Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This monograph addresses the topic of human and hybrid human imagery depicted on metal objects of Anglo-Saxon date recovered within eastern England. The chronological range spans the early fifth to late seventh centuries, beginning with the end of Roman authority and rule in the late fourth century and ending with the widespread cessation of furnished burial practices in the late seventh century (Bayliss et al. 2013, 464, 479). The geographical focus encompasses the modern counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire – representing the ancient early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Lindsey and East Anglia (Figure 1). This volume presents the first definitive catalogue of Anglo-Saxon metalwork carrying human imagery recovered from this region and dating to this period. It takes inspiration from recent transitions in thinking on early Anglo-Saxon art and focuses on the portrayal of the human form in early Anglo-Saxon and conversion period art, examining how early Anglo-Saxon craft-workers depicted the human form on metal objects and used metal to depict the whole and partial human form. The deployment of human imagery is analysed over time in terms of object type and the form of decoration used and the meaning/s inherent in the use and deployment of human imagery on metal artefacts is explored with the roles of maker and wearer in mind. Through wider contextual investigation of other regions and time periods, this book also debates the significance of anthropomorphic art and the shifting role it played in early Anglo-Saxon English society and new observations are made on local and regional preference and changing conceptions of the human form and its importance to emerging local to supra-local and elite identities.

This monograph is organised into eight chapters. In the next chapter, a review of relevant literature is presented. It provides a critical exploration of the relevant themes and theoretical standpoints that have dominated the study of early Anglo-Saxon art. In this way Chapter 2 is more
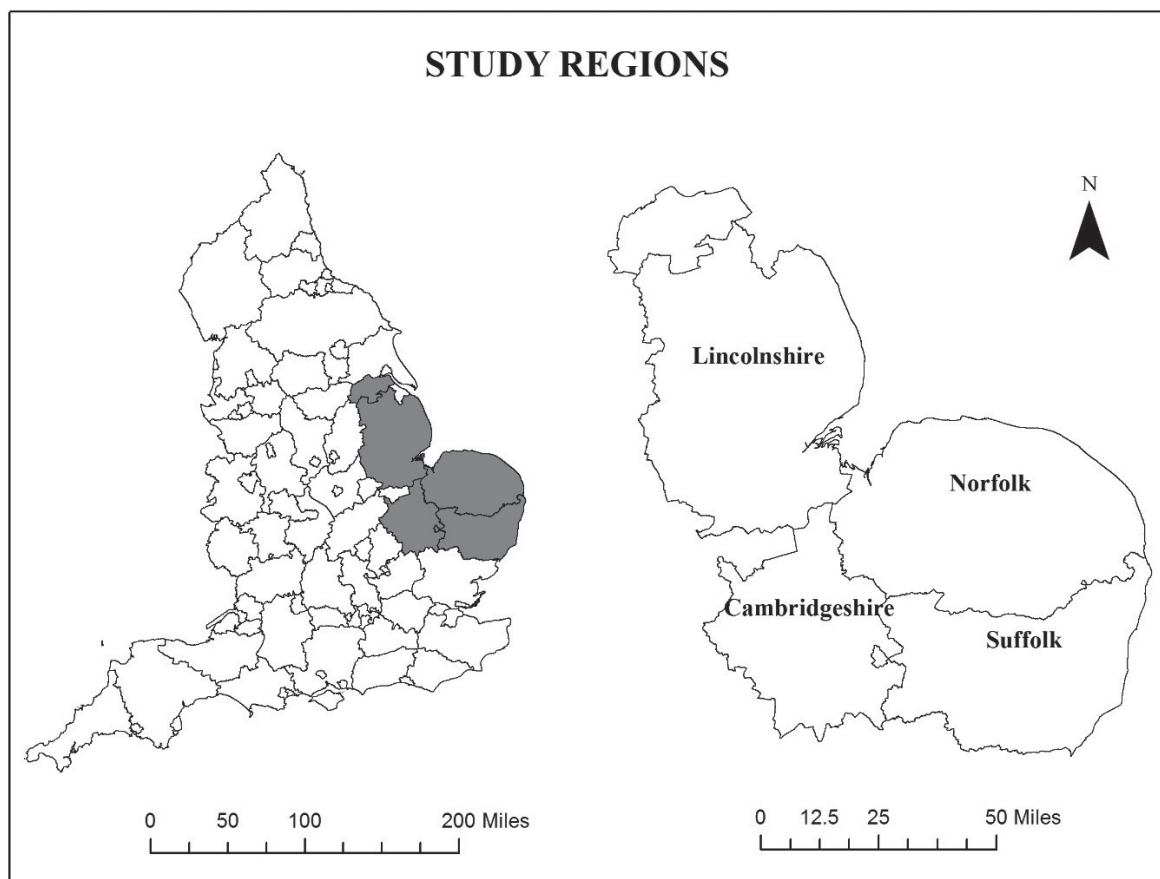

Figure 1. Map of regions under study in this book (© Crown Copyright/database right 2012. An Ordnance Survey/ (Datacentre) supplied service).

