

# Animal and human depictions on artefacts from early Anglo-Saxon graves in the light of theories of material culture

Submitted by Leah Moradi to the University of Exeter  
as a dissertation for the degree of  
Master of Arts by Research in Archaeology  
in January 2019

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## Abstract

This dissertation explores the relationship between animal and human motifs on early Anglo-Saxon (AD 450–650) artefacts and the individuals with whom the objects are buried, as well as the wider communities to which they belong. A sample of sites was taken from the two historical regions of East Anglia and Wessex, compiling data such as object type and material, sex and age of individuals, and the human and animal motifs depicted. From a total of 32 sites, 5560 graves were analyzed; of these, 198 graves from 28 sites contained artefacts with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic decoration. Anthropological and material culture theories of totemism, shamanism, animism, and object agency were employed in the interpretation of results to consider the symbolic meaning of anthropomorphically- and zoomorphically-decorated objects, and how they may have reflected the social organization and ideologies of communities in early Anglo-Saxon England.

This regional analysis brought geographically-distinct findings, such as differences in the types of motifs and materials used on anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects, arguing for the existence of varied ontological beliefs including totemism, shamanism, and animism. It also enabled the investigation of widespread tendencies of motif usage throughout England during the early period, which showed a lack of observable patterns in the combinations of species used, implying the absence of a uniform set of ontological beliefs.

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## Acknowledgements

There are many people who have made this possible: first of all, my research supervisors, Hajnalka Herold and Marisa Lazzari, for their constant guidance and encouragement; Sam Lucy, for helping me find the more obscure site reports; Sue Brunning and Virginia Smithson from the British Museum, and Lisa Brown and the staff of the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes, for aiding me in the access of their collections; my friends, especially those I have met in my time at the University of Exeter and the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, for providing a daily source of positivity and motivation; and finally, my family in both England and California, for their relentless support in everything I do.



# 1: Introduction

A key part in the archaeological exploration of Anglo-Saxon England is the investigation of material culture from burial contexts. More specifically, the inclusion of decorated objects in burial assemblages allows for the analysis of stylistic and iconographical elements, which can help shed light on the societal and ideological views of period, as well as on the possible outlines of social groups within communities. Through this perspective, deposited objects project the status and beliefs of an individual and/or group, which is a notion suggested by many previous studies (e.g. Dickinson 1993; 2002; Hedeager 1999; Høilund Nielsen 1997; 1999).

As some of the most frequent and varied motifs in early Anglo-Saxon art, human and animal representations remain an intriguing aspect of the discussion of society in the early period. This study aims to explore the relationship between animal and human motifs and the individuals with whom they are buried, as well as the wider communities to which they belong. This will be achieved through a regional analysis of objects from grave contexts, therefore excluding the use of examples of sculpture and manuscript illustrations. By narrowing the scope of this dissertation to strictly objects from burial contexts, we can consider the deliberate selection of materials for placement in graves, which likely played a role in the portrayal and communication of social identities (Williams 2006, 36).

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. Are there differences in the distribution of objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic ornament, as well as the particular animal/human motif usage, between the two regions of East Anglia and Wessex?

2. Are objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic ornament, as well as specific human/animal motifs, associated with a particular sex and/or age group? Does this vary between the two regions?
3. How can theories of material culture/anthropological theories be used to interpret possible correlations between any of the variables observed?

In order to answer the first and second questions, site reports forming a sample from the two historical regions of East Anglia and Wessex (specifically from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, and Wiltshire) are gathered to create a database of artefacts, compiling data such as object type, age, sex, and human/animal motifs. The study areas were chosen to provide a comparison of two regions with previously established distinctions between artefacts and burial rites, which will be described further in following chapters. In total, 5560 graves are analyzed from 32 sites, and only 198 graves from 28 sites contain objects with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic depictions; a full account of the collected data can be found in Chapter 6. An iconographic analysis of the animal and human representations (singular, hybrid, and part) is incorporated to aid in the identification of depicted species and provide context of the popular art styles of the period. For the third question, it is necessary to explore themes of anthropological theory, such as totemism, shamanism, and animism, as well as material culture theories of object agency and Actor-Network Theory and integrate them within the broad discussion of the symbolic meaning of anthropomorphically- and zoomorphically-decorated objects.

Through a focus on human/animal motif usage, the outcomes of this study could possibly suggest meaningful relationships between communities (and individuals) and the species depicted. It may also reflect significant differences

between the early Anglo-Saxons of the two geographically distinct study areas. The application of the aforementioned theories may potentially lead to conclusions regarding how these objects reflected the social and ideological organization of communities in early Anglo-Saxon England.

Following this Introduction chapter, Chapter 2 offers a brief background to the Anglo-Saxon period with archaeological and historical context, and the presentation of past and current approaches especially to the early Anglo-Saxon period. Chapters 3 and 4 consider the depictions of animals and humans, respectively, in early Anglo-Saxon art, specifically pertaining to the types of objects included in this study, and surveys the various arguments for themes surrounding these art styles, such as mythology, ambiguity, and hybridity. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the theoretical approaches from anthropological and material culture studies with the potential to be applied in this study, including topics of shamanism, totemism, animism, and agency. Data and results produced by the study are described in Chapter 6, and are discussed in light of the previously mentioned theoretical approaches in Chapter 7, where possible interpretations are also offered. Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the main findings and offers concluding remarks.

## 2: Archaeological and Historical Background

This chapter presents an introduction to the information available from archaeological studies and historical sources on the early Anglo-Saxon period (mid-fifth to mid-seventh centuries AD), which can be used to help contextualize the research results and discussion presented in later chapters. Topics essential to this dissertation will be covered, including society in post-Roman/early Anglo-Saxon England, typical mortuary materials and practices of the period, and archaeological connections between England and northern Europe/southern Scandinavia. The themes discussed in the present chapter will be especially focused on the eastern and southern regions of England, containing East Anglia and Wessex, which are the geographical areas under study in this dissertation.

### **The ‘early Anglo-Saxon period’**

The period of time in question has been the subject of constant redefinition and debate. Various names include ‘Migration Period’ to reflect movements of peoples into Britain, ‘Late Antiquity’ to refer to the lingering Roman presence after the break with the Empire, and ‘Pagan Period’ due to the practice of non-Christian ‘religions’ (Hills 2009, 220-221). The concept of an ‘Anglo-Saxon period’ has been adopted by archaeologists from the contemporary term, *Angli Saxones*, used on the Continent to describe the peoples and powers of England; from this came the label of the ‘Early Anglo-Saxon’, to refer to the first part of the period (Hines 2013, 27; see also below). For consistency and clarity, the term ‘early Anglo-Saxon’ will be used to describe the period of focus in this research.

The multitude of previous attempts to establish a chronology of the Anglo-Saxon period (summarized in Hines 2013, 25-30), which involves an array of different and overlapping terms and divisions, are described by Hines as “idiosyncratic and localized old systems, which will best be replaced” (2013, 30). His definition of the Early Anglo-Saxon Period is stated as “the period characterized by the regular deposition of grave goods ... to extend from sometime probably around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century AD” (Hines 2013, 31). For a further division of dates based on changing material culture assemblages, we can look to Geake (1997, 129). She states that the first distinctive change after the beginning of the period (c. AD 450) happens c. 580 in Kent and c. 600 elsewhere (marking the change from the so-called ‘migration’ period to the ‘conversion’ period), with a second change to a new range of material culture everywhere in c. 650. Within the nebulous constraints of this period, the dates selected for this study are c. AD 450–650, spanning the period of time following the Roman occupancy of Britain, until the existence of full-fledged Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and beginning of the widespread conversion to Christianity.

## **Post-Roman Britain**

Although relatively sparse, written sources documenting the first few centuries of Anglo-Saxon settlement in England exist in the form of chronicles, administrative documents, poetry, and hagiographies. We are mainly dependent on a small group of written works: Gildas’ *De Excidio Britanniae* from the late fifth or sixth century, Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* from AD 731 (which drew extensively from Gildas’ work), and later medieval records from members of the Christian church (Yorke 2006, 1-22). These sources, while

helpful in creating a general picture of the period, should not be taken as objective histories. Each author had their own messages to convey through their writing; their views are not necessarily representative of the rest of the population, and are sometimes not even contemporary to the period discussed (Hills 2009, 221). The work produced by Gildas relies heavily on oral tradition, which resulted in a highly subjective view of the events surrounding the Roman exodus from Britain in the fourth century and the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons; in summary, it is brief, lacks solid dates, and contains many inaccuracies, but provides us with a narrative framework of this otherwise undocumented period (Yorke 1990, 2).

The majority of researchers are convinced that almost all physical evidence from Roman-Britain had disappeared from the archaeological record by the early fifth century (Hills 2003, 85-86). The lack of Roman artefacts suggests social and economic realignments after a traumatic break from the empire (Scull 1993, 70). A difficult division in Britain after the Roman withdrawal has also been depicted by Gildas and Bede, who present the island as undefended and in turmoil (*De Excidio Britanniae*, II.19-21; *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, I.11-14). It is thought that, throughout Britain, chiefs of both indigenous and foreign ancestry had led small warring groups; these leaders possibly ruled territories based on the pre-existing Roman *civitates* (Hills 2009, 219). Presumably, this instability left Britain open to foreign influences, specifically the Germanic tribes of mainland Europe. Post-Roman Britain is described by Hills as having many lines of contact to Europe, with maritime activity focused on the North and Irish Seas; specifically, eastern England is seen as having had “continuous and intense” contact with northern Germany and Scandinavia (Hills 2009, 239). Webster also notes that the Anglo-Saxons had contacts to the

Mediterranean world during this time, but this aspect is seldom studied (Webster 2012, 7).

Although there are many theories surrounding the manner of the emergence of Germanic features in Britain, a consensus on this issue has not been reached; still, it is important to consider the various views, some of which will be summarized in this paragraph. Until recently, it was commonly accepted that the relationship between the incoming Germanic peoples and the indigenous population was 'violent', and resulted in the invasion and replacement of the native Britons; newer perceptions, however, focus on the indigenous population's co-existence with the newcomers and their contribution to Anglo-Saxon societies (Loveluck and Laing 2011, 535). According to Hills, a few foreign leaders may have migrated and inspired local chiefs to adopt aspects of their Germanic culture (2011, 5). Another theory suggests that the warring leaders employed Saxon mercenaries who had migrated from the Continent with their families, as evidenced by occurrences of inhumation burials and Germanic-style brooches as early as the middle third of the fifth century (Eagles 2001, 199-200). This view is similarly upheld by Yorke, who claims that Gildas' explanation of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Britain, based on the Anglo-Saxons' acceptance of roles as federate troops, has been confirmed by the Anglo-Saxon burials containing Late Roman military equipment from both Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (1990, 5). This does not mean, however, that all incoming settlers from the Continent were warriors; there may have been many different relationships in existence between the Britons and the newly arriving Anglo-Saxons (*ibid.*, 5). Overall, it is suggested that Britain was settled by peoples too numerous to be easily invaded and replaced by attackers, even if its population was disorganized and demoralized (Hills 2003, 105).

Information from written sources attests to the existence of well-established Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by the seventh century; the five major kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, Kent, East Anglia, and Wessex, were ruled by kings who claimed continental Germanic ancestry (Hills 2009, 219; Scull 1999, 17). It is proposed that there were also a variety of 'kingdoms' of different sizes and statuses alongside the prominent five. This information has been extracted from a document known as the 'Tribal Hidage', which was most likely used to assess the collection of tribute (Yorke 1990, 10). The document lists the names of peoples, which appear to represent political units of different size in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England (Dumville 1989a). In addition to the ones listed above, further 'kingdoms' included Wreocensæte, Magonsæte, Lindsey, Hwicce, the East Saxons, and the South Saxons, as well as more minor tribes, of which little is known (Dumville 1989b, 126; Yorke 1990, 11).

The initial establishment of kingdoms in early Anglo-Saxon England is a topic that has been thoroughly debated, featuring arguments based on both written sources and archaeological evidence. Written foundation stories from the eighth and ninth centuries portray the founders of many of the larger kingdoms arriving from the Continent to set up their kingdoms; the validity of these accounts is highly questionable, and they most likely recount the origins of the kingdoms as desired by the later Anglo-Saxons, rather than retelling the actual occurrences (Yorke 1990, 3-4). Archaeological evidence for these social and political developments is found in sixth and seventh century assemblages: princely burials and settlement hierarchy begin to develop in the sixth century, while special commercial and trading settlements are characteristic of the seventh century (Scull, 1999, 17; Rogers 2013, 75). According to Yorke, the emergence of distinctive and substantially richer male warrior burials over the course of the sixth



century strongly indicates the development of kingship (1990, 9). It has also been hypothesized that these kingships and dynasties may have been a consequence of peer competition between branches of families or other clan ties (Rogers 2013, 4). However, it is difficult to use this kind of evidence from the later sixth and seventh centuries as unequivocal material evidence for retracing pre-kingdom political groupings in the fifth and early sixth centuries, as the social realities of the earlier period may not directly reflect later political identities (Scull 1993, 75).

According to Bede (*HE*, I.30), the immigrating peoples of early Anglo-Saxon period originated from three Germanic tribes: the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. Each tribe would have come from different parts of northern Europe, with the Saxons from Saxony, the Jutes from Jutland, and the Angles from 'Angeln' (the land between the Jutes and the Saxons.) He divided the Saxons into East, South, and West Saxons; the Angles into East Angles, Middle Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians; and the Jutes between Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire.

Although Bede's descriptions can be supported by some archaeological evidence from the early Anglo-Saxon period, in the form of characteristic styles of material culture from each British region (Hills 2003, 26, 103-104) and material culture links between Britain and northern Europe/Scandinavia (Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 10; Scull 1993, 71), it would not be wise to strictly follow these simplistic cultural divisions. We must remember that Bede has written in terms of his contemporary political geography and nomenclature; variations in dress and burial customs across all of the regions in question suggest "considerable racial admixture" (Yorke 1990, 6), and, furthermore, it has been shown that many aspects of these distinctions did not exist in their stated origin places (Hills 2003, 104-107).

## **Early Anglo-Saxon society**

Social organization in post-Roman Britain may have begun to loosely resemble the type seen in continental Germanic communities (Scull 1993, 71; Eagles 2001, 200). It is argued that we can expect the basic social units and institutions from polities of northern Europe and southern Scandinavia in the early Germanic communities of Britain, as well as the potential for similar social and political developments (Scull 1993, 71). Before the seventh century, it is suggested that the population in early Anglo-Saxon England may have lived in farmsteads or groups of farmsteads, which were semi-independent and probably connected by kinship ties and local trade networks; the individual would belong to one of these farmstead units, within a clan, within a tribe, within a folk group (Rogers 2013, 4). Out of peer competition, a local leader may have emerged on top of the larger clan or tribe (*ibid.*, 63). Other identities may have intersected these kin and clan ties, such as religion or ethnicity (Scull 1993, 71). Intermarriage with native Britons and their increasing assimilation in Anglo-Saxon settlements may have been an important factor for social change in Britain (Härke 1997, 152).

It is unknown to what extent there were remaining urban populations in former Roman settlements during the early Anglo-Saxon period. Arguments of this matter range from the virtual desertion of Roman towns and structures until after the early period, to a total continuity of occupancy alongside the substantial changes to material culture (Henig 2011, 515). The confusion surrounding the settlement patterns of the early Anglo-Saxons is mainly due to the ephemeral nature of the predominantly timber construction of their buildings, after centuries of using mortar, bricks, tile, and masoned stone (Carver 1987, 12).

Direct evidence for the sizes and structures of local populations in the early Anglo-Saxon period is mainly provided by cemeteries. Subgroups of local communities are suggested by internal structuring of cemeteries, seen in burial clusters divided based on similar mortuary treatment (Härke 1997, 138). Evidence from burial sites has also suggested the ranking of certain individuals, both between and within groups and subgroups (Ulmschneider 2011, 159). Härke's studies of weapon symbolism in male burials suggest that up to half of the males buried in fifth and sixth century cemeteries may have been native Britons, based on the idea that the inclusion of weapons within a burial was an 'ethnic marker' for the Germanic male population ((1989a; 1990; 1992a; 1992b; cited in Härke 1997, 150). Furthermore, it is suggested that the latter used weapon symbolism in their ritual to express dominance over the native population (ibid.).

With the rise of 'pagan' belief systems resulting from incoming Germanic groups, existing Christian communities in Britain shrunk into obscurity in the fifth century (Pluskowski, 2011, 765). This shift in ideological views is evidenced by new Germanic-derived styles of artefacts and burials becoming more common in eastern and southern England from the late fifth century (Eagles 2001, 200). The degree to which these styles show Germanic immigration and adoption of Germanic culture in Britain is continually debated; overall, it is generally agreed upon that the native inhabitants of eastern and southern England were absorbed by and/or transformed into a new identity, whether or not it was specifically 'Anglian' or 'Saxon' (Hills 2003, 93, 105-106). It is summarized by Scull as a process of acculturation, defined as "adoption by indigenous groups of new material culture types and cultural practices, expressing new affinities and identities, and rooted in new social and political configurations" (1993, 71).

## **Mortuary ritual**

After its abandonment by the Roman imperial forces, Britain saw a reappearance of cremation rites in the eastern and southern regions. Cremation started as the most widely used burial custom in this period, but was gradually overtaken by inhumation (Plunkett 2005, 39). The initial resurgence of cremation rites in the post-Roman period was heavily concentrated in eastern England, specifically East Anglia; in the fifth century, cremation was the predominant mortuary rite in this region, and was only overtaken by inhumation in the sixth century (Fern 2015, 196, 202). Meanwhile, inhumation was continuously the more popular burial rite in southern England, specifically the region known later as the kingdom of Wessex; by around AD 600, inhumation had almost completely superseded cremation in the whole of Anglo-Saxon England (Hills 2009, 227).

Cemeteries established in the early Anglo-Saxon period have features that especially resemble Germanic burial traditions, and do not seem to have developed from former indigenous practice (Hills 2009, 226). There is a significant lack in evidence for burial rites of the native rural peoples in Britain, which is to say that it is unknown how similar or different these two styles were; still, the similarities between burials in England and burials from the Continent demonstrate a connection, with explanations including migration of Germanic peoples and adoption of Germanic culture by native Britons (Hills 2009, 226-227; Scull 1993, 70).

All early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries differ from each other based on a range of features such as arrangement and types of grave goods, body orientation, and deposition style (cremation and/or inhumation). These differences can be very apparent between nearby cemeteries, and may have been one way that

communities expressed local identity and defined group boundaries (Stoodley 2016, 155; Scull 1993, 76). Cemeteries were not restricted to only one kind of burial rite; many were commonly found with both cremation and inhumation graves (Lucy 2000, 140). Burial sites were sometimes related to pre-existing monuments or features from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman periods, with Bronze Age barrows being the most popular (ibid., 124).

Furnished inhumation graves with or without objects belonging to the costume, as well as unfurnished graves with or without costume objects, have been found in early Anglo-Saxon contexts; the presence (or absence) of grave goods and/or costume could suggest multiple social aspects, such as differences in wealth, custom, religion, and/or ethnicity (Plunkett 2005, 39; Lucy 2000, 1; Härke 1997, 150). Inhumed bodies with furnished graves were often buried in costume, which varied between and within cemeteries. 'Female' (burial) costume is best known due to its heavy incorporation of metal-based artefacts, such as brooches and girdle-hangers, while less well-known 'male' (burial) costume is primarily demonstrated by the presence of buckles and knives. Features of the burial costume, such as deliberate selection and position of these objects, conveyed messages relating to the dead individual, their social position, and their respective kin-group and/or community (Williams 2011, 249-250).

Artefacts from cremation graves belong to two main groups: pyre goods, which were placed with the dead upon the pyre, and grave goods, which could have been former pyre goods, picked from the ashes, or unburned objects added to the burial after cremation (Williams 2011, 246). Fire-distorted pyre goods such as dress accessories and personal possessions were sometimes found fused to cremated bone, making the dressing of the dead in costume likely (Plunkett 2005, 39; Williams 2011, 246). Both burnt and unburnt animal bones were sometimes

present; these may have been food offerings, but it has also been argued that animals (both whole and parts) were sacrificed alongside the body (Plunkett 2005, 39; Hills 2009, 227).

## **Objects found in early Anglo-Saxon graves**

As previously mentioned, there are many similarities between material culture in mortuary contexts from Britain and northern Europe/Scandinavia. Different areas of Britain appear to have adopted varying aspects: cremations buried within decorated, hand-made pottery urns reflecting the primary rite in north-western Germany; the presence of cruciform and square-headed brooches suggesting links with southern Scandinavia (Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 10). Meanwhile, distinctions can be made between material culture from cemeteries in different British regions. For example, cruciform and annular brooches and wrist-clasps were typical female dress accessories in East Anglia, the East Midlands and Yorkshire; round brooches and an absence of wrist-clasps characterized female costume in southern England (Sussex, Wessex, and Essex) (Hills 2009, 228). It is tempting to apply Bede's 'Angle' and 'Saxon' cultural labels to the grave goods found in these regions, but there are multiple factors that stand against these simplistic divisions.

East Anglia holds the densest concentration of continental material, but it is does not solely originate from Angeln; there are also styles from the 'Saxon' culture of lower Saxony present, mainly in the form of pots with stamped decoration (Hills 2003, 105-106). Brooch types, such as the distinctive 'Anglian' cruciform brooches and 'Saxon' saucer brooches, have often been assumed to represent different cultural groups across Britain; although the distributions of these culturally-linked types show concentrations in their 'traditional' areas, they

also appear widely dispersed, making it difficult to precisely define cultural areas (Lucy 2000, 133-139; Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 10). It should also be considered that a significant amount of types of material culture from fifth-century East Anglia would not have been viewed as 'Anglian' on the Continent (Scull 1993, 71).

In summary, although Bede's divisions have found some grounding in archaeological data, they have gradually been accepted as over-simplified, as they more accurately reflect his contemporary political situation (Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 10). Strictly 'Angle' or 'Saxon' packages did not transfer from continental Europe to Britain. The material found in early Anglo-Saxon England cannot be explained as based simply on continental origins, but instead as a matter of mixing of traditions and stylistic choices concerning development or removal of elements (Hills 2003, 105-106).

Within cremation graves, associated objects commonly include brooches, glass beads and vessels, spindle-whorls, tweezers, shears, and combs (Lucy 2000, 108). On the other hand, objects from inhumed burials fall into three main categories: the first category contains items of weaponry, which are usually the graves of adult males or children, but not entirely exclusively; the second category consists of jewelry items, typically belonging to females, with rare exceptions (see Stoodley 1999); the third category covers graves without weaponry and/or jewelry, including other goods such as pottery, buckles, toilet implements etc. The goods from this last category are not exclusive to graves without weaponry and/or jewelry, however, and can also be present in the first two types of graves (Lucy 2000, 87).

Although there is a notable connection between the sex of the individual and the associated objects in inhumation graves, Richards (1987, cited in Lucy 2000, 111) shows that there is much less of a link with objects found in cremation

contexts; no items were exclusive to either males or females, and only a few items could be significantly associated with sex, such as ivory objects with females and miniature iron shears and tweezers with males. Contradictions to gendered object categories suggest that some of these grave goods may have been used to express a characteristic other than gender (Lucy 2000, 89-90).

In the context of this study, both sex and gender are included in the analysis of objects, where sex is biological, and determined by osteological approaches, while gender is cultural, and typically determined, in this case, by associated object assemblages. Only in the 1980s did a distinction between sex and gender come into consideration in archaeology; before this point, the 'sexing' of graves was mainly facilitated by gendered objects (Lucy 2011, 689). Lucy suggests that the two should be analyzed independently in Anglo-Saxon archaeology; in turn, this will widen the scope of social/cultural analysis, and include other social data for analysis, such as age, hierarchical position, and possibly marital status (*ibid.*, 691-693). Gendered identities, which are not biologically innate, are described as "something which was dynamic and actively constructed (albeit often unconsciously, and within culturally-defined limits)"; therefore, we should be able identify and analyze local and regional differences in gender-related features over time (*ibid.*, 695).

## **The present study**

This study focuses on objects of material culture found within burial contexts. Therefore, it will be important to keep in mind Williams' (2006, 37-39) list of the seven 'main issues' archaeologists are advised to take into account before attempting to read social organization from burial data (Figure 2.1). In the context of the present research, most of these points are especially relevant.



1. Survival of different artefact types (e.g. the rare survival of textiles, leather and wood materials.)
2. Deliberate selection of artefacts for mortuary ritual, both belonging to the deceased and belonging to others, placed specifically for parts of the ritual.
3. Regional and chronological change leading to differences in quantity, quality, and style of artefacts from each cemetery.
4. Symbolism of artefacts, either within depictions on the object or specific placement of the object itself.
5. Context or location of artefacts in relation to the body, changing the significance of the object.
6. Agency of the mourners, especially those who construct the mortuary portrayal of the dead, as the manner of the burial may not accurately or wholly reflect the roles and identities of the formerly living person.
7. Ideological statements made by the provision of grave goods and mortuary ritual display.

Figure 2.1: The seven main issues to be considered while observing burial data (after Williams 2006, 37-39).

Firstly, this study will bring into focus points (2) deliberate selection, (3) regional and chronological change, (4) symbolism of artefacts, and (7) ideological statements. This way, the deliberate selection and symbolism of the artefacts included in grave contexts will be considered based on how they relate to potential ideological statements, especially when concerning social connections within communities. The analysis will consider variations both within and between two specifically selected study areas, East Anglia and Wessex, in order to show or disprove presumed differences in mortuary traditions. Additionally, regarding point (1) survival of different artefact types, we will see that the survival of different materials has great impact on any archaeological study on this theme. Not only have some object types been completely erased from or radically reduced in

number within grave contexts, but some objects have also been damaged, losing embellishments critical to the original meaning of the item.

In Chapter 1, it is stated that East Anglia and Wessex were selected as case studies based on their distinctions established by previous research. As described above, there are clear differences between eastern and southern England in terms of burial rites (Fern 2015, 196, 202; Hills 2009, 227). The types of objects associated with inhumation graves versus cremation graves differ as well (Williams 2011, 246, 249-250; Plunkett 2005, 39; Hills 2009, 227; Lucy 2000, 87, 108). Distinctions between the types of objects found in each studied region are also discussed, such as the eastern preference for cruciform brooches over the southern round brooches (Hills 2009, 228). It is suggested that the varying regional styles are partially visible in the archaeological record from the end of the fifth century, in the form of jewelry, pottery, and weapons (Hills 2011, 10). According to Hills, the apparent regional variation in material culture may have been an expression of local identity, rather than “membership of an overarching ‘British’ or ‘Anglo-Saxon’ people” (2011, 10). By comparing and contrasting the two regions, this study hopes to examine the existence of further differences based around motif usage, to perhaps provide insight on the ontological beliefs of local communities.

In an attempt to grasp the social and ideological symbolism of objects from early period mortuary contexts, this study will concentrate on the iconography featured on such items, specifically with human and/or animal subjects. Therefore, the next two chapters will provide a background of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic depictions used in the decoration of early Anglo-Saxon material culture.

### 3: Depictions of Animals

The symbolic use of animals is one of the main visible features of early Anglo-Saxon art in England, manifested in the repeated application of zoomorphic ornamentation on objects (Pluskowski 2010, 103). This distinct relationship between animals and the people in fifth- to seventh-century England can also be seen in aspects other than depictions on objects: animals were sometimes interred alongside the dead or cremated with bodies on the pyre (Plunkett 2005, 39; Hills 2009, 227), and later Anglo-Saxon literary sources contain evidence for the popular use of animal elements in personal names (Pluskowski 2011, 765).

The animal art tradition in early Anglo-Saxon England is thought to trace back to influences from late Roman ornamental metalwork, as well as the import of a “rich and complex visual vocabulary” from northern Germany and southern Scandinavia brought over by settlers from the Continent (Webster 2012, 14, 47). The successive styles have been demonstrated on surviving decorated metalwork in England from the later fifth and sixth centuries (*ibid.*, 14).

Examples of Anglo-Saxon animal art in the archaeological record from the fifth to seventh centuries are mainly found on ornamental metalwork, comprising personal jewelry and adornments to armor, weapons, equipment for horses, and metal vessels (Adams 2015, 13). Aside from the range of metalwork, animal art is present on other types of material culture, such as pots from cremation cemeteries (main examples come from East Anglia, see Hills 1983), zoomorphic bone combs (see Hills 1981), and wooden objects (see Bintley and Shapland 2013).

This major societal emphasis on animals conveys the idea that animals played a large role in early Anglo-Saxon social and cosmological organization

(Pluskowski 2011, 771). Explanations for this pervasive presence of animals has been discussed as evidence for pagan Anglo-Saxon spirituality (Pluskowski 2011; Pluskowski 2010), as well as linked to shamanic and totemic views of early Anglo-Saxon society (Wilson 1992; Glosecki 1989), both of which are discussed further in Chapter 5.

## **Quoit Brooch Style and Saxon Relief Style**

The Quoit Brooch Style was the most familiar art style of the fifth century which incorporated animals (Adams 2015, 29). It was relatively short-lived, thought to have developed in Britain in the first half of the fifth century, and was overlapped by the Saxon Relief Style before the end of its lifespan (Webster 2012, 52).

Clearly derived from late Roman provincial metalwork, the Quoit Brooch Style features a range of late Roman motifs (*ibid.*, 52-53). Animals depicted in this style appear as coherent individuals, quadrupeds, or sea-beasts in naturalistic representations, and the style is generally characterized by geometric decoration, animals in a procession, and human masks (Suzuki 2000, 1; Lucy 2000, 18-19; Webster 2011, 463).

After emerging among the Saxons of North Germany in the early fifth century, the Saxon Relief Style was the first undeniably Germanic style to appear in England (Webster 2012, 49). This style appeared in Anglo-Saxon graves on equal-armed and saucer brooches, and primarily features designs associated with late Roman military style, such as geometric motifs and semi-naturalistic animals (Inker 2006, 52; Webster 2011, 465). The sixth century saw the disappearance of the Saxon Relief Style as it was gradually overtaken by Salin's Style I (Webster 2011, 467).

## Salin's Style I and II

In 1904, Bernhard Salin published his monumental work, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, in which he analyzed and distinguished three styles of animal ornament found on Germanic brooch forms and metalwork from the fourth to ninth centuries (Salin 1904). The three styles were denoted simply by the terms Styles I, II, III. Salin considered each as evolved phases rather than separate, individual styles (Speake 1980, 10). After various attempts over the years to rename and reorder them, Salin's styles remain the predominant method of classification for early Anglo-Saxon ornament (Lucy 2000, 19).

Salin's Styles I and II both originated and developed in southern Scandinavia, and spread to other parts of Scandinavia, the Continent, and England (Pluskowski 2010, 106). The commencement of Style I in England has a largely accepted date of AD 475, as proposed by Haseloff (1981), overlapping with both Quoit Brooch Style and Saxon Relief Style, and persisting into the later sixth century (Webster 2011, 467; Pluskowski 2010, 106). Salin's Style I originally developed from the Nydam Style in southern Scandinavia during the mid-fifth century, emerging in England soon after as an Anglo-Saxon version, and gradually developing throughout the late fifth century (Gaimster 2011, 867). English Style I was centered on animal motifs, accompanied by scroll work and geometric designs (Figure 3.1); this style visibly displays the many influences taken from late Roman ornament, while simultaneously showing how they have been transformed into unique Germanic imagery (Webster 2011, 467; Gaimster 2011, 867). Thus, this style phase has been popularly associated with the notion of a developing Anglo-Saxon cultural identity in the sixth century (Gaimster 2011, 467).

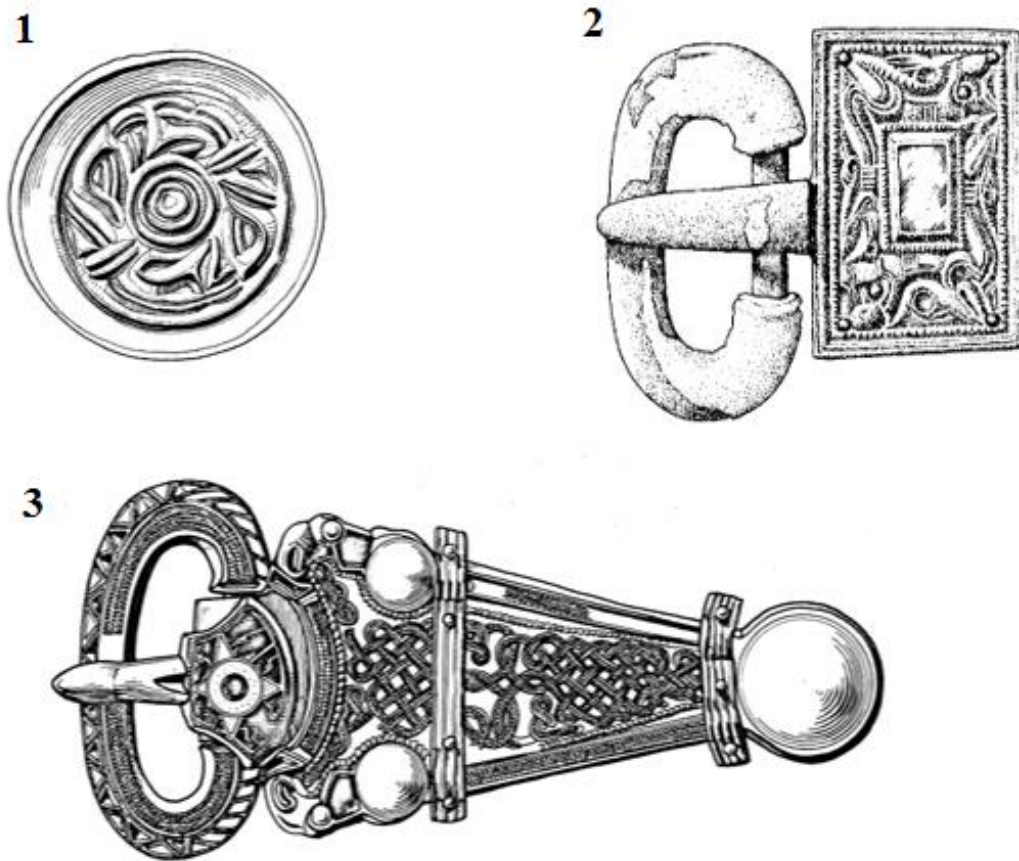


Figure 3.1: Examples of Style I (1, 2) and Style II (3) on early Anglo-Saxon objects (scale 1:1). (1) Saucer brooch G47.1 from Alton, Hampshire, after Evison 1988, 104, fig. 37. (2) Buckle G22.4 from Blacknall Field, Wiltshire, after Annable and Eagles 2010, 205, fig. 49. (3) Buckle G16.2 from Alton, Hampshire, after Evison 1988, 94, fig. 27.

