IDENTITY AND THE CRUCIFORM BROOCH IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: AN INVESTIGATION OF STYLE, MORTUARY CONTEXT, AND USE

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Abstract

This thesis uses the cruciform brooch, a well-represented and highly decorative dress-fastener, as an entry point for looking at the construction of identities relating to ethnicity, gender, age, and power in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The examination of this artefact is holistic and multi-dimensional, and the major topics of consideration are: (a) typology and stylistic variability, (b) chronology, (c) distribution, (d) mortuary context, (e) use, repair and costume, and finally (f) iconography and symbolism. These threads come together to provide an understanding of why and how the cruciform brooch evolved as it did, how it was used in life and death (and by whom), and the complex social identity the artefact was used to construct and display.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> Behavior must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behavior – or, more precisely, social action – that cultural forms find articulation. They find it as well of course, in various sorts of artifacts, and various states of consciousness; but these draw their meaning from the role they play ... in an ongoing pattern of life, not from any intrinsic relationships they bear to one another (Geertz 1973, 17).

> The aim is to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics (Geertz 1973, 28).

Thus Clifford Geertz outlines "thick description". This thesis offers a "thick description" of a single variety of early Anglo-Saxon material culture: the cruciform brooch. In doing so, I will explore the contexts and symbolic content of the cruciform brooch and produce a socially meaningful account that investigates the object as a product of human behaviour. The major topics to be investigated are: (a) how and why the cruciform brooch developed as it did; (b) who it was used by, how, why, where and when; (c) what it was that imparted value and authenticity to this object; and finally, (d) what the complex human and animal iconography of cruciform brooches symbolised in terms of identity. In order to produce this comprehensive understanding most available contexts will be consulted. Spatial and chronological contexts will form the empirical underpinnings of the thesis. The excavated mortuary contexts of cruciform brooches will contribute osteological sex and age data as well as associated grave goods, information on dress ensembles and other aspects of the mortuary ritual. In addition, the contextual meanings of structured typological development and iconography will form central parts of this analysis. In the same way that Clifford Geertz espoused a structural view of culture that emphasised interpretation over explanation, I will explore the possible social meanings of cruciform brooch use, and thus produce a socially meaningful account of what wearing and being buried with a cruciform brooch signified in Migration Period England. Primarily, therefore, this thesis is about identity.

Background

The early Anglo-Saxon period, since the inception of its academic study in the 19th century, has traditionally been characterised by its colourful and abundant material cultural forms recovered from the excavation of its ample cemeteries (e.g. Akerman 1855; Baldwin Brown 1915a; 1915b; Kemble 1855). From the period's fierce weaponry and armour, to the artistic achievements obvious in its exuberant forms of jewellery, such artefacts have long captured the imaginations of archaeologists and historians. These objects have been central to the reconstructions of the societies that inhabited this enigmatic period, which lies between the apparent order of Roman Britain and Christianised Anglo-Saxon England. For many, therefore, the 5th and 6th centuries are seen as an intermediate buffer within which can be found the vestigial remnants of Roman Britain as well as the germ of the England that was to come. Although this is perhaps an overstated caricature that pits barbaric 'pagan' societies against the superficially perceived order of imperial and national identity, it nonetheless provides the inherent interest of the great unknown that such transitional periods inspire. The purpose of this thesis is to reveal the otherwise obscure social relations and meanings that constituted the culture of the 5th and 6th centuries in their own terms and, in doing so, highlight the importance of particular forms of material culture in the construction and perception of early Anglo-Saxon society.

The cruciform brooch is just one of the many varieties of jewellery that characterise this period, albeit among the most well-represented and elaborate of them. Such material culture, thanks to its lavish decoration, has traditionally been used to construct chronologies and culture history (e.g. Åberg 1926; Evison 1981; Leeds 1912). Although typology, chronology, ethnicity and migration form key topics in this thesis, the most fundamental question considered here is why these myriad forms of jewellery existed in the first place, and what their individual significances may have been. The key hypothesis is that both the obvious and subtle differences between the forms of these objects can be read as an analogue for the perceived differences between the people who wore them. Not only did different forms of jewellery act to signify social distinction, but they were also axiomatic to the construction of difference in the first place. This basic hypothesis will be explored throughout this thesis, and I will rally diverse data to demonstrate that not only were types of material culture differentiated by their formal

properties, but they were also characterised by variable symbolisms which are indicated by the archaeological contexts in which these objects are found.

The cruciform brooch was a dress-fastener worn by women in the 5th and 6th centuries to secure various garments. The form seems to have originated in northern Germany at some point in the latter half of the 4th century, from whence it was brought to Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England (Schetelig 1906, 10). During the 5th and 6th centuries the cruciform brooch underwent considerable typological development, particularly in what is known as the Anglian region of eastern England and in Norway. These two arms of its development were quite distinct, and although some developments ran in parallel (it became larger and more highly decorated in both regions), English and Scandinavian cruciform brooches are quite easily distinguished. I will concentrate only on the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch, and although reference will be made to its overseas parallels, it is this context that will form the parameters of the study.