than a mere description, it is a stepping off point for this new study, setting out the theoretical groundwork for a new exploration of human imagery in Anglo-Saxon art. Chapter 2 recognises that some representational art can be difficult to decipher. Very few published corpora present line-illustrations for each object and often photographic pictures in corpus volumes are of the entire object and the detailed imagery cannot always be clearly discerned. This indicates the need to visit museums and make first-hand observations of the image-content. Chapter 3, therefore, describes this process and the other sources used to gather data. Drawing on theoretical perspectives explored in Chapter 2, this chapter finds viable solutions to possible limitations and issues with data collection. The collected data is presented in Chapters 4-5 and includes several unrecorded and unpublished items that were found during first-hand investigations of museum collections. The thematic sub-sections in this chapter reflect the key themes defined in Chapter 2 Several new anthropomorphic motifs are recognised including the dragon-slayer, human-lupine motifs, hand covering one eye and other bodily gestures, which have been recently discovered or have been overlooked in existing literature on art of this era. These chapters recognise key transformations in the representation of the human form in the seventh century. These changes include the development of gestural expressions, full-bodied imagery, 3-dimensional full-bodied human figures, hair, headdress and garments. Chapter 5 evaluates the archaeological context of human designs to examine the ways in which human representational art was used, by whom and for what purpose and how this might have changed over time. It identified that adult female individuals predominantly wore objects carrying human representation (brooches and wrist-clasps). Chapters 6-8 make sense of the findings from the region under study and investigates the data in terms of current theoretical perspectives that were examined in the survey of past scholarship. Over the next three chapters, three main themes are explored: 1) the changing image of the human form 2) the development of bodily details including garments, gesture and biological sex and 3) the social implications of these transformations.

Chapter 6 first focusses on how female bodily identity might have been expressed through decorated objects and how this might indicate the way in which the individual might have been perceived. This chapter makes some conjecture in terms of the potential role of human images and image-carrying objects in social performance. It recognises that the way in which the human face is deployed might refer to the re-conceptualisation of the human image, its meaning and use. The next chapter expands on this re-conceptualisation and examines the development of human representation over time and the social themes that are embedded within anthropomorphic portrayal. Chapter 7 suggests that the emergence of new ways of portraying the human form in the seventh century was an internal development that was strongly associated with other corporeal practices. Three crucial findings identified in chapter seven are explored in greater depth in

Chapter 8: the development of full-bodied figures, a new repertoire of gestural expressions and the first portrayal of the biologically-defined female sex. These themes relate to the shifting interplay between male and female expression and identity in the conversion period. Chapter 9 draws together all the key findings made in this book and makes conclusions in the context of early medieval Europe and the directions for further work.

1.2 Anglo-Saxon Art Past and Present

Ancient objects and their decoration have long played a key role in the study of the early medieval European past. Since Thomas Browne (1893), antiquarians and latterly archaeologists have worked to record, depict and catalogue and interpret material finds from the early medieval past. Anglo-Saxonism became popular in the seventeenth century, when ethnicity and origins became a primary concern in the growing field of antiquarianism (Smith 1856, Hawkes 1990, Swann 2001, 113, Hills 2006, 74-5, Semple 2013, 41, 69). The collection of 'things' proliferated, driven by a need to authenticate ideas and claims about English origin and descent (Thomas 2006, 7, 13). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scholars worked to translate Anglo-Saxon texts in order to fuel this burgeoning nationalist agenda. By contrast, early medieval artefacts remained almost entirely unrecognised (Mccombe 2011, 50). One of the first key Anglo-Saxon collections was brought together during 1757 to 1773, by the vigorous work of Rev Bryan Faussett who identified these objects incorrectly as the products of '"Romans Britonised" or "Britons Romanised" from the period immediately before the migration of the Germanic tribes' (Mccombe 2011, 49). In the late eighteenth century, *Nenia Brittanica* written by another clergyman Rev James Douglas provided the first overview of a recognised Migration Period metalwork collection deriving from cemetery excavations (Mccombe 2011, 62). At broadly the same time, pre-Norman decorated stone sculpture was recognised included within catalogues of medieval monuments and paintings (e.g. Gough 1790, Lang 2001, 1).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as nationalism became rampant in European politics and society, invasion and migration became key questions for Anglo-Saxon studies and the study of pots, dress fittings and weapons formed the mainstay of debate (Lucy 2000, 163-5). 'Anglo-Saxon' style was at the forefront of these discussions: Roman techniques and the imitation of classical designs on 'Germanic' artefacts were identified with the designs on late fourth-century belt-fittings discovered on the Roman frontier in the regions of the Rhine and the Danube (Lucy 2000, 167). Migration Period art was thought to represent different cultures, often invading cultures. The apparent translation of late Roman designs on the fifth-century metalwork discovered in funerary contents in England was considered by many as evidence for the invasion of England by Germanic groups (e.g. Leeds 1912, 1945). Leeds, for example, identified saucer brooches carrying geometric designs as material evidence for an invasion:

brooches were considered dress fittings of the females that accompanied male Germanic invaders (Leeds 1912). This emphasis on migration has continued to dominate scholarship. By comparison with prehistoric archaeology in the UK, early medieval research has been slow to shake off the shadow of culture history (Moreland 2000, Williams 2007b, 3). Early medieval archaeology is still hampered by culture history labels. These are still used to define specific cultures and regions and art styles (e.g. Foster 1996, Graham-Campbell 2003, Henderson and Henderson 2004, Wilson 2008, Karkov 2011, Webster 2012a). A number of important exhibitions and subsequent published catalogues have helped define early medieval art styles and create a definitive understanding of differing types of object, their chronologies and varied regional styles, however, such publications have continued to embed traditional labels in early medieval studies (Backhouse et al. 1984, Wilson 1984, Backhouse and Webster 1991, Foster 1996, Graham-Campbell 2013). Such cataloguing is of course crucial, but the way in which catalogues have charted different ethnic/ cultural groups – Pictish, Irish and Anglo-Saxon – has resulted in an entrenched, fragmented perspective of the development of early medieval art and metalwork. In the twenty-first century, some early medieval scholars still work within a cultural-historical framework (Moreland 2000, Lucy and Reynolds 2002b, 8). The labelling of culture groups and time periods has proved difficult to shed. Williams however, has argued that academics need to think beyond labels such as Germanic, Anglian and paganism (2002b, 49) and Sam Lucy (2002) proposed that often social identities should be examined rather than ethnicities; arguing that ethnicity was bound to nationalist agendas.

This progressive thinking derives from discussions of burial data rather than art, but is still having an impact (e.g. Halsall 2006, Pohl 2013). Much of our corpus of early medieval material derives from the funerary sphere. By the late twentieth century, objects found in graves were no longer perceived as personal belongings, but instead interpreted as items deposited by mourners as a projected construct about the perceived role and status of the deceased. An influential paper by Peter Ucko recognised the high variability in mortuary behaviour and perceptions regarding the dead and the afterlife 'between cultures and within a culture' based on historical archaeological material (1969, 273). He questioned whether it is useful to reconstruct 'burial customs' and 'identify different groups of people' and 'different religious beliefs' (Ucko 1969, 273). In early medieval archaeology, the treatment of the corpse was considered to contain a complex of symbolic messages concerning the identity of the individual (Pader 1982, Richards 1984, 1987, Stoodley 1999). Weaponry, for example, is no longer accepted as a simple signal of a warrior's burial, instead it is thought to signal a complex array of social aspects such as status, age and role (Härke 1990, 1997a). Likewise, female items are no longer accepted just as dress fittings or jewellery: the small pendant-like objects and girdle hangers in female graves for example are now thought to symbolise a particular

age threshold and status, perhaps connected to the control and management of the household (Meaney 1981, 247) or even healer and spiritual guide for the dead (Stoodley 1999, Meents 2017).

Mike Parker-Pearson ignited the 'archaeological study of the funerary practices that the living perform for the dead' – the dead, he argued, 'do not bury themselves, but are treated and disposed by the living' (Parker-Pearson 1999, 3). Lucy and Reynolds (2002b, 8) suggested that more importance should be given to why and who an object was made for, the object biography and how it ended up deposited in a burial context. Inspired by such changes, discussions of the Anglo-Saxon funerary rite have shifted towards ideas such as ritual performance, the social use of space and place and the use of such funerary activity as a means of mediating and facilitating group and individual identities (Carver 2000, 38, Price 2002, Williams 2002b, 47). These theoretical advances have not yet been matched in current research on Anglo-Saxon art, which remains dogged by conceptions of a pan-Germanic belief system and fixed on topics such as origin myths and shamanism (Fern 2010, Pluskowski 2010, Sanmark 2010, Hedeager 2011, Martin 2015).

Prehistoric archaeology has played a primary role in enabling early medieval specialists to rethink the funerary sphere (Carver 2000, Williams 2006, Semple 2013). Prehistoric art is also now studied in terms of its effect on people rather than just its 'meaning' (Bailey 2005, Skeates 2005, eds. Renfrew and Morley 2007, Bradley 2009). Cognitive archaeology (which emerged in the 1980s) encouraged archaeologists to use art to examine how the minds of people in the past worked and the way in 'which that working shaped their actions' (Renfrew 2005, 41). In a world made up of sensory experiences and interactions with the physical world, it is crucial for archaeologists to engage with the idea of marshalling evidence for and evoking an understanding of human thought and senses (Gosden 2001, 164-5). This change means researchers have moved from examining the meaning of an object or an image, to exploring the role of that object and its decoration: images can now be examined as having an active part in social transformations (Williams 2006, 140-141, 2011).

Such thinking is finally having an impact on the study of early medieval art, largely through work in Scandinavia rather than in England (e.g. Back Danielsson 1999, Kristoffersen 2000a, Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001, Back Danielsson 2007). New agendas are being set by recent publications that have begun to take a post-modern stance on the interpretation of early imagery. The study of the corporeal human body and its role in identity creation is at the fore of current archaeological debates (Fowler 2002, Williams 2004b, eds. Chapman and Gaydarska 2006, Graves 2007a, 2007b, eds. Renfrew and Morley 2007, eds. Boric and Robb 2008b, Fowler 2008, eds. Rebay-Salisbury et al. 2010, Croucher 2012). The importance of studying early medieval corporeal