Anglo-Saxon art of the sixth and seventh centuries is characterized by the distinctive animal ornament known as Salin's Style II (Speake 1980, 1). Style II, the lineal descendant of Style I, appeared in England in the later sixth century, and continued to develop throughout the seventh century (Webster 2011, 470-471; Pluskowski 2010, 106). Although the term 'Style II' may present it as one distinctive style, Speake stresses the variety and range in technique and quality of Style II ornament found across Anglo-Saxon England (1980, 2).

Style II features a new emphasis on more coherent and legible animals as compared to Style I, with symmetrical and interlacing decoration (Webster 2011, 471). Although motifs appear easier to interpret, they are still presented as puzzling and ambiguous figures (Pluskowski 2010, 106). Animal forms include snake-bodied creatures, interlacing pairs or processions, and more prominent beaked bird-of-prey heads, while man-beasts disappear in this style (Webster 2011, 471). In addition, Style II animal motifs include indicative species traits of raptors, wolves, boars, snakes, and horses (Pluskowski 2010, 106). Although both of these styles are often described as jumbled, barbaric, and baffling, scholars argue that the highly skilled artists behind this early animal art worked deliberately based on a carefully constructed artistic 'vocabulary' and 'grammar', which is expressed on each piece (Webster 2012, 15).

## **Animal iconography**

Early Anglo-Saxon metalwork is occupied by depictions of a select group of animals: quadrupeds and birds, primarily, with complementing appearances by snakes and fish. Quadrupeds include canines, boars, and horses, and birds are generally raptors with curved beaks (Pluskowski 2011, 769; Adams 2015, 14). Mythological creatures have also been identified, such as winged griffins, marine creatures with coiled tails, and hybrids formed of combinations of the two (Adams 2015, 14).

Animals are found both inside cremation urns, as burnt remains, and adorning their outer appearance, in the form of stamped and inscribed depictions, particularly on pots from the sixth century (Figure 3.2). The variety of animals in these decorations include horses, sheep, and deer, with appearances by mythical creatures and abstract zoomorphic designs (Williams 2001, 199-200).

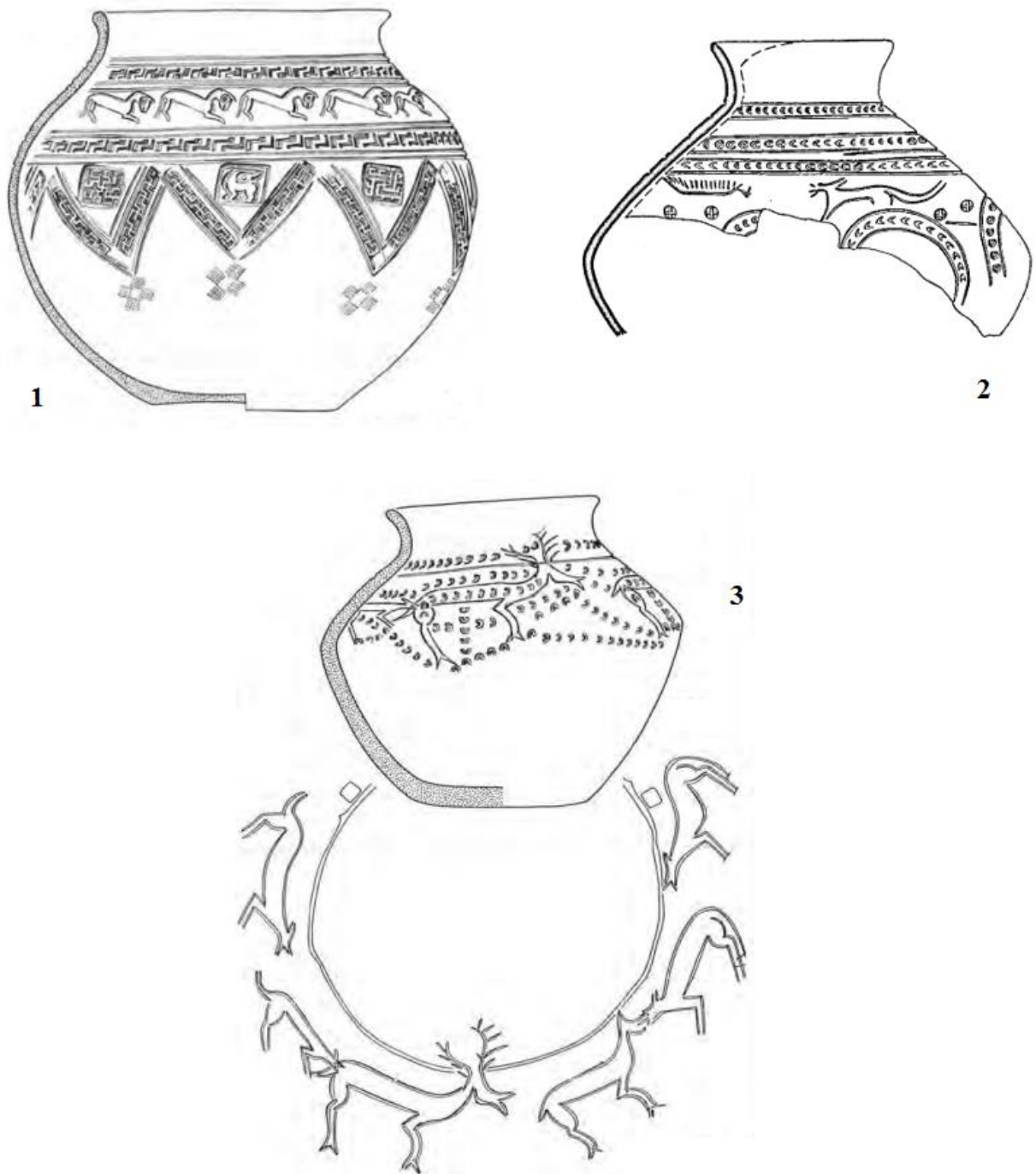


Figure 3.2: Different types and styles of animal depictions on cremation urns. (1) Pot C2443 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, with a row of horse stamps, after Hills et al. 1987, 133, fig. 53. Scale 1:3. (2) Pot R9/10 from Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk, after Myres and Green 1973, fig. 44. Scale 1:4. (3) Pot C2594 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, with detail of stag and dog designs, after Hills et al. 1987, 153, fig. 73. Scale 1:3.



Adams briefly discusses the collection of animals that are either rare or missing entirely from Anglo-Saxon metalwork, which were popular in Late Roman art styles or have been featured in Scandinavian and/or Continental art. This array consists of large land animals (elephants, lions, tigers, panthers); horned herbivores (cattle, goats); sheep and deer, although some do appear on cremation urns and high-status objects; birds other than raptors and doves (cockerels, geese, peacocks); mice or rats; lizards or amphibians; winged insects (aside from one exception from Sutton Hoo) (Adams 2015, 14-15). This substantial deviance from animal representation displayed in original Roman and Continental styles suggests insular art developments within England; Halsall (2014) argues that the deliberate breaking of well-known style rules, whilst making constant stylistic references to the preceding system, could reflect the public response to political change and traumatic circumstances through the popular art of the period.

Animal art in early Anglo-Saxon ornamentation cannot be considered as naturalistic representations of the creatures, but they are identifiable to an extent. In addition to identifying whole creatures, we can also distinguish parts of specific animals, as some of these figures appear to not be restricted to one species (Speake 1980, 77). Among the hybrids present, there are bird-headed quadrupeds (Figure 3.3), bird-headed serpents, and combinations of bird, boar, and serpent (Speake 1980, 77). Some objects show animals only represented by their disembodied heads or multiple heads ambiguously joined by interlace (Adams 2015, 14). In other cases, there is an emphasis on body parts and/or one single body part, exemplified by a square-headed brooch from Alton, Hampshire, with a central head-plate motif of one clawed leg (Figure 3.4). Body parts depicted on objects may have held their own significance, an “iconic independence”

(Pluskowski 2010, 106); they may have represented symbols, or even totems (see Chapter 5 for discussion of totemic beliefs).

Images of animals from the early Anglo-Saxon period, especially in Style I art, appear to stray away from reality; it has been emphasized that unnatural animal depictions were not meant to be strict reflections of nature, but idealized representations of the way they had been conceived and understood by people (Williams 2001, 199-200; Richards 1992, 139). This idea is conveyed by the presence of hybrid creatures and selection of and focus on individual body parts (Richards 1992, 139). As many of the aforementioned motifs commonly reoccur, zoomorphic ornament on early metalwork has been suggested as a method of conveying highly compressed information (Webster 2012, 23).

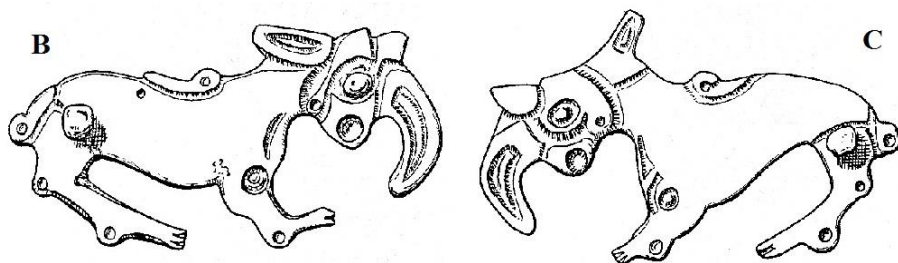


Figure 3.3: Shield mounts G26.B and G26.C from Bergh Apton, Norfolk, in the form of quadruped-bird hybrid entities (after Green and Rogerson 1978, 65, fig. 80). Scale 1:1.

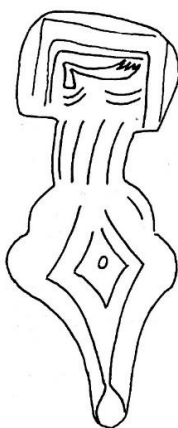


Figure 3.4: Square-headed brooch C31.2 from Alton, Hampshire, displaying leg/claw of animal in center panel of headplate (after Evison 1988, 109, fig. 42). Scale 1:1.

## Interpretations of animal art

There are many debates surrounding symbolic associations and roles of specific animals depicted in early Anglo-Saxon art, with a majority of arguments referring to Continental origins of the motifs. Primarily, archaeologists have been arguing for a symbolic role attributed to animals that goes beyond economic value (Richards 1992, 137). Evidence attesting to the use of animal symbolism is shown by the popular use of zoomorphic iconography on artefacts and animal sacrifice in a mortuary context (ibid.).

Different anthropological theories will be touched on throughout this section to give a brief overview of the many different manifestations of these beliefs, and how they may be connected to the early Anglo-Saxon peoples who employed these animal art styles. Other related theoretical topics, such as totemism, animism, and object agency, will be saved for further discussion in the following chapter.

## Pagan religion/mythology

Animal art has been interpreted as an expression of pagan mythology within Anglo-Saxon society, both as an insular development and one originating from Scandinavia and northern Europe (Gaimster 2011, 865). In these regions, the iconography and symbolism depicted on material culture is closely and significantly similar to the form and context of material culture from early Anglo-Saxon England (Pluskowski 2010, 116).

Multiple archaeologists present evidence suggesting the subscription to a pagan religion; for example, in her analysis of shield ornamentation, Dickinson (2005, 162) suggests that animal decorations found on shield mounts may have given the shield, and hence the wielder, supernatural protection. Another theory argues the connection of the boar, bird, and serpent to Nordic mythology, and specifically the god Odin, or Woden (Speake 1980, 92). Symbolic associations and roles suggested for the three animals include each as a guise of Odin/Woden. Each animal's symbolic significance may also be linked to their corresponding natural element: the bird is connected to the sky, therefore it is a solar symbol; the boar is restricted to the earth, therefore it is an earth 'deity'; the serpent treads both on the earth and underground, therefore symbolizing the link between world of living and underworld (ibid.). However, direct evidence showing the veneration of animals as deities in England is scarce, and only some exceptional cases attest to it in regions of northern Europe (Pluskowski 2010, 116).

## Shamanism

In addition to arguments focusing on the transmittance of Germanic beliefs and cosmologies over to England, many archaeologists make claims for a

shamanic belief in early Anglo-Saxon society. Within shamanism, the conceptual boundary between humans and animals could be blurred and each side made accessible in order to tap into and control desired characteristics of certain species of animals. This process would involve a specialist (a 'shaman') to facilitate the ritual and the desired outcomes (Pluskowski 2011, 771).

Glosecki (1989; 1980) argues for totemic and shamanic beliefs in early Anglo-Saxon society based on traces of animism and totemism within the later Anglo-Saxon Old English literary work *Beowulf* and examples of animal art from the archaeological record; his work is discussed in depth in Chapter 5. Based on archaeological and anthropological accounts of animal sacrifice in mortuary contexts, Williams (2001, 206) suggests that the presence of animal depictions and remains in cremation rites presents an early Anglo-Saxon religious view pertaining to shamanic beliefs; this relates to themes of "deliberate ambiguity" and "transformation and metamorphosis between elements of animals and people". Cremation was a process signifying the destruction and rebuilding of the identity of the deceased; therefore, it is possible that the sacrifice of animals was used to mirror this process. The sacrificial animals may have served 'transformation agents', or representations of important aspects of the deceased person's new identity (ibid.). Animals may have also been regarded as symbols for the dead and/or the ancestors (ibid.).

### Exclusivity in ambiguity

From the end of the fifth century and into the seventh century, Germanic populations from both the Continent and England developed and employed animal iconography on a range of different objects. Considering its popular appearance in many forms, it is possible that a large majority of people had

possessed at least a partial knowledge of and belief in the symbolism behind the style (Hedeager 1998, 391). Most Anglo-Saxon jewelry with zoomorphic decoration is relatively basic, with a rare few examples of complex artwork; the rarity of these elaborate pieces suggests they were exclusive, only in the possession of certain individuals (Pluskowski 2011, 769). In addition to being exclusively owned, there is also the exclusivity of the iconographic consumption itself. Special pre-existing knowledge, broad experience from many examples, or verbal explanation would have been required to fully comprehend these motifs, possibly suggesting the existence of 'exclusive' groups or individuals within early Anglo-Saxon society (Martin 2013, 12-14).

### Animals as social identifiers/totems

Drawing from similar links between certain animal representations, artefacts, and social groups in Scandinavia and the Continent, it is suggested that animals seen in early Anglo-Saxon art (primarily the raptor, wolf, boar, and serpent) may have been used for social identification, as a type of totem. Within a society focused upon a religious worldview that emphasizes the somewhat tangible boundary/division between human and animal beings, the idea of humans connecting to animals on more than one basis is heavily supported (Pluskowski 2011, 769).

In many cases, theories proposed consist of totemic animal use connecting individuals to kinship/roles within communities. Richards (1992, 138-139) argues that sacrificial animal remains of particular animal species found in cremation burials were used as totemic indicators, linking species to social groupings by age, sex, or both. With regard to this idea, other archaeologists have spotted correlations between animal art and who was displaying it. In his

analysis of the cruciform brooch as part of early Anglo-Saxon costume, Martin (2015) suggests that cruciform brooches were at one point restricted to use by only the oldest women of communities. The exclusivity of these brooches could be an indication of high status within kin group, possibly extending out to “network of elite groups throughout Europe” (ibid., 231). Magnus (1999, 164) considers bird frieze brooches from the western Baltic islands in the Migration Period, which may have depicted a shared origin myth within East Germanic high ranking families on the continent/East Scandinavia; one of these bird frieze brooches worn by a woman could signify the specific tribe she belonged to, to be displayed only in certain occasions and contexts, such as rituals.

Aside from metalwork, animal stamps on cremation urns have also been a significant point of study regarding social status identification. During the study of the cemetery at Spong Hill (Hills 1977; Hills et al. 1987; 1994), pots were sorted into stamp-linked groups, including multiple groups of animal-motif stamp in the form of animals and birds. Hills points out that these stamps appear to differ from the smaller and more common stamps, suggesting the animal ornaments were deliberately chosen for significance, instead of for purely decorative reasons; additionally, while most of the stamp groups were found on pots clustered within the same area of the cemetery, probably demonstrating family burial arrangements, the pots with animal-motif stamps were scattered across the cemetery (Hills 2012, 5; Hills 2009, 227). Rather than conveying kinship ties, it may be possible that these animal stamps were used to express the individual’s social significance within the community, based in an overarching ideology or spiritualistic beliefs.

Zoomorphic art styles in Anglo-Saxon England have been interpreted by many as signifying an individual’s high social status, mainly by its typical

appearance on prestigious objects, especially in Salin's Style II (Gaimster 2011, 865; Speake 1980, 38). Høilund Nielsen has proposed the existence of two stylistic traditions within Anglo-Saxon Style II, Kentish and East Anglian, which she suggests were used by elites in both regions to legitimize their authority (1999, 200).

Following similar ideas expressed about animal symbolism from the Continent and Scandinavia, it has been suggested that early Anglo-Saxon animal art was used to express a type of hierarchy and denote the ideology and identity of the 'fighting elite' (Pluskowski 2010, 103). In post-Roman Germanic and Scandinavian societies, political authority was rooted in cultural identity and a new or reinvented religious cosmology (Hedeager 1999, 151). Animal symbolism was crucial in demonstrating political power, as the animal-art style helped to establish the elite's wisdom and ideological supremacy (Høilund Nielsen 1997, 145). Animals were considered the connection between the living world and the supernatural, and therefore, zoomorphic iconography became a distinct symbol of human contact with the supernatural world (Hedeager 1999, 154-155).

Within her previously discussed argument for the protective roles of animal-ornamented shields, Dickinson also suggests that animal-ornamented shield mounts (Style I, rarely Style II) from sixth century England were used to increase symbolic value of either the shield, the context of the ownership, or the burial. Furthermore, the animal ornament may have infused the shields with a "specific apotropaic quality", accentuating not only the protective role of the wielder, but also their authority within their kin group, community, or something larger (Dickinson 2005, 161-162).

A reappearing motif on Anglo-Saxon metalwork, commonly connected to expressing dominance in battle, consists of animals symbolizing predator/hunter



and prey (Adams 2015). Examples include the hound and hare motifs, seen in an abstract form in Style I objects, and the griffin, a 'fantastical beast of the hunt' which emerged in Style I as well (ibid., 48). Specific combinations such as eagle/snake, eagle/fish, and eagle/dragon were used on shields and horse harness (ibid., 48-49). In some contexts, where birds of prey have been interpreted as shamanic helping spirits, they have conversely been considered as representing destructive forces (Magnus 1999, 167).

### **Connections between animal and human depictions**

While this chapter has focused on animal depictions, the most central and widely represented motifs in early Anglo-Saxon art, from which we can consider many possibilities explaining their employment, the human and human/animal hybrid motifs depicted alongside the animal art contributes heavily to this discussion. For this reason, the next chapter is dedicated to the 'human' art of the period, where it will delve into topics of human iconography, artistic depictions of hybridity, and the fluidity of human and animal forms. Aided by an understanding of the range of motifs used by early Anglo-Saxons in their art, this paper will then proceed to cover the theories pertinent to the discussion of different worldviews based in the relationships between humans, animals, and objects. It is through the application of these theories that we may be able to see a substantial connection between the early Anglo-Saxon people and the chosen motifs on their objects.

## 4: Depictions of Humans

As mentioned in the previous discussion of animal art, depictions of humans have been found alongside those of non-human creatures on objects from early Anglo-Saxon graves. Within this period, naturalistic human images are rare, and the depictions that do exist tend to be highly stylized and schematized (Webster 2012, 8-9). Human iconographic motifs on these kinds of objects consist of masks, hands, limbs, and human-animal hybrid creatures (ibid., 8, 14). Brooches, along with many other decorated items, are believed to be representations of self-identity and ethnicity, “constructed through the mediation of perceived difference from others” (Suzuki 2000, 19). This chapter will provide an overview of human depictions on early Anglo-Saxon objects, and examine the current interpretations for the beliefs illustrated on these artefacts, including expression of ‘paganism’, social identification, and fluid human/animal forms.

### **Human iconography**

Examples of human iconography can be found on many early Anglo-Saxon objects, primarily in the form of metalwork and pottery. In terms of styles, depictions of humans appear on Quoit Brooch Style and Salin’s Styles I and II artefacts. Quoit Brooch Style features highly stylized and simplified human masks which come in two forms: full face and partial face (Suzuki 2000, 1; 15). Later, in Salin’s Styles I and II, humans appear again as masks but also as part of human/animal hybrids (Webster 2012, 56). Particularly in Style I art, combinations use human masks/heads or hands, raptor beaks, and quadruped heads or clawed limbs, to create an ‘animal-man’ or ‘animal-bird-man’ (Pluskowski 2010, 106). On pottery, human representations appear on cremation urns in the form of

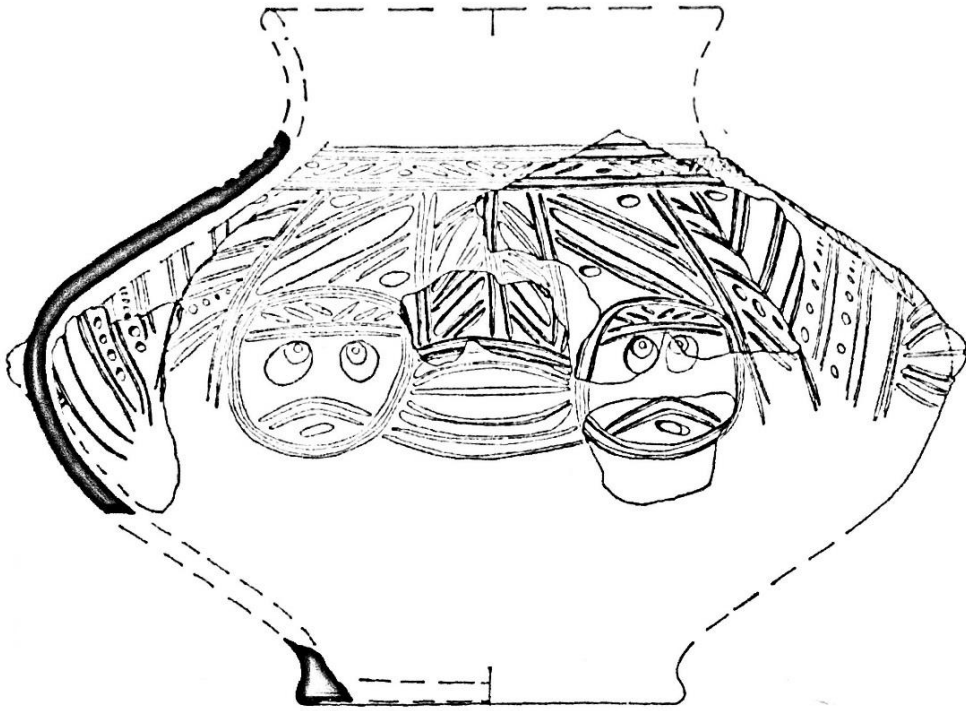


Figure 4.1: Pot LXX from Markshall, Norfolk, with drawings of human faces (after Myres and Green 1973, fig. 68). Scale 1:2.

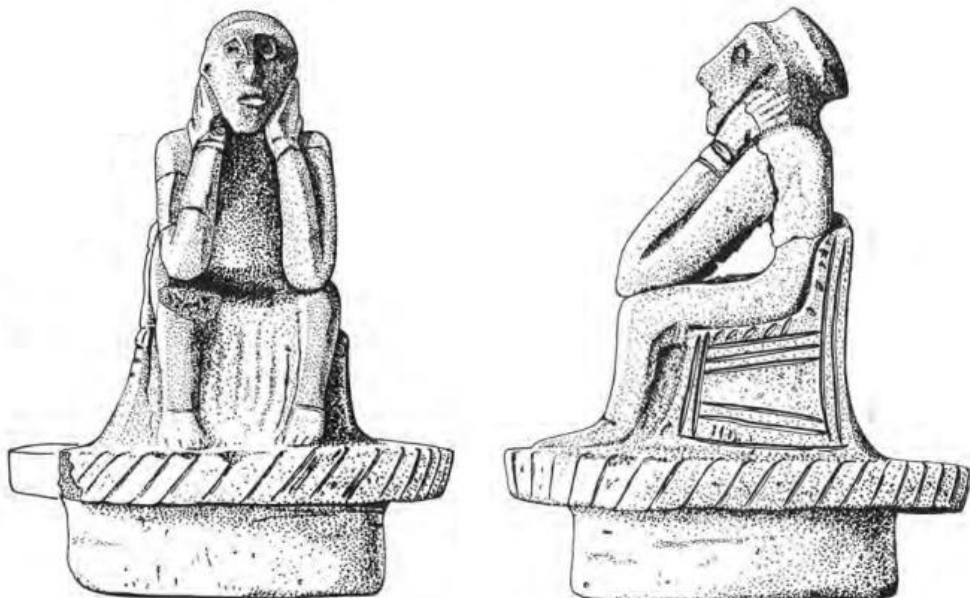


Figure 4.2: Pot lid C3324 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, featuring a model of a seated human figure (after Hills et al. 1987, 162, fig. 82). Scale 1:2.



Figure 4.3: Variety of human facial features depicted on button brooches (scale 2:1). (1) G37.1 from Alton, Hampshire, after Evison 1988, 100, fig. 33. (2) G80.2 from Worthy Park, Hampshire, after Hawkes and Grainger 2003, 105, fig. 2.34. (3) G44.1 from Blacknall Field, Wiltshire, after Annable and Eagles 2010, 217, fig. 55. (4) Unstratified object 6 from Market Lavington, Wiltshire, after Williams and Newman 2006, 66, fig. 43.

carved drawings of faces/masks (Figure 4.1) and a unique example of an urn lid in the form of a seated figure (Figure 4.2).

The human mask motif is a highly recurring one, but it is not limited to only one form. Variations consist of missing or additional, or morphed features, such as noses, mouths, eyebrows, hair/helmets, moustaches/beards. Different mouth forms include open or closed, upturned, and protruding tongue (Figure 4.3). Moustaches and beards of different densities/degrees of curling are sometimes present, especially on florid cruciform brooches alongside flowing, curling hair (full discussion of florid cruciform brooch types and imagery in Leeds and Pocock, 1971). The perspective of the face is also varied; there are examples for

profile/partial faces, as well as an example from Worthy Park, Hampshire described as “three-quarters” face, looking to the right (Figure 4.3.2). The ‘helmed profile’ motif is comprised of a cap, nose guard, eye and a moustache, but more elaborate versions feature helmet plumes, curled eyebrows and other minor features (Martin 2015, 42). Some illustrations present the combination of multiple figures (both human and animal) to create the image of a single mask (Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: Square-headed brooch G31.1 from Blacknall Field, Wiltshire, with center panel of headplate displaying the combination of two animals to give the impression of a human mask (after Annable and Eagles 2010, 211, fig. 52). Scale 1:1.

Alongside the variability of human mask motifs, there are plenty of examples for ambiguity and hybridity of humans and animals within early Anglo-Saxon material culture. In some cases, the facial hair of a human face appears to transform into an animal, usually the head of a bird (Figure 4.5). The molded decorative foot on many cruciform brooches showcases variations of human and animal depictions; either in the form of an animal or human head, or a hybrid of the two with “large bulging eyes, bulbous or elaborately scrolled nostrils, and even

sometimes curled moustaches” (Martin 2015, 5). Cruciform brooches are decorated with motifs that can be interpreted either as a human profile with a moustache, or as a bird profile with a curved beak (ibid., 42). On other objects, the appearance of ambiguous faces leaves us unsure of whether it is representative of an animal or human figure (Figure 4.6). Other hybrid forms are exemplified by Style I creatures on a square-headed brooch from Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, with clearly human heads in profile attached to stylized animal bodies (Webster 2012, 15).

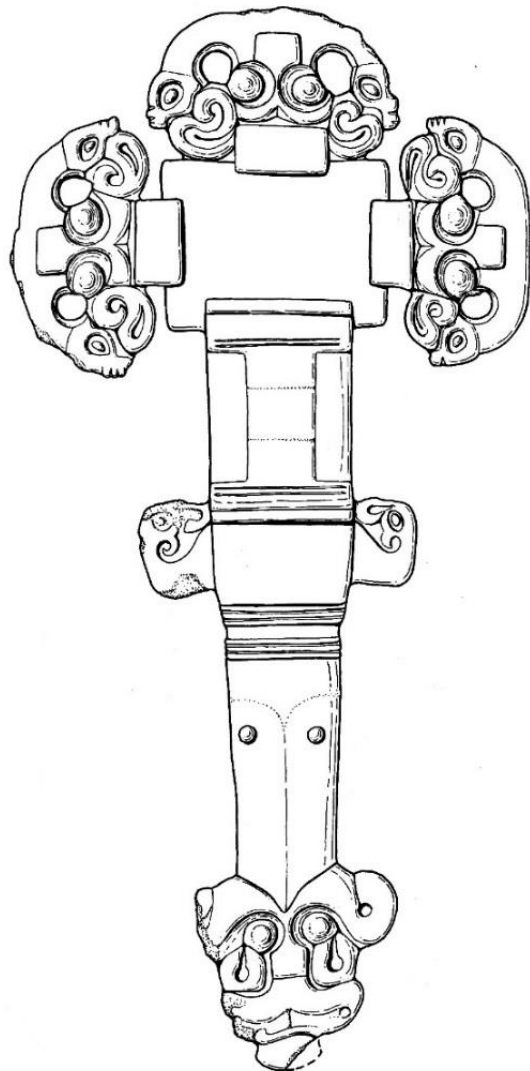


Figure 4.5: Cruciform brooch G16.C from Snape, Suffolk, showing human to animal transformation on headplate lappets in the form of human masks (facing outward), with facial hair ending in animal heads (after Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 133, fig. 91). Scale 1:1.



Figure 4.6: Applied brooch C34/3582.1 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, decorated with four ambiguous entities, facing inward, around the center panel, to possibly be interpreted as either human faces or animals with horns or pointed ears (after Hills 1977, 197, fig. 110). Scale 1:1.

### **Interpretations of human depictions**

Human depictions on early Anglo-Saxon material culture have been explained in a number of ways, mainly in conjunction with the animal art found either on the same object or within the same context. Newer research in this field is shifting the discussion from explanations based on economic and cultural contacts to concepts of social and political power in a regional context (Gaimster 2011, 866). Theories based in the discussion of the ‘self’ and boundaries between human and animal bodies and spirits will also be presented in this section.

### **Pagan beliefs and social identification**

As discussed in the previous chapter, zoomorphic decoration is popularly perceived as a reflection of the ‘pagan’ beliefs held by the inhabitants of early Anglo-Saxon England resulting from both insular developments and influence from Scandinavia and northern Europe. Alongside the depictions of animals are those of human figures, which have been interpreted as images of gods instead of humans; one Germanic god in particular, Odin/Woden, is the primary subject of many interpretations of human figures featured in pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon art (Webster 2012, 17, 38).

Specific representations of humans in early period material culture have been interpreted to be socially and/or ritually significant. The previously mentioned pot lid from Spong Hill portrays a human figure that sits on a throne which is notably similar to a fifth century decorated wooden ceremonial chair from a Saxon chieftain's burial at Fallward, north Germany (Schon 1999, cited in Webster 2012, 38), possibly suggesting that the figure on the lid was used for signifying the individual's position in society. Meanwhile, images of warriors, depicted in some cases as near-naked or dancing, on buckles, helmets, and other high-status male objects appear to be related to ritual activities, which in turn may also suggest a protective function of the depictions (Webster 2012, 38).

Hedeager proposes that from around 400 AD to 1000 AD, objects in northern Europe with human/animal hybrids are associated with an elite context (2010, 111-112). Bracteates are one instance of a symbolic object which shows expressions of religious ideas and social and political power. The central figure of a bracteate is typically shown with symbols of power, such as imperial insignia, or other characteristics of kingship (Gaimster 2011, 873-874). Scandinavian bracteates, which appear to have shown their owners as "individuals of prestige and social standing", have primarily been found in female graves, suggesting a bigger role for women in the ritual and political sphere than what was previously thought, especially regarding the creation and legitimization of power (ibid., 876-877).

Continental bracteates have also been regarded as material evidence for shamanism in the Germanic regions, demonstrating a symbolic repertoire of shamanic practices, such as depicting a shaman's journey to the 'other' world (Hedeager 1999, 153). The shamanic soul is represented by a human head, usually with the guise of a bird or with hair styled in the form of a bird's head;



some bracteates feature what is believed to be the god Odin portraying the shaman, with hair terminating in a hook-beaked bird's head (Magnus 1999, 164; Hedeager 1999, 153). The shamanic figure is accompanied by guardian spirits: the large, often horned, four-legged animal; the bird; and, sometimes, a fish or a snake (Hedeager 1999, 153).

## Hybridity and fluidity between human and animal forms

Regarding the mention of shamanistic beliefs above, there is an apparent perception of the blurred line between human and animal held by the early Anglo-Saxons, which has been closely traced from Old Norse Germanic and Scandinavian art, illustrating a belief in bodily fluidity and transformation (Hedeager 2010, 111). Within these scenes, we can see representations of humans and animals in process of changing from one form to the next. For example, different stages of human-boar transformations have been illustrated on different objects: a human with a boar's head on a helmet plate from Vendel, Sweden (Stolpe and Arne 1912, cited in Hedeager 2010, 112), and a human with legs as boar heads on a belt buckle from Åker, Norway (Gustafson 1906, cited in Hedeager 2010, 112).

According to Hedeager, within the cosmology of the Scandinavian Iron Age, "the self was fluid and fragmented, in a constant and potential process of transformations... the sum of all parts constituted a much larger reality than the body as a single physical and personal entity" (ibid., 117). The boundaries between animal species, including animals and humans, were erased, as seen in the many hybrid depictions. Many animals, such as horses or birds, were believed to possess supernatural abilities and were "consulted for information" (ibid., 114-117). Hedeager also describes the Norse spiritual concepts of *hugr*,

*fylgjur*, and *hamingja*, all of which pertain to the fluidity of the spirit and human/animal forms. *Hugr* is a concept best described as a 'thought', wish, desire, or direct personality; this materialization is able to leave the body in either human or animal disguise. *Fylgjur* is explained as a kind of 'doppelgänger' or alter ego, which is attached to a person and takes the shape of a human or animal, and can best be understood as an externalized 'soul', or embodiment of personal luck. Along similar terms of external materialization, *hamingja* is described as "the embodiment of the good fortune of the family" (ibid., 116).

