	Mount	Unknown	East Cambridgeshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 28 mm	Stray find		7.22	Pollington 2010: 480. Fig. 15.05; Brundle 2014: 286; FAHG-8EAAA3

Table 7.3 'Bare' bodies from England (late 6th-7th centuries).

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Double-sided seal matrix from a gold signet ring (Frankish type)	Postwick	Norfolk	7th century	Gold	Diameter: 12 mm	Stray find		7.32	Webster 2000; Gannon 2003: 29-30; Karkov 2011: 123-24; NWHCM 2000.42: A; Norfolk HER 13603; PAS-8709C3
2	Pendant	Riseley, Hoton Kirby	Kent	7th century	Gold	Diameter: 29 mm	Cemetery (Grave 56).	Three additional gold pendants; one silver pendant; four amethyst beads; fragments of iron.	7.35a	B.M.Q, 1938; Cumberland 1938; 1940; Hawkes et al. 1965: 22. Fig. 3; Owen-Crocker 2004: 188; Pollington et al. 2010: 447; Eagles et al. 2016: 93-97. Fig. 4; Behr 2017.
3	Pendant	Shrewton	Wiltshire	7th century	Gold	Diameter: 26-7 mm	Grave		7.35b	Wilson and Hurst 1969: 241; Eagles et al. 2016; Behr 2017; Salisbury Museum SBYWM1969:44.
4	Die stamp	Unknown findspot	Lincolnshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 54.5 mm	Unknown		7.36a	Pollington et al. 2010: 445; Behr et al. 2016: 92-94; Brundle 2019: 126-27; Behr 2017; BM 1981,0102.1
5	Bucket mount	Loveden Hill (Hough-on-the-Hill)	Lincolnshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Width: 47 mm	Cemetery (Grave 58). Male cremation interred in a barrow mound.	Hanging bowl containing human cremation remains; sword; copper-alloy vessel; bridle bit; spear	7.36b	Fennel 1969 ; Pollington et al. 2010 : 445 ; Eagles et al. 2016 :94 ; Behr 2017.
6	Disc	Thornham	Norfolk	7th century	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 32 mm	Cemetery (Grave 10).	Copper-alloy bracelet; five glass beads; bone bead; one or two chatelaines; hanging bowl escutcheon	7.37	Speake 1980: 88; Geake 1997: 171; Eagles et al. 2016: 95-97. Fig. 7; Behr 2017; NCM 1956.244.89.

7	Pelta mount	Unknown findspot	Unknown findspot	7th century (?)	Copper-alloy		Stray find		7.38	Hammond 2009: 101. Fig. 1.14.d; Pollington, 2011
8	Vandyke mounts for drinking cups (x 18)	Taplow	Buckinghamshire	late 6th-7th centuries	Silver-gilt	Height: 44-45 mm	Cemetery. Barrow burial. Male.	Iron sword; two iron shield bosses; an iron link and iron ring; iron knife; three iron spearheads; iron cauldron lined with copper-alloy; two buckets with copper-alloy fittings, copper-alloy bowl; two large drinking horns with gilded silver mounts; four smaller horns/cups with mounts; gold buckle decorated with garnets; two pairs of metal clasps; crescent-shaped metal ornament; bone gaming pieces.	7.39	Stevens 1884; Speake 1980: 75; Bruce-Mitford 1983: 388; Webster 2007; Pollington et al. 2010: 433-34. Fig. 13.47; BM 1883,1214.40
9	Finger-ring	Uttlesford	Essex	late 6th-7th centuries	Gold	Height: 25.3 mm; Width: 26.6 mm; Weight: 20.1g	Stray find		7.40	Martin 2013: 12 ; Wallis 2020 : PAS ESS-E396B1
10	Work-box lid	Burwell	Cambridgeshire	late 6th-7th centuries	Copper-alloy	Length: 120 mm; Width 70 mm	Cemetery (Grave 42). Female burial.	Pin; bead; keys; purse mount; wooden box (?); cowrie shell; shears; whorl.	7.41	Lethbridge 1928: 85-90. Fig. a; 1931: 53-57; Brundle 2014: 284; Hills 14-15; MAA 1927.1829 K
11	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 593)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Gilt-silver	Estimated original length: 550 mm	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.42	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-7; Fern et al. 2017: 8-9; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78; Speake 2019: 239-45; Wallis 2020:419
12	Figurine	Caistor, West Lindsey	Lincolnshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: approx. 50 mm			7.43	Pestell 2012: 84; Brundle 2013; 2019: 61; PAS NLM-A243C8
13	Figurine	Bradwell	Norfolk	7th century (?)	Copper-alloy	Height: 37.5 mm;	Stray find		7.44	Hills and Ashley 2017; PAS NMS-40A7A7