practices in Continental Europe (Effros 2002), England (Williams 2006) and Scandinavia (Back Danielsson 2008) is now well-established. The social significance, however, of the represented human body is still an area in need of further study. For several years it seemed that full-bodied human imagery was limited to a few high-status pieces, leading David Wilson to question if it was a pagan taboo for the Anglo-Saxon artisan to represent the human figure naturalistically or if it was an outcome of a pagan iconoclasm (1984, 27). The PAS, launched in 1997, has changed this. The number of objects with human imagery discovered in eastern England through metal detecting has almost doubled the known catalogue in a decade (Figure 2). We know now that the represented human form was a constituent in Style I art in England (Leigh 1980, 1984, Dickinson 2009, 1) and from new finds we can also see that the full-bodied human form became important in the late sixth and seventh centuries. Full-bodied human imagery received attention in the past from Hauck, who made connections between the figures and legendary figures from Roman mythology (Hauck 1982, 342). Animal art has seen the main discussion (Dickinson 1979, Speake 1980, Høilund Nielsen 1999, Dickinson 2002, 2005, Fern 2005, 2007, 2010). Other authors have considered these figures as representations of cult and ritual. The naked figure with horned-headdress on the belt buckle from Finglesham, for example, was assigned to the cult of Odin (Chadwick Hawkes et al. 1965). Even though the potential significance of full-bodied figurines distributed along the eastern seaboard has been noted (Pestell 2012, 86), no study has investigated the shifting usage, role and meaning of human representation in the early Anglo-Saxon era. To date, Meaney's brief discussion of figural art remains a lone synthesis (Meaney 1981), with the exception of Pollington *et al* which lists and describes some human depictions in the repertoire (2010, 427-461). This gap in scholarship and the new data exemplifies a need to examine human representation. Human figural imagery – partial or whole – therefore presents an opportunity to investigate concepts like the body and personhood. Objects and ideas were not passive things, but they played a role in identity creation for social groups and communities, which were bounded by varied social and political agendas and behaviour.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

This book aims to redress the recent focus on animal imagery in early Anglo-Saxon art by exploring the use and role of human imagery on metal objects in the fifth to late seventh centuries. The study region is the east of England and this book presents the first catalogue of metal objects carrying human imagery dating to AD 400-680 recovered from the counties of Lincs., Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambs. This data set is used to explore:

- how the meaning and role of human imagery changed across time
- whether regional or local variations are apparent in its use and deployment; and

- how it was influenced by the social and religious changes in Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh century.

This catalogue of imagery is investigated in light of recent and extensive published research on the deployment and meaning of human imagery on early medieval art in pre-Christian and early Christian Europe. To meet these aims, this book sets out to achieve the following objectives:

- to identify and analyse the corpus of anthropomorphic imagery found on metal objects, derived from graves, spot finds and the material record in general, from East Anglia, Lincs. and Cambs. in the period AD 400-680.
- to assess the broad, take up of different types of imagery over time and establish evidence for regional or local variation in the choice and use of imagery.
- to analyse the relationships between image, artefact, use/ purpose and archaeological context.
- to investigate the developments and changing portrayals of human imagery and their possible influences and meanings.
- to interpret the use and meaning of imagery in terms of the known narratives of power, identity and belief in England between *c.* AD 450-680, focusing on themes of gender, gesture, performance and metaphor.

This study focusses on furnished inhumation graves and not cremation deposits as the number of useful metal finds in the latter is minimal. This study recognises that there are seven surviving metal objects from Spong Hill and Caistor-by-Norwich that carry human representation, which contribute to our understanding of the types of human representation portrayed in this time period. Although it acknowledges that there may be some social implications in connection to their use in the cremation rite, this is not explored here as there is not sufficient surviving data to legitimatise an exploratory study on this theme. This study does not examine material culture from known settlement sites, it is well-established that ornamented objects are predominantly found in burial contexts (Dickinson 2009, 1). It is acknowledged that occasionally 'female' assemblages (e.g. glass beads, needles, spindle whorls and brooches) have been found in *grubenhaus*, such as Car Dyke in Cambs. (Hamerow 2012, 138). This is not explored here as the majority of ornamented objects derive from mortuary contexts (Dickinson 2009), but it is worth noting that recent literature has started to explore the possible significances of deposits at settlement sites (Hamerow 2006, Sofield 2012, 2015). Human imagery carried on Roman or Anglo-Saxon coinage is not being used as a specific category of evidence. The appropriation of Roman coins as part of the female funerary costume has been explored elsewhere in terms of a continuing connection with the past, their amulet, apotropaic or magical properties, as 'curios' and their role in prestational activity (Meaney 1981, White 1988b, Greenhalgh 1989, White 1990, Eckardt and Williams 2003, King 2004, Gilchrist 2008). None of the graves in this study included coins with human iconography but human iconography carried on Anglo-Saxon coinage has been discussed in depth elsewhere (Gannon 2003, see

chapter 3 in particular, 2006). Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture is not being referred to in this study, stone sculpture carrying human representation before the eighth century is incredibly rare and until the Viking period is associated with non-mortuary contexts in England. There are some exceptions, for instance the whetstone/sceptre terminal stylistically dating to the seventh century from Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.) was found by a farm worker in 1956 as a surface find and could potentially derive from the early Anglo-Saxon Loveden Hill cemetery (Fennell 1964). Finally, bracteates carrying human representation are not included in this study as none were recovered from a grave context, but these are discussed in later chapters in terms of stylistic parallels. If this was an art historical study of human representation, I could have included these objects, but the focus is on funerary. Bracteates operate outside the normal fifth to seventh century art styles and are their own separate genre of work, deserving a whole book to explore key questions – such as their connection with Anglo-Saxon art, their archaeological context and their treatment. Recent literature has started to explore bracteates from early Anglo-Saxon England in terms of single deposition, hoards and central places (Behr 2010b, Behr et al. 2014).