Following Scandinavian examples, the expression of human-animal transformation has been interpreted from early Anglo-Saxon objects by many scholars. According to Martin (2013, 9-10), Style I motifs and their anthropomorphic/zoomorphic features on cruciform brooches appear to grow increasingly more ambiguous over time. These motifs are an amalgamation of different human and bestial characteristics, instead of distinct and separate human/animal components (ibid., 10). In Leigh's (1984) analysis of Style I animal art on early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, square-headed brooches were shown to depict animal heads when viewed from the front with the head-plate at the top; however, when viewed from a 90-degree angle, the images became human masks. Leigh suggests that the ambiguity of these 'visual riddles' and apparent depiction of human-animal hybridization and transformation can be associated with theories of shamanic beliefs in Anglo-Saxon England (ibid., 34-40).

Examples of these kinds of belief in human/animal hybridity and fluidity of forms have also been observed in many other parts of the world at different points in time. Hughes (2010) discusses hybrids of humans and animals, with a focus on classical Greco-Roman figures, and presents different interpretations of what the hybrids symbolize: the liminality of being a part of neither and both categories

at once, and becoming the figure to mediate between the two worlds. Hughes suggests that “different anatomical models [of human/animal hybrids] respond to different beliefs about where the boundary between human and animal is most permeable” (ibid., 109). In the Late Bronze Age of the Lower Danube region, figurines and vessels appear to represent human bodies of which some parts are animal, and vice versa. Known examples include a human head with bird beak, and a bird with human legs (Palincaş 2010, 76). As well as hybrid forms, the viewing perspective of the object can transform the figure from human to animal, or from animal to human, further blurring the distinction between the two categories (ibid., 76, 78). Palincaş (ibid., 81-83) argues that these ceramic objects reflect upon the animistic ontologies of the peoples who produced and possessed them, and display the group’s belief in “transformability of all that exists.”

These interpretations detail the current thinking around human and animal depictions in early Anglo-Saxon art and their potential meanings, but also present the possibilities from other periods for further consideration. Shamanism and animism, two themes presented above, will be discussed in depth alongside other anthropological theories and worldviews throughout the next chapter to provide more detail on how they can be used to comprehend the beliefs of the early Anglo-Saxons.

## 5: Theoretical Approaches

This study applies theories from the fields of anthropology and material culture studies in order to explore the potential roles of objects with human and/or animal depictions in early Anglo-Saxon social and religious dynamics. This chapter offers an overview and discussion of the theories and worldviews in the focus of this dissertation: totemism, shamanism, animism, object agency, and actor-network theory.

### **Totemism**

Before describing the extensive debate around the term 'totemism', it will be helpful to start on what has been generally agreed on: its derivation. The word *totem* is derived from the Ojibwa, and Algonquin Native American group, from the region north of the Great Lakes in North America (Lévi-Strauss 1969, 86). Lévi-Strauss (ibid.) analyzes and explains the original Ojibwa expression, *ototeman*, to approximately mean, 'he/she is a relative of mine', which has laid the groundwork for current definitions.

Original arguments surrounding totemism classified it as a primal form of religion, and an early state of religious belief (Frazer 1910; Durkheim 1915; cited in Insoll 2011, 1007). Later debates departed from the evolutionary ideas of totemism and reached for explanations based on the use of classificatory and symbolic systems within relationships between individuals/groups and parts of the natural world. Instead of perceiving totemic symbols as definitive signals of social differentiation, Evans-Pritchard saw them as symbols of relationships, between lineages, families, and individuals (1956, 92). The best representation of this later view is within Lévi-Strauss' *Totemism* (1969), one of the most

important works on totemism, where various types of totemic phenomena are illustrated through a table of collective and individual relations (ibid., 84-85).

Broad summaries of totemism define it as “the use of animals or plants as emblems or guardians of social *groups* celebrated in *ritual*” (Layton 2000, 169, original emphasis). Different ethnological accounts have shown that totems have not been restricted simply to certain animals and plants. Evans-Pritchard (1956) observed totems of the Nuer people in the form of animals (64-72), plants (72-73), rivers and streams (73-74), cattle with certain markings (74-75), hides of cattle (75), rafters and rope used in construction of byres/huts (76). In some cases, totems have also been observed as a specific part of an animal (Durkheim 1915, 138). Culturally-defined metaphorical differences between types of totems, such as bird species, may also convey social differences between cultural groups (Tilley 1999, 23). Ethnographical observation of Australian Aboriginal tribes showed that types of totems reflected sub-categorization of lineages divided into smaller lineages; for example, the lineage associated with the mongoose was divided into smaller lineages associated with brindled mongooses and white-tailed mongooses (Evans-Pritchard 1956, 89). Totems frequently tend to be equated with the animal guardian of a group or individual; however, in many cultural contexts, guardianship is not the totem’s main feature. Instead, totems are group-related symbols which signal kinship and associated the individual with his or her lineage (Glosecki 2001, 24-25). This does not mean to imply that totems simply existed in a society to assist with social organization; totemic animals venerated and avoided by social groups within the Tallensi of northern Ghana symbolize “the mystical ‘livingness’ of the Earth” (Fortes 1945, 142-143).

In a view of totemism that is currently accepted, it is suggested that totemism exists as a religious phenomenon, and usually within the context of

other phenomena (e.g. ancestor or earth cults) (Insoll 2011, 1004). Totemistic phenomena do not need common origin to develop; this is drawn from assumptions that North American tribes (the Kwakiutl, the Hopi, and the Iroquois) each developed their own totemic systems independently (Glosecki 1980, 31-32). Nevertheless, other cases show adoption of totemic structuring from influential neighbors, exemplified by the Tewa community, which was not totemic until after migrating, when they were influenced by Hopi neighbors; the Tewa totemic system appeared to be formed closely from the existing Hopi system (Glosecki 1980, 32).

It is difficult and somewhat impossible to present a simple, specific definition for totemism, as there is too much variety between different cultural contexts. Within *Totemism*, Levi-Strauss (1969) offers a scheme to help guide the comprehension of this cultural phenomenon. He describes totemism as a term covering relations, posed ideologically, between two arbitrarily-named series: natural and cultural. The natural series is comprised of 'categories' and 'particulars'; the cultural series is comprised of 'groups' and 'persons'. He notes that all terms used were arbitrarily chosen to distinguish between two 'modes of existence': collective and individual. The four terms are associated two-by-two, between opposing series, creating four possible combinations each corresponding to observable totemic phenomena (Figure 5.1). Following Levi-Strauss, totemism encapsulates a type of logic, rather than an isolated practice of classification; it was used in societies to impose distinctions found in nature upon different categories of people, distinguishing between persons and groups and creating a structure of relationships (Weiner 1994, 595; Woodward 2007, 67).

As structuralist views and models began to lose validity within archaeological scholarship, Levi-Strauss' concept of totemism underwent some

reconsideration. In his work, Descola (2013) expresses a disagreement with Levi-Strauss and his classificatory approach to totemism. Rather, Descola regards it as one of four modes of identification, alongside animism, naturalism, and analogism. These four ontologies are based on perceived similarities and differences of 'interiorities' and 'physicalities' between humans and nonhumans, where 'interiority' refers to spiritual aspects (mind, soul, consciousness) and physicality is to material aspects (body). Therefore, animism coincides with a similarity of an interiority and dissimilarity of a physicality; totemism, a similarity of an interiority and similarity of a physicality; naturalism, a dissimilarity of an interiority and similarity of a physicality; and analogism, a dissimilarity of an interiority and dissimilarity of a physicality (Figure 5.2).

According to Descola, totemism is an ontology where 'hybrid collectives' (or 'totem classes') of humans and nonhumans share similarities in interiority and physicality within each other. In a presented example of the Chickasaw people from the southeastern United States, clans or hamlets were attributed totems based on qualities concerning behavior, diet, costume, temperament, means of subsistence, and physical aptitudes. For example, Puma people resided in the mountains, had an aversion to water, and relied on game as their main source of food; Wild-Cat people were nocturnal, as their sharp sense of sight allowed them to hunt at night (Swanton 1928, cited in Descola 2013, 166). A further example surrounding the groups in the northern Algonquins portrays a similar, but more particular manifestation of totemism: in some cases, a groups' totem was the eponymous animal that they depended on for subsistence or survival, either as food or as trade stock (ibid., 170-171). Descola demonstrates totemism as a mode of identification based on the notion that "each group of humans claims to

share with a group of nonhumans a collection of physical and psychic dispositions that distinguishes them, as an ontological class, from others” (2013, 167).

Totemism has been difficult to adequately define and pinned with problematic associations, but it is still encouraged by scholars to explore this phenomenon in an archaeological context (Insoll 2011, 1014). While the application of totemism to the early Anglo-Saxon period is not very frequent, examples do exist. For instance, in his previously mentioned thesis, Glosecki (1980) uses an anthropological approach to tackle literary conundrums in *Beowulf* concerning kinship and names; he claims that early ‘Germanic’ tribes utilized totemic social systems, based on evidence from the Old English epic and Native American ethnography. With a selective study of descriptive data of Native American tribes, Glosecki lists ten ‘symptoms’ of a totemistic society (Figure 5.3) and creates a working definition of totemism; this definition is then applied to the worldview depicted in Germanic literary remains, to arrive at a rough definition of Germanic totemism (1980, 4-5). The one main, suggested, totemic animal representation in question is the boar depicted on Beowulf’s helmet, as described in the Old English epic, *Beowulf* (305-306). Through a detailed comparison of traits of ‘Amerindian’ tribes and Germanic tribes showcased in *Beowulf*, Glosecki strongly suggests that Germanic culture was “undeniably totemic” (1980, 4).

Glosecki’s study exemplifies the process of synthesizing and applying working definitions of totemism cases in an attempt to examine the existence of a totemistic social configuration where there is little direct written evidence, specifically within an early Anglo-Saxon perspective. With regard to this study, although they were handpicked and formed to support theories based on a work of literature rather than archaeological finds, Glosecki’s ten symptoms provide a useful outline for the various ways a society may display totemistic phenomena.



<b>Combination</b>	<b>Example</b>
Category/Group	Aboriginal Australian totemism – relationship between animal/vegetable species or class of objects or phenomena, and a cultural group
Category/Person	North American Indians – “an individual seeks by means of physical traits to reconcile himself with a natural category”
Particular/Person	Mota (in the Banks Islands) – child is perceived as incarnation of animal/plant found or eaten by mother upon awareness of pregnancy
Particular/Group	New Zealand – certain animals (guardian lizards) are objects of social protection and veneration

Figure 5.1: Four kinds of observable totemic phenomena, according to Levi-Strauss (1969, 84-85).

	<b>Similar in physicality</b>	<b>Dissimilar in physicality</b>
<b>Similar in interiority</b>	Totemism	Animism
<b>Dissimilar in interiority</b>	Naturalism	Analogism

Figure 5.2: Four modes of identification, or ontologies, presented by Descola (2013, 121-122).

1	Associative reasoning (dualism of mind): the basic intellectual structure expressed in the events of discrete totemic systems.
2	Association of totemic eponyms with kin groups within these systems.
3	The clansman's belief in an intimate link between himself and his totem, with this link almost always expressed as lineal or lateral kinship.
4	Mythogenesis as a means of rationalizing the origin of eponyms, as well as of the clans themselves.
5	The classification of all natural phenomena in categories headed by the various totems of the individual system. Continuity within these categories is determined subjectively, by observed similarities of components. This application of associative reasoning might be called 'totemic logic'.
6	Two types of animal image distinct from the totem per se, but nevertheless the result of applied 'totemic logic': <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the <i>nigouimes</i>, or personal guardian.</li> <li>- the eponym of a tribal organization other than a kin group.</li> </ul>
7	Taboo, closely associated with totemic society; often the clanman's interaction with members of his eponymous species is restricted by taboo. Concomitant with taboo are rituals that reflect totemic morality.
8	Exogamy, an integral aspect of the totemic system: the exogamous group, symbolized by the totem, is delineated by clan, phratry, or moiety.
9	The totemic kin group, or sib: an artificially vised exogamous unit within the tribe. The limits of the sib are expanded beyond those of the nuclear family. Descent within the sib is unilineal; the newborn's lineage (and hence his exogamic orientation) is most often reckoned matrilineally.
10	Personal names generally complimentary of sib totems. Place-names, too, may be totemically determined.

Figure 5.3: Glosecki's ten symptoms of totemistic society (1980, 47-49).

## Shamanism

Shamanism remains a hotly debated and constantly redefined topic since it first emerged in Western scholarship in the mid-1500s (Price 2011, 983). Since the 1970s, it has become extremely popular in the fields of anthropology and religious studies (Hutton 2001, vii). As a concept, shamanism refers to “the use of spirits as guardians and helpers of *individuals*, contacted through *trance*,” in

which 'trance' involves entering into a psychosomatic state to achieve specific social and political ends (Layton 2000, 169-170, original emphasis). These trance states or altered states of consciousness accessed in shamanic practices vary between regions and social groups (Price 2011, 989). An observed shamanic symptom is the animal companion, or *nigouimes*, defined as the "spirit helper whose shape the doctor sometimes borrows" (Glosecki 1989, 181).

Both shamanism and totemism are regarded as "two of the most pervasive indigenous theories of being to have been discussed in the anthropological literature" (Layton 2000, 169). Totemistic phenomena are regularly mislabeled as indicators of shamanism, due to the shared association with specifically attributed animals. Within this discussion, it is necessary to bring up the distinction between the two. Glosecki distinguishes between shaman regalia and totems: "frequently, the shaman wears animal regalia identifying him [or her] with his [or her] helper, who should be sharply distinguished from the *totem*, which, strictly speaking, symbolizes a kin group and not the more highly individualized gift of spirit power" (Glosecki 1989, 8). Regarding the use of animals in totemism, the derivative word of totem, *ototeman*, is described as a kinship sign, public and (usually) group-related, whereas the *nigouimes*, or 'animal guardian' is characterized as a "personal vehicle of spirit power," individualistic and sometimes totally private (Glosecki 2001, 25).

Shamanism currently appears to be 'academically fashionable' where totemism is not, possibly accounting for the absorption of totemistic phenomena into shamanic interpretive framework in recent works (Insoll 2011, 1008-1009). However, this is not to say that totemism and shamanism are two concepts that cannot coexist in a single society. We must remember to consider that a society

may be symptomatic of totemic phenomena, shamanic beliefs, or a combination of the two (e.g. Layton 2000).

The first western accounts of shamanism originate from Siberia, where a “fragmentary picture emerged of an ‘ensouled world’ in which everything was alive and filled with spirits” (Price 2011, 983). Within the society, certain ‘special’ individuals ensured the maintenance of good relationships with the spirits, engaging with them through a type of trance state; these individuals were equipped with ceremonial headgear and garments featuring parts of animals, bronze figures, drums, and organic materials (Price 2011, 983-986). These circumstances allow the shaman to be an ‘agent of change’ in the social group, through a role such of a priest, spiritual healer, or cultic official (Jordan 2001, 88).

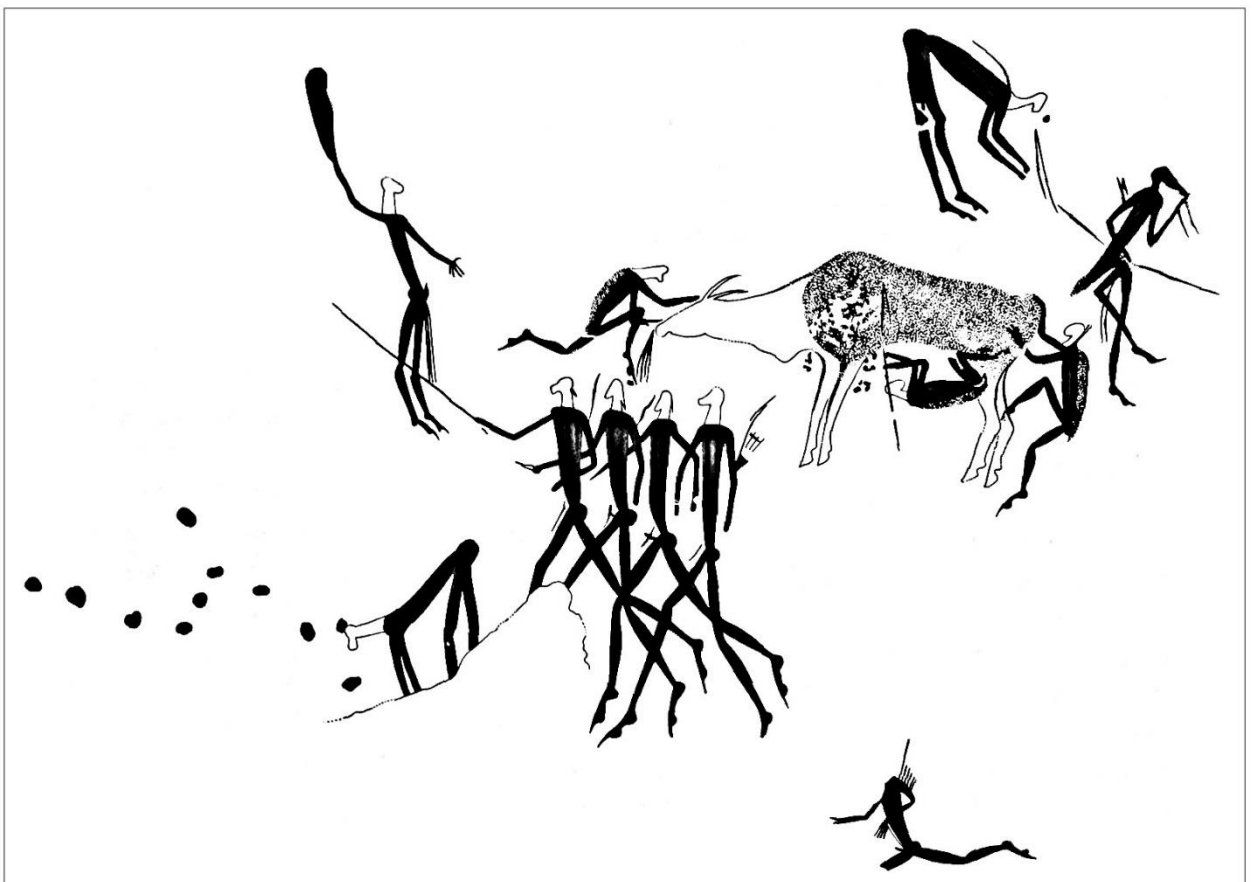


Figure 5.4: A San rock painting of a ‘shamanistic’ scene, featuring the eland and multiple human figures (after Lewis-Williams 2001, 25, fig. 2.5).

Depictions of shamanism can be found on a range of mediums; in the case of the San peoples in southern Africa, their rock art displays varied, detailed imagery which has been described as 'shamanistic'. Examples include images of trance dances illustrating known indicators of altered states, frequent and careful depiction of the eland (the animal with the most supernatural potency/energy), and hallucinatory percepts such as out-of-body travel and human-to-animal transformation (Lewis-Williams 2001, 21-22; Figure 5.3). These depictions are drawn from images with subjects such as puberty and coming-of-age rituals, marriage rites, and other social relations (ibid., 24). Shamanism in this context was not just an option; it formed the framework of San thought and society (ibid., 26).

Price (2002) presents ethnographic case studies of shamanic/totemic societies from Siberia, North America, etc. in order to investigate a type of shamanism/totemism possibly practiced by peoples of early medieval/late Iron Age Scandinavia. The shamanic and totemic worldview of the peoples of the Canadian Northwest Coast emphasizes ancestral links and utilizes animal 'totems' on material culture to represent certain ancestors' 'supernatural alliances', where they have forged a relationship with otherworldly beings and thus proved a manifest claim to the territory (Price 2002, 294-295). Chukchi shamanism features 'war sorcery', in which shamans employ charms for offense and defense in the form of animals, monsters, spirit-men/-women, or inanimate objects; in some cases, the practitioner would only summon parts of an animal, such as the upper half of a seal or the head of a fox (Price 2002, 307).

In recent years, explanatory models for central animal themes in pagan Anglo-Saxon England largely highlight the shamanism found practiced in Lapland and Siberia (Blair 2011, 729). There is convincing evidence for existence of ritual

specialists in Anglo-Saxon England, which can possibly be linked to shamanic beliefs: both Meaney (1981) and Dickinson (1993) present cases demonstrating evidence for female ritual specialists referred to as 'cunning women', equipped with assemblages of objects believed to be enhanced with amuletic 'powers'. Both Glosecki (1989) and Price (2002) argue that shamanism is visibly evident among the early Anglo-Saxons and Viking Age Scandinavians, respectively, as a ritual and spiritual resource for war. Glosecki claims that the shamanistic phenomena appearing at some point in Germanic prehistory can help explain the pervasive presence of widely dispersed evidence for shamanism in early Anglo-Saxon England (1989, 1).

## **Animism**

Similar to the debate and controversy surrounding totemism, the definition of the term 'animism' has been subject to continuous reconsideration (cf. Bird-David 1999), beginning with Tylor's (1871) western perception of the concept as an early stage of social evolution where people attributed 'spirit' or 'soul' to inanimate objects. More recent appraisals (Ingold 2000; Sillar 2009), however, lean away from the notion that animism can be used to entirely describe religions, and suggest that it can be adapted and used to describe and analyze different ontological aspects. Rather than stating that animistic beliefs attribute life to things that are inherently passive, Ingold regards animism as "not a way of believing *about* the world but a condition of being *in* it," and believes animism proposes that entities of all kinds, both human and non-human, "continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence" (Ingold 2006, 10, original emphasis). The adoption of an animic ontology has also been incorporated into

the constantly developing argument for object agency within the realm of material culture theory (Alberti and Marshall 2009, 345).

Descola (1996, 87-88) describes the relationship between animic systems and totemic systems:

“...Animism endows natural beings with human dispositions and social attributes. Animic systems are thus a symmetrical inversion of totemic classifications: they do not exploit the differential relations between natural species to confer a conceptual order on society, but rather use the elementary categories structuring social life to organize, in conceptual terms, the relations between human beings and natural species. In totemic systems non-humans are treated as signs, in animic systems they are treated as the term of a relation.”

It has also been noted that both ‘modes of identification’ (animism and totemism) can be found combined in a single society; this is exemplified by Pedersen’s work where he argues that both modalities exist within all North Asian ontologies, but to different degrees and in different ways: Northern North Asia (NNA) ontologies are predominantly animistic in nature, while Southern North Asia (SNA) ontologies are predominantly totemistic in nature (2001, 411-413). “I take neither totemism nor animism as ontologies in their own right. Rather, I take them as two analytical categories, which I use to identify the different ontological principles through which NNA and SNA peoples organize their societies of humans and nonhumans” (Pedersen 2001, 413). Furthermore, Pedersen figuratively describes the differences between animism and totemism, where, in both, the realm of the social is not only limited to humans but extended to nonhumans

(2001, 418). Within the animic ontologies there is a 'unifying whole', while in totemic ontologies the social realm is divided; "it is as if someone laid a grid over the world, leaving only the shamans with the ability to move between its numerous, discrete domains" (ibid.).

Similar to the other two worldviews discussed above, animism and animistic beliefs vary between cultures. For example, the Yukaghir of Siberia (whose beliefs are also considered shamanic) have animic beliefs of the 'personhood' of animals and things which emerge in "particular contexts of close practical involvement," including hunting contexts; outside of these contexts, things are just considered things, without the personhood they may have held before (Willerslev 2007, 8). Although ethnographic evidence can provide us with examples of different types of animic beliefs, it is impossible to present clear cases of animism or animistic themes in archaeology in the same way as we can attempt to with totemism and shamanism (Insoll 2011, 1006). This should not, however, deter us from exploring the possibility and probability of animic beliefs alongside totemistic and shamanistic phenomena in regard to the early Anglo-Saxons.

A concept brought up within the continuous discussion of animism is the relational ontology, where animate objects perpetuate social relations identical to those of human social systems (Zedeño 2009, 409). Relational ontology suggests that the identities and properties of entities, both human and nonhuman, are determined by the relationships between entities (Herva 2009, 388). As a result, objects and assemblages are influenced by these relational ontologies, thus forming a relational taxonomy, which is "a system of ontological relationships that underlie the formation of certain artefact assemblages" (Zedeño 2009, 410).



Zedeño (2009) presents cases of ontologies within different Native American communities where a relational taxonomy has emerged. Both cases highlight types of objects selected as 'relational indicators' or 'indicators of animacy', which occupy central positions in the tribes' relational ontologies for their interactive and transformative effects on other entities (ibid., 411). Within this context, three major categories of objects with potential for personhood are outlined: objects that are inherently animate (such as red paint, crystals, fossils, and copper); objects that embody the soul of living beings (such as effigies and parts of animals); and objects that enhance communication (such as smoking pipes and smoking plants). It is also explained that any other object can be animated by association with animate entities and by use in contexts aimed at managing and transferring power (ibid., 412). The perspective gained by an understanding of relational ontologies and relational taxonomies within animic beliefs may prove to be beneficial as this study is based on the qualitative analysis of material culture, especially concerning the construction of the objects.

## **Object agency and Actor-Network Theory**

A recurring and important concept within the field of material culture studies is that of agency, and especially in the context of the agency of objects. Brown and Walker have defined object agency as "the causal consequences objects (artifacts, architecture, and landscape features) have on the course of human activity" (2008, 298). They further explain that a broad definition leaves space for culture-specific perspectives of who and what are actors, while simultaneously "acknowledging the agency inherent in the physicality of objects" (ibid.).

Although discussions of agency have been a popular philosophical topic for centuries (e.g. John Locke's work of the eighteenth century, and Aristotle's of the fourth century BC), the post-processual movement in archaeology of the 1980s framed the concept in a new way by proposing that non-humans, as well as humans, possess agency (Dobres and Robb 2000, 6-7). Wobst suggests that, in regard to material culture, artefacts are used to interfere where humans cannot or do not bring about or prevent change by other means, such as with sound, motion, odor, or touch (1997; 1999; cited in Wobst 2000, 42). As people manipulate the world around them with material culture, they are simultaneously creating it and being constrained by it (Dobres and Robb 2000, 7). Knappett explains that agency is not something conferred to objects by humans, but emerges "reciprocally as the two merge" (Knappett 2005, 28).

Agency is thought of to be relationally distributed across human and non-human networks (Knappett 2005, 31), a concept of central importance within Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT proposes that agency is a process equally distributed between collectives of humans and non-humans (Knappett 2010, 139; Knappett 2005, 75). To Latour (2005), humans exist within a series of material and social networks, instead of a world where culture and nature are separate realms; there is influence that goes both ways between people and things, and impacts how they relate both socially and culturally. From an ANT perspective, engagements between humans and non-humans lead to the emergence of categories (e.g., pottery and people in Jervis 2011); these kinds of categories are seen as "fluid, lasting for as long as a particular relationship between human and material actors, and made durable only through the continuing presence of an object, or the continual reproduction of engagements with similar objects" (Jervis 2011, 240). The discussion of agency and actor-network theory within this study

is presented to acknowledge that material culture, along with animals and parts of the natural landscape, may have had held an important role in the early Anglo-Saxon worldview, as possibly evidenced by depictions of humans and animals on their objects.

## **Application to archaeology**

Theoretical approaches borrowed from other areas of the social sciences have been continuously gaining popularity in archaeology (Dobres and Robb 2000, Layton 2000); however, the use of anthropological theories within archaeological works of historic periods, such as the Anglo-Saxon period, appears to be scarce. Adopting the perspectives of the worldviews and theories outlined above to approach the early Anglo-Saxon period can have a significant impact on our understanding of communities in certain areas during a dynamic era in Britain. According to Blair, we should expect an array of blended, evolving spiritual practices within a society open to many different influences (2011, 729). Looking at animal and human depictions on early Anglo-Saxon material culture through totemic, shamanic, and/or animic perspectives may help us understand ideological and social dynamics, even down to a community or individual level, despite the major lack of literary evidence for this period.

Animism and object agency approaches view the material world as active players, alongside humans, in the construction of social and ideological dynamics. Because of this study's focus on material culture, object agency and ANT approaches may be vital in an understanding of objects with possibly totemic, shamanic, or animic contexts, which would play a part in the social and ideological organization of those who engage with them. These theories provide another method to explore early Anglo-Saxon art and material culture, and the

potential connections between depictions on objects and identities of the individuals and communities in possession of these items.

## 6: Data and Results

This chapter details the process of data collection and analysis used in this study and the results obtained. Regarding data acquisition, the chronological and geographical boundaries are explained, as well as other criteria concerning the selection of the objects for analysis. The results presented here include quantitative data, such as the number of sites, graves, and artefacts identified with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic decoration, as well as more specific qualitative analyses of the types of artefacts, species of animals depicted, and object materials featured in this research. A full breakdown of sites and graves is available in Appendix 1, while the complete database and details on each artefact can be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

For the purpose of this study, the abbreviation for inhumation grave is denoted with the letter G, instead of I, in order to be consistent with the grave reference numbers presented by almost all of the site reports consulted, and to prevent any misinterpretations and enhance legibility of references to inhumation graves. Cremations are denoted with the letter C.

### **Data collection**

This research project focuses specifically on the comparison of animal and human depictions on early Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the two historical regions of Wessex and East Anglia, in an attempt to explore geographically-varied practices related to the range of iconographic motifs on such items. The scope of the study limited the artefacts included to those found within grave contexts (both inhumation and cremation graves); therefore, the consulted site reports consist of excavated cemeteries with catalogued graves and finds. Many site reports state that only a portion of a larger or suspected larger cemetery was excavated,

or survived over time due to both natural and human intervention. Chronologically, sites analyzed fall within the early Anglo-Saxon date range of c. AD 450–650 (for a discussion of the subdivision of the Anglo-Saxon period and corresponding dates, see Chapter 2). The set geographical limits included sites within the modern geopolitical boundaries of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Wiltshire, and Hampshire to attain a reasonable sample for both regions of East Anglia and Wessex. As the study focuses on well-documented sites and finds, it is just a selection of what is available; however, any group of archaeologically known sites and objects is necessarily a random selection of what existed in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Although a site of international archaeological importance, the Suffolk site of Sutton Hoo has been excluded from the data collection for this study, as these finds have been analyzed in detail by previous research (e.g. Carver 2005; 1998). However, the site provides great context for the types of finds collected in this study, and will be considered in the later discussion.

The acquisition of data primarily consisted of the consultation of published site reports and catalogues, accessed both online and from print versions, for the most accurate information on the graves and artefacts listed. The search was facilitated using University of York's Archaeology Data Service (ADS) and Bournemouth University's Archaeological Investigations Project (AIP), and the sites were chosen based on all previously mentioned criteria:

- Cemetery context: both inhumation and cremation graves
- Early Anglo-Saxon period: date range of c. AD 450–650
- Within modern-day counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, and Wiltshire

Information from multiple site reports from Suffolk were supplemented by West's corpus of Anglo-Saxon material (1998). Additional information and support was received from Dr. Sam Lucy in tracking down older and more obscure reports, specifically from Hampshire and Wiltshire.

The site reports provided the main sources of information and images. Where possible, to compensate for poor quality images or the lack of any associated image, artefacts from Droxford, Hampshire and Blacknall Field, Pewsey, Wiltshire were viewed in person at the British Museum and Wiltshire Museum (Devizes), and photographs were taken for the purpose of this study.

## **Non-ferrous metalwork**

Due to the poor survival rate of organic materials in the Anglo-Saxon archaeological record, most of the objects featured in this study are metalwork, and, more specifically, non-ferrous metalwork. The nature and composition of metals used in early Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been the focus of many previous studies, applying scientific methods such as X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and spectrophotometry to determine the metallic makeup of objects and consider how social aspects of the area and period may have impacted the materials used to produce certain objects. Analyzing not only the decorative traits of objects but also their material compositions is another vantage point we can use as archaeologists to further our understanding of relationships between people and artefacts. While there is a heavy emphasis throughout this study on the types of depictions exhibited by early Anglo-Saxon material culture, it will be important to consider this other facet, which must have been another significant consideration alongside ornamentation.

Aside from the extensive use of iron, non-ferrous metalwork of the early Anglo-Saxons included the use of silver, gold, and, most commonly, copper alloy. While the function of iron artefacts has mainly been associated with everyday tasks, copper alloy artefacts are more commonly attributed to the emphasis of display within social contexts (Harrington and Welch 2014, 137). As demonstrated in this study, many functional objects display ornamentation – brooches, wrist-clasps, buckles; they are both worn to serve a particular function (i.e. fastening clothing), but also for social display (Baker 2013, 7).

Gold and silver appear less frequently than copper alloy in early Anglo-Saxon England, which has also been reflected in this study. Both gold and silver eventually had to be imported; they may have been repurposed from existing Roman stocks (Owen-Crocker 2016), but otherwise there is no direct evidence of domestic silver or gold extraction in England during the Anglo-Saxon period (Hinton 2011, 427). Similarly, the extraction of copper is not known in England before the twelfth century (ibid.), thus implying that sources of copper had to be imported from overseas (Leahy 2003, 136), and/or tapped from defunct Roman resources: “the most obvious source of scrap metal, especially in the fifth century, would therefore have been the substantial and numerous products of the Roman industry, salvaged or perhaps even handed down” (Martin 2015, 142). Through alloy composition analysis, the early Anglo-Saxon reliance on recycling in non-ferrous metalwork becomes clear when compared to the metalworking of the Roman and later Anglo-Saxon periods (Mortimer 1990, 396). In general, it has been noted that the nature of the Anglo-Saxon economy can be indicated by the relatively frugal use of raw materials, consisting of prevalent materials recycling, and the limited importing of fresh materials from overseas (Hinton 2011, 435).



Common copper alloy additives of the period were tin, zinc, and lead, mixed together in variable amounts, and thus creating different alloys (Skinner and Özgenc 2010, 156):

- *Bronze*: copper-alloyed with tin
- *Brass*: copper-alloyed with zinc
- *Gunmetal*: copper-alloy containing zinc and tin in approximately equal amounts
- *Leaded bronze, leaded gunmetal, leaded brass* contain the element lead in a proportion equal to or greater than the other components in the alloy

Bronze, brass, and gunmetal were all usable alloys when it came to the casting and working properties needed by Anglo-Saxon metalworkers (Baker 2013, 38; Mortimer 1994, 22). However, brass objects in early Anglo-Saxon England are exceedingly rare, even compared to gold (Baker 2013, 429).

A number of studies pertaining to copper alloy compositions during the Anglo-Saxon period have been produced, with a substantial amount of work from Mortimer (1988; 1990; 1999) analyzing the alloys of cruciform brooches and other mixed assemblages of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Findings from these studies suggest that there was a heavy concentration on copper alloy recycling (Mortimer 1999, 88-9). Other notable finds display a trend in the alloys of the period, where the earliest brooches were more frequently made from purer alloys (ibid., 88), and later, over the course of the sixth century, the alloy composition of the brooches grows increasingly mixed and 'less pure' (Mortimer 1990, 269-270). This pattern has also appeared to extend to other copper alloy objects (Baker

2013). The increasing use of less pure alloys has been suggested as a consequence of problems with the fresh metal supply in sixth century (Mortimer 1994, 22; Harrington and Welch 2014, 140).