						Length: 42 mm; Width: 8 mm; Weight: 27.79 g				
14	Figurine	Warham	Norfolk	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 28 mm; Height: 31 mm; Width: 7.5 mm; Weight: 14.22 g	Stray find		7.45	Hills and Ashley 2017:518
15	Belt set (Frankish type)	Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham	Suffolk	late 6th-7th centuries	Copper-alloy	Length: 58 mm; Width: 26 mm	Cemetery (Unstratified).		7.46	West 1998: 47-48, 159. Fig. 52.8; AM AN1909. 479.b
16	Belt counterplate (Frankish type)	Wingfield	Suffolk	late 6th-7th centuries	Copper-alloy	Length: 36 mm; Width: 25 mm; Weight: 9.75g			7.47	PAS SF-672624
17	Foil panels on a shield boss (x5)	Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge	Suffolk	7th century	Gilt copper-alloy	Height: 100 mm; Height: 45 mm.	Cemetery (Mound 1). Male.	Large high-status assemblage (see Bruce-Mitford, 1975; 1978; 1983)	7.48	Bruce-Mitford 1978: 45-53. Fig. 36; Speake 1980; Dickinson 2005: 115; Pluskowski 2010: 109; BM 1939,1010.94. K
18	Clasp box (?)	Desborough	Northamptonshire	late 6th-7th centuries	Silver	Length: 33 mm; Width: 15 mm	Cemetery.	Copper-alloy vessel; copper-alloy bowl fragments; silver spoon; copper-alloy pin; flat iron bar; two glass vessels.	7.49	Baker 1880; Smith 1923: 76. Fig. 89; Speake 1980; BM 1876,0504.3

Table 7.4 Damaged, fragmented and incomplete bodies from England (late 6th-7th centuries)

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Helmet panel (catalogue entry 593)	Hammerwich	Staffordshire	7th century	Gilt-silver	Height: 55 mm; Width: 60 mm	Hoard find	Large high-status assemblage (see Fern et al., 2019)	7.51	Leahy and Bland 2014; Fern and Speake 2014: 36-37; Fern et al. 2017: 11; Fern and Speake 2019: 74-78.
2	Belt plate	Ayton	Berwickshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 33.5 mm; Width: 32.7 mm (top); 23.1 mm (bottom); Thickness: 1.1-2.6 mm; Weight 10.95g	Stray find		7.52	Blackwell 2007; Herman 2015: 282
3	Mount	West Ilsley	West Berkshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 23.71 mm; Width: 9.37 mm; Thickness: 1.85 mm; Weight: 2.02 g	Stray find		7.53a	PAS BERK-4F2E17
4	Die stamp (?)	Crawley, Winchester	Hampshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 31.3 mm; Width: 18.1 mm; Thickness: 3.1 mm; Weight: 6.47 g	Stray find		7.53b	PAS HAMP-B292C2
5	Fixture or mount	Streatley	West Berkshire	7th century	Copper-alloy inlaid with enamel	Length: 40.28 mm; Width: 15.08 mm; Weight: 4.16g	Stray find		7.54	PAS SUR-EC1C9E
6	Figurine (?)	Lenham, Maidstone	Kent	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 45.1 mm; Width: 8.5 mm; Thickness: 6.3 mm; Weight: 13.6 g	Stray find		7.55	Brundle 2013; PAS KENT-9D1706
7	Figurine (?)	Marham, King's Lynn	Norfolk	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 32.7 mm Width: 19 mm Thickness: 8.4 mm Weight: 10.67 g	Stray find		7.56	PAS NMS-4C3AD7
8	Figurine (?)	Rodmell, Lewes	East Sussex	7th century	Copper-alloy	Height: 42.29 mm; Width: 12.21 mm; Thickness: 9.67 mm; Weight: 15.67g	Stray find		7.57	Brundle 2013; PAS SUR-3785A7
9	Figurine	Barkston Ash, Selby	North Yorkshire	7th century	Copper-alloy	Length: 32.8 mm; Width: 21.4 mm; Thickness: 10.2 mm; Weight: 14.6 g	Stray find		7.58	PAS YORYM-CB17FB