1.4 Chronological Context

The time period under discussion is recognised as one of the key transitional periods in British archaeology, framed by the ending of Roman colonisation and the beginnings of early medieval polities and kingdoms (Campbell 2007, 1). The collapse of the Western Roman Empire caused social instability, but it does not appear to have triggered a series of dramatic social changes in England in the early fifth century. Britain in the sixth to seventh centuries was made up of individual localities and petty kingdoms and it is likely that complex and localised social dynamics existed, that influenced the varied use of objects in diverse social contexts (Lucy 1998). In this book, the terms used to describe time periods and their chronological dates can be found below in Table 1.

The east of England is distinctive, with the emergence of cremation and different object types and settlement architecture in the fifth century marking changes in social composition and subsistence (Hines 1984, Hills et al.

1987, Hamerow 1997). Cremation practice diminishes in the sixth century and becomes a minority practice in the middle of the sixth century, increasingly restricted to the higher and elite segments of society (Bayliss et al. 2013, 526). Male and female furnished inhumation burials were abandoned in the 660s (*cal* AD 671 furnished burial for women and *cal* AD 669 for men) (Bayliss et al. 2013, 464, 479). Furnished male and female inhumations were at their peak until the mid-sixth centuries, a drop in the rate of furnished male graves during the 550s and 560s until the early seventh century with the appearance of high-status male barrow burials (Bayliss et al. 2013, 477). This drop is paralleled by female furnished inhumation graves, but in the 660s there is a 'new peak' in these types of graves and a 'rival in the popularity of ostentatiously furnished burial for women' (Bayliss et al. 2013, 479). The cessation of furnished burial AD 669-671 is later than key historical dates in early Anglo-Saxon England. Recent radiocarbon-dated graves indicate that furnished burial continued well after 'the mission of St Augustine of Canterbury in AD 597 and the Synod of Whitby in AD 664' (Bayliss et al. 2013, 466, 551). The account of St Augustine's mission is recorded in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, written in the eighth century and relying heavily on 'fragments of information which came to him through tradition, the relation of friends, or documentary evidence' (Stenton 1989, 187).

In the sixth to seventh centuries there are general reductions in the quantity and geographical distribution of burial with grave goods, which are considered to have been independent of conversion (Bayliss et al. 2013). Rather these transformations can be accounted for other social and economic factors such as a decline in 'disposal material possessions' and a shift in expressions of individual and group social identity (Bayliss et al. 2013, 523-553). The cessation of grave goods is found more widely in western Norway and central Sweden – 'where conversion to Christianity cannot be a factor' (Bayliss et al. 2013, 551). The conversion period is described as 'the time period covered by the process of conversion to Christianity in England' (Geake 1997, 309). Geake suggests this period may have begun in *c.* AD 600 based on the re-emergence of Roman-styled accessories used in furnished burial, but she argues that it was not a religious shift. Rather, it was a

Table 1. **Terms used to describe time periods and their chronological dates**

Periodization	Date	Location	Reference
Early Anglo-Saxon	c. AD 450 – 650	South-east Britain	(Dickinson 2009, 1)
Conversion period or 'Middle' Anglo-Saxon Period	c. AD 660s and 670s	South-east Britain	(Bayliss et al. 2013, 553)
	c. AD 600		(Geake 1997, 309-310)
Anglo-Saxon period	c. AD 410/ 11 – 1066	South-east Britain	(Bayliss et al. 2013, 27)
Early medieval period	c. AD 400 – 1100	Britain	(Williams 2006, 3)
Migration Period/ Early Germanic Iron Age	c. AD 400 – 550	Scandinavia	(Franceschi et al. 2008, 304)
Merovingian Period/ Vendel Period/ Late Germanic Iron Age	c. AD 550 – 800	Scandinavia	(Franceschi et al. 2008, 304)
Viking Age	c. AD 800 – 1050	Scandinavia	(Franceschi et al. 2008, 304)

secular response to the presence of the Church in England and a recreation of '*Romanitas*' as a means to 'assert and consolidate kingship' (Geake 1997, 295-7). The end of furnished inhumation graves is comparable with the end of cremation rite; both become 'socially-restricted burial practices in the years immediately before they were abandoned' (Bayliss et al. 2013, 526).

This time frame provides several opportunities. This is an era in which furnished burial was the norm in eastern England and when furnished burial rites began to change and disappear. The historical importance of this time frame and the survival of a complex material culture thus offer unrivalled opportunities to examine changing perceptions of the represented body and what this might signify within a dramatically altering world. Recent research has begun to recognise the likelihood of a remnant and surviving 'British' population in the fifth to sixth centuries (Härke 2011), which provides an opportunity to question long-held assumptions about human imagery and the influences on Anglo-Saxon art. Finally, the refinement and advance on current approaches will also for the first time extract a greater meaning from this corpus of anthropomorphic imagery, which could have relevance for archaeological study beyond the narrow confines of the early medieval era in England, on early medieval Europe and even perhaps on human imagery in late prehistoric societies. Published research on specific object types and art styles means that artefacts can be broadly dated (e.g. Salin 1904, Hines 1997a, Høilund Nielsen 1999, Dickinson 2005, Suzuki 2008). Established and tested regional chronologies provide a framework for the data collated in this study (e.g. Hines 1999b). Meticulously recorded, dated and published cemeteries like Sutton Hoo are drawn on here as case-studies. The cemetery sites of East Anglia and Lincs. have also seen close study in recent years with a focus on social structures (Ravn 2003, Penn et al. 2007) and the varied purposes of cemeteries for early Anglo-Saxon communities (Williams 2002a). The refinement of chronology and the developments in archaeological research are ripe for the study of human representational art in early Anglo-Saxon England.