Metallurgical analyses of paired brooches (cruciform, square-headed, and saucer) suggest that, at least in some cases, alloy compositions were randomly constructed (Mortimer 1990; Brownsword and Hines 1993; Hines 1997). These analyses showed that paired brooches were inconsistently made; in all three brooch types, alloy content variation in pairs ranged from being produced from the same melt to obviously being made from different metals. Additionally, in the analyses of cruciform brooches, Mortimer states that there are no regional variations found from the brooches sampled (1999, 88-89), further supporting her argument that, when it comes to cast brooches, the alloy technology of the early period was the “metallurgy of survival”, where “any available copper alloy went into the melt” (Mortimer 1990, 446).

Further studies have shown that alloy compositions in some cases could be controlled, and suggest that Anglo-Saxon metalworkers could use different alloys selectively to achieve certain levels of characteristics such as durability and color. Mortimer’s study of copper alloy artefacts from the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Lechlade, Gloucestershire (1988) provides evidence for the limited control of alloy composition. Mortimer (1988, 232) states:

“It seems that the metalworkers had to work with the restricted range of available materials when composing a batch, but they knew roughly what the qualities of the resulting metal would be. They might have grouped their scrap metals by eye, or by using the texture, density and even smell

of the metal. This could produce alloys of predictable quality, with low concentrations of 'unwanted' elements present."

Within her study, three types of objects were analyzed in order to compare cast alloys and wrought alloys: disc and saucer brooches, and wire-based items such as rings/pins. Cast alloys of the disc and saucer brooches were found to contain more lead and tin and less zinc than wrought alloys of the rings and pins. Mortimer's explanation for the differences between the alloys relates to the method of manufacture employed on each of the object types to create alloys appropriate for the use of the object: the low lead and high zinc content in the rings and pins creates a stronger, more pliable alloy, suitable for worked objects. Meanwhile, the high lead content seen in the brooches may have been added for ease of casting (Mortimer 1988, 230).

A more recent study by Baker (2013) analyzes the range of alloys in metalwork found within early Anglo-Saxon graves, with a focus on the color created by different alloy compositions. Similar to Mortimer (1988), Baker observed patterns in alloy use mainly related to the construction method (i.e. lower lead content in wrought objects than in cast objects). Baker also found that larger cast objects were more likely to contain fresh metal or lead; this is suggested to be associated with the perceived value of fresh metal, based on the previously mentioned shortages in fresh metal supply, and the typical high status of large objects (ibid., 432-433). Furthermore, it is suggested that instead of using a random mixture of what was on hand, fresh bronze and recycled material were mixed with preemptive knowledge to create an alloy with a desirable color, which has been assumed as more of a yellow-gold, and less of a coppery-red (ibid., 421-422).

The application of surface treatments such as gilding, tinning, and silvering on non-ferrous metal objects was extremely popular among the early Anglo-Saxons; this may be due to the brighter, more gold- or silver-like appearance it gave the object, which possibly associated it (and the wearer) with a higher status (Harrington and Welch 2014, 137). The process of gilding coated the surface of the object with gold, which was an economical use of the rare metal to maximize the object's 'aesthetic qualities' (Baker 2013, 17); it still, however, required access to a reasonable amount of raw materials, as the most frequently used technique included an amalgam of both gold and mercury (Hinton 2011, 427). Both silvering and tinning were approached similarly, with a small amount of either silver or tin used to coat the surface and give the appearance of silver in more cost-efficient methods. Due to the similar superficial appearances of silvered and tinned objects, it can be difficult to distinguish between the two surface coatings (Skinner and Özgenc 2010, 155), which is where scientific analyses become critical.

## **Data and results**

A total of 301 artefacts are included in the study, and considered 'relevant' (appearing with human and/or animal ornament). Data collected from these objects is comprised of the following categories: site name and county of origin, object type, burial type (cremation or inhumation), sex/gender and age of the individual(s), object material(s), and species and/or animal part(s) depicted. A total of 401 animal and human motifs are depicted on the included objects.

Out of a total 5560 graves (1788 inhumations, 3772 cremations) from 32 sites, only 198 graves from 28 sites contain finds relevant to the study (Figures 6.1, 6.2). The number of graves with relevant finds includes possible and probable graves, as noted by the authors of the respective site reports. Relevant

objects found out of context at the site and detailed in the site report have also been used (included in the data set are 17 unstratified objects) but do not contribute to the overall grave counts, and have been labeled as ‘unstratified’ in data figures. The county breakdown is as follows: eight sites from Norfolk, with 3559 total graves and 104 relevant graves; nine sites from Suffolk, with 1075 total graves and 49 relevant graves; seven sites from Hampshire, with 510 total graves and 17 relevant graves; eight sites from Wiltshire, with 416 total graves and 28 relevant graves (Figure 6.3).

Site no.	Site, County	Relevant finds?
1	Oxborough, Norfolk	Yes
2	Bergh Apton, Norfolk	Yes
3	Spong Hill, Norfolk	Yes
4	Morning Thorpe, Norfolk	Yes
5	Swaffham, Norfolk	Yes
6	Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk	Yes
7	Markshall, Norfolk	Yes
8	Tittleshall, Norfolk	Yes
9	Snape, Suffolk	Yes
10	Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk	Yes
11	Boss Hall, Suffolk	Yes
12	Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk	Yes
13	Tranmer House, Suffolk	Yes
14	Holywell Row, Suffolk	Yes
15	Hadleigh Road, Suffolk	Yes
16	Lackford, Suffolk	Yes
17	Northumberland Ave., Suffolk	No
18	Alton, Hampshire	Yes
19	Portway, Hampshire	Yes
20	Worthy Park, Hampshire	Yes
21	Droxford, Hampshire	Yes
22	Winnall II, Hampshire	Yes
23	Meonstoke, Hampshire	No
24	Snell’s Corner, Hampshire	No
25	Barrow Clump, Wiltshire	Yes
26	Petersfinger, Wiltshire	Yes
27	Blacknall Field, Wiltshire	Yes
28	Market Lavington, Wiltshire	Yes
29	Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire	Yes
30	Charlton Plantation, Wiltshire	Yes
31	Winterbourne Gunner, Wiltshire	Yes
32	West Overton, Wiltshire	No

Figure 6.1: List of early Anglo-Saxon sites from Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, and Wiltshire included in study.

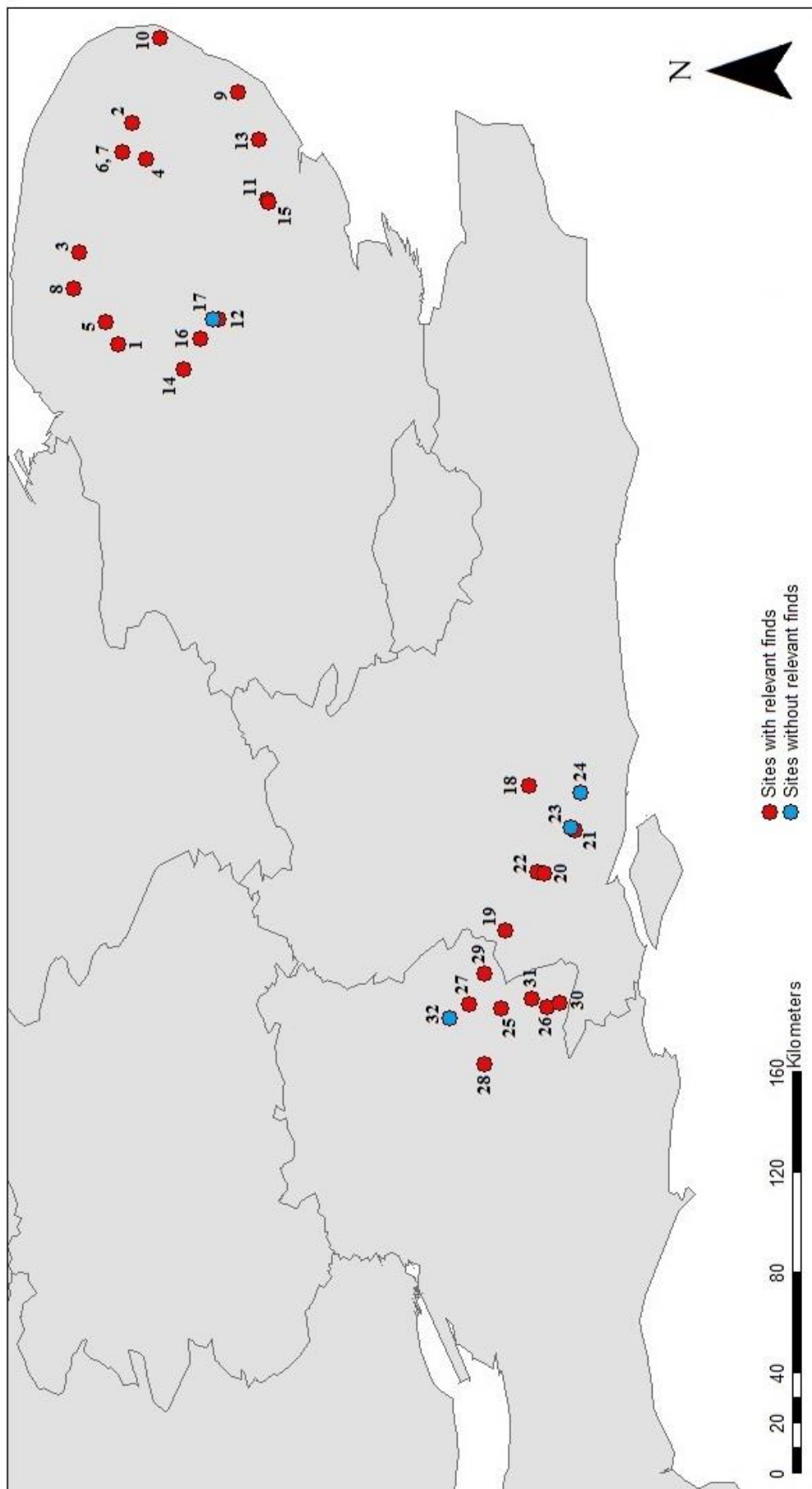


Figure 6.2: Map of early Anglo-Saxon sites from Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, and Wiltshire included in study, where site numbers correspond to sites listed in Figure 6.1.

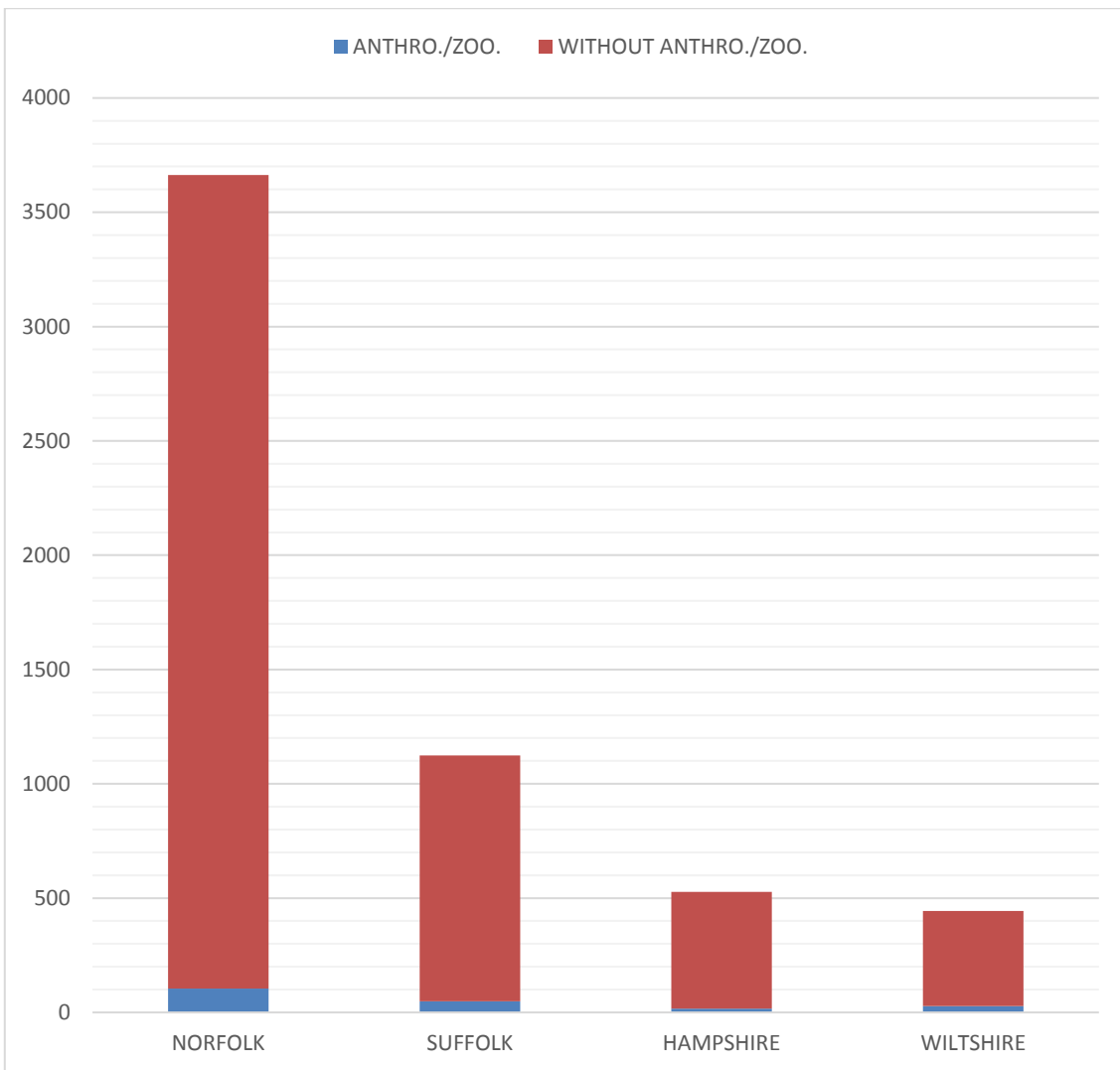


Figure 6.3: Number of graves with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects within total number of graves per area.

Within the overall 198 graves found with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic objects are 207 individuals; nine of the graves contain two individuals. Fifty-three of the individuals are biologically age and sex identified. Four are biologically sexed but without a determined age classification. Sixty-one are assigned a gender by the authors of the respective site report (Figure 6.4).

An age categorization method has been adopted for the purposes of this study to standardize the range of associated age labels with each of the graves analyzed (Figure 6.5). The age categories have been adopted from the age classification method used originally in the analysis of cremated remains at

Spong Hill (McKinley 1994, 11-19), due to the degree of specificity allowed by the method and its early Anglo-Saxon context. Ages originally stated in site reports can be found in Appendix I. Each individual found in a grave has been assigned to an age category where an age or age range was given in the original report.

	F	F*	?F	?F*	M	M*	?M	?	TOTAL	
Fetus/inf.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Inf.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Inf./child	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Child	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	9
Child/sub.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Sub.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	6
Y. adult	7	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17
Y./mat. adult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mat. adult	9	5	5	0	1	1	1	1	11	33
?Mat. adult	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mat./o. adult	4	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	2	12
O. adult	6	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	11
Adult	7	9	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	21
?Adult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
?	3	26	0	1	1	3	0	0	49	83
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>207</b>	

Figure 6.4: Sex, gender, and age category of individuals in relevant graves.

Y. = young/younger; O. = older; Inf. = infant; Sub. = subadult; Mat. = mature.

F/M = sexed female/male; F\*/M\* = gendered female/male; ? = possible cases.

Age Category	Age (in years)	
Fetus	Before birth	
Infant	0–4	Young: 0–2
		Older: 3–4
Child	5–12	Young: 5–8
		Older: 9–12
Subadult	13–18	Young: 13–15
		Older: 16–18
Young adult	19–25	
Mature adult	26–40	Younger: 26–30
		Older: 31–40
Older adult	40+	
Adult	Adult of unspecified age	

Figure 6.5: Standardized age categories (author's own, adapted from McKinley 1994, 19, Table 1).



The number of both biologically-determined and culturally gender-assigned female individuals associated with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects (including possible/probable cases) is 103 (47 sexed, 56 gendered), which is much higher than the male count of 15 (10 sexed, 5 gendered). In regard to the ages of the deceased, the most frequent age categories range between the young adults and older adult categories, with the most substantial number in the mature adult category (Figure 6.6). However, a large portion of individuals in relevant graves (about 40%) are of unknown age; this is mainly due to the full or partial deterioration of graves over time, which resulted in the absence of diagnostic features.

An additional categorization used for this study includes the labeling of each grave as A, Z, or B: A for anthropomorphic object(s) found within the grave, Z for zoomorphic object(s), and B for cases where both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic depictions have appeared on one or more objects. Only graves with objects displaying animal and/or human motifs are considered relevant to this study; however, this is not limited to one type of object, and the final analysis includes items of metal, bone, and pottery.

Most graves/contexts only have one object with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic imagery, but a portion (23%) have two or three. Graves from Wessex do not have more than three relevant objects per grave; meanwhile, Norfolk has one case of eight objects in a grave (Figure 6.7). In terms of burial type, cremations are much more commonly found with relevant associated objects in East Anglia than in Wessex (Wiltshire does not have any relevant objects from cremation burials), but this is not surprising as there are many more cremations in East Anglia than in Wessex. Overall, more inhumation graves contain relevant objects than do cremation graves.

All pots with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration within the study area function as urns within cremation graves, and all zoomorphic combs are associated with cremated burials. Additionally, all pots and combs with human and animal motifs are only found in sites from Norfolk and Suffolk. However, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, there are still pots without anthropomorphic/zoomorphic ornament found in cremations, and non-anthropomorphic/zoomorphic bone combs in both inhumations and cremations.

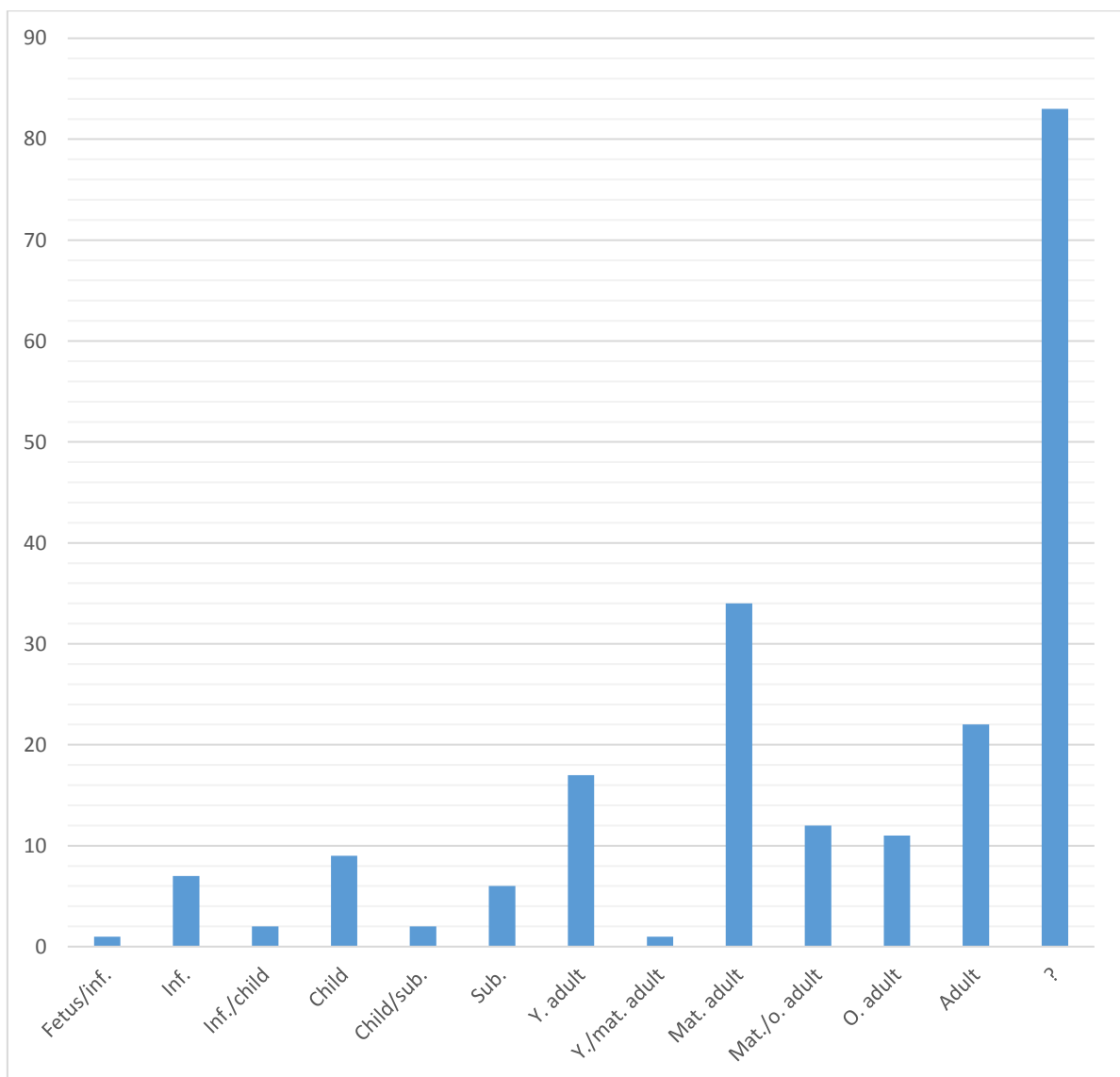


Figure 6.6: Age category of each buried individual found with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects, including possible cases. The 'unknown age' (?) category is high due to the nature of the remains in many graves.

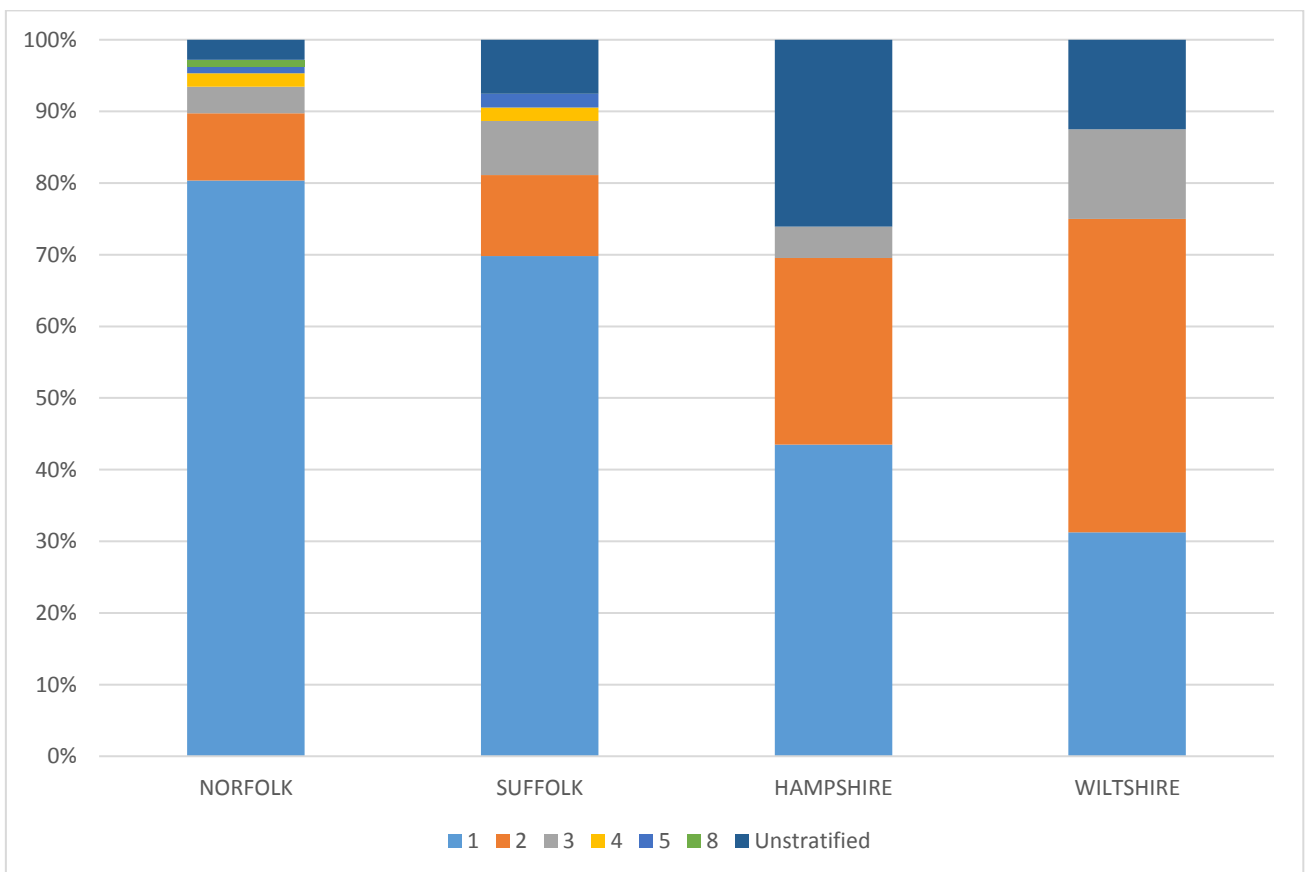
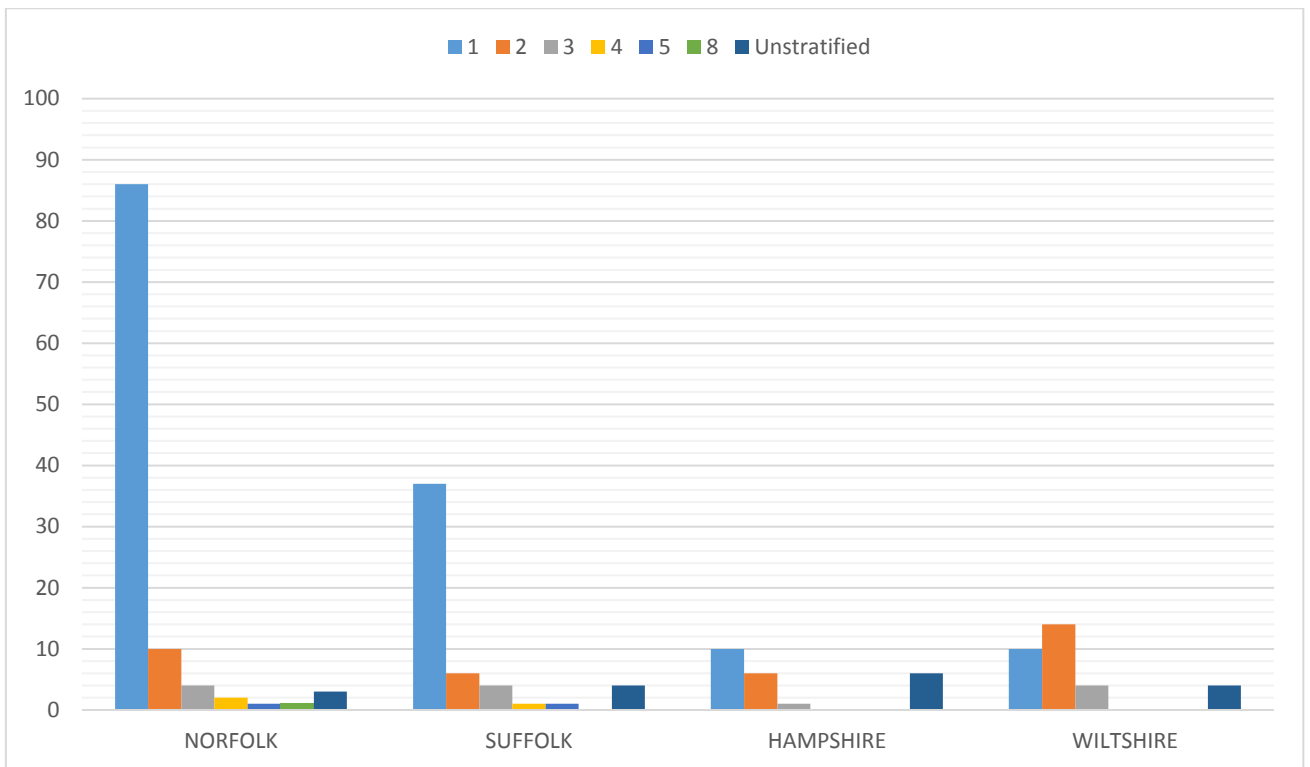


Figure 6.7: Number of relevant objects found in each grave (absolute numbers in the chart above, percentages in the chart below).

## Object categories

All objects ornamented with some kind of animal and/or human motif are considered in the analysis, including incomplete objects and fragments. Furthermore, all 301 of the relevant objects have been assigned to one of twelve different object categories (Figure 6.8). The largest object category, brooches, includes 204 artefacts and nine different types of brooches identified as relevant to this study. Artefacts also appearing, though less frequent, are wrist-clasps, pots, metalwork mounts from a variety of objects, and combs, as well as an assortment of buckles and girdle-hangers. The most uncommon types of objects that appear are bracteates, pendants, swords, and a single finger ring, as well as three objects categorized as “other”: a razor handle, a knife handle, and a key-ring.

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
Bracteate	2	0	0	0	2
Brooch	81	54	23	46	204
Buckle	1	0	3	2	6
Comb	11	1	0	0	12
Girdle-hanger	5	0	0	0	5
Mount	11	6	2	2	21
?Mount	1	0	1	0	2
Other	1	0	1	1	3
Pendant	0	0	1	0	1
?Pendant	0	0	0	1	1
Pot	14	6	0	0	20
Ring	0	1	0	0	1
Sword	0	0	0	2	2
Wrist-clasp	14	6	0	0	20
?Wrist-clasp	1	0	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>301</b>

Figure 6.8: Distribution of object types in each county.

### *Brooches*

In terms of object categories, brooches appear to be overwhelmingly the most popular item with animal/human decoration. Two-thirds of the relevant

objects are brooches, with types including cruciform (97), saucer (34), square-headed (29), button (20), applied (7), disc (5), small-long (3), equal-armed (3), and bell-shaped (1), in order from most to least common (Figure 6.9). Additionally, one object has been defined in the original report as a hybrid small-long/cruciform brooch. Fragments of brooches that could not be precisely typed are labeled as “brooch”; this category consists of four fragments, including an indiscernible brooch fitting or part, a foot of either a florid cruciform or hybrid square-headed/cruciform brooch, a possible part of an equal-armed brooch, and a part of a foot of either a square-headed or cruciform brooch.

Brooches are an artefact type of considerable importance within the context of this study due to their relatively high survival rate combined with their overtly decorative nature. In a functional sense, they are commonly known as dress fasteners, with paired brooches typically clasping together a peplos-style garment at the shoulders, and individual, more elaborate central brooches fastening a cloak worn on top of the tunic (Owen-Crocker 2004, 42-43, 54-55). Many brooches recovered from cemetery sites show signs of repair and/or adaptations; in the case of cruciform brooches, Martin (2015, 132) suggests these restorations demonstrate a unique importance as well as a continued, daily usage, rather than being limited to special occasions (such as the funeral).

Cruciform brooches make up almost half of the brooch category, and one third of the total artefacts. However, within this study, they appear only in Norfolk and Suffolk. This is reasonable as they are a distinct, iconic object of eastern Anglo-Saxon England, which were also worn across north-west Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries (Martin 2015, 2-5). There are five major components to the cruciform brooch, which define the type throughout many different style iterations: a head-plate and protruding knobs (one top-knob and two side-knobs), bow,

catch-plate, and a foot. The foot is typically decorated with an animal or human mask, usually a horse or a hybrid human-bird mask, but the style variations extend to all parts of the brooch as well. One distinct style is the florid cruciform, or Martin’s Group 4, defined by larger, planate head-plate knobs and foot-plates covered in zoomorphic decoration, which appear to contain specific, structured, and intensely preserved combinations of particular motifs (ibid., 64). Martin’s new typology of the objects breaks down the different structure design variations of cruciform brooches: “...from plain generic forms (group 1), through to specific but interchangeable attributes (groups 2 and 3), and onward to specific, highly structured and rigorously preserved combinations of particular motifs (group 4)” (ibid., 89). The objects of the cruciform type included in this study encompass all four of Martin’s groups, ranging from simple and generic brooches displaying plain horse head terminals (e.g. cruciform brooch C1469.1 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, in Hills 1977, 57) to eleven examples of the florid cruciform type, with motifs such as human masks with flowing facial hair which eventually end in beaked bird heads displayed on different parts of the brooch (Figure 6.10).

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
Applied	3	0	0	4	7
Bell-shaped	0	0	0	1	1
Button	0	0	9	11	20
Cruciform	63	34	0	0	97
Disc	0	3	1	1	5
Equal-armed	1	1	0	1	3
Hybrid small-long/cruciform	1	0	0	0	1
Saucer	0	0	11	23	34
Small-long	0	3	0	0	3
Square-headed	9	13	2	5	29
Brooch	4	0	0	0	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>204</b>

Figure 6.9: Brooch type (and indiscernible brooch fragments) by county.

The second largest brooch type, saucer brooches, only appear, within the scope of the study, in Hampshire and Wiltshire. Saucer brooches, alongside

applied and disc brooch types, are typical in assemblages from southern England in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Egging Dinwiddy 2016, 113); these brooch types are rare, but have still been found, in early period deposits throughout East Anglia (Rogers 2013, 29). Saucer brooches are a development of applied brooches, after a switch in production method began casting formerly separate and fastened components in one piece, in order to create a more durable brooch. However, both types continued to be used and existed at the same time in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Evison 1978, 88). Depictions featured on saucer brooches included in this study typically consist of combinations of the same four motifs: Style I animal, human mask, animal leg, and animal claw. It has been noted by Dickinson that the depiction of parts of animals, rather than the image of a whole animal, is very popular in the saucer brooch type (2002, 170). In some cases, the Style I animal can be further defined by specific details, such as the presence of a beak, presumably representing a bird. The circular form of the brooch creates a setting of rings of anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic decoration. Depictions can thus be described as animals/animal parts running around, or chasing each other. Human masks appear inside these ornamented rings, or feature in the center panel. Combinations appearing on the collected saucer brooches range from singular motif depictions to an elaborate multi-section brooch displaying all four motifs.