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Figure 1.1: The diverse range of cruciform brooches. Scale 1/4.

The cruciform brooch is defined by its distinctive shape: a rectangular head-plate with three outward projections and a foot ornamented with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic mouldings (in all but its very earliest forms). Figure 1.1 shows the variety of sizes and shapes that cruciform brooches assumed. The cruciform brooch is just one member of a family of dress-fasteners known as bow brooches. In terms of its size and elaboration, the cruciform brooch is intermediately placed between the diminutive and plain small long brooches, and the larger and more highly decorative great square-headed brooches. Rarer

varieties of bow brooch of broadly the same period include supporting-arm brooches (*Stützarmfibeln*), equal-arm brooches and Kentish square-headed brooches. Other contemporary families of brooches in early Anglo-Saxon England include ring brooches (e.g. annular, penannular and quoit types), and circular plate brooches (e.g. saucer, disc, button and openwork brooches).

The use of brooches to fasten garments in Europe had a truly ancient heritage extending back to the Bronze Age. However, the late Iron Age saw an explosion in terms of their frequency of use and diversification of forms and this intensification continued into the Roman period. This event occurred around the 1st centuries BC and AD, and indicates a new level of personal differentiation symbolised through clothing not seen before in Europe. Hence, J.D. Hill (1995, 85) suggests that it demonstrates the apotheosis of a new conception of the individual and personhood marked both by attitudes to dress and differentiated funerary treatment. The use of brooches during the early Anglo-Saxon period was perhaps even more intensive, and they were obviously objects of great social significance. Although the implications of the deep antiquity of brooch use will not be considered in this thesis, it is perhaps helpful, at least initially, to frame the subject in this context.

Outline of the Thesis

Due to the range of contextual data being investigated, this thesis will not follow the now standard structure of a literature review followed by an analysis of data and then its interpretation. Rather, these issues will be addressed within each chapter according to the subject under consideration. The intention of this structure is to accrue a contextual understanding of the cruciform brooch's form, chronology, distribution, mortuary context and iconography which will cumulatively develop the interpretations gained from the previous chapters. By the end of the thesis these various threads will have coalesced into a holistic understanding of the cruciform brooch and its use. This first chapter will provide a brief introduction to some of the relevant themes and their diverse theoretical bases. In addition, it will outline some of the more prosaic but necessary concerns of data collection, methodology and terminology.

Chapter 2 will begin the analysis by organising the diverse forms seen in Figure 1.1 into a typology. Not only will the typology provide a classification and reference system that will be used throughout this thesis, it will also act to interrogate the decorative structure of cruciform brooches and demonstrate that it was not only their physical form that changed over time, but also attitudes toward their structured design. This last point in particular will be shown to have considerable social significance.

Chapter 3 uses the preceding typology, alongside contextual data, to create a chronology for cruciform brooches. It will be shown that the major differences in the brooch's typological structure (demonstrated in Chapter 2) represent three distinct chronological phases. These phases will be assigned absolute dates by linking them into pre-existing continental and Scandinavian chronologies.

Chapter 4 investigates the geographical distribution of cruciform brooches over the course of their development and will show that the three phases also display distinctly different spatial patterning. This chapter will address the role of the cruciform brooch in the creation and display of the so-called Anglian identity, and investigate the complex nature of this perceived ethnicity in archaeological and historical terms.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of mortuary context, looking largely at osteological data in order to establish the demographic characteristics of individuals interred with cruciform brooches. A particular female age group is defined and this is interpreted in terms of the construction of gender and stages in the lifecycle. The outcome of this is the conclusion that the cruciform brooch was used to construct and display a nested regional identity which also related to the perception of gender and stage in the lifecycle.

Chapter 6 addresses the textile remains frequently preserved on the reverse of cruciform brooches to provide reconstructions of the various dress ensembles they were used to secure. The findings of this chapter will demonstrate that not only was the cruciform brooch involved in the display and construction of a gendered identity, but its implementation in dress also contributed to a perception of the feminine body which was specific to the individuals who wore this item. This analysis therefore promotes the cruciform brooch from just signifying gendered roles and relationships to creating primary understandings of a particular feminine body. The identity bestowed and

displayed by cruciform brooches therefore relates to sexual identity as much as it does to gender.

While the previous chapters act to build up a picture of the identity cruciform brooches were used to construct, Chapter 7 takes a step back to question the nature of objects that engender an individual with identity. An analysis of repair, modification and use-adaption demonstrates the value of cruciform brooches in early Anglo-Saxon society, their inalienability, and how they may have symbolised not only an identity, but also acted to legitimise it through a demonstrably authenticated material form.

Chapter 8 will return to the nature of the identity signified by cruciform brooches by providing an analysis of their iconography. Though most of the preceding chapters focus