1.5 Study Regions

The geographic region under study comprises the modern English counties of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire (Figure 1).

1.5.1 Geography/geology

Evidence from the Domesday Book and Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian place-names for woodlands has identified that early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were mainly located within open lands on the edge of woodlands (Roberts and Wrathmell 2003, 75). More often, cemeteries in the south and east are located within or near areas of brown sand or alluvium, the marsh or fenlands. Cemeteries in Lincs. that contain burials which include image-carrying objects cluster around key navigable rivers, including the rivers

Witham and Trent and the estuary the river Humber. The early cemetery sites in south Cambs. are positioned close to the Dyke zone (Hines 1997, 141).

1.5.2 Political framework

Post-Roman southern and eastern Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries 'lost any political cohesion', but by the late sixth century leaders of small communities were 'styling themselves kings' (Yorke 1990, 13). The *Tribal Hidage*, dating to the seventh century, accounts major kingdoms including the East Angles, Lindsey and smaller provinces in the eastern midlands (Yorke 1990, 13). The *Historia Brittonum* recounts the East Anglian kings called the Wuffingas, suggesting an origins for this royal house in the 'second or third quarters of the sixth century' (Yorke 1990, 61). The ostentatious boat-burials at Snape and Sutton Hoo acted as political statements in the seventh century, promoting Scandinavian connections in response to Christian Frankish Europe (Carver 2005, 306). After the demise of Sutton Hoo, the establishment of trading site in Ipswich articulates the development of dynastic power and regional kingdom-organization of the seventh and eighth centuries (Carver 2005, 498, Scull 2013, 47-9).

1.5.2.1 Anglo-Saxon and British

Late Roman burial practices shifted from cremation to inhumation with occasional depositions of spindle whorls, knives, glass beads and pins in the fourth century (Philpott 1993, Taylor 2001). By the fifth century, however, large cremation cemeteries were distributed across southern and eastern England. 'British elites' in the fifth and sixth centuries are suggested to have inhabited Lincoln, a Roman town, based on the burials and possible Romano-British church 'orientated east-west' and evidence of Class 1 and Type G penannular brooches and the high number of late Celtic hanging bowls (Green 2012, 66-71). Inhumation burial soon succeeded cremation as the dominate rite with burial in inhumation-only and mixed-rite cemeteries.

1.5.2.2 Characteristic archaeology

Some of the largest cremation cemeteries in early Anglo-Saxon England are located in Lindsey and northern East Anglia, including Loveden Hill and Spong Hill (Williams 2002a). Boat-burials are exclusive to Snape and Sutton Hoo in south East Anglia (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, Carver 2005). Particular feminine dress fittings are also characteristic of these regions, the Class C Form C3 wrist-clasp carrying Style I human faces are found in East Anglia and Cambs. (and also Northamptonshire) (Hines 1993, 67-73). Other dress fittings from female graves that are described as an 'Anglian' form of costume include cruciform and annular brooches and sleeve-clasps and girdle-hangers (Lucy 2000, 133). The 'Anglian' costume has its origins in the 19th century when scholars, especially Roach Smith, discerned regional distinctiveness in the mortuary archaeology across Anglo-Saxon England and connected it to historical accounts. Smith determined

that the Kentish material represents the Jutish territory, saucer brooches with the Saxons and the concentration of cruciform brooches in East Anglia and the Midlands with the Angles (Lucy 2000, 11). These were the big three tribes that arrived from the Continent in the fifth century according to Bede's eighth-century account. Yet, as Lucy highlighted, there is substantial variation in grave assemblages. Even though 'Anglian' items like the cruciform brooch are densely distributed in the East Anglian, Midlands, Lincs. and Yorkshire areas, these items also form part of the mortuary costume of ladies in the Kent and Upper Thames valley regions (Lucy 2000, 133). The only 'Anglian' object type found almost exclusively within its 'correct' region are sleeve-clasps which are found in the northern parts of East Anglia, the East Midlands, Lincs. and Yorkshire (Lucy 2000, 133). Male graves have less object variety and generally are represented with shields, spears or swords, but some distinctions have been made. In the 'Anglian' regions, bosses are typically found on the head and chest, suggesting the shield had covered the face, again there is some variation (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 65). Despite some regional distinctiveness, the evidence implies that object distribution does not directly represent 'clearly defined cultural areas' but the study of their distribution can indicate trade and exchange of objects, local or regional workshops and communal networks (Dickinson 1976, 49, Hines 1999a, Lucy 2000, 133-139). This study does not set out to demonstrate or argue for an 'Anglian' identity that was distinctive to the 'Saxon' and Kent regions, instead it explores the significance of the placement of ornamented objects in the graves at multiscalar levels. Arguably, the distribution of designs – for instance zoomorphic and anthropomorphic imagery – could associate with local and regional scales of belief.