Square-headed brooches are believed to be the most expensive and complex items of dress jewelry produced and used in Germanic communities during the migration period (Hines 1997, 1). Brooches of this type are defined by a quadrangular head-plate, bow, and rhomboidal foot-plate, and are diversified by further design iterations, such as addition and shape of head-plate frames, art style, as well as size (*ibid.*, 4). The term 'great' often precedes square-headed

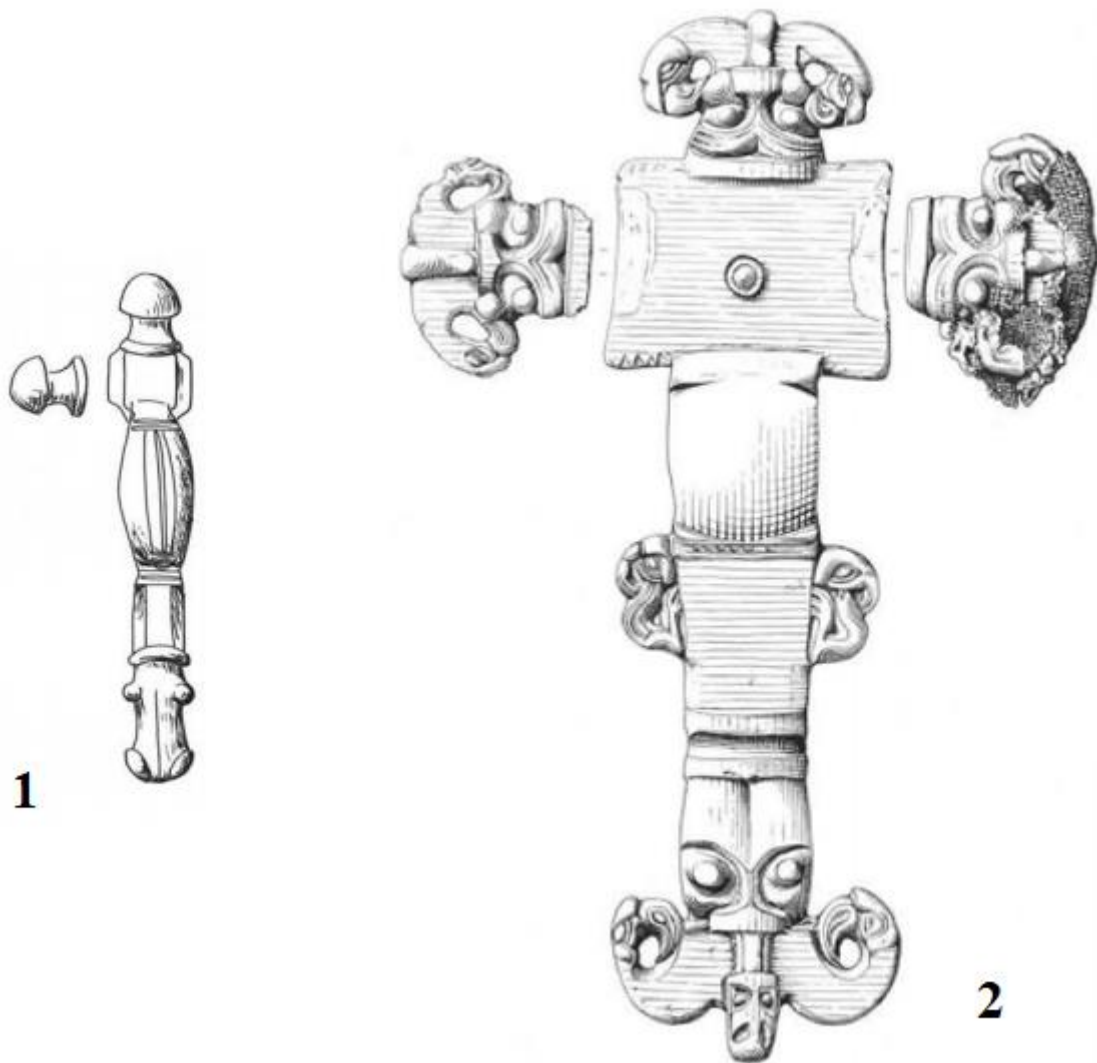


Figure 6.10: Two examples of varied cruciform brooch styles (scale 1:1). (1) Cruciform brooch C1469.1 from Spong Hill, Norfolk, after Hills 1977, 194, fig. 107. (2) Cruciform brooch G353.Qi from Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, after Green et al. 1987, 318, fig. 415.

brooches of magnificent size (Figure 6.11), as opposed to smaller, simpler brooches of the same type (Figure 4.4). Square-headed brooches appear throughout both East Anglia and Wessex, but are generally rare occurrences in cemeteries (West 1998, 296). In terms of imagery, there is a large variety of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic ornamental design on this type of brooch due to the interchangeability of many different parts from brooch to brooch: lappets, which protrude out from the catch-plate or corners of the head-plate, may or may not



appear, and usually take the form of 'beaked beasts' (which are categorized as birds in this study). These so-called beaked beasts also appear in larger detail flanking both sides of the foot-plate. Style I zoomorphic ornament (described in Chapter 3) commonly appears in the central or perimeter panels of the head-plate, and also forms borders around all parts of the brooch. These design panels and borders consist of either whole animal images or leg and claw only. Additionally, images of human masks are created by the placement of animal heads, exemplifying one type of hybrid seen in the assemblage of objects relevant to this study (see Chapter 4 for further descriptions of human-animal hybrid depictions).

Button brooches have been defined as small and saucer-shaped with an image of the human face, front-facing or occasionally in profile (Avent and Evison 1982, 77; Suzuki 2008, XXV). They are found mainly in southern England, and are regarded as purely insular products due to the absence of direct parallels from outside of England (Suzuki *ibid.*, XXV). From the button brooches found within the scope of the study, only two have shown ornament other than the typical central human mask motif. A pair of button brooches from Alton, Hampshire (Evison 1988, 80) feature a human mask flanked by animal legs and claws on either side. There are also variations in the human mask motifs, combining different facial features and expressions such as eyebrows and tongues, as well as the occasional appearance of helmeted masks.

Applied brooches consist of a disc of metal, either flat or concave, with a disc of thin decorated metal sheet attached to the front and a circular band fastened to the edge to form a rim (Evison 1978, 88). Although they are usually found incomplete due to their three-part construction, applied brooches are easily distinguishable by their separate circular parts and remains of any fastening

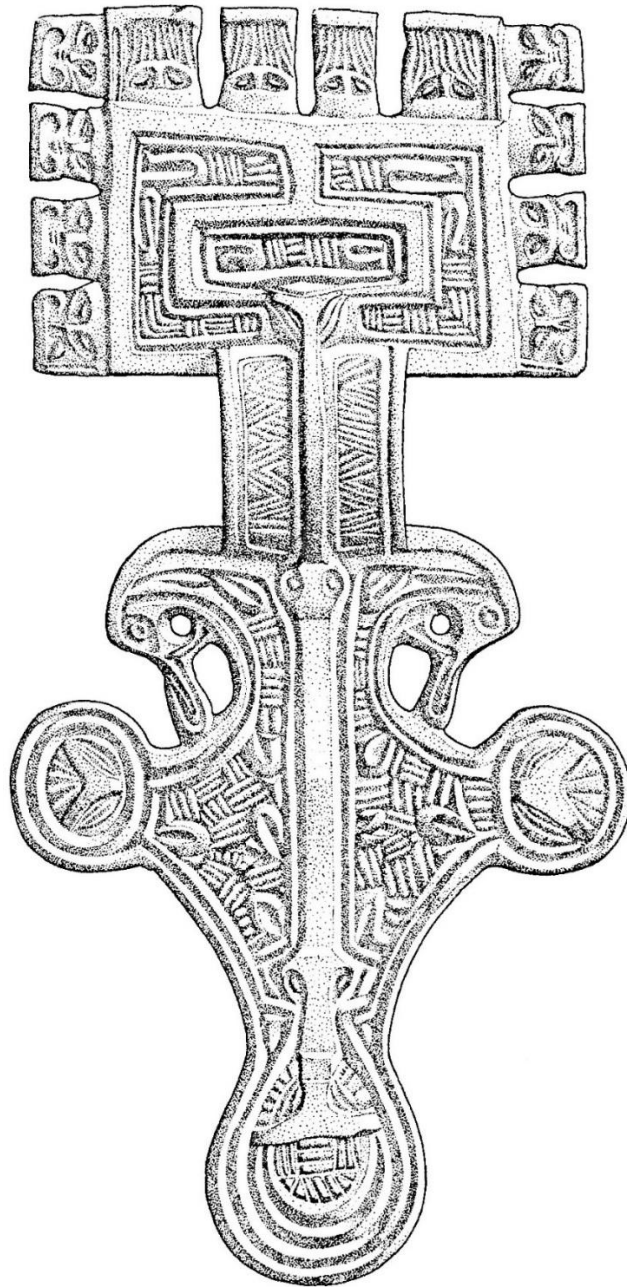


Figure 6.11: A 'great' square-headed brooch, G21.1, from Blacknall Field, Wiltshire (after Annable and Eagles 2010, 196, fig. 45). Scale 1:1.

agents. The objects in this study that fall into the applied brooch category have one of two types of depictions: circle of inward-facing human masks, or Style I zoomorphic ornament.

Unlike applied brooches, disc brooches are simple in form, and consist of a single circular disc of metal. The design styles of these brooches can, however, display extravagant decoration. The Winnall II disc brooch (Meaney and Hawkes

1970, 14) is cast in one piece, and exhibits elaborate decoration of birds and serpents with inlaid garnets. Disc brooches are prominent in the south of England, with emphasis in the Upper Thames Valley (Egging Dinwiddy 2016, 116). Aside from the exceptional case from Winnall II, the other disc brooches of the study feature Style I zoomorphic decoration of animals and animal parts. Evidence of reuse appears on the Boss Hall disc brooch (Scull 2009, 21), and it is suggested to have been originally produced and used as the apex disc from a shield boss (ibid., 88).

Small-long brooches are similar in form to cruciform brooches, but are distinguished by their variety of head shapes. Leeds published a typology (1945) which focuses on the different shapes of brooch components, dividing the head shapes by trefoil, cross potent, cross pattee, and square-head shapes, and creating another category for brooches with lozenge-shaped foot-plates. Zoomorphic imagery featured on the few small-long brooches included in this study are horse head terminals, and in one instance, animal eyes of an indiscernible species appeared.

The equal-armed, or equal arm brooch is defined by the similarity in size and trapezoidal shape of both the head-plate and foot-plate, and characterized by the various floral and geometrical design elements alongside zoomorphic border ornament, which display a unique blend of Roman and Germanic art styles (Bruns 2003, 1-4). The brooch from Collingbourne Ducis (Gingell 1978, 76) exhibits zoomorphic ornament in panels of running animals and beaked heads; it has also been noted that this brooch was broken, repaired, and broken again, and consequently deposited in a grave long after its original manufacture. The Spong Hill equal-armed brooch (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1987, 41) displays an array of different zoomorphic forms: quadrupedal animals, crouched and looking

backwards, open-mouthed heads of beasts, and coiled fish tails. The Westgarth Gardens equal-armed brooch (West 1988, 34-35), which also demonstrates ornament in an openwork design, depicts a procession of animals on the top and bottom borders.

Only one bell-shaped brooch is found within the scope of the study, at Collingbourne Ducis; it has been described as a rare type of bell-shaped brooch in its site report as well, as no parallels can be cited (Egging Dinwiddy 2016, 115). The anthropomorphic/zoomorphic ornament it is decorated with consists of a human mask at the top, framed by hair, and two upward- and inward-facing Style I animals on either side below the human mask, leaving the center panel empty and forming the bell-shape of the brooch.

One brooch included in the study was labeled by the respective site report as a hybrid (small-long/cruciform), but one other brooch fragment was also suggested as a possible hybrid square-headed/cruciform. According to Rogers (2013, 24-25), “hybrids are not unusual at the interface between regional groups... hybrids are to be expected where different brooch-making traditions overlap.” She further suggests that the context of the hybrid brooch in a child’s grave could “symbolize a union between two people of different backgrounds” (ibid., 25). Hybridity of design elements can be seen in type groups of other brooches, exemplified by a square-headed brooch from Tittleshall, Norfolk (ibid., 25-27) which features the head-plate and bow of a square-headed brooch as well as a foot-plate typical of the florid cruciform group; this is suggested to be an example of where two prominent regional styles eventually meet and exchange stylistic influence.

### *Wrist-clasps*

Wrist-clasps, also called 'sleeve clasps', were typically worn in pairs at the end of the sleeve, and clasped together to fasten the sleeve cuff. After their introduction to Britain from Scandinavia in the later fifth century, the Anglo-Saxon series of wrist-clasps emerged (Hines 1993, 76; an in-depth discussion and breakdown of wrist-clasp typology can be found in Hines 1993). They are usually worn by women, but have also been found within male graves in some areas; Hines states that particular forms can be denoted as specifically male or female dress accessories (ibid., 76). Wrist-clasps range from smaller or simpler types to more elaborately designed styles, and have been found as part of both relatively 'humble' grave assemblages and conspicuously 'richer' assemblages (ibid., 90). Within the study area, wrist-clasps are only found at East Anglian sites, which is consistent with the typical regional dispersion of the object type. Motifs featured on wrist-clasps collected in this research consist of birds, animals, animal parts (leg, claw, possible tail), humans surrounded by zoomorphic ornament, and one case of a hybrid depiction (Figure 6.12); although only one clasp of the set was recovered, each clasp would have illustrated a bird head and, when clasped together, created a human mask (Hills 1977, 52).



Figure 6.12: Wrist-clasp C1323.1 from Spong Hill, Norfolk (after Hills 1977, 209, fig. 122). Scale 1:1.

## *Pots*

Twenty recordings of relevant pottery have been found in cremation contexts and labeled as urns within their respective site reports. This includes nineteen urns and one distinctive urn lid (Figure 4.2). Motifs featured on relevant pottery are presented in form of stamps, incised drawings, and bosses; the pot lid is molded into the shape of a seated human figure. Some of the stamped decorations have been noted as similar in their “unusual” form to those found on pots from other sites included in this study, suggesting that they were produced in the same workshops or by the same craftspeople, but deposited at different sites (Myres and Green 1973, 184; Hills et al. 1987, 3). Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic decoration on the pots consists of images of animals, horses, dogs, quadrupeds, human masks, serpents, birds, and one stag (Figures 3.2, 4.1, 4.2).

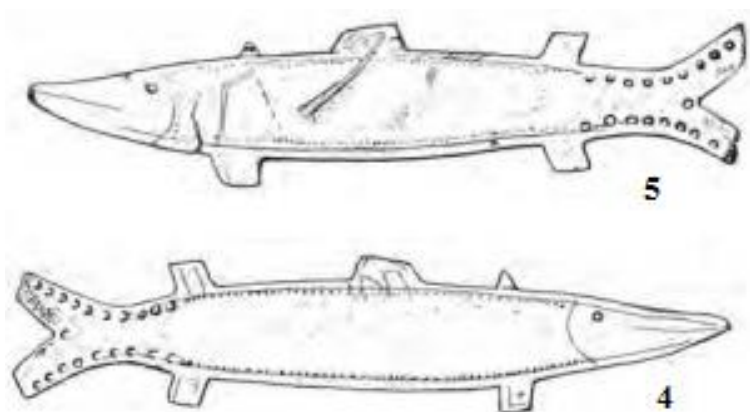


Figure 6.13: Shield mounts G31.4 and G31.5 from Spong Hill, Norfolk (after Hills et al. 1984, 134, fig. 87). Scale 1:1.

## *Mounts and fittings*

Twenty-three identified mounts and fittings (all under ‘mounts’ categorization in figures) of different forms and purposes are included in this study, but for the majority, it is unknown what they were originally attached to. Of

the mounts with artefactual context, five are categorized as shield mounts, five as belt mounts, and one as a possible purse mount. The form of some of the mounts and fittings are in the shape of animal/entity (Figures 3.3, 6.13), while others are ornamented with Style I zoomorphic designs.

Shields typically consisted of a metal boss and a metal grip with a wooden board, and any extra components were optional (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 1). Only one of the five shield fittings is considered a shield boss, suggesting that the remaining four are decorative and/or symbolic. According to Dickinson and Härke, shields are a common find in Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries of the fifth to seventh centuries (ibid., 63). However, only three graves were found with zoomorphic shield fittings out of all sites and graves studied. Dickinson (2005) points out the significance of zoomorphic ornament on weaponry such as shields, which could possibly explain a lack in abundance of zoomorphic shield fittings.



Figure 6.14: Comb C50,22A from Lackford, Suffolk (after Lethbridge 1951, 28, fig. 6). Scale 1:1.

### *Combs*

Zoomorphic bone/antler combs and comb cases display a specific ornamentation of animals, carved as outward projecting pieces from the body of the comb, usually in multiples at the ends or top edge of the comb. In one context, the projecting pieces were suggested to be depictions of pigs, identified by the large, flat-fronted shape of the animals' snouts in profile (Figure 6.14). Combs

may have been placed in bags at the waist, but some may have been used as hair ornaments (McKinley 1994, 91). The mainly fragmented nature of the combs and comb cases make it hard to distinguish between the two, and therefore they have all been categorized as 'combs' within the context of this study.

### *Buckles*

Buckles were either worn on their own, as part of a belt made of organic material, or as parts of belt sets alongside additional fittings. In the early Anglo-Saxon period, buckles in female graves were frequently associated with girdle groups, or items such as rings, keys, girdle-hangers, and beads suspended at the waist, while buckles in male graves were sometimes associated with small pouches and tools (Marzinzik 2003, 1). Six buckles are included in this study, displaying Style I zoomorphic decoration and horse imagery; three of the buckles are associated with sexed male graves.

### *Girdle-hangers*

As the name suggests, girdle-hangers were hung from a belt, or girdle, which was worn around the waist. Their form, typically in T- or W-shapes, were meant to resemble the shape of keys or latch-lifters; however, girdle-hangers were not known to function as anything but pendants, and they share decorative features with other types of early Anglo-Saxon jewelry (Meents 2017, 383). These types of objects were usually found deposited in graves at the hip or upper leg area, and associated with other items worn on the girdle or carried in girdle bags (Felder 2015, 12). They were typically suspended in pairs and found in grave contexts from east and north-east England; however, girdle-hangers are rare and



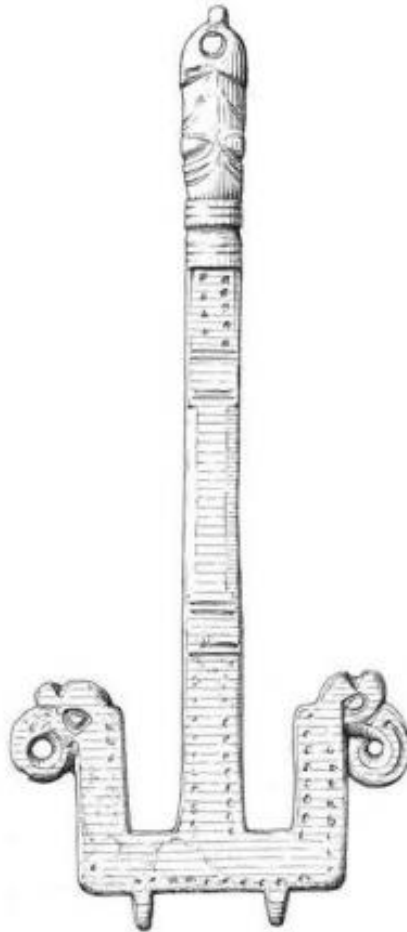


Figure 6.15: Girdle-hanger G353.C from Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, with horse and bird decoration (after Green et al. 1987b, 316, fig. 413). Scale 1:1.

found within few graves of adult women (Meents 2017, 383). Five girdle-hangers are identified with animal decoration; in all five cases, the ornament is found on the hook and shank terminals, as either bird or horse depictions, similar to those found on zoomorphic cruciform brooches (Figure 6.15).

### *Bracteates*

In general, bracteates are divided into four types, depending on their iconography (Gaimster 2011, 891). Only two (incomplete) copper alloy bracteates, similar and from the same grave, have been found at the studied sites, at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk (Figure 6.16). The type found here is classified as a C-bracteate, which features a human head above a horse (Gaimster 2011,

891). Bracteates are mainly constructed from gold in Scandinavia and on the Continent; therefore, the use of copper alloy can place the manufacture of the bracteates in England (Behr and Pestell 2014, 69). Suspension loops are a typical feature of bracteates, as they are primarily worn as pendants, either fastened around the neck or strung across the chest between pins and brooches (Wicker 2016, 50; Gaimster 2011, 877). The specific iconography, interpreted as symbolic representations of myths related to Nordic gods, suggests their immense religious significance (Behr and Pestell 2014, 45, 63).

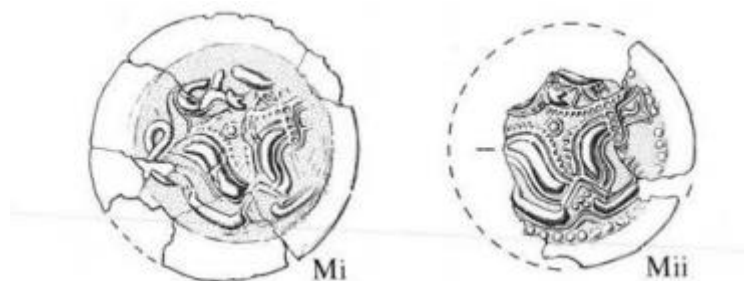


Figure 6.16: Bracteates G80.Mi and G80.Mii from Morning Thorpe, Norfolk (after Green et al. 1987b, 223, fig. 320). Scale 1:1.

### *Pendants*

Pendants as an object type are characterized by either an attached or integral loop, or perforation, from which the item would have been suspended, usually around the neck. Many different materials can be used to produce pendants, such as natural sources (flora, fauna) and manufactured metal, as well as reused Roman artefacts (for a typology and discussion of pendants and their amuletic associations, see Meaney 1981). Two pendants have been included in this study, featuring imagery of zoomorphic figures and human masks. Although bracteates are technically regarded as pendants, they have their own categorization due to their cultural significance.

## *Swords*

Swords, as well as corresponding accessories, are part of the assemblage of typical weapons found in Anglo-Saxon graves, along with shields, spears, seaxes, and knives. According to West (1988, 11), the usual proportion of inhumations in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with a weapon (or multiple weapons) is around ten to twenty percent. As part of the burial rite, swords have been found deposited in early Anglo-Saxon graves encased within sheaths or scabbards (Cameron 2000, 11). The distinction between sheaths and scabbards is based on the existence of a wooden component: sheaths are flexible, made of only leather or skin, while scabbards are rigid, containing a wooden frame of some kind (ibid., 1). While sheaths and scabbards are functionally used to protect the sword (and the user), many examples showcase different types of embellishment (ibid., 34). Two objects within the sword category have been collected from the studied sites: one displays relevant decoration on the sword pommel, and the other on the sword scabbard, which are decorated with bird, human, and Style I zoomorphic ornament.

## *Ring*

A single finger ring has been found within the criteria of the study. It consists of Roman intaglio with “zoomorphic effect” decoration, from Snape, Suffolk (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 19). The grave is presumed to be a ship burial. Aside from this, no other rings were found with anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic decoration.

### *Other relevant objects*

Three other artefacts bearing zoomorphic ornament, a razor handle, a knife handle, and a key-ring, have been included in the study. The razor handle is decorated with the only griffin representation out of the whole range of animal species, while the knife handle also has uncommon dog and rabbit motif. The key ring is ornamented with zoomorphic band, with an indiscernible species of animal depicted.

The razor handle was found deposited in a cremation grave of two mature adults, one of which is possibly sexed as male (Hills 1977, 65). Tweezers were also found in the grave, probably indicating that both the razor and the tweezers were part of a toilet set, as toilet implements such as tweezers, shears, razors, and earscoops were common in cremation cemeteries of the early Anglo-Saxon period (Rogers 2013, 47). Furthermore, it is stated that, from the cremations excavated from Spong Hill, all five earscoops from sexed graves were with males, and iron/bronze tweezers, shears, razors, knives, and blades were associated with more males than females (McKinley 1994, 89).

The knife handle in this category has been found within a sexed female grave from Worthy Park, Hampshire (Hawkes and Grainger 2003, 54). In other cemeteries of southern England, knives are commonly found with individuals of all ages/sexes (Egging Dinwiddy 2016, 109). While the knife's context within a female grave does not appear to be abnormal, the object remains a unique point of the study's data set.

The so-called key ring consisted of iron ring attached to decorated bronze disc, and was found at waist level with traces of fabric and leather adhered to the underside. It has been suggested to have acted as a "guard to the key-ring" or as an ornamental pendant (Leeds and Shortt 1953, 52).

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
Animal	45	18	12	29	104
?Animal	2	0	0	0	2
Bird	18	17	2	6	43
?Bird	0	2	0	1	3
Claw	9	0	7	6	22
?Cow	1	0	0	0	1
Dog	2	0	1	0	3
?Dog	0	1	0	0	1
Fish	3	0	0	0	3
?Fish	0	1	0	0	1
Griffin	1	0	0	0	1
Horse	59	33	1	0	93
Human	13	11	10	28	62
Human-animal	2	0	0	2	4
Human-bird	7	4	0	0	11
Human-horse	1	1	0	0	2
?Human-horse	1	0	0	0	1
Leg	9	1	7	8	25
Pig	0	1	0	0	1
Quadruped	4	0	0	1	5
Quadruped-bird	2	1	0	0	3
Rabbit	0	0	1	0	1
?Rabbit	1	0	1	0	2
?Seahorse	0	0	0	1	1
Serpent	0	2	1	0	3
Stag	1	0	0	0	1
?Tail	4	0	0	0	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>403</b>

Figure 6.17: Appearances of each anthropomorphic/zoomorphic motif by county.

## Types of species depicted

Besides the general classification of anthropomorphic (A), zoomorphic (Z), or a combination of the two (B), the type of animal and/or human featured on each object has been identified from the available images and descriptions, as precisely as possible (Figure 6.17). Interpretations of species were usually taken from the site report descriptions, but in cases where the animal representation was generic and the corresponding interpretation seemed overly specific, the depiction was labeled under a vaguer classification (e.g. quadruped instead of dog). Classifications range from vague illustrations of non-human creatures, to more specific depictions of quadrupedal animals, to the identification of eleven species of animals. Horse and bird depictions are the most popular (appearing

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
An.	35	9	11	17	72
An.; b.	2	2	0	1	5
An.; fish; quad.	1	0	0	0	1
An.; ho.	2	0	0	0	2
An.; quad.	1	0	0	0	1
B.	7	10	1	1	19
?B.	0	2	0	1	3
B.; ho.	6	1	0	0	7
B.; quad.	0	0	0	1	1
B.; serpent	0	1	1	0	2
Claw; leg; ?tail	4	0	0	0	4
?Cow	1	0	0	0	1
Dog	1	0	0	0	1
?Dog	0	1	0	0	1
Dog; rabbit	0	0	1	0	1
Dog; stag	1	0	0	0	1
Fish	2	0	0	0	2
?Fish	0	1	0	0	1
Griffin	1	0	0	0	1
Ho.	46	28	1	0	75
Ho.; ?an.	2	0	0	0	2
Hu.	8	1	7	17	33
Hu.-an.	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-an.; an.; b.	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-an.; hu.; an.; b.	0	0	0	2	2
Hu.-b.	2	2	0	0	4
Hu.-b.; ?hu.-ho.; ?rabbit	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-b.; an.	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-b.; b.	1	1	0	0	2
Hu.-b.; hu.	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-b.; hu.-ho.; an.	1	0	0	0	1
Hu.-b.; hu.-ho.; b.	0	1	0	0	1
Hu.; an.	0	5	0	4	9
Hu.; an.; b.	1	0	1	1	3
Hu.; an.; ho.	0	2	0	0	2
Hu.; an.; leg; claw	0	0	0	4	4
Hu.; b.	0	1	0	0	1
Hu.; ho.	3	2	0	0	5
Hu.; leg; claw	0	0	2	0	2
Leg	0	1	0	2	3
Leg; claw	5	0	5	2	12
Pig	0	1	0	0	1
Quad.	2	0	0	0	2
Quad.-b.	2	1	0	0	3
?Rabbit	0	0	1	0	1
?Seahorse	0	0	0	1	1
Serpent	0	1	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>301</b>

Figure 6.18: Motif combinations found on objects.

91 and 46 times, respectively); much less frequent are dog (4), fish (4), rabbit (3), and serpent (3), with cow, griffin, pig, seahorse, and stag appearing once each. Also featured are separate body parts of animals, which do appear relatively frequently: leg (25), claw (22), and tail (4). Human motifs are very frequent (60), as well as human-animal and animal-animal hybrids: human-bird (11), human-animal (4), human-horse (3), and quadruped-bird (3). For in-depth discussions of animal and human art in the early Anglo-Saxon context, see Chapters 3 and 4.

From this data, we can see that human depictions appear to be relatively more popular in the Wessex counties than in the East Anglia counties, while horse depictions are almost non-existent in the Wessex counties. The appearance of hybrid motifs is found mainly in graves from East Anglia; only two are found in Wessex. Additionally, there are no clear or persistent patterns of combinations of species/parts being used (Figure 6.18); this finding will be further discussed in the next chapter.

	Anthro.	Zoo.	Both	TOTAL
NORFOLK	8	121	13	142
SUFFOLK	1	59	14	74
HAMPSHIRE	7	21	3	31
WILTSHIRE	17	26	11	54
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>301</b>

Figure 6.19: Anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and combination of both types of decoration on objects.

Artefacts with animal depictions are most popular, with 227 zoomorphically ornamented objects out of the overall 301 relevant objects included. The remaining objects are split, 33 with anthropomorphic ornament, and 41 with a combination of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ornament. As previously mentioned in regard to human depictions, anthropomorphic decoration as well as combination of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration on single

objects is relatively more popular in Wiltshire and Hampshire than in the East Anglia counties (Figure 6.19, 6.20).

## Object materials

Data regarding the material composition of the artefacts included in the study were also collected and analyzed. Only materials that comprise the main structure and/or decorative portion of object are included in this analysis; therefore, functional pieces such as pins and rivets were not included. Any existing surface treatments such as gilding, silvering, or tinning were also analyzed. Out of the total 301 individual objects, 269 are composed of metalwork and 32 are organic materials and ceramic (Figure 6.21).

Artefacts of organic (specifically bone and antler) and ceramic materials included in the study consist of two types of objects: combs and urns. As mentioned above, these artefacts only appear within the studied area in Norfolk and Suffolk. Between the two counties, there appears to be a divide in the types of species represented on these non-metal artefacts. In Norfolk, nineteen cases of vague 'animal' depictions (of unidentifiable species) appear on non-metal objects, while none appear in Suffolk. The only non-metal human representations come from Norfolk. Norfolk also exclusively displays quadruped and stag depictions on their non-metal objects, while Suffolk exclusively features bird, pig, and serpent depictions. These findings correlate somewhat with the tendencies of depictions on the metal artefacts in the study; however, overall, birds appear more frequently in Norfolk. The differences in specific animal iconography usage between sites in in the same region may be reflective of community-based preferences for or affiliation with the species represented, and, although beyond the scope of this study, these findings may benefit from a site-level comparison.



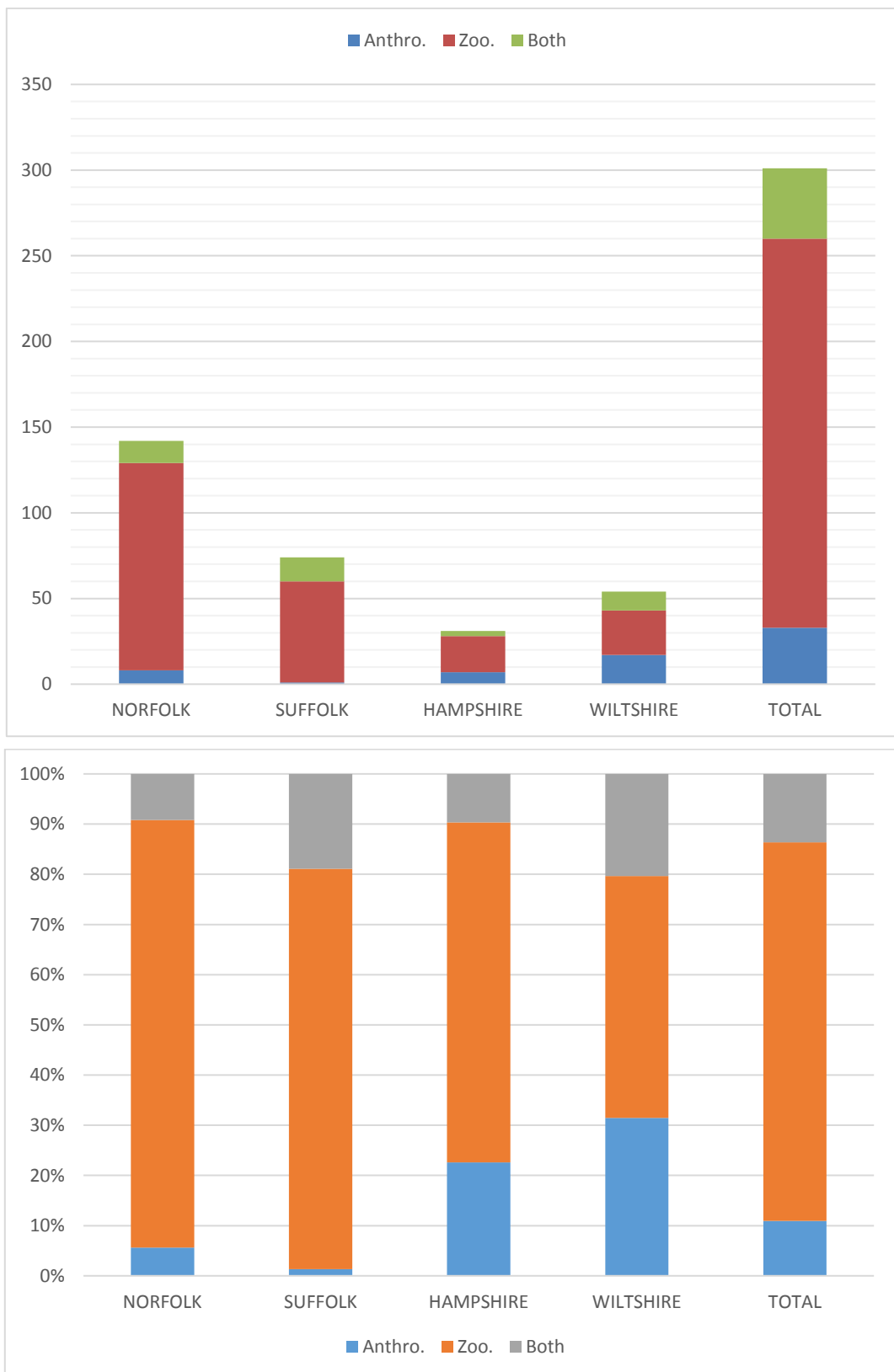


Figure 6.20: Distribution of anthropomorphically- and/or zoomorphically-decorated objects (absolute numbers in the chart above, percentages in the chart below).