10	Figurine (?) or tool/tweezer grip (?)	Tuddenham St. Martin	Suffolk	7th-8th centuries (?)	Copper-alloy	Height: 51 mm; Weight: 15.57g	Stray find		7.59a	Brundle 2013; PAS SF3807
11	Figurine (?) or tool/tweezer grip (?)	Great Waldingfield, Babergh	Suffolk	7th-8th centuries (?)	Copper-alloy	Height: 30 mm; Width: 8 mm; Thickness: 7.5 mm; Weight: 5.7g	Stray find		7.59b	Brundle 2013; PAS SF5471
12	Toilet article (?)	Sancton	East Riding of Yorkshire	7th-8th centuries (?)	Copper-alloy	Length: 56.93 mm; Width: 19.68 mm; Thickness: 9.59 mm; Weight: 18.4 g; Diameter: 8.39 mm	Stray find		7.60	PAS DUR-230B47
13	Figurine (?) or tool/tweezer grip (?)	Louth, East Lindsey	Lincolnshire	late 7th-8th centuries (?)	Copper-alloy	Length: 61mm; Width: 13mm; Thickness: 13mm; Weight: 18.23g	Stray find		7.61	PAS LIN-756E6A
14	Rod or pin (?)	Buckland, Dover	Kent	late 7th century	Copper-alloy and iron	Length: 122mm	Cemetery (Grave 161)	Silver pin; knife fragment; iron key; iron shaft with looped end; glass disc bead	7.62	Evison 1965; 1987: 84-85, 251-52; Bruce-Mitford, 1972: LII.b
15	Whetstone	Loveden Hill (Hough-On-the-hill)	Lincolnshire	7th century	Sandstone	Length: 105mm	Stray find		7.63	Bruce-Mitford 1978: 364–69; Enright 1983: 121; Everson and Stocker 1999: 182-186. Pl. 209.

Table 7.5 Re-used and imported instances of nudity (5th-7th centuries).

Entry	Object type	Findspot	County	Object date	Material	Dimensions and weight	Context	Associated finds	Figure	References
1	Finger ring set with a Roman intaglio gem	Snape	Suffolk	1st-early 5th-centuries gem; 6th-century ring	Gold ring, onyx gemstone	Diameter: 25 mm; Height: 23 mm (bezel), Height: 7 mm (hoop)	Cemetery (Grave 1). Boat burial within a mound. Male	Glass claw beaker; few pieces of jasper; opaque blue glass; woollen cloak; two iron spears	7.65	Filmer-Sankey 1992: 39-51; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 7-8, 19, 195-98; Owen-Crocker 2004: 127; BM 1950,1206.1.
2	Pail/Bucket (Hemmoor type)	Breamore	Hampshire	6th-7th centuries	Copper-alloy	Diameter: 168 mm (rim); Height: 102 mm.	Cemetery, stray find		7.66	Hinton and Worrell 2017: 89-95; Hampshire Cultural Trust acc. no. A2001.39.
3	Pail/Bucket (Hemmoor type)	Bromeswell	Suffolk	6th-7th centuries	Copper-alloy	Height: 135mm	Stray find		7.67	Mango et al. 1989; West 1998: 13
4	Stoup	Long Wittenham	Oxfordshire	Late 5th century	Wooden stoup bound with copper alloy and decorated with copper alloy plates	Height: 113 mm; Diameter: 98 mm	Cemetery (Grave 93). Young boy	Copper-alloy vessel; small iron knife	7.68a	Akerman 1861:335, 345; De Vegvar 2006; White 1998: 326; BM 1875,0310.1
5	Pendant with intaglio	Harford farm, Caistor St. Edmund	Norfolk	7th century	Cornelian intaglio set in gold wire.	Weight: 3.242g	Cemetery (Grave 33). Female inhumation.	Remains of a toilet set; remains of a chatelaine; assortment of beads; iron ring; iron key; leather; traces of textile; two gold discs (2mm in diameter) found with two garnets (2mm in diameter); Iron shears.	7.69	NCM 1994.5.235: A; NHER 9794; Geake 1997: 39; Penn 2000: 31-34, 51.
6	Pendant with intaglio	Buckland, Dover	Kent	1st-century intaglio; Late 5th-7th-centuries harness.	Rock crystal with silver harness	Height: 69 mm (including suspension ring);	Cemetery (Grave 391b)		7.70a	BM 1995,0102.671; Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 436, fig.10.52.

						Weight: 14.99g				
7	Silver platter/dish	Sutton Hoo, Woodbridge	Suffolk	AD 491-518 (manufacture); 7th-century context		Diameter: 718 mm; Height: 98 mm; Weight: 564g	Cemetery (Mound 1). Male	Large high-status assemblage (see Bruce-Mitford, 1975; 1978; 1983a; 1983b)	7.71	Bruce-Mitford 1983: 40-44; BM 1939,1010.76
8	Stone carved fragment	Hexham	Northumbria	Roman or late 7th century	Sandstone	Height: 305 mm; Width: 406 mm	Found on Campy Hill, north-east of church		7.72a	Cramp 1984: 185-86. Pl. 179. 961; Karkov 2011: 62-66, 98
9	Stone carved fragment	Hexham	Northumbria	Roman or late 7th century	Sandstone	Height: 340 mm; Width: 300 mm	Near Hexham church		7.72b	Cramp 1984: 185-86. Pl. 179.960b; Karkov 2011: 62-66, 98

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