1.5.2.3 Excavations, major protagonists, recent developments including PAS

East Anglia and Lincs. have seen extensive exploration since the eighteenth century and finds and discoveries are well-published (e.g. Douglas 1793, Neville 1854, Thomas 1887). Key discoveries like the burial ground at Sutton Hoo and the subsequent archaeological investigations and comprehensive excavation reports have dramatically altered our knowledge of this period and played a fundamental role in the study of early Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology. In 1938 Basil Brown opened Mounds 2, 3 and 4 at Sutton Hoo, discovering material including sword fittings and fragments of gilt bronze (Evans 2002, 16-18). The excavation was soon appropriated by Charles Phillips, W.F. Grimes, Stuart Piggott, Margaret Guido and O.G.S Crawford (Carver 1998b, 11-18) and this 'intervention' has been described as 'the point at which the collection assumed a status of national interest' (Mccombe 2011, 202).

1.5.2.4 Conversion and Anglo-Saxon kingship

The chambered ship-burial in Mound 1 has been linked to historical sources written in the late Anglo-Saxon world, including the poem *Beowulf* which was drawn on to discuss the conversion to Christianity. Those leading excavations considered the items and the ship to belong to the 'pagan Anglo-Saxons' (Phillips 1940, 21). Others thought objects like the spoons and the silver bowls with cross-shaped ornamentation were overtly Christian symbols signalling an orthodox Christian standpoint (Lundqvist 1948, 134). In the late 1940s, the discovery of Sutton Hoo provoked numerous publications exploring possible connections between the mortuary practices and ornamented objects of the 'East Anglian royal house' and Uppland in Sweden, strengthened again by literary evidence of *Beowulf* (cf. Magoun 1953, 220, Welch 1987). Following models of 'Germanic sacral kingship' largely written by German authors in the 1930s and 50s, Chaney suggested the interactions between Anglo-Saxon East Anglia and Scandinavia also exemplify a similar model (Chaney 1970, 11). He suggested that objects from Mound 1 such as the standard, helmet, whetstone and shield represented allusions to sacral kingship (Chaney 1970, 7, 11). His argument, however, has since been discredited as there are no descriptions of what constitutes sacral kingship in the sixth and seventh centuries (Canning 1996, 28). Even so, objects from Mound 1 are frequently drawn on as comparative material to conceptualise 'sacral kingship' in the early medieval world (e.g. Mitchell 1985, Dobat 2006, Noble et al. 2013, 1147).

1.5.2.5 'Golden age of East Anglia'

The ornamented objects from Mound 1 were heralded as a 'revelation of a new Pagan Saxon art' in which 'period-tendencies in the general style' and 'various influences that had not previously been so combined' could be recognised (Kendrick 1940, 38). Sutton Hoo was the first thorough and descriptive volume on objects and ornamentation from an early Anglo-Saxon burial ground (Bruce-Mitford 1975-83).[1] Research continued to focus on the ornamented objects from Mound 1. The animal-interlacing, the garnet cloisonné and mosaic glass and filigree work carried on early Anglo-Saxon objects from Mound 1 inspired the investigation of possible origins and technical influences of these designs (Speake 1980, Dodwell 1982, 4, Wilson 1984, East 1985). The shoulder-clasps, for example, were made with garnet-cloisonné motifs that parallel the carpet-like pattern depicted on Northumbrian manuscripts, implying the impact of pre-Christian elite metalwork on seventh- to eighth-century Christian items (Wilson 1984, 26, 38, Arrhenius 1985, 155). Other objects such as the Byzantine dish and gold coin were seen to represent 'direct trade' and 'commerce' with the 'Eastern Empire' (Dodwell 1982, 155).

1.5.2.6 Cognitive archaeology

Despite Ellis Davidson's nascent suggestion to explore 'the significance of the burial mound in the minds of

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[1] Other collections, such as Taplow, discovered before Sutton Hoo are still without a thorough publication

those who raised it' (1950, 169), it was not until the emergence of cognitive archaeology in the 1980s that 'ideology' was recognised as a crucial concept by early medieval specialists. During further excavations at Sutton Hoo between 1983-1992, Mound 1 remained central to published research (Dooley-Fairchild 2012, 228). Martin Carver, who led these fresh investigations, was a key protagonist in the interpretation of the burial ground. He saw Mound 1 as embodying perceived or actual ideological expressions that shaped early kingdoms in the early Anglo-Saxon world (Carver 1989, 1992a, 1998a, 20, 2000, 2011, 36). In the past two decades the manufacturing techniques and the images carried on objects from Mound 1 have been explored in terms of identity, role and ideology of the people that produced and used these items (Bailey 1992, Wickham-Crowley 1992, Høilund Nielsen 1999, Coatsworth and Pinder 2002, Dickinson 2002). The discovery of Sutton Hoo also prompted the reassessment of known high-status barrow burials, such as Asthall in Oxfordshire and Snape in Suffolk (Leeds 1924, Dickinson and Speake 1992, Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001).