In regard to the large proportion of metalwork included in the study, there is an overwhelming presence of copper alloy artefacts. Out of 269 metal artefacts, 264 are composed at least partly of copper alloy, including probable and possible cases, and not taking into account any additional metals used in addition to copper alloy for decorative purposes (e.g. gold or silver plate). Twenty-six usages of silver are present on the metal objects, and only seven of gold. Although Norfolk presents the largest amount of metal objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ornamentation, only nine are made with silver, and none with gold (not including gilding or silvering, which is covered below); likewise, only 2 objects using gold appear in Suffolk, and 15 using silver. The remaining 5 cases of gold usage are found in Wessex, primarily Wiltshire (Figure 6.22). Considering the relationship between the type(s) of metal used and depiction of certain species, no apparent patterns can be observed (aside from the previously mentioned regional variations of species depictions.)

Another facet available to analyze is the metallurgical composition of the copper alloy objects, and how alloy content may have been chosen specifically for certain objects, especially when it comes to those ornamented with animal and human figures. As discussed above, certain compositions of alloys have been suggested to be of higher value/status; therefore, we may be able to see a relationship between certain alloys and species depictions. To investigate this aspect within the scope of the study, any existing metallurgical analyses of non-ferrous artefacts found alongside the site reports were used. From the 28 site reports consulted, only 8 provided copper alloy content analyses, with only 57 objects out of the 301 total objects included in the study analyzed. These numbers resulted in an almost even split between the two regions of East Anglia

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
<b>METALS:</b>					
Copper	0	2	0	0	2
Copper alloy	116	41	28	53	238
?Copper alloy	0	22	1	0	23
?Copper alloy/?silver	0	0	1	0	1
Gold	0	2	1	4	7
Iron	0	1	1	1	3
Silver	9	15	1	1	26
<b>GLASS:</b>					
Enamel	1	0	0	0	1
Glass	1	0	0	4	5
<b>STONE:</b>					
Garnet	0	2	1	3	6
Onyx	0	1	0	0	1
<b>ORGANIC MATERIALS:</b>					
Antler	2	0	0	0	2
Bone	9	1	0	0	10
Shell	0	0	1	0	1
?Shell/?bone	0	0	0	1	1
<b>Ceramic:</b>	14	6	0	0	20
<b>TOTAL:</b>	152	93	35	67	347

Figure 6.21: Instances of material usage on relevant objects by county.

and Wessex: 25 objects were analyzed in Norfolk, 3 in Suffolk, 9 in Hampshire, and 20 in Wiltshire.

Overall, the most common alloy type used for these zoomorphic/anthropomorphic objects is bronze, with 34 objects falling into the broader bronze category (including cases of possible bronze), while gunmetal was the second most common alloy, with 15 cases (Figure 6.23). Bronze and gunmetal are evenly dispersed between the two regions; these figures are normal and follow patterns found in other studies on early period alloys, which are described above. Meanwhile, all five cases of brass, the rarest alloy type, are only found in Norfolk, making up one fifth of analyzed metals in the county. The majority of leaded alloys are found in Wiltshire, with ten leaded bronzes and four leaded gunmetals, comprising nearly three quarters of the analyzed metals from

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
Copper	0	2	0	0	2
Copper alloy	116	41	28	53	238
?Copper alloy	0	22	1	0	23
?Copper alloy/?silver	0	0	1	0	1
Gold	0	2	1	4	7
Iron	0	1	1	1	3
Silver	9	15	1	1	26
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>300</b>

Figure 6.22: Instances of metal usage by county.

	NORFOLK	SUFFOLK	HAMPSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	TOTAL
Copper	0	2	0	0	2
Copper alloy	108	27	27	48	210
?Copper alloy	0	22	1	0	23
?Copper alloy/?silver	0	0	1	0	1
Copper alloy; gold	0	0	0	4	4
Copper alloy; iron	0	0	1	0	1
Copper alloy; iron; silver	0	1	0	0	1
Copper alloy; silver	8	13	0	1	22
Gold	0	1	0	0	1
Gold; silver	0	1	1	0	2
Iron	0	0	0	1	1
Silver	1	0	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>269</b>

Figure 6.23: Combinations of metals used on each metalwork object.

the county. From this data, there are no apparent patterns between alloy type and species depiction.

An analysis of the different surface treatments (gilding, silvering, and tinning) found on anthropomorphically- and zoomorphically-decorated objects within the study area is included in this research, as the presence of such surface treatments has been considered as a significant mark of value or status, discussed further above. From the descriptions provided by each site report, 120 of the 269 metal objects included in the study are treated in some way, 2 are possibly treated, and 147 are not stated to have been treated. Data from the metallurgically analyzed objects shows that 32 objects (out of 57) are treated, 1 is possibly treated, and 24 do not show evidence of surface treatment. While the first data set gathered from object descriptions is most likely skewed due to the lack of detail and/or absence of scientific methods, both data sets show a much

higher proportion of surface-treated objects in Wessex than in East Anglia. From the data set of scientifically analyzed objects, it appears that all human and human hybrid depictions (with one exception, from Norfolk) are found on objects with some kind of surface treatment.

Fifteen objects have inlaid materials: six cases of garnet, five of glass, one of enamel, one of onyx, one of shell, and one of either shell or bone. Additional inlays have probably been lost over time as well. Only two (enamel and glass) inlays are found on objects in Norfolk, while the rest of the materials are dispersed between Hampshire and Wiltshire.

## Main findings

This section will highlight the most significant findings produced from the study's analysis focusing on animal and human depictions. In terms of demographics, the data strongly suggests that anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects are typically found in graves with adult-aged females, with a concentration on females of the 'mature adult' age category (aged 26-40 years). This implies that the role signified by anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects was not one born into, but an acquired one. The popularity of certain animal and human depictions varies between the two regions. Horses are a main feature of zoomorphic ornament in East Anglia, but they do not appear on any of the included objects from Wessex. Meanwhile, human masks (as singular entities, not hybridized) are a frequently used motif on objects from Wessex, and which rarely appear in East Anglia. Almost all hybrids (both human and animal), however, are depicted on objects from East Anglia. Aside from these finds, this study did not suggest any clear or persistent patterns of combinations of species/parts featured on objects between or within the two regions.

Notable findings have also emerged from the material analysis of these objects. The southern counties (primarily Wiltshire) use gold and gilding on their anthropomorphically and zoomorphically decorated metal objects much more often than East Anglia; the eastern counties seem to have a preference for silver and silvering/tinning on their anthropomorphic and zoomorphic items, but this is still practiced in relatively low numbers. Wessex also displays a larger use of inlaid materials on anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects. All human and human hybrid depictions from metallurgically analyzed data (except one human hybrid from Norfolk) are found on objects with some kind of surface treatment; most human depictions are from Wessex, but human hybrid depictions are almost always found on extravagant pieces, such as florid cruciform brooches, in East Anglia. This is supported by Martin's study of cruciform brooches (which are concentrated in eastern England), where he reports that surface treatments were largely restricted to the more elaborately decorated brooches of Group 4 (Martin 2015, 143).

## **Summary**

Data from this study can be used to observe tendencies surrounding the usage of human and animal motifs and begin to show overarching ideas based on relationships between people (as well as relationships between animals and people) in early Anglo-Saxon communities. The presence of distinct types of artefacts based on region and burial rite show evidence for the comingling of different cultural influences and the resulting exchange of stylistic and possibly even ideological impact. The association of age and sex with these 'relevant' objects suggest that animal and human ornamentation was reserved for specific members of a community; this is especially emphasized by the very small

proportion of objects displaying this type of decoration compared to the total number of findings from each cemetery site. Ideally, this study should encourage future research with an examination of larger numbers of sites and graves, as well as a detailed comparison between objects with human/animal depictions and those without.

Using the results presented above, the following chapter will explore previously discussed theories of worldviews and ideologies, especially concerning the categorization of individuals within a group based on age, sex, and connection to the natural and spiritual worlds, in an attempt to place them within the context of the early Anglo-Saxon period.

## 7: Discussion

Through an exploration of art styles featuring animal and human designs on objects from early Anglo-Saxon graves, combined with anthropological theory, this chapter will attempt to answer the research questions set out in Chapter 1. This work builds on the results presented in the previous chapter. The importance of these findings within the context of early Anglo-Saxon social and ideological dynamics will be highlighted, as well as the relevance of the key findings and their place within the broader discussion of early Anglo-Saxon ontologies.

The main findings, as presented in Chapter 6, are listed below, and will be discussed in this order:

1. Objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic motifs are in most cases associated with adult female graves.
2. There is a frequent occurrence of horses and animal-human hybrid figures, mainly in East Anglia, and of human depictions in Wessex
3. Apart from the above, there are no observable patterns in the combinations of species used in zoomorphic or mixed zoomorphic and anthropomorphic depictions.
4. More gold and inlaid materials are used on anthropomorphic/zoomorphic items in Wessex than in East Anglia; more silver is used on such objects in East Anglia than in Wessex.

### **A note on the use of early Anglo-Saxon dating schemes**

As explained in Chapter 2, this study relied on the dating bracket of AD 450–650 rather than incorporating recent work done by the team behind the Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods Project (Hines and Bayliss 2013). The project was carried out to rectify the confusing terminology used to define the



early Anglo-Saxon period by providing a comprehensive chronological framework from the middle of the sixth to the late seventh century AD, which did not exist prior to its publication. The authors presented a revised dating scheme by utilizing Bayesian statistical analysis on results from typology and seriation of grave-goods and burial assemblages and radiocarbon dating of skeletons. From the results, it is suggested with some uncertainty that the 670s/680s saw an end to furnished burial. The general perception of the project by other Anglo-Saxon scholars is positive and hopeful: according to Lucy, the volume represents the beginning of a new era in early medieval research, stating that the presented dating schemes will become the “new standard against which new finds and sites of the sixth and seventh centuries will be assessed” (2014, 678-679). Harrington states that it is a significant publication that “challenges future researchers to test and augment its findings” (2014, 410).

However, the complexity of the volume is also remarked upon; it is thought that many readers may not feel comfortable using methods laid out in the book to test the models (Hills 2014, 372). It is agreed that this is not necessarily a quick and easy guide to a new method of dating graves and grave goods; Hamerow states that in order to successfully evaluate and apply the results of the project, one must be knowledgeable (and even proficient) in a range of subjects, including artefacts typology, Bayesian statistics, radiocarbon dating, numismatics, and correspondence analysis (2014, 391). Hamerow even suggests the dissemination of a more ‘user-friendly’ overview to make the work more accessible to ordinary archaeologists (Hamerow 2014, 391). Hills also points out that Hines and Bayliss’ work may persuade archaeologists to date assemblages by slotting them into the published sequence and, by doing so, disregarding stratigraphic evidence (2014, 372). She recommends that the chronology

presented by the publication should complement the evidence, rather than be used as an alternative (ibid.). Although this project may eventually become the new standard in dating for the early Anglo-Saxon period, it still remains to be thoroughly tested and solidified as such.

## **Demographics of graves with objects bearing human and animal depictions**

The results of this study demonstrate that objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic depictions were largely reserved for adult-aged females (age 13+) in early Anglo-Saxon mortuary rite. In the early period, the exchange of fine metalwork throughout England (with the exception of Kent) was most likely diminished in comparison to what was seen on the Continent, based on the inconsistent supply of precious metals among the Anglo-Saxons (Webster 2000, 54-55, cited in Owen-Crocker 2016, 16). Therefore, it is suggested that the possession of decorative metalwork was probably conditional upon status, achieved by inheritance, marriage, age, personal achievement, or some combination of the four (Owen-Crocker 2016, 16). As proposed in the last chapter, the adult-aged association of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects may indicate that these items were reserved for individuals who attained a certain status on the basis of personal achievement; evidence from other studies, presented below, suggest that lineage may have also been a contributing factor.

Across England, the expression of wealth varied considerably, exemplified by Sayer's study comparing the relative grave wealth of sites in different geographical regions (2010, 70). It is generally accepted that richly-furnished graves indicated the high status of a buried individual (Gaimster 2011; Webster 2011). It is also suggested that at the end of the early Anglo-Saxon period, the

animal art featured on weaponry, horse equipment, and jewelry was utilized by the elite as a method of legitimizing dominance politically, socially, and ideologically (Fern 2010, 136). This could be compared to the supposed usage of bracteates by people of the Migration Period in Scandinavia (Gaimster 2011, 876-877).

Animal and human depictions on objects are rare finds within early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; from the results of this study, only 3.6% of graves in the analyzed cemeteries contain one or more anthropomorphic or zoomorphic objects. While they appear in both overtly wealthy and elite graves, as well as more modestly-furnished ones, the relatively rare occurrences of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic items in graves and the use of high-status resources during a time of scarce and irregular supply of such materials (a topic which is discussed further below) supports the notion that the presence of such items could indicate a role or status associated with something other than affluence.

In recent years, research similarly investigating the demographics of graves within the context of associated material culture have yielded results parallel to those found in the present study. A study by Stoodley (2000) demonstrates shifts in the display of early Anglo-Saxon 'feminine' identity over the course of the female lifecycle. Dress fasteners and jewelry do appear in the graves of female children, but the assemblages are characterized by a 'weaker', more simplistic version of the symbolism associated with older female burials (ibid., 465). The first dramatic change comes at around age 10–12, indicated by an increase in object type and quantity; however, this is followed by a further shift in female grave wealth during the late teen years, 18–19, marked by possession of saucer and great square-headed brooches as well as girdle-items (ibid., 463).

Similarly, Martin's (2013) study of 68 cruciform brooch wearers from twelve early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries show that the object type was exclusive to women over the age of 18 (i.e. beyond the divide between juvenile and adult), with few exceptions; additionally, wearers were often much older than this (Martin 2013, 13).

In Stoodley's study, the first shift is interpreted as biologically-based, taking place when the female body experiences puberty, but second shift in the late teens is noted as cultural, suggesting that the female status was built on more than just fertility, and could have been dependent on social criteria as well (2000, 463). In the interpretation of his own findings, Martin proposes that the general lower age limit of 18 for cruciform brooches in female graves indicates that those interred with the brooches were considered 'elders' in the community, and their status depended on the exclusive or restricted knowledge of motifs frequently featured on the objects (2013, 13). Furthermore, as older women beyond childbearing age also appear in possession of these objects, it is considered that the value of women in early Anglo-Saxon England was not solely based on their reproductive abilities. Martin proposes that there may have been a reverence for the 'female mind' – an identity based on the ability of the female mind to decode and/or comprehend the ambiguous motifs featured on the metalwork found in their graves (ibid., 13-14).

A point of comparison can be made between the early Anglo-Saxon mortuary rite and the contemporary Merovingian society, discussed by Halsall (1996). Similar to patterns observed in England, Merovingian women began to be interred with a large range of 'feminine' objects of personal adornment at puberty (ibid., 14). Written evidence in the *Laws of the Salian Franks (Pactus Legis Salicae*, cited in Halsall 1996, 14) explains that the worth of women

increased once at child-bearing age. Women dying much later in life, however, began to receive far less attention regarding the furnishing of their graves; after around forty years of age, female graves are mostly seen with “neutrally” gendered items, sparsely furnished and rarely containing jewelry (Halsall 1996, 17-18). These two major shifts in Merovingian burial rite within the female lifetime are interpreted by Halsall as a result of the amount of tension caused by the death: an older age at death in Merovingian society caused less tension and was therefore presented in the archaeological record as a lack of investment in the material elements of the burial, where a younger age created a larger amount of strain on the community and presented high investment in funeral display (ibid., 19-20). This is also noted by another analysis of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries by Stoodley where, on average, lower-aged women (on a range between 20 and 30) demonstrated wealthier burials; a probable explanation suggests that women in these high-status burials were most likely new mothers, or at some stage of pregnancy at time of death (Stoodley 1999, 120). In general, it seems that wealthier burials were given to the individuals whose deaths caused a high level of tension in the community, for one reason or another.

Results demonstrated in this study can be interpreted as reflecting and expanding on those of Stoodley’s (2000) research, detailed above. The ‘adult’ age subcategories used in the study highlight blatant differences in the rate of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic object deposition between subadult (age 13–18), young adult (age 19–25), mature adult (age 26–40), and older adult (age 40+) graves (Figure 6.6). A large increase in the deposition frequency of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects appears from the subadult to young adult categories, mirroring results from Stoodley’s work. However, another large increase appears in the shift from young adult to mature adult; this shift is

especially significant within the study, as the mature adult category is the largest group found with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects. These results possibly exhibit another later shift around age 25–26, following the initial two described by Stoodley. The increased frequency of the deposition of objects with animal and human motifs after the age of around 25 could suggest an advancement in the perceived social status of an individual, possibly involving the initiation into a special group (e.g. ‘cunning women’, discussed below).

Within the study, another noticeable shift happens between the mature adult and older adult subcategories, where the deposition of objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic motifs decreases sharply. While this shift is also noted in the comparison to the distribution of jewelry in Merovingian society, outlined by Halsall (1996) above, a point of contrast exists between the two societies. Unlike the tendencies seen from burial data of the Merovingians, the current study shows that ‘high-status’ anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects are still present, although less frequent, in older adult (age 40+) graves, and do not simply cease past this age altogether. This could suggest that the level attained by an individual was held for life, and not only during younger years.

Evidenced by the observation of the dental condition hypoplasia, there are also differences in the group of adult females analyzed by Stoodley (2000). Females deposited with ‘feminine’ objects seem to have been “protected from starvation” in developmental years, suggesting that their value as individuals was recognized early on, through inheritance of wealth or influence from their family, or their pre-selection for a role in the community (*ibid.*, 468). These findings from the human remains in Stoodley’s research could suggest that some individuals may have been marked from birth for the role they would eventually attain. In contrast, this study shows that infant- and child-aged individuals are rarely

interred with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects, supporting the proposal that the role indicated by the presence of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects within a grave assemblage was typically achieved later in life.

In his analysis of generational burials in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, Sayer (2010) proposes that wealthy graves were distinguished spatially to indicate the individual's role within the community. In each generation or chronological period, this role could be 'filled' by either a single burial (of either gender) or a pair of burials (one male, one female) (*ibid.*, 79). The role was shared by people in the same unit of time, but in different spatial groups throughout the cemetery; lower wealth graves surrounded the spatially separated high-status burials (*ibid.*, 79-80). It was not a status attributed to the sole head of that community, but probably the heads of the socio-economic units that made up local communities, or more concisely, a household (*ibid.*, 79). When the role was represented by a pair of one male and one female burial, the individuals were never buried in same grave, or even in close proximity, which Sayer suggests highlighted the "importance of their individual identities within the community" (*ibid.*, 80). It is proposed that in early Anglo-Saxon communities the appointment to the role of head of a household "did not depend entirely on gender but by who was able to fill that role" (*ibid.*, 81).

Although the present research does not take into account spatial placement of graves, Sayer's (2010) work could present a possible explanation for the tendency for older women to be interred with such elaborately decorated items, especially as most anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects typically consist of high status materials (see discussion of use of high status materials below). However, the low rate of men interred with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects suggests that the mainly-female association of these items

signifies more than just a 'head of household' position, or something entirely different.

By now, it has been established by this study and others that the deposition of objects decorated with animal and human designs in a grave most likely signified a certain role held, whether it was given at a certain age or achieved through merits, by an individual; this role could be, as stated by Jordan (2001, 88), being an "agent of change". A large part of the already existing and constantly evolving discussion of specific female roles in early Anglo-Saxon England incorporates the interpretations of female ritual specialists, sometimes referred to as 'cunning women'. The following is a description of the so-called 'cunning women' identified in the archaeological record of the early period, according to Meents (2017, 383):

"These specialists physically, psychologically and ritually guarded the passage of family members into the world of the living and the dead, through medical knowledge, ritual control, and summoning aids from the supernatural realm... As mediators between the worlds with access to spheres in which humans were corporeally and cosmologically in-between, these women could themselves evoke perceptions of otherness and liminality among their communities..."

However, this is not necessarily meant to conclude that the females interred with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects are automatically slotted into the role of 'cunning woman', exemplified by the work of Meaney (1981) and Dickinson (1993). Although Meaney's 'manufactured amulets' include object types with known examples with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration, in



the case of Dickinson's 'cunning woman' interpretation, the 'young adult' female individual was not interred with any artefacts decorated with human or animal ornament. This could possibly be explained by the shift, described above, to more frequent deposition of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects seen between the young adult and mature adult age categories, where the acquisition of such items represented different 'stages' or 'levels' to these occupations.

This idea of ranking within social roles may be exemplified by specific object types. Girdle-hangers, for instance, have been specifically argued as a "symbolic and amuletic component of the professional equipment of female spiritual specialists in early Anglo-Saxon households and communities" (Meents 2017, 386). However, the vast majority of girdle-hangers, which are relatively infrequent occurrences in cemeteries, are plainly decorated, with a small number decorated with animal motifs (Figure 6.15). This observably small fraction of items with zoomorphic decoration is not restricted to girdle-hangers and can be extended to most (if not all) object categories as well. The significance of items decorated with human and animal motifs within a large proportion of non-anthropomorphic and -zoomorphic objects, especially when certain object types are already presumed to be associated with roles in society, must suggest a distinction from the individuals with plainly decorated items.

The 'cunning woman' debate, however, is just one part of the resounding argument for shamanistic symptoms in early Anglo-Saxon society (which has been described in Chapter 5). Shamanism among the peoples of the early period may have been reflected in decoration on many different object types to signify the reverence for specialists in community ('shamans') who had the spiritual ability to undertake human-to-animal transformations and cross between realms,

typically to aid members of the community with matters such as healing, birthing, and preparations for battle.

A common factor in the argument for shamanism in a society is the presence of shamanic 'apparel' in the archaeological record which, in the decorative elements, reflects the ideological beliefs of the group. While some cultural groups across the Asian and American continents do not have a special ritual costume of the shamans, the apparel of the ones that do displays complex symbolism, including items which are usually ornamented with cosmological iconography, such as pendants and other attached details (Devlet 2001, 43). In many cases, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic 'amulets' from grave assemblages are interpreted as items of shamanic equipment (Devlet 2001, 51; Sutherland 2001). Price details the shamanic beliefs presented in an ethnographic example from Canada, where everyday items used by ordinary people could also be carved with shamanic motifs to connect to the activities of the shaman (2002, 295).

Women in Migration Period Europe, specifically northern Europe and Scandinavia, appear to have a particular connection to the animal art seen in the archaeological record. There are strong indications from grave equipment and later literary sources for women's important roles (those who are interred with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects), arguably in connection with shamanism, 'seid' (defined as prophetic 'seeing'), and other ideological functions (Lindstrom and Kristoffersen 2001, 78). Lindstrom and Kristoffersen suggest that within the complex, ambiguous decoration of Migration Period brooches, some of the motifs may have been used as signals of membership to secret groups of priestesses, women involved in 'seid', magicians, or shamans, with the key to full decipherability only known by other group members (*ibid.*, 80). The converse is

also possible, where the decorative motifs referred to obvious and unconcealed group memberships, pertaining to rank, profession, religious role, or affiliation, or demonstrated political or social relationships (ibid., 80). It is also suggested that the decorative elements, separate from the brooches, could be the main agents for symbolizing social organization (ibid., 80); with this perspective, we can expand the significance (whether in a membership or a relationship) of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration to all individuals in possession of anthropomorphically- and zoomorphically-decorated objects.

Totemistic beliefs may have also played a part in the distribution of objects with such motifs. Ethnographically, 'totems' have been perceived as symbols of relationships between lineages, families, and individuals (Evans-Pritchard 1956, 92). Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs may have been used to align members of the community with a certain lineage, or associate an individual with a non-familial group, as well used for other spiritual purposes within the group. Similarly, the acquisition of objects with human and animal ornament could possibly have been interpreted as a rite of passage, possibly as a new 'membership' initiate, or transitioning from one rank to the next. This concept is reflected in initiation rites of the indigenous peoples of Australia, where a main rite for young men entering the religious realm of the tribe was marked with the bearing of the totemic symbol on the body (Durkheim 1915, 149). It is possible that the human and animal motifs were reserved for the certain individuals within a community group or role, which in the case of this study, appear to generally be females of adult age.

A further consideration of the agency of the decorated objects themselves should be discussed. As previously covered in Chapter 5, the definition of an agent is extended by Latour (2005) to include objects and non-living entities.

Furthermore, within an archaeological context, Jervis (2011) utilized the concepts of Actor-Network Theory to suggest the fluid and temporary categories of humans and non-humans created by the interaction between the two. Jervis' conclusions can be applied to this study to suggest that, as early Anglo-Saxons created items for use in different social spheres, they were therefore categorized and constrained by the various objects (or lack thereof). We can also draw from the implications made in Martin's (2013) study, detailed above, where a woman's status may have been identified by her access to the restricted knowledge of complex motifs. Thus, the object itself made the group inaccessible to others, limiting membership into the role or sub-society. In this case, it can be considered that items with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs were agents within the early Anglo-Saxon society, outlining the boundaries of social groups, such as the female-dominated group hinted at by the results of this study.

### **Recurring depictions of certain species**

It is likely that the imagery appearing on objects of the early Anglo-Saxon period is strongly determined by design repertoires specific to particular object types of each region. However, due to the rarity of objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (as demonstrated by the results of the study), it is imperative to look at all object types. Focusing solely on one object type would not produce enough results, and would also make the regional comparison difficult if not impossible to carry out. The two regions have main object types that differ, therefore it is not possible to investigate the same object types with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic designs in both regions. Some of the main reasons for the selection of East Anglia and Wessex are the differences already recorded between the two regions, as has been explained in Chapter 2.

An alternative method of study would be to extend the project to include artefacts without anthropomorphic/zoomorphic designs; however, this would go far beyond the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, both of the chosen areas are still parts of what we consider Anglo-Saxon England. This study serves to investigate further points of divergence between two Anglo-Saxon areas during the same period through patterns in motif usage, while acknowledging that object type is a main factor in this discussion.

### Horses and other single animal motifs

The dominant motif on much of eastern England's anthropomorphic/zoomorphic brooches proves to be the horse. In the results of the current study, horse motifs account for nearly one quarter of the total motifs featured on included objects, and 34% of motifs found on included East Anglian objects. Fern (2010) argues that horse symbolism and ritual was a major component of pre-Christian belief and cult in the early Anglo-Saxon world: "in the early Anglo-Saxon mind the horse stands out as a motif with socio-political, heroic and spiritual significance" (ibid., 128). We are able to trace the inspiration for the majority of early Anglo-Saxon horse imagery and mythology to northern Germany and southern Scandinavia (ibid., 129), but horse burials exist in England prior to the Anglo-Saxon period, as they are shown to be an important feature as early as the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age (Miles et al. 2004, 75ff., cited in Fern 2010, 130). Ideologies centered around the species are also not unique to Germanic cultural groups, with archaeological and historical sources evidencing horse-based ideologies amongst peoples across the European and Asian continents over the course of hundreds of years (Fern 2010, 129). The horse's significance in relation to humans is explained by its position as an animal with a lengthy

history of domestication, an economically-straining upkeep, and a close association with warfare, hunting, and journeying (ibid., 130). In terms of sacrificial associations, horses represent the most frequent funerary animal sacrifice (as either a sacrifice for the grave or as a 'companion' of the buried person), and are found in both cremation and inhumation graves (ibid., 131); however, archaeological evidence shows that the consumption of horse meat was not a common occurrence in early Anglo-Saxon England (ibid., 149).

In the sixth century, a shift in the horse-burial rite was noticed both in Anglo-Saxon England and on the Continent: horses and humans began to be interred in separate graves rather than together in a single burial (Oexle 1984: 123, 139, cited in Fern 2010, 148). This dramatic change in the popular, high status mortuary ritual may suggest a potentially animistic or shamanistic trait (or a combination of both) related to horses in the early period worldview, where their status was attributed as equal to that of humans, possibly as 'agents' for the transformation of the deceased to a new identity; "the animals and the person combined to create the social, cosmological and ontological status for the dead" (Williams 2001, 206).

An important component in the discussion of the apparent reverence for horses in the early Anglo-Saxon period is the legend of 'Hengist and Horsa', the mythological brothers and founders of Anglo-Saxon England, who were believed to be the descendants of the pagan god Woden (Fern 2010, 143). Both of the brothers' names serve as roots for the Old English words for stallion and horse, respectively (ibid.). As well as being a possible overarching explanation for the ubiquitous use of the horse motif, Fern suggests that the specific dual-horse motif, seen most frequently on paired brooches with horse head terminals, is derived from the 'Hengist and Horsa' legend (ibid., 138).

Motifs of human and horse hybrids, seen as an Anglo-Saxon medium to explore the relationship between people and specific animals (Martin 2013, 12), is also a theme found in the origin myth of Hengist and Horsa: “[the embodiments of Hengist and Horsa], it is suggested, can be understood as characterizations of the concept of a warhorse-mounted warleader, with half-human and half-horse connotations” (Fern 2010, 128). In addition to the dual-horse motifs, the appearance of ‘animal-men’ in early Anglo-Saxon decorative art may be reflective of the two brothers, and their significance to communities in East Anglia (ibid.).

Examples previously described in the discussion of theoretical approaches in Chapter 5 may be relevant in the exploration of the repeated depiction of certain motifs, similar to the use of the horse and the bird in early Anglo-Saxon England, and their possible importance in society. Works by Glosecki (1980; 1989) deal with ‘reflections’ of shamanism presented from the text of *Beowulf*, which he argues were most likely emulated in reality by early Anglo-Saxons. A particular case of a potentially shamanistic trait involves the recurrent description and emphasis on the motif of a boar, which apparently is a source of supernatural power and enhances the power of the warrior whose equipment was emblazoned with it (*Beowulf* lines 1448-1454, 303b-306a, cited in Glosecki 1980, 192-193). As well as its pervasive existence in the poem, the boar motif is also present on the famed helmet from Sutton Hoo, placed on the part of the object where it is also described in the poem (Glosecki 1980, 194). Another example from Lewis-Williams’ (2001) paper on San rock art, parts of which have been interpreted as art of shamanistic nature, the San depict a specific animal, the eland, referred to as having the most supernatural potency/energy (Lewis-Williams 2001, 21-22). The examples presented above demonstrate similar cases of special connections

to specific animals depicted on societally-important spaces, and stemming from the presumed shamanic ideologies of the society in question.

In the context of the early Anglo-Saxons, it may be possible that the most common animals featured on ornamented objects (horses, and also birds) possessed a kind of supernatural 'power' or 'energy' within the Anglo-Saxon worldview. Furthermore, both the horse and the bird are animals highly regarded in shamanic ontologies. The horse is favored for its power and ability to travel large distances associated with the journeying of the shaman: "because the shaman enters into a trance state and is believed to travel to other worlds, an ally that can assist in these often perilous journeys is valued" (Lepp 2004, 147-148). Likewise, from multiple ethnographic sources, birds are often encountered by shamans as spirit helpers (e.g. Wallis 2004, 24-25; Maginnis 2004, 60). The relationship between birds and humans through a shamanistic lens is discussed further below, in relation to their large presence as part of hybrid depictions on early Anglo-Saxon objects.

Zoomorphic associations with the dynastic name for the East Anglian kingdom, Wuffingas, the dynastic name for the East Anglian kingdom, have also been suggested by some. Wuffingas was a kingship line which claimed to have descended from Woden; according to Bede, this name originated from Wuffa, the grandfather of King Raedwald (*HE* II, 15, cited in Yorke 1990, 4). The dynasty is suggested to have a start date of around AD 526-575 (Yorke 1990, 61). O'Loughlin describes the undeniable 'etymological correspondence' between 'Wuffa' and the 'Wulf' in *Beowulf*, suggesting a connection with the wolf, but the author also admits that this theory lacks any kind of substantial evidence (1964, 4). The appearance of a zoomorphic motif of an interlaced, double-headed snake-like creature, with strong resemblance to the animal heads on the purse-lid from



Sutton Hoo, has also been linked with an origin for the Wuffinga dynasty from southern Sweden (Speake 1970, 15).

## Humans

The depiction of a human face or mask is another frequently featured motif in the repertoire of early Anglo-Saxon decoration. They account for about 15% of all motifs found in the study (and about 20% including their appearances as part of hybrid motifs); in Wessex, depictions of humans make up about 30% of motifs on objects, while in East Anglia it is only about 9%. As described in depth in Chapter 4, these motifs are highly varied, with different forms of facial features; however, human depiction in early Anglo-Saxon decoration is mainly dominated by the male image, and all of the human motifs observed in the study appear to represent male figures. Additionally, these human male depictions are predominantly featured on brooches, which are typically considered items of the 'female' assemblage (Brundle 2013, 213). This also contrasts with Martin's (2013) argument about the reverence of females (described above), as they appear to be rarely idolized in material form.

The use of the human face in the form of a mask can be observed in ontological practices from other parts of the world; many, however, involve human-animal hybrid symbolism, and will be discussed in the next section below. Price (2002, 295) explores masking traditions through an ethnographic example of the shamanic beliefs and practices of the peoples of the Canadian Northwest Coast. The masks allude to ancestral stories and represent the common 'culture-heroes' and 'famous beings' of certain tribal groups, and are used to "dramatize the individual supernatural relationships of the clan ancestors" (Price 2002, 295).

Each tribe's masking tradition differed slightly, with some not using masks at all (ibid.).

This example mirrors arguments for the 'pagan' ontological interpretation of early Anglo-Saxon human depictions, where the human image is thought to be representative of Germanic gods (Webster 2012, 17). The rarity of female human depictions would also support the explanation that these were images of one god (Odin/Woden) in particular; likewise, where female images do appear in material form, they have also been interpreted as deities (Webster 2012, 38; Gaimster 2011, 880). Furthermore, the explicit variation observed within the many instances of the human image on objects in this study (described in full in Chapter 4) is notable, making for similar yet easily distinguishable appearances. Looking at this material through a different lens and returning to the example presented by Price (2002), we may be able to suggest that the depictions of humans are expressive of ancestors in a divine or supernatural form, and may possibly even symbolize ancestral relationships with certain animals, through the material representation of hybrids.