The theoretical approach used to explore the significance of Sutton Hoo in the early Anglo-Saxon world paved the way for early medievalists to explore the cognitive landscape (Semple 1998, Williams 1998). The impact of Sutton Hoo is still visible in Anglo-Saxon scholarship *and* is also discernible in Viking Scandinavian research. Current research in early medieval mortuary archaeology is exploring the formation of ideology through conceptual paradigms including memory, belief and performance (Price 2002, Williams 2002a, 2003, Semple 2004, Williams 2004b, 2006, Devlin 2007b, Williams 2007a, Price 2008, Semple 2008, eds. Carver et al. 2010, Price 2010, Semple 2013).

1.6 Regional Publications and the PAS

There are numerous published recent excavation reports (e.g. Cambridge Antiquarian Society: Quarto Publications, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, East Anglian Archaeology (EAA) and Council for British Archaeology and Oxbow series). County-based journals – such as the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology and History (SIAH) – provide a useful synthesis of recent stray or metal-detector finds, archaeological sites and thematic discussions. These journals are essential for the study of non-treasure finds and small-scale excavations. The regional-based journal EAA is crucial for the publication of archaeological sites in East Anglia. This journal is an academically refereed series with an editorial board of senior archaeologists from the region, maintaining and regulating the clarity and usefulness of the published material. County-based books are useful in terms of detailed knowledge of the topography but are restricted in their discussion by the limits of the modern county. The publication on Anglo-Saxon Suffolk by Plunkett (2005), for example, provides a limited narrative as Suffolk forms part of East Anglia, an historically attested territory by the seventh century (Carver 1989, Yorke 1990, 58-71, Scull 1992, Wade

1993). A series of publications have provided a social and political account of historic kingdoms based on archaeological and historical sources; and linguistic and place-name evidence – such as the kingdom of Lindsey and East Anglia (Leahy 2007a, Green 2012, eds. Bates and Liddiard 2013). The PAS is represented in each county and has enhanced public relations and connections with metal-detector groups, subsequently increasing the number of reported finds. A metal-detector find, for instance, of a rare male figurine from Friston in Suffolk (PAS SF-01ACA7) recorded by the PAS has increased the number of human figural designs known in early Anglo-Saxon art (Brundle 2013).

1.7 Surviving and Recovered Metalwork

The metalwork of early medieval date that survives from these counties has seen considerable study. Strong correlations have already been identified between contemporary decorative repertoires in Scandinavia and Continental Europe and the art of this English region (Salin 1904, Hines 1984, Dickinson 1991, Høilund Nielsen 1999, Ljungkvist 2008). Evidence of trade and exchange indicates interactions across North West Europe (Hodges 1989). Trading links between Denmark and England are attested by evidence of similar amber and glass beads (Brugmann 2004, 30-2). Imported items from the Rhineland and Kent such as quern-stones and glass claw-beakers indicate interaction and exchange with near and distant neighbours (Hinton 1999, 57). Trading centres plotted on coastal locations in the North Sea and shared styles of brooches in England and Scandinavia, suggests the movement of style and technique. *Helgö*, for example, in Sweden produced 10,000 mould fragments (the majority being for square-headed brooches, equal-armed brooches and buckles), hearths, scrap iron and smelting pits indicating a large metalworking complex (Holmqvist 1975, 127-132, Leahy 2003a, 167-8). The seventh-century princely burial ground at Sutton Hoo provides an excellent exemplar of the continuity of political connections and exchange networks with Scandinavia and the Irish Sea basin in the late sixth to seventh centuries (Bruce-Mitford 1975-83, Carver 2005).

Research on metal dress fittings has in particular provided evidence of close affinities with comparable and contemporary items from Western Norway (Hines 1984, Plunkett 2005, 32). John Hines has claimed that Norway, rather than other geographically closer areas along the continental coast, provides the closest correspondence for changes in art styles, burial practice and the range of artefact types, in the sixth century (Hines 1984, 284). Significant social links between England and Norway are therefore assumed and a common motivation or reason is suspected for these parallel changes (Hines 1984, 284). By the late sixth- to seventh- centuries a shift seems to have taken place in the range and types of objects in circulation and in mortuary practices connected to these object types. These changes are recognised as the result of influences from Merovingian Gaul (Welch 2011, 267). The arrival of

Roman Christianity in Kent is thought to have promoted considerable social changes and introduced new influences. Bede accounts that missionaries landed in Kent in 597 and soon began converting the 'English kings' (Niles 1991, 120-121). The Sutton Hoo boat-burial funerals have been argued as being political statements, which served as 'theatres of death' to promote Scandinavian connections in response to Christian Frankish Europe (Carver 1992a, 330, 1995, 2005, 306).

The regions under consideration were thus interconnected with Scandinavia and Merovingian Gaul. Eastern England stands out as a hotspot of exchange and communication. These regions provide an ideal ground in which to explore the exchange of art motifs and ideas with other contemporary early medieval societies. These counties are rich in finds and as a result of the PAS, the corpus is no longer limited to finds from funerary contexts. There is a wealth of cemetery and settlement activity and a number of influential museum collections that provide ready access to early Anglo-Saxon metalwork. This rich array of data and the geographical spread – covering a core part of East Anglia and part of the ancient kingdom of Lindsey – also allows for a consideration of variations in style and use between two known contemporary kingdoms, as well as interrogation of *intra*-regional variations in the use of human imagery over time. In this way localised preferences for the deployment of human imagery on objects in the grave and on the corpse, can be explored.