## Hybrids

The most notable and arguably shamanistic motifs presented in this study are the hybrids. Within the context of the study, these motifs come in several different forms: human-bird (of which eleven appear), human-animal (four), human-horse (three), and quadruped-bird (three). Nineteen are found on objects from East Anglia, and two from Wiltshire. Much of the discussion around hybrid depictions in early Anglo-Saxon art argues for shamanistic interpretations, involving human/animal transformation and supernatural experiences of a spiritual specialist (or 'shaman'), usually with the aid of an animal 'assistant'. It

has been acknowledged, within Anglo-Saxon archaeology and beyond, that the material representation of the metaphysical relationship between humans and birds is significant and extensive (Martin 2013, 12; Hedeager 1999; Fedorova 2001; Sutherland 2001).

It has been strongly suggested in the previous discussion of animal art styles (Chapter 3) that the ambiguous, hybrid figures seen on early Anglo-Saxon objects originated in northern Europe/southern Scandinavia. Objects featuring this imagery have been used as archaeological evidence for shamanistic beliefs and practices in northern Europe by many researchers. As discussed in Chapter 4, hybrid figures on Continental bracteates from the Migration Period appear to illustrate shamanistic scenes, including a shaman's journey to an 'other' world (Hedeager 1999, 153). Transformative imagery of shape-changing bodies, found on metalwork in late Iron Age Scandinavia, has been argued to be an agent in shifting the performer and/or the audience into another spiritual and psychological state (Back Danielsson 2002, 188); likewise, Lindstrom and Kristoffersen suggest that the consistent usage of ambiguous figures in Migration Period art could potentially be alluding to experiences of entering altered states of consciousness, during ritual situations (such as initiation, healing, prophesying, and battle preparations), but also on a more personal scale, where the riddling, stimulating figures induce a semi-hypnotic mental state characterized by fascination, concentration, and joy (2001, 76-77). It has also been suggested that, in Migration Period Scandinavia, the construction of the metalwork itself may help produce the desired effect. On some brooches, the golden appearance combined with texture created from chip-carved decoration reflected light and created movement, appealing to the senses and provoking a psychological response (Kristoffersen 2000).

The stimulating sensory effect of the objects' decoration can also be considered through themes of object agency and animism. Leigh's (1984) example of the potential to view multiple images of humans and animals on brooches, described in Chapter 4, highlights the agency of the object, which encourages the viewer to respond and interact with it in order to gain full comprehension. Fern suggests the animistic nature of the objects, which, through the transformation of the image by the observer, "animates the static pattern and gives the object an animism of its own" (2010, 137). It is possible that a belief in the animism of objects bearing fluid, multi-dimensional designs was held by the early Anglo-Saxons, as part of a broader worldview.

In other geographical areas and chronological periods, combined human and animal depictions have been comparably interpreted as potential material representations of shamanism, mainly considering the expression of human-animal transformation, in which human-bird hybridity is a recurrent theme. Fedorova (2001) describes the tradition of cast bronze anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures from Western Siberia, between the first century BC and tenth century AD. A prominent image from the canon of motifs demonstrates an amalgamation formed from the features of a man (specifically, a warrior) and a powerful animal, where a typical choice is a bird of prey (*ibid.*, 58). From these objects, Fedorova proposes that the combination of the bird of prey and warrior was of "indisputable importance" to these people, which was perhaps the material manifestation of a new social group of warriors, emerging from a period of "almost permanent military campaigns", attempting to express and establish themselves in the social and spiritual domains (*ibid.*, 63).

Small carved sculptures from Palaeo-Eskimo art, which are interpreted as personal amulets and appear to have been used in shamanic ritual, illustrate

humans and animals in a variety of ways, realistic and abstract (Sutherland 2001, 137). Much of this art evokes the shamanic theme of human/animal transformation, displaying humans with animal-like characteristics as well as depicting scenes of transformation; to the northern peoples, the ability of a human to transform into an animal, particularly in cases involving a shaman, is a widespread belief (ibid., 138-139). The depiction of human-to-bird transformation is particularly common in Palaeo-Eskimo art, relating to the concept of shamanic flight (ibid., 139).

Ethnographic cases from the northwest coast of the United States demonstrate examples of shamanic practices within masking traditions; the creation of animal and bird masks, which display a human face when opened, apparently symbolize the transformation of a human to an animal form (Edson 2005, 171). Further objects labeled as shamanistic include animal-headed human figures, and other “creatively joined” human and animal hybrid figures (ibid.). According to Edson, many of these items were based on the past supernatural experiences of the owner, specifically tying the significance of the object to him or her (ibid.).

The prominence of the hybrid motif within many different cultural groups, especially as a component of shamanistic representation, highlights the significance of its repeated appearance in early Anglo-Saxon England, mainly on what have been interpreted as high-status objects. Therefore, this study, alongside existing arguments for the presence of shamanistic beliefs in the Anglo-Saxon worldview, supports the idea that peoples of the early period viewed the boundary between humans and animals as perforated and accessible, and they may have invoked shamanistic rites during certain situations.

In this study, most hybrid motifs appear on objects associated with older female graves; in age-categorized graves, eleven objects with hybrid motifs appear in graves of at least mature adults (age 26+), while three appear in graves of young adults (age 19-25). This observation could further support the argument for a shift in one's social standing signified by the presence of more complex motifs, and possibly acknowledging the access to a new level within a group or role. Within this argument, it is likewise suggested that such group or role was likely connected to the shamanistic beliefs of the community, where the motifs on these objects referred to the individual's role of upholding the beliefs within the community, ritually, medically, or otherwise.

However, while the demonstrated link between hybrid motifs and shamanism is very likely, this type of motif only appears on a small portion of the objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs within the study. As previously suggested, it may be possible that less complex, non-hybrid motifs represented a different, lower level of standing within a group or role than those with themes of hybridity. Additionally, as the majority of the hybrid motifs are found on objects from Norfolk and Suffolk, it can be suggested that East Anglia had more widespread shamanistic beliefs than Wessex, based on the beliefs of the hybridity of entities and fluidity between corporeal and cosmological forms. This is not to say that there was an absence of shamanistic worldviews in the south – they may have been artistically represented in a different way, possibly in less overt references, such as in the large presence of human depictions on objects from Hampshire and Wiltshire, discussed above.

## **(Absence of) regional patterns of species depiction**

Within this study, twenty-one types of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs are featured on the selection of objects. Other than horses, humans, and the four hybrid forms, fifteen additional types of motifs are present in this collection of early Anglo-Saxon art. However, no clear or persistent patterns of combinations of motif usage appear across the two study regions of East Anglia and Wessex, which consequently can be interpreted as a lack of established patterns across the whole of Anglo-Saxon England in general. These findings may be indicative of the absence of a uniform set of ontological beliefs throughout England during the early period.

While established motif combinations cannot be observed from the data, there is still an apparent, widely distributed use of a variety of species. Therefore, it is necessary to consider that there are connections to certain motifs on a community-level, likely within regions, and even within sites, representing the beliefs or characteristics of each tribe/clan. It is generally accepted that most early Anglo-Saxon craft production was done domestically within self-sufficient rural communities, while the production of non-utilitarian goods (i.e. objects of personal adornment, etc.) was undertaken by a “relatively small contingent of itinerant specialists” (Thomas 2011, 408-409). In this light, the idea of ontological specificity within individualized pieces is easier to imagine. It has also been urged to “embed” shamanistic interpretations of archaeological art in specific, local, community contexts in order to compose less superficial, generalized accounts of ontological beliefs (Wallis 2004, 24). With this perspective, expanding from shamanism to themes of totemism and animism as well, we may be able to see an ontological relationship with the motifs broadly favored and displayed in each

region within communities in East Anglia and Wessex, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Moreover, some of the difficulties faced by scholars in interpreting the type of beasts depicted were most likely shared by the people of the early period. Perhaps the vaguer depictions (categorized in this study as 'animal' and 'quadruped') were created intentionally, leaving the specifics of the animal up to individual or group perception. It may also be possible that the variations seen in many of the animal depictions, best exemplified by the range of ways in which horses have been depicted (cf. Martin 2015), could be in reference to different sub-species representing the community, some kind of 'totem'. This could also apply to the frequent depiction of parts of animals (represented in this study by legs, claws, and tails); it is unknown to us to which species of animal the parts originate from, but it may have been obvious to the people who regularly employed the motifs.

As previously described in Chapter 4, ethnographic data shows that in other totemistic societies, totems are not solely restricted to animals and parts of animals, but can also include plants and non-living things (Evans-Pritchard 1956; Durkheim 1915). It is possible that further discussion of totemistic motifs found within the context of this study should not only include images of animals and humans, but also recurring symbols seen alongside such depictions, such as the swastika and other geometric motifs.

## **Use of high status materials**

Another main finding from this study shows that, in the construction of objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs, there is a large usage of high status materials, such as gold, silver, garnet, and surface treatments (gilding,



silvering, tinning) to give the appearance of high status material (see Chapter 2 for discussion of surface treatments). Gold and gilding, as well as inlaid materials, are mostly used on objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs in southern region of study. Meanwhile, there is an apparent preference for silver and silvering/tinning on objects with human and animal depictions in the investigated eastern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Additionally, no observable patterns appear between the type of metal used and depiction of certain species, aside from the previously-addressed regional variations of species depictions. When compared to the material composition of all objects from each site, gold usage in cemeteries from all four counties is still low among objects without anthropomorphic or zoomorphic ornament, implying that while gold usage is rarely found on objects included in the study, it is mainly objects decorated with humans and animals which are created with precious metals, inlaid materials, and surface treatments within the context of the whole site. The use of silver, however, appears much more frequently on objects without anthropomorphic or zoomorphic motifs, implying little connection between such ornament and silver.

Gold has been noted as an important status signifier in Anglo-Saxon England. Owen-Crocker's remarks on gold include its power to manifest social distinctions, and the marking of prosperity by the ownership of gold (2011, 111-113). Metal jewelry in particular is suggested to display the status of an individual or household through its size, complexity of decoration, and use of gold, silver, and garnet (*ibid.*, 96). The use of gold in the construction of objects has also been associated with high status in contemporary material culture of Scandinavia (Gaimster 2011), where gold bracteates were "part of an elite culture that expressed itself in new ritual practices, cosmological ideas, and manifestations of power" (*ibid.*, 881-882). We can also draw from similarities in early Merovingian

mortuary rites, where burial assemblages were a method of solidifying the position of a household within the community or region (Effros 2003, 118). Wealthy objects deposited in graves between the fifth and seventh centuries in Gaul demonstrated the prestige and resource of a social unit “that was able to contribute such gifts to the dead (and thus themselves do without them)” (ibid., 150). Behr also suggests that wealthy burial assemblages could be employed to garner loyalty as individual/household with objects made of such prestigious materials (2010).

Another consideration brought up by archaeologists is the association of gold with the divine, especially as a means of connection with the supernatural world. Known as a material in religious contexts to express veneration, but also perceived as material with inherent ‘powerful’ qualities (Behr 2010). Behr defines the symbolic nature of gold as a means of communication: the combination of images or other ornament with the material was perceived as reinforcing the desired effect (ibid.). Behr also poses a question: “if the decorative elements can be understood as carrying particular significance, did it matter that they were made in gold?” (ibid.). According to Owen-Crocker, archaeological and literary sources both suggest that the appreciation of metalwork did not so much lie in its bullion value as in the object created from it and decorated by it; ornamentation probably enhanced the prestige of an object in the early Anglo-Saxon period (2016, 16).

The prestige of different types of copper alloys has also been a question of interest. Research conducted by Baker (2013), briefly described in Chapter 2, considers the colors created by different copper alloy compositions. One example brought up in her discussion of the topic is from Sutton Hoo: “it is possible the stag on the scepter was a different alloy from the rest of the object so as to

contrast in color, and that this was a deliberate action on the part of the metalworker” (Baker 2013, 38). While the analysis of copper alloys for the specific needs of this study fell outside the scope of the research, previously conducted metallurgical analyses from site reports were consulted to briefly investigate the usage of different copper alloys among zoomorphically/anthropomorphically decorated objects. However, the available data regarding copper alloy composition for objects included in the study did not present any observable patterns of material usage.

The tendencies in material usage outlined above from each of the study areas could be based on the regional or community access to certain materials, but it is more likely the case that the southern peoples attributed more value to anthropomorphic and zoomorphic artefacts than those of East Anglia, possibly due to the influx of animal iconography from the eastern region’s close ties with Europe and Scandinavia, making the appearance of such motifs more commonplace. Moreover, if less value is attributed to anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects in East Anglia, it is possible that they were used less as high-status indicators and more as role signifiers, while the presumed higher value of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects in Wessex could convey that in the southern region these items denoted individuals of a certain role plus the high status of the role itself.

While the number of objects constructed with gold appears to be very low in proportion to the total number artefacts compiled in this study (5 out of 301), it is important to keep in mind that these cemeteries are ‘regular’, as opposed to the exceptional case of Sutton Hoo from which gold objects frequently occur. It is also notable that all five objects are found in burials from Wessex (one from Alton, Hampshire and four from Winterbourne Gunner, Wiltshire), while none

come from East Anglia; this is surprising due to the proximity of the East Anglian sites to lavishly-furnished burial sites such as the aforementioned Sutton Hoo. Even if it is too small to be statistically significant, this is a result that is worth pointing out, especially since it may provide a possible basis for future research, as including an overall study of the use of gold in these cemeteries would go far beyond the scope of this project.

Aside from evidently status-related uses, certain materials may also have held significance pertaining to local ontologies. In a previously mentioned article from Zedeño (2009), she discusses the concepts of animism, relational ontologies, and emergence of relational taxonomies within material culture. Within the worldviews of some groups, certain types of objects are perceived to indicate animacy, or the possession of life-force or soul (discussed in-depth in Chapter 5), both on their own and when they are used in conjunction with, or in this case, in the construction of other objects; this so-called process of 'animating by association' allows objects (or materials) to interact with and transform the entire finished item (2009, 411-412). Zedeño lists examples of objects that are inherently animate, featuring red paint and copper which can be used in the construction or decoration of objects, making the whole object animate. Considering the findings of the present study, specifically the repetitive and restricted use of certain materials, such as gold, silver, inlaid elements, and surface treatments on objects with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs, there is a possibility that this concept could be reflected in the early Anglo-Saxon period by the objects in question.

## **Summary**

Throughout this chapter, the application of different theoretical approaches to the results of this material culture-based study has attempted to contribute to the development of a better understanding of the Anglo-Saxon period through an investigation of possible ideologies upheld by the early Anglo-Saxons of East Anglia and Wessex. Naturally, the suggestions brought forward are not meant to imply definitive explanations, but to provide insight and explore possibilities outside existing theories of the early period. Following on from this discussion of findings, concluding remarks will be made in the next chapter.

## 8: Conclusion

Using approaches from anthropological and material culture studies, this dissertation has attempted to explore the relationship between animal and human depictions on objects from early Anglo-Saxon graves and the individuals and communities who created and used them. In this conclusive chapter, the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 will be revisited and discussed through the data and interpretations presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The first two sections below address the first two research questions, respectively, relating to geographic distribution and demographic association of the objects and motifs; the third research question, relating to the application of theories of material culture and anthropological theory, is addressed in both sections. A consideration of avenues for future research closes the chapter.

### **Regional variations in distribution of objects/motifs**

From the regional comparison in the present study, differences can be observed between the regions of East Anglia and Wessex regarding the use of certain motifs. Horses and hybrid entities feature most frequently at sites from Norfolk and Suffolk, while human depictions are most popular in Hampshire and Wiltshire. However, there was a noticeable lack of standardized motif combinations across the two regions. The large variety of motif combinations on objects from sites in all counties likely suggests that a uniform set of ontological beliefs throughout England did not exist. Rather, it is probable that such beliefs varied within regions and between communities.

The usage of the three specific motifs mentioned above (horses, humans, and hybrids) was also explored. Horses, featured prominently on objects from Norfolk and Suffolk, are well-known in the archaeological record of the Anglo-

Saxons as the most frequent funerary animal sacrifice. The horse's frequent appearance on early Anglo-Saxon objects of material culture has been interpreted in this dissertation through the perspective of shamanism, building on the shamanistic traits and interpretations brought up in other case studies of frequently used animal motifs: the repeated use of the boar in *Beowulf*, discussed by Glosecki (1980; 1989); the shamanistic significance of the eland in San rock art (Lewis-Williams 2001); and the relevance of the horse in many shamanistic groups, regarded as spiritual helpers (Lepp 2004; Wallis 2004; Maginnis 2004).

Anthropomorphic motifs in this study almost always portray male human faces. Possible interpretations for this style of human depiction include the representation of gods or deities, or ancestors appearing in a divine/supernatural state. Human depictions also largely feature as part of hybrid motifs. Four different hybrid entities appear in the study (human-bird, human-animal, human-horse, quadruped-bird) and can be interpreted as motifs with shamanistic traits, conveying themes such as corporeal transformation, crossing from natural to supernatural realms, shifting of psychological states, and the display of ritual activities. Human-animal hybrids may have also been indicative of ancestral relationships with certain animals. The agency of the objects themselves when it comes to their transformative nature is also a consideration, where certain images are only accessible through a change in the viewer's perspective. It is likely that early Anglo-Saxon communities shared widespread shamanistic beliefs, specifically in the east, where hybrid motifs are most prominent.

Studying regional variation also spawned an investigation into the regional material usage for the analyzed objects. Use of high status materials, which in this case are precious metals (gold, silver), inlaid materials (garnet, onyx, enamel/glass, shell/bone), and surface treatments (gilding, silvering, tinning),

was analyzed. When compared to the entire object assemblages of each site, high status materials appear to be mainly reserved for objects with human and animal depictions. Regionally, it was observed that silver is more frequently used in East Anglia, and gold was more common in Wessex. Moreover, the use of silver on other objects (non-anthropomorphic/zoomorphic) shows that silver is widely used in East Anglia, implying a weak connection between anthropomorphic/zoomorphic decoration and silver, and thus suggesting the possibility that human and animal ornament was less restricted and more accessible in this area than in Wessex, where such designs were reserved for objects of presumably high value. The interpretation of these findings was approached through the concept of relational ontologies, where the inherent animacy of certain materials was able to give animacy to the entire object by association (Zedeño 2009).

### **Relationship between grave demographics and objects/motifs**

Based on the analysis carried out in this dissertation, it is clear that objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic decoration were most frequently found in the graves of adult-aged females. A similar result is noted in Martin's (2013) study of cruciform brooches; however, Martin's study is limited to the eastern region, while the present study analyzes both the eastern and southern regions and shows no regional variation. Additionally, the mature adult category (of females) is the most frequently appearing age category of graves found with relevant objects across both areas, with an age range of 26-40 years.

In the previous chapter, it was suggested that this age range indicated persons who achieved a certain rank or status, either within a community, group, or role. This was also probably connected with the lineage of the individual,



although not explicitly linked with wealth. Regarding the female-dominated aspect of these results, this could be interpreted as a special group within the community relating to the idea of the 'cunning woman'. While the data in this dissertation supports the 'cunning woman' argument, it adds that there would most likely be different ranks or levels within the groups, exemplified by correlations between more complex motif usage on objects in possession of older individuals (also seen in the 'shifts' between age groups described by Stoodley 2000).

Using anthropological and material culture theory, possibilities of the purposes of the group or what the role could have entailed have been explored, based on the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ornamentation found on the objects. Firstly, shamanistic representations from decorated items may refer to the shamanic role or abilities of those in possession. In addition, the objects (and specifically the entities depicted on the objects) may have been used as totems, delineating the social and spiritual boundaries of the community; this point also implies the agency of the objects themselves, as they were essential in the creation and maintenance of the social and political spheres.

## **Future research**

This dissertation has provided a comparative analysis regarding material culture and iconography between two important regions of the early Anglo-Saxon period, while applying theoretical concepts from anthropology to the study of the social and ideological aspects of the period. Following on from the interpretations presented in Chapter 7, an expansion or shift in the scope of study could develop further results. A broadening of the study to include a comparison to all other objects (i.e. objects without anthropomorphic or zoomorphic motifs) could show how far-reaching the significance of these objects was in the context of entire

cemeteries and provide more insight on artefact distribution in relation to demographics. Furthermore, to expand on the brief work done in this study on materials, an analysis of copper alloy composition may be useful to investigate any correlations between different copper alloys and certain motifs. Alongside the results and conclusions of this study, further development of the ideas presented could prove to crucially impact our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon period.

## Appendix 1: Site and grave counts

- 'Relevant finds' = objects with anthropomorphic/zoomorphic decoration. Includes possible/probable graves.
- **G** = inhumation grave\*; **C** = cremation grave.  
\*For the purpose of this study, the abbreviation for inhumation grave is denoted with the letter G, instead of I, in order to prevent any misinterpretations/enhance legibility of references to inhumation graves.

**TOTAL SITES:** 32 [28 with relevant finds]

**TOTAL GRAVES:** 5560 [G: 1788; C: 3772]

Total graves with relevant finds: 198 [G: 129; C: 69]

Unstratified finds: 17

### NORFOLK:

Total graves: 3559 [G: 577; C: 2982]

Graves with relevant finds: 104 [G: 53; C: 51]

1. Oxborough: 10 [all G]
  - Relevant: 0
  - Unstratified: 2
2. Bergh Apton: 63 [all G]
  - Relevant: 6 [all G]
3. Spong Hill: 2441 [G: 57; C: 2384]
  - Relevant: 54 [G: 11; C: 43]
  - Unstratified: 1
4. Morning Thorpe: 374 [G: 365; C: 9]
  - Relevant: 31 [G: 30; C: 1]
5. The Paddocks, Swaffham: 20 [G: 19; C: 1]
  - Relevant: 1 [G]
6. Caistor-By-Norwich: 524 [G: 39; C: 485]
  - Relevant: 5 [all C]
7. Markshall: 101 [all C]
  - Relevant: 2 [all C]

8. Tittleshall: 26 [G: 24; C: 2]  
- Relevant: 5 [all G]

### SUFFOLK:

Total graves: 1075 [G: 472; C: 603]

Graves with relevant finds: 49 [G: 34; C: 15]

1. Snape: 99 [G: 47; C: 52]  
- Relevant: 5 [all G]
2. Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville: 28 [all G]  
- Relevant: 0  
- Unstratified: 3
3. Boss Hall: 28 [G: 24; C: 4]  
- Relevant: 4 [all G]
4. Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds: 69 [G: 65; C: 4]  
- Relevant: 5 [all G]
5. Tranmer House, Bromeswell: 32 [G: 19; C: 13]  
- Relevant: 1 [G]
6. Holywell Row: 100 [all G]  
- Relevant: 11 [all G]
7. Hadleigh Road, Ipswich: 159 [all G, but "urns found"]  
- Relevant: 8 [all G]  
- Unstratified: 1
8. Lackford: 530 [all C]  
- Relevant: 15 [all C]
9. Northumberland Ave, Bury St Edmunds (NO RELEVANT FINDS):  
30 [all G]

### HAMPSHIRE:

Total graves: 510 [G: 332; C: 178]

Graves with relevant finds: 17 [G: 14; C: 3]

1. Alton: 95 [G: 49; C: 46]  
- Relevant: 7 [G: 5; C: 2]

2. Portway, Andover: 155 [G: 69; C: 86]  
- Relevant: 4 [G: 3; C: 1]
3. Worthy Park, Kingsworthy: 140 [G: 94; C: 46]  
- Relevant: 5 [all G]
4. Droxford: 41 [all G]  
- Relevant: 0  
- Unstratified: 6
5. Winnall II, Winchester: 45 [all G]  
- Relevant: 1 [G]
6. Meonstoke (NO RELEVANT FINDS): 1 [G]
7. Snell's Corner (NO RELEVANT FINDS): 33 [all G]

WILTSHIRE:

Total graves: 416 [G: 407; C: 9]

Graves with relevant finds: 28 [all G]

1. Barrow Clump: 25 [all G]  
- Relevant: 1 [G]  
- Unstratified: 1
2. Petersfinger: 64 [all G]  
- Relevant: 5 [all G]
3. Blacknall Field, Pewsey: 108 [G: 104; C: 4]  
- Relevant: 10 [all G]
4. Market Lavington: 42 [all G]  
- Relevant: 2 [all G]  
- Unstratified: 2
5. Collingbourne Ducis: 119 [G: 115; C: 4]  
- Relevant: 6 [all G]  
- Unstratified: 1
6. Charlton Plantation: 43 [G: 42; C: 1]  
- Relevant: 1 [G]
7. Winterbourne Gunner: 10 [all G]  
- Relevant: 3 [all G]
8. West Overton (NO RELEVANT FINDS): 5 [all G]

## Appendix 2: Artefact database

Site	County	Artefact	Burial type: Inhumation Grave/ Cremation	Burial reference no.	Grave good reference no.	Sex	Gender	Age (stated in original report)	Standardized age category	Object category	Object material(s)	Surface treatment?	Anthro./ Zoo./ Both	Species and/or animal part(s) depicted
OXBOROUGH	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	SF30	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
OXBOROUGH	NORFOLK	Flolid cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	SF33	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	C	31	2	?F	--	Elderly Adult	Older adult	Brooch	?Copper alloy/?silver	No	Z	Leg; claw
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	1	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	2	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	47	1	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	47	2	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	35	1	F	--	30-35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; leg; claw
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	35	2	F	--	30-35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; leg; claw
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	37	1	?	F	~16	Older subadult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	37	2	?	F	~16	Older subadult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	G	16	2	M	--	~28	Younger mature adult	Buckle	Gold; silver; gilding; garnet; white shell	Yes	Z	Animal

ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	C	7	6	?	F	?Middle-aged adult	?Mature adult	Buckle	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	7	H	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	18	C	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	B	Human-bird; animal
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	26	B	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding; ?tinning/?silvering	Yes	Z	Quadruped-bird
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	26	C	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding; ?tinning/?silvering	Yes	Z	Quadruped-bird
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	37	A	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	?Mount	G	54	E	?	F	?	?	?Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	64	A	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal; bird
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	2	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	35	1	?	F	30-40	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	35	2	?	F	30-40	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	48	2	?	F	18-25	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	48	3	?	F	18-25	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	G	48	4	?	F	18-25	Young adult	Buckle	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse

PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	?Mount	C	66	1	?	?	?	?	?Mount	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Finger ring	G	1	B	?	M	?	?	Ring	Gold; onyx	No	Z	Animal
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	A	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	B	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	C	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	10	E	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	10	F	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	14	D	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	16	C	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-bird; human-horse; bird
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	G	19	E	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	1265	N/A	?	?	Juvenile: young	Young child	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	1021	N/A	?	?	Infant/juvenile	Infant/child	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1168	1	?	?	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1468	1	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1468	2	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1469	1	?	?	Adult: mature/older	Mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1072	1	?	?	Adult: younger mature	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1176	2	?	?	Infant	Infant	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1160	1	?	?	Adult: younger mature	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse



SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1138	1	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	1288	1	?	?	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	34/3582	1	?	?	Infant	Infant	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Razor handle	C	1672	1	?M + ?	? + ?	Adults: mature	Mature adult + mature adult	Other	Copper alloy	No	Z	Griffin
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	1323	1	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-bird
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1475	4	?	?	Subadult: older	Older subadult	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1470	2	M + ?	?	Adult: older mature/older + subadult	Older mature/older adult + subadult	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1450	3	?	?	Juvenile: young	Young child	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1556	1	?	?	Juvenile: young	Young child	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1227	4	?	?	Infant: young	Young infant	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1465	4	?F + ?	? + ?	Adult: mature + ?Adult	Mature adult + ?adult	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1183	4	?	?	Subadult	Subadult	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1534	3	?	?	Subadult	Subadult	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	2143	1	?F	--	Adult: younger mature	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	1823	1	?	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-animal
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1730	1	?	?	Juvenile: young	Young child	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1743	3	?	?	Adult: older mature	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal

SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	?Wrist-clasp	C	1846	1	F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	?Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	2007	1	? + ?	? + ?	Adult: younger mature + young infant/neonate	Younger mature adult + young infant	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	2009	2	?F + ?	? + ?	Adult: mature + foetus/neonate	Mature adult + fetus/y. inf.	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	2	1	F	--	20-25	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-bird; human
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	18	3	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; ?silvering	Maybe	Z	Bird
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	3	F	F	25-35	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	4	F	F	25-35	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	6	F	F	25-35	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24	5a	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silvering; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	26	5a	F	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	31	4	M + ?	?	~40 + ~12	Mature/older adult + child/subadult	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Fish
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	31	5	M + ?	?	~40 + ~12	Mature/older adult + child/subadult	Mount	Copper alloy	No	Z	Fish
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	39	1a	F	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	45	8a	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	46	3	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	57	7	F	F	35-45	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; silvering; gilding	Yes	B	Human-bird; bird

SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	58	3a	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2443	N/A	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal; horse
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2642A	N/A	?	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2594	N/A	?	?	Older juvenile	Older child	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Dog; stag
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot lid	C	3324	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	A	Human
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Equal-armed brooch	C	2376	3	?F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal; fish; quadruped
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Mount	C	2376	5	?F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Mount	Copper alloy; silvering	Yes	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	2656	1	F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	C	2346	1	?F	?	Adult: mature	Mature adult	Girdle-hanger	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Antler comb	C	2643	4	?	?	Infant	Infant	Comb	Antler	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	3114	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2937A	N/A	?M + ?	? + ?	Two Adults: mature/older + young juvenile	Mature/older adult + young child	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	2867	1	?	?	Adult: young/mature	Young/mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	2997	1	?	?	Adult: older mature	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	3055	1	?F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	3055	2	?F	?	Adult: older mature/older	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse

SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	3126	1	?F + ?	? + ?	Adult: younger mature + infant: young	Younger mature adult + young infant	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Antler comb	C	2907	2	? + ?	? + ?	Young subadult + infant	Young subadult + infant	Comb	Antler	N/A	Z	Animal
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	208	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	30	1	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Knife handle	G	47	9	F	--	Adult	Adult	Other	Copper alloy	No	Z	Dog; rabbit
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Mount	G	50	2	M	--	40-50	Older adult	Mount	Iron; copper alloy	No	Z	?Rabbit
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	80	1	F	--	~50	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	80	2	F	--	~50	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Mount	G	77	5	F	--	40-50	Older adult	Mount	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	16	B	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Horse; ?animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	18	Ei	?	F	Adult	Adult	Girdle-hanger	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	18	Eii	?	F	Adult	Adult	Girdle-hanger	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	J	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	K	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	N	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Bracteate	G	80	Mi	?	F	Younger adult	Young adult	Bracteate	Copper alloy	No	B	Human, horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Bracteate	G	80	Mii	?	F	Younger adult	Young adult	Bracteate	Copper alloy	No	B	Human, horse

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	80	J	?	F	Younger adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Ai	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Aii	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Aiii	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	91	D	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse; ?animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	96	F	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	97	A	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	129	A	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	131	A	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	133	F	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	D	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	E	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	Gi	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	Gii	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	C	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	D	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	H	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	I	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	J	?	M	?	?	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	208	Di	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal; horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	209	Bi	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	214	A	?	?F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silvering; ?gilding	Yes	Z	Animal; bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	253	P	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	288	E	?	F	Older mature adult	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	318	B	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	342	D	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	346	C	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	353	C	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Girdle-hanger	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	F	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding; enamel	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	G	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	J	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	H	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	353	Qi	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; glass	No	B	Human-bird; ?human-horse; ?rabbit
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	353	R	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	353	S	?	F	Younger mature adult	Younger mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	358	Bi	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Buckle	G	358	F	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Buckle	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	359	Ai	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Hi	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Claw; leg; ?tail
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Hii	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Claw; leg; ?tail
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Ji	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Claw; leg; ?tail
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Jii	?	F	?	?	Wrist-clasp	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Claw; leg; ?tail
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	362	Ji	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	370	G	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human; horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	371	C	?	F	?Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	371	J	?	F	?Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal; bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Mount	G	384	E	?	F	Child	Child	Mount	Silver; gilding	Yes	Z	?Cow

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	393	M	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	396	C	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Girdle-hanger	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	396	L	?	F	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM (British Museum) 2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM6	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM7	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Pendant	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM31	?	?	?	?	Pendant	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	WCM (Winchester City Museum) 9	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	WCM10	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	2699	ON5373	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	2699	ON5388	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	ON5336	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	A	Human
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	G	2699	ON5376	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	?Pendant	G	XLIX	134	?	F	?	?	?Pendant	Tinned copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal



PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	XIX	43	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	XIX	44	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Key-ring	G	XIX	46	?	F	?	?	Other	Iron	No	Z	Animal
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Belt buckle	G	XX	55	M	--	?	?	Buckle	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	80	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	81	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	82	F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
PETERSFINGER	WILTSHIRE	Sword pommel	G	XXI	60	M	--	Adult	Adult	Sword	Copper alloy; ?gilding	Maybe	Z	Bird
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	G	19	2	?	F	40+	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	G	21	1	F	--	40+	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	21	2	F	--	40+	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	21	3	F	--	40+	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Sword scabbard (mouth band)	G	22	1c	M	--	45+	Older adult	Sword	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal; bird
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Buckle	G	22	4	M	--	45+	Older adult	Buckle	Copper alloy; silver	No	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	G	31	1	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human-animal; human; animal; bird

BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	G	31	2	F	--	~35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human-animal; human; animal; bird
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	38	1	?	--	~5	Infant/child	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	44	1	F	--	~21	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	44	2	F	--	~21	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	55	1	F	--	35+	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	55	2	F	--	35+	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	56	1	F	--	~30	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	56	2	F	--	~30	Mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg; claw
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	60	1	F	--	~21	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	60	2	F	--	~21	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	67	1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	67	2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	7	33	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	7	34	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Leg

MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	8	63	F	--	Young adult	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal; bird
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	4	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	6	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	16	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper	No	B	Human-bird
BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	17	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper; gilding	Yes	A	Human
BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	18	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-bird
WINNALL II, WINCHESTER	HAMPSHIRE	Disc brooch	G	21	1	?	F	12-13	Older child/young subadult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird; serpent
THE PADDOCKS, SWAFFHAM	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	6	C	?F	--	35-45	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human-bird; human-horse; animal
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	G	97	2	?	F	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	150	3	F	--	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	301	3	F	--	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human-bird; bird
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	505	1	F	--	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	W30	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Quadruped
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	E7	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Quadruped
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	N83	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal; quadruped

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	R9/10	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Dog
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	M33	B	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	M33	C	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human-bird
MARKSHALL	NORFOLK	Pot	C	XI	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Animal
MARKSHALL	NORFOLK	Pot	C	LXX	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	A	Human
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	27	A	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	41	B1	?	M	Adult	Adult	Mount	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	?Bird
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	41	B2	?	M	Adult	Adult	Mount	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	?Bird
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	52	A	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Equal-armed brooch	G	55	A	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	55	B	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	B	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human; horse
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	C1	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	C2	?	F	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	57	73	F	--	Adult >55 yr.	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding; blue garnet	Yes	Z	Animal
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	57	74	F	--	Adult >55 yr.	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding; red garnet	Yes	Z	Animal
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	75	166	F	--	Adult >45 yr.	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal

COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	75	167	F	--	Adult >45 yr.	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Bell-shaped brooch	G	92	221	F	--	20-25	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human; animal
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Disc brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	140	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding; gamet; ?shell/?bone	Yes	Z	Animal
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Equal-armed brooch	G	6	7	F	--	~42	Older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird; quadruped
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	5	?F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	1	?F	--	Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	31	5	F	--	~22	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	31	6	F	--	~22	Young adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	A	Human
TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Shield mount	G	21	2i	?	M	Mature adult	Mature adult	Mount	Iron; silver; copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	Quadruped-bird
TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	21	5i	?	M	Mature adult	Mature adult	Mount	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	?Fish
TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	21	6	?	M	Mature adult	Mature adult	Mount	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird; serpent
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	13	2	F	--	30-40	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	B	Human-animal; animal; bird
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Hybrid small-long/cruciform brooch	G	14	1	?	F	7-8	Young child	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse

TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	15	3	F	--	30-35	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	16	2	?	F	Indeterminate Adult	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	21A	2	?	F	30-40	Older mature adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
CHARLTON PLANTATION	WILTSHIRE	Mount	G	38	34E	F	--	20-25	Young adult	Mount	Copper alloy; gilding	Yes	Z	?Bird
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Mount	G	VI	C1	M	--	40-50	Older adult	Mount	Copper alloy	No	Z	?Seahorse
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	VIII	A1	F	--	35-45	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gold; glass	No	B	Human; animal; leg; claw
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	VIII	A2	F	--	35-45	Older mature/older adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gold; glass	No	B	Human; animal; leg; claw
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	IX	A1	F	--	?Middle-aged	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gold; glass	No	B	Human; animal; leg; claw
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	IX	A2	F	--	?Middle-aged	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy; gold; glass	No	B	Human; animal; leg; claw
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	11	1	?	F	Child	Child	Brooch	Copper alloy; gilding; garnet	Yes	B	Human; animal
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	14	1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	16	1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human; horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	16	3	?	?	?	?	Wrist-clasp	?Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	21	1	?	F	"Oldish"	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	69	1	?	?	Child	Child	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse

HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	G	69	2	?	?	Child	Child	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	1	?	F	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	2	?	F	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	3	?	F	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	4	?	F	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	58	2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal; horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	1	?	F	"Old"	Adult	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal; horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	2	?	F	"Old"	Adult	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	3	?	F	"Old"	Adult	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	98	1a	?	?	?	?	Wrist-clasp	?Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	98	1b	?	?	?	?	Wrist-clasp	?Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Bird; horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	3	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	58.2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Silver; gilding; garnet; gold	Yes	Z	Leg
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	102	59.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24 or 52 or 59	60.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird

HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	29	61.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	17 (741)	62.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	41 (?17)	63.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	B	Human; bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	59 (?24, 52)	64.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal; bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24 (?52, 59)	64.2	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy; silver; gilding	Yes	Z	Animal; bird
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	G	124	66.1	?	?	?	?	Brooch	Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Bone comb	C	50,22 A	N/A	?	?	?	?	Comb	Bone	N/A	Z	Pig
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2485	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	49,4	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,71	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,127	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,78	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	50,178 B	N/A	?	?	?	?	Wrist-clasp	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,178 B	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,126	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	B	Human; animal
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,234	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	C	50,114 A	N/A	?	?	?	?	Brooch	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Horse
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2473	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Serpent
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Mount	C	50,109 A	N/A	?	?	?	?	Mount	?Copper alloy	No	Z	Animal



LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	50,47	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Bird
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,248	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	Bird
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2487	N/A	?	?	?	?	Pot	Ceramic	N/A	Z	?Dog

## Appendix 3: Artefact details

Site	County	Artefact	Burial type (Inhumation Grave/Cremation)	Burial Reference No.	Grave good number/ reference	Species and/or animal part(s) depicted	Description of anthro./zoo. features	Notes
OXBOROUGH	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	SF30	Human	Mask motif	
OXBOROUGH	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	SF33	Human	Lower part only; mask motifs at foot	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	C	31	2	Leg; claw	Head decorated with chip-carved leg and claw with two curved thigh lines	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	1	Leg; claw	Paired with G23.2; decorated by seven leg-and-claw motifs	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	2	Leg; claw	Paired with G23.1; decorated by seven leg-and-claw motifs	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	47	1	Animal	Paired with G47.2; two Style I animals, both proceeding in same direction	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	47	2	Animal	Paired with G47.1; two Style I animals, both proceeding in same direction	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	35	1	Human; leg; claw	Paired with G35.2; mask with vertical line decoration on head, flanked by two animal legs/claws	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	35	2	Human; leg; claw	Paired with G35.1; mask with vertical line decoration on head, flanked by two animal legs/claws	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	37	1	Human	Dissimilar pair with G37.2; human mask design; upturned mouth with protruding tongue	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	37	2	Human	Dissimilar pair with G37.1; human mask, eyes and nose only	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	G	16	2	Animal	Two animals	
ALTON	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	C	7	6	Animal	Style I animal ornament	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	7	H	Animal	Headplate with cramped zoomorphic ornament in interior panel	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	18	C	Human-bird; animal	Head and catch-plate with interior panels of zoomorphic ornament; head with top and side knobs, each with human mask with facial hair formed as pairs of beaked heads; mask below panel on catch-plate; foot with large panel of zoomorphic ornament, flanked by upturned beaked heads; beaked heads appear as parts of human moustache	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	26	B	Quadruped- bird	Paired with G26.C; in form of beaked quadruped	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	26	C	Quadruped- bird	Paired with G26.B; in form of beaked quadruped	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	37	A	Horse	Horse head terminal	

BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	?Mount	G	54	E	Animal	Remains of zoomorphic decoration	
BERGH APTON	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	64	A	Human; animal; bird	Lower corners of head with zoomorphic motif; mask in center of lower border; downward biting heads in openwork and mask at top of median rib	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	2	N/A	Animal	Zoomorphic ornament	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	35	1	Leg; claw	Paired with G35.2; around central motif, seven running/radial legs (each with single hip bar); six legs have four claws, other leg has three	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	35	2	Leg; claw	Paired with G35.1; around central motif, seven running/radial legs (each with single hip bar); six legs have four claws, other leg has three	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	48	2	Animal	Paired with G48.3; zoomorphic decoration: zone of animal ornament in ring; 2 Style I animals, arranged anti-clockwise; animals have well-defined heads/eyes and hooked snouts; pronounced manes on heads in form of slanting lines	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	48	3	Animal	Paired with G48.2; identical except for difference between division elements	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	Buckle	G	48	4	Horse	Thin outer section of loop forming horses' heads and chests; Hawkes and Dunning Type 1B	
PORTWAY, ANDOVER	HAMPSHIRE	?Mount	C	66	1	Animal	Relief which appears to be zoomorphic; possibly eye and head depicted	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Finger ring	G	1	B	Animal	Granules and hook-&-eye decoration on shoulders has been combined to give a zoomorphic effect	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	A	Horse	Paired with G10.C; horse head terminal	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	B	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	10	C	Horse	Paired with G10.A; horse head terminal	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	10	E	Bird	Paired with G10.F; decorated with paired, intumed beaked heads on main panels	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	10	F	Bird	Paired with G10.E; decorated with paired, intumed beaked heads on main panels	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	14	D	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	16	C	Human-bird; human-horse; bird	Head-plate with top and side knobs comprised of full-face masks flanked by intumed, beaked heads; catch-plate with upturned beaked heads forming side lappets; horse head terminal expanding into human mask	
SNAPE	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	G	19	E	Animal	Animal eyes on catch-plate close to the bow	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	1265	N/A	Animal	Animal stamps	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	1021	N/A	Animal	Animal stamps	

SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1168	1	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1468	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1468	2	Horse	Bow and foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1469	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1072	1	Animal	Foot only; zoomorphic	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1176	2	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1160	1	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1138	1	Horse	Part of foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	1288	1	Human	Human mask	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	34/3582	1	Human	Four inward facing heads arranged in a cross around a central concentric circle motif	Possibly both anthro./zoo. - triangles attached to line across head, possible ?ears/horns. Similar to Spong Hill C2143.1
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Razor handle	C	1672	1	Griffin	Griffin-headed handle	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	1323	1	Human-bird	Beaked and helmeted heads at inner corners, with bodies curving in to the center to form a double coil; viewed sideways, the cheeks and moustache of a human are suggested, which would have been completed by the other half of the clasp, giving the eyes and eyebrows	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1475	4	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1470	2	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1450	3	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1556	1	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1227	4	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1465	4	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1183	4	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART I)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	1534	3	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	

SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	2143	1	Human	Part of row of masks around missing center	Possibly both anthro./zoo. - triangles attached to line across head, possible ?ears/horns. Similar to Spong Hill C34/3582.1
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	1823	1	Human-animal	Foot only; mask with flowing hair, moustache, and beard which ends in head and claw of Style I beast	Florid cruciform or hybrid square-headed/cruciform
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1730	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	1743	3	Animal	Zoomorphic ornament	
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	?Wrist-clasp	C	1846	1	Animal	Zoomorphic ornament	
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	2007	1	Animal	One beast visible forming upper edge of clasp, curved round to side, and beak of second; Style I beasts	
SPONG HILL (PART II)	NORFOLK	Bone comb	C	2009	2	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; fragment of zoomorphic terminals	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	2	1	Human-bird; human	Head of brooch with knobs in form of human masks with heavy eyebrows, eyes and nose above spatulate beard terminal; moustaches end in beaked birds' heads; foot of brooch with double mask terminal; upper mask has eyebrows, eyes and nose only, running into second, lower mask which has curled eyebrows and moustaches	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	18	3	Bird	Rudimentary Style I chip-carved animals, each with head, beak and one limb, downward-biting; animals merge into round side lobes	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	3	Bird; horse	Foot with lappets in form of rudimentary beaked heads; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	4	Horse	Paired with G22.6; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	6	Horse	Paired with G22.4; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24	5a	Bird	Foot with lappets in the form of open-work downward biting beasts' heads with back-curved beaks	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	26	5a	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	31	4	Fish	Paired with G31.5; in shape of fish	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Shield mount	G	31	5	Fish	Paired with G31.4; in shape of fish	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	39	1a	Horse	Horse head terminal	

SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	45	8a	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	46	3	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	57	7	Human-bird; bird	Head of brooch with knobs consisting of full-face mask with moustaches that can also be viewed as a pair of downward-biting animal or birds' heads, and spatulate 'beard' terminals; foot with lappets in form of downward-biting beaked heads; two ridges defining upper limit of foot, which consists of a mask with moustaches ending in downward-biting beaked heads	
SPONG HILL (PART III)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	58	3a	Bird; horse	Foot with lappets in form of rudimentary beaked heads; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2443	N/A	Animal; horse	Row of horse stamps; single impressions of animal stamps	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2642A	N/A	Animal	Animal stamps	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2594	N/A	Dog; stag	Linear drawings of animals; stag between five other quadrupeds, dogs or wolves	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Pot lid	C	3324	N/A	Human	Lid in shape of seated human figure	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Equal-armed brooch	C	2376	3	Animal; fish; quadruped	Band of scrolls on both head and foot within zoomorphic borders, crouched backwards-looking quadrupeds on angles between bow and head, heads of beasts with open mouths, with coiled fish tails below	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Mount	C	2376	5	Animal	Each side formed from a pair of opposed beasts with open mouths, necks, and front limbs	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	2656	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	C	2346	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART IV)	NORFOLK	Antler comb	C	2643	4	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	3114	N/A	Animal	Animal stamps	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Pot	C	2937A	N/A	Animal	Animal stamps	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Applied brooch	C	2867	1	Human	Six human masks	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	2997	1	Horse	Foot and catch-plate only; horse head terminal	

SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	3055	1	Horse	Part of foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	3055	2	Horse	Part of foot only; horse head terminal	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	3126	1	Animal	Possible zoomorphic decoration	Probably part of equal-armed brooch
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Antler comb	C	2907	2	Animal	Barred zoomorphic; inward facing animal head terminals at ends of comb	
SPONG HILL (PART V)	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	208	Horse	Catch-plate and part of foot only; horse head terminal	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	30	1	Human	Human mask motif; Avent and Evison (1982) Class F	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Knife handle	G	47	9	Dog; rabbit	Openwork hound-biting-hare-by-tail motif	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Mount	G	50	2	?Rabbit	Attached to plate is a Quoit Brooch Styled decorated copper alloy strip; decoration in form of line of six panels each containing a crouched animal with back-turned head; animals arranged as three 'facing' pairs; heads with long muzzles, rabbit-like tails; hind feet with claws	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	80	1	Human	Human face motif; pointed helmet and open mouth	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	G	80	2	Human	Human face motif; three-quarters face looking to the right	
WORTHY PARK, KINGSWORTHY	HAMPSHIRE	Mount	G	77	5	Bird	Pair of downward facing animal heads with outward curving necks, heads with helmets and curved beaks; centre of plate formed of hollow pillar; bottom of pillar flanked by animal heads similar to larger heads	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Flolid cruciform brooch	G	16	B	Horse; ?animal	Possibly zoomorphic lappets on head; beginning of horse head eyes, flaring into ?zoomorphic terminal; Leeds and Pocock Group V(a)	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	18	Ei	Bird	Decorated with pair of beaked heads	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	18	Eii	Bird	Decorated with pair of beaked heads	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	J	Horse	Paired with G30.K; Horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	K	Horse	Paired with G30.J; Horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	30	N	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Bracteate	G	80	Mi	Human, horse	C-bracteate; human head above a horse	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Bracteate	G	80	Mii	Human, horse	C-bracteate; human head above a horse	

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	80	J	Horse	Angular horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Ai	Horse	Paired with G90.Aii; horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Aii	Horse	Paired with G90.Ai; horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	90	Aiii	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	91	D	Horse; ?animal	Horse head terminal; possible zoomorphic decoration on lappets of catch-plate; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	96	F	Bird; horse	Horse head terminal; catch-plate with lappets in form of beaked heads; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	97	A	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	129	A	Bird; horse	Horse head terminal; beaked head lappets off of catch-plate; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	131	A	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	133	F	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	D	Animal	Elaborate Style I zoomorphic decoration; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	E	Animal	Elaborate Style I zoomorphic decoration; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	Gi	Animal	Elaborate Style I zoomorphic decoration; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	153	Gii	Animal	Elaborate Style I zoomorphic decoration; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	C	Leg; claw	Set of five nearly identical belt plates (C, D, H, I, J); Style I zoomorphic decoration; claws, tails/legs	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	D	Leg; claw	Set of five nearly identical belt plates (C, D, H, I, J); Style I zoomorphic decoration; claws, tails/legs	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	H	Leg; claw	Set of five nearly identical belt plates (C, D, H, I, J); Style I zoomorphic decoration; claws, tails/legs	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	I	Leg; claw	Set of five nearly identical belt plates (C, D, H, I, J); Style I zoomorphic decoration; claws, tails/legs	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Belt mount	G	157	J	Leg; claw	Set of five nearly identical belt plates (C, D, H, I, J); Style I zoomorphic decoration; claws, tails/legs	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	208	Di	Animal; horse	Horse head terminal; top knob of head with zoomorphic decoration; Aberg Group IV	



MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	209	Bi	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	214	A	Animal; bird	Zoomorphic heads at lower corners of head plate; foot with pair of animals with curved necks, beaks, downward facing; Leeds Bi, Hines Group XVI	Very old and broken when buried; pieces missing and broken edges smoothed
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	253	P	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	288	E	Bird	Top of foot with pair of animals with curved necks and beaks; Leeds Bi, Hines Group XVI	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	318	B	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal; possibly Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	342	D	Animal	Side knob of brooch only; zoomorphic appearance	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	346	C	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	353	C	Bird; horse	Hooks in form of curved, beaked heads; horse head terminal at stem	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	F	Animal	Paired with G353.G; zoomorphic decoration; Hines Form C3	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	G	Animal	Paired with G353.F; zoomorphic decoration; Hines Form C3	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	J	Animal	Paired with G353.H; zoomorphic decoration; Hines Form C3	Empty setting - probably held red enamel as on G353.F
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	353	H	Animal	Paired with G353.J; zoomorphic decoration; Hines Form C3	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	353	Qi	Human-bird; ?human-horse; ?rabbit	Head with top and side knobs in form of human masks with moustaches expanded into beaked animal heads; catch-plate with lappets in form of animals, ?crouched rabbits; foot with same decoration as head knobs; horse head terminal, possibly tongue of larger human mask; possibly Leeds and Pocock Group V	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	353	R	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	353	S	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	358	Bi	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Buckle	G	358	F	Animal	Pair of animals facing each other; ?open-mouthed	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	359	Ai	Bird	Pair of curved neck/beak animals; Leeds Bi, Hines Group XVI	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Hi	Claw; leg; ?tail	Paired with G360.Hii; zoomorphic decoration; claws, hind legs, ?tails; Hines Class C	

MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Hii	Claw; leg; ?tail	Paired with G360.Hi; zoomorphic decoration; claws, hind legs, ?tails; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Ji	Claw; leg; ?tail	Paired with G360.Jii; zoomorphic decoration; claws, hind legs, ?tails; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	360	Jii	Claw; leg; ?tail	Paired with G360.Ji; zoomorphic decoration; claws, hind legs, ?tails; Hines Class C	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	362	Ji	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II or III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	370	G	Human; horse	Head with top knob of human mask; foot with horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	371	C	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	371	J	Animal; bird	Head with Style I zoomorphic decoration; foot with animal heads with curved necks/beaks and Style I zoomorphic decoration; Leeds Bi, Hines Group XVIII	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Mount	G	384	E	?Cow	Animal head with upward protruding twisted horns; ?ox head; may have been hung from a necklace	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	393	M	Bird	Foot broken off; catch-plate with lappets in form of beaked heads	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Girdle-hanger	G	396	C	Horse	Only stem; horse head terminal	
MORNING THORPE	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	396	L	Bird; horse	Catch-plate with lappets in form of very basic beaked heads; horse head terminal; Aberg Group IV	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Square-headed brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM (British Museum) 2	Animal	Pillar dividing foot in half, animals on each side	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM6	Human	Human mask motif	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM7	Human	Human mask motif	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Pendant	Unstratified	Unstratified	BM31	Human; animal	Band of Style I animals, central mask and half mask at each end	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	WCM (Winchester City Museum) 9	Animal	Zoomorphic decoration	
DROXFORD	HAMPSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	WCM10	Animal	Zoomorphic decoration	
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	2699	ON5373	Human	Paired with G2699.ON5388; human mask motif; Avent and Evison Group Class Bii	
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	2699	ON5388	Human	Paired with G2699.ON5373; human mask motif; Avent and Evison Group Class A misc.	
BARROW CLUMP	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	ON5336	Human	Human mask motif	

<b>BARROW CLUMP</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Square-headed brooch	G	2699	ON5376	Human	Human mask eyes in upper corners of foot-plate; upper arms of moulded cross creating mask's nose and mouth; mouth with protruding tongue	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	?Pendant	G	XLIX	134	Animal	Three zoomorphic figures	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	XIX	43	Animal	Paired with G.XIX.44; three panels of zoomorphic ornament	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	XIX	44	Animal	Paired with G.XIX.43; three panels of zoomorphic ornament	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Key-ring	G	XIX	46	Animal	Outer face with plain centre, ornamented by zoomorphic band	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Belt buckle	G	XX	55	Animal	Zoomorphic ornament	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	80	Human	Human mask motif; almost identical to G.XXV.81-82	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	81	Human	Human mask motif; almost identical to G.XXV.80, 82	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	XXV	82	Human	Human mask motif; almost identical to G.XXV.80-81	
<b>PETERSFINGER</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Sword pommel	G	XXI	60	Bird	DESCRIPTION ONLY - "One gilt rivet clear of edge of pommel, the head a projecting lug in form of bird's head..."	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Square-headed brooch	G	19	2	Animal	Style I animal ornament; highly devolved chip-carved animals; head-plate with ?single animal; top corners of foot-plate with beasts	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Square-headed brooch	G	21	1	Human; animal	Head-plate bordered by twelve projecting parts, each depicting human masks; eight along the sides with curling moustaches; four along top with long beards; centre of head-plate with Style I animals; base of head-plate with human mask; animal heads at top corners of foot-plate; animal faces at each end of vertical dividing line in foot-plate; panels of foot-plate contains very contorted Style I animals; lateral and terminal lappets of foot-plate contain rudimentary human masks; Hines 1997, Group VII.	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	21	2	Animal	Paired with G21.3; Style I zoomorphic ornament	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Saucer brooch	G	21	3	Animal	Paired with G21.2; Style I zoomorphic ornament	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Sword scabbard (mouth band)	G	22	1c	Human; animal; bird	Mouth band of scabbard; panel of Style I-related zoomorphic ornament; two beaked heads facing inwards towards a central skull-like, full-face mask	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Buckle	G	22	4	Animal	Two crouching Style I animals	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Square-headed brooch	G	31	1	Human-animal; human; animal; bird	Paired with G31.2; central panel of head-plate with Style I animals; combination of two heads gives impression of single distorted human mask; top of foot-plate with downward animal heads, adjoined to lateral lappets formed as full-face human masks; lower-central part of foot-plate with Style I animal; terminal with human mask	
<b>BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY</b>	<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	Square-headed brooch	G	31	2	Human-animal; human; animal; bird	Paired with G31.1; central panel of head-plate with Style I animals; combination of two heads gives impression of single distorted human mask; top of foot-plate with downward biting animal heads, adjoined to lateral lappets formed as full-face human masks; lower-central part of foot-plate with Style I animal; terminal with human mask	

BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	38	1	Human	Human mask motif; Avent and Evison 1982, no.26.1, Class F; Suzuki 2008, Pewsey E1.1	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	44	1	Human	Paired with G44.2; human mask motif; Avent and Evison 1982, no. 26.2; Suzuki 2008, Pewsey I2.1	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	44	2	Human	Paired with G44.1; human mask motif; Avent and Evison 1982, no. 26.3; Suzuki 2008, Pewsey I2.2	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	55	1	Human; animal	Paired with G55.2; central ring of Style I animals, chasing/biting each other; border of chevrons; twelve inward-facing chevrons with Style I designs/full face masks	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	55	2	Human; animal	Paired with G55.1; central ring of Style I animals, chasing/biting each other; border of chevrons; twelve inward-facing chevrons with Style I designs/full face masks	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	56	1	Leg; claw	Paired with G56.2; central ring of seven Style I legs, each with hip bar and claw	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	56	2	Leg; claw	Paired with G56.1; central ring of seven Style I legs, each with hip bar and claw	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	60	1	Animal	Paired with G60. 2; inner field of three chasing Style I animals	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	60	2	Animal	Paired with G60.1; inner field of three chasing Style I animals	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	67	1	Human	Paired with G67.2; human mask motif; Avent and Evison 1982, no. 26.4, Class A misc; Suzuki 2008, Pewsey A3	
BLACKNALL FIELD, PEWSEY	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	67	2	Human	Paired with G67.1; human mask motif; Avent and Evison 1982, no. 26.5, Class F; Suzuki 2008, Pewsey E1.2	
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	7	33	Leg	Paired with G7.34; central panel with three-armed motif, three Style I legs in spaces between arms	
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	7	34	Leg	Paired with G7.33; central panel with three-armed motif, three Style I legs in spaces between arms	
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	8	63	Animal; bird	Zone of animal ornament with two chasing Style I beaked animals	
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	4	Animal	Four panels of Style I animal ornament	
MARKET LAVINGTON	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	6	Human	Human mask motif	
BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	16	Human-bird	Head-plate with top and right knobs, decorated as human mask with facial hair flaring into inward-facing bird heads; terminal consisting of similar human mask with facial hair in form of animal heads; Mortimer Type Z	No anthro./zoo. finds in cemetery; all relevant finds from settlement excavation; finds 16-18 may have been from extremely disturbed graves

BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	17	Human	Part of foot-plate only; human mask above terminal
BLOODMOOR HILL, CARLTON COLVILLE	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	18	Human-bird	Foot-plate only; human mask with facial hair in form of beaked animal heads; Mortimer Type Z
WINNALL II, WINCHESTER	HAMPSHIRE	Disc brooch	G	21	1	Bird; serpent	Zoomorphic ornament in four zones divided by central cross and around circular inlays; two opposing sides consisting of pairs of serpents facing each other; other sides consisting of birds facing each other
THE PADDOCKS, SWAFFHAM	NORFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	6	C	Human-bird; human-horse; animal	Head-plate with top and side knobs of human masks with facial hair flaring out into beaked heads; central zoomorphic ornament on head-plate; catch-plate with lappets formed of animal heads; foot-plate with horse head decoration, morphing into human mask with curled hair/moustache underneath
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	G	97	2	Animal	Two Style I animals around plain central area
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	150	3	Horse	Horse head terminal
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Florid cruciform brooch	G	301	3	Human-bird; bird	Head with top and side knobs of mask and facial hair in form of two Style I bird heads; catch-plate with lappets of Style I bird heads; foot with mask and facial hair in form of Style I bird heads
BOSS HALL	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	505	1	Horse	Horse head terminal
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	W30	N/A	Quadruped	Three different quadruped animal stamps
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	E7	N/A	Quadruped	Animal stamps; quadruped
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	N83	N/A	Animal; quadruped	Two different animal stamps; one quadruped, other with only two front legs
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Pot	C	R9/10	N/A	Dog	Freehand drawing of dog/wolf; open jaw, ?barking at retreating boat
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	M33	B	Horse	Part of foot only; upper part of animal head, probably horse; eyes and eyebrows; Probably Aberg Group IV, possibly Group V
CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	NORFOLK	Brooch	C	M33	C	Human-bird	Part of foot only, with human mask with facial hair in form of beasts with long curved beaks; either a Kenninghall II square-headed brooch, or an Aberg Group V cruciform brooch
MARKSHALL	NORFOLK	Pot	C	XI	N/A	Animal	Animal stamp; distorted, legs/claws/tail present
MARKSHALL	NORFOLK	Pot	C	LXX	N/A	Human	Four panels with human mask boss
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	27	A	Bird	Downward facing beaked beasts; Leeds Type B1
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	41	B1	?Bird	Paired with G41.B2; central motif of Style I animal with long beak, eye, crest, rear leg and two-clawed foot; disjointed body

WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	41	B2	?Bird	Paired with G41.B1; central motif of Style I animal with long beak, eye, crest, rear leg and two-clawed foot; disjointed body	
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	52	A	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Equal-armed brooch	G	55	A	Animal	Procession of animals on top and bottom borders; space between arms filled with animal ornament; ornament bordering catch-plate possibly beaked creature	
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	55	B	Horse	Horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	B	Human; horse	Head with top knob in form of human mask; horse head terminal; Aberg Group III	Probably originally enameled
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	C1	Horse	Paired with G61.C2; horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
WESTGARTH GARDENS	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	61	C2	Horse	Paired with G61.C1; horse head terminal; Aberg Group II	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	57	73	Animal	Paired with G57.74; zoomorphic decoration	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	57	74	Animal	Paired with G57.73; zoomorphic decoration	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	75	166	Animal	Paired with G75.167; Style I zoomorphic decoration	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Applied brooch	G	75	167	Animal	Paired with G75.166; Style I zoomorphic decoration	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Bell-shaped brooch	G	92	221	Human; animal	Human mask at top, with hair framing face; two upward-/inward-facing Style I animals on either side below human mask	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Disc brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	140	Animal	Four Style II zoomorphic animals; Avent's Type 7.2	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Equal-armed brooch	G	6	7	Bird; quadruped	Upper and lower arms with borders of quadrupeds; center with openwork of four beaked animals	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	5	Human	Paired with G23.1; six human masks facing inwards, divided into six panels	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	23	1	Human	Paired with G23.5; six human masks facing inwards, divided into six panels	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	31	5	Human	Paired with G31.6; human mask	
COLLINGBOURNE DUCIS	WILTSHIRE	Button brooch	G	31	6	Human	Paired with G31.5; human mask	
TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Shield mount	G	21	2i	Quadruped-bird	Two identical Style I animals; can be interpreted as both a bird's head and a quadruped; Dickinson/Harke Type 3	All items included from G21 belong to single shield

TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	21	5i	?Fish	Finned or ?quadrupedal creature	
TRANMER HOUSE, BROMESWELL	SUFFOLK	Mount	G	21	6	Bird; serpent	Bird clutching snake in figure-eight shape in beak and claws	
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	13	2	Human-animal; animal; bird	Head with perimeter panel of four 'beast-men'; catch-plate with central panel of Style I animal, lappets of curved beaked beasts; foot with panel of Style I animal ornament	
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Hybrid small- long/cruciform brooch	G	14	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	15	3	Horse	Horse head terminal	
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	16	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
TITLLESHALL	NORFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	21A	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
CHARLTON PLANTATION	WILTSHIRE	Mount	G	38	34E	?Bird	Possible beaked bird heads, outward facing	Probable pursement
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Mount	G	VI	C1	?Seahorse	Distinct and detailed serpent-like creature, with ?fins and an ear; possible ?seahorse	
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	VIII	A1	Human; animal; leg; claw	Paired with G.VIII.A2; central panel divided into a cross-shape and four wedges, four human masks within the arms of the cross, and four hind legs within the wedges; border comprised of Style I animal ornament	
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	VIII	A2	Human; animal; leg; claw	Paired with G.VIII.A1; central panel divided into a cross-shape and four wedges, four human masks within the arms of the cross, and four hind legs within the wedges; border comprised of Style I animal ornament	
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	IX	A1	Human; animal; leg; claw	Paired with G.IX.A2; central panel divided into a cross-shape and four wedges, four human masks within the arms of the cross, and four hind legs within the wedges; border comprised of Style I animal ornament	
WINTERBOURNE GUNNER	WILTSHIRE	Saucer brooch	G	IX	A2	Human; animal; leg; claw	Paired with G.IX.A1; central panel divided into a cross-shape and four wedges, four human masks within the arms of the cross, and four hind legs within the wedges; border comprised of Style I animal ornament	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	11	1	Human; animal	Style I zoomorphic ornament bordering most central features of different parts of brooch; human mask appearing in center of head and ends of cross-shape in foot	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	14	1	Bird	Downward facing beaked beasts	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	16	1	Human; horse	Head with top knob in form of human mask; horse head terminal	

HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	16	3	Human; animal	Two opposite-facing human masks with surrounding zoomorphic ornamentation	Materials with ? have been assumed due to absence of material description in site report
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	22	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	21	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	69	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	G	69	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	1	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	3	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	48	4	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	58	2	Human; animal; horse	Head with top knob of human mask with flared out facial hair; catch-plate with zoomorphically ornamented lappets; horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	1	Human; animal; horse	Head with top knob of human mask; catch-plate with lappets of downward-facing beasts' heads; horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	79	3	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	98	1a	Human; animal	Paired with G98.1b; two opposite-facing human masks with surrounding zoomorphic ornamentation	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	G	98	1b	Human; animal	Paired with G98.1a; two opposite-facing human masks with surrounding zoomorphic ornamentation	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	1	Bird; horse	Catch-plate with lappets of curved beaked heads; horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	2	Horse	Horse head terminal	
HOLYWELL ROW	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	G	99	3	Horse	Horse head terminal	



HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	Unstratified	Unstratified	58.2	Leg	Zoomorphic legs/feet within decoration	Hadleigh Road grave good reference numbers from Suffolk Corpus (West 1998)
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	102	59.1	Bird	Foot-plate with downward-curving beaked heads; Leeds No. 51, Type B1. Kenninghall 1 type	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24 or 52 or 59	60.1	Bird	Foot-plate with downward-curving beaked heads; Leeds No. 43, Type B1. Kenninghall 1 type with divided foot bow	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	29	61.1	Bird	Foot-plate with two downward-curving beaked heads, attached to cabled bodies framing the inner panels; Leeds No. 41, Type B1, Kenninghall type with divided foot	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	17 (?41)	62.1	Bird	Foot-plate with two downward-curving beaked heads, attached to cabled bodies framing the inner panels; Leeds No. 42, Type B1, Kenninghall type with divided foot	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	41 (?17)	63.1	Human; bird	Head-plate with beaked heads in upper corners; bow with human mask-like formation; foot-plate with two open-beaked outward-facing heads; Leeds No. 57, Type B1. Kenninghall I Type	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	59 (?24, 52)	64.1	Animal; bird	Foot missing; head-plate with central panel of zoomorphic animal ornament, devolved and cramped-up; catch-plate with two spiral-beaked beasts; Leeds No. 38 (Ipswich Type A4)	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	G	24 (?52, 59)	64.2	Animal; bird	Head-plate with central panel of zoomorphic animal ornament, devolved and cramped-up; foot with two spiral-beaked beasts; Leeds No. 32 (Ipswich Type A4)	
HADLEIGH ROAD, IPSWICH	SUFFOLK	Disc brooch	G	124	66.1	Animal	Four curved panels with zoomorphic ornament	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Bone comb	C	50,22 A	N/A	Pig	Three projecting pieces in form of pigs on top of comb	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2485	N/A	Horse	Drawings of horses	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	49,4	N/A	Horse	Drawings of horses	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,71	N/A	Horse	Horse head terminal	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,127	N/A	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Cruciform brooch	C	50,78	N/A	Horse	Foot only; horse head terminal	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Wrist-clasp	C	50,178 B	N/A	Animal	Zoomorphic decoration	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,178 B	N/A	Animal	Zoomorphic decoration	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,126	N/A	Human; animal	Zoomorphic ornament in inner border of head-plate; center of head-plate with mask; catch-plate with central mask; zoomorphic decoration on bow	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Square-headed brooch	C	50,234	N/A	Animal	Part of head-plate; zoomorphic ornament	

LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Small-long brooch	C	50,114 A	N/A	Horse	Horse head terminal	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2473	N/A	Serpent	Drawings of serpents	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Mount	C	50,109 A	N/A	Animal	Style I zoomorphic ornament	May have been part of a bucket
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	50,47	N/A	Bird	Stamps of bird-headed S-shapes and swastikas	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,248	N/A	Bird	Stamps of tiny birds	
LACKFORD	SUFFOLK	Pot	C	48,2487	N/A	?Dog	Stamp of quadruped; ?dog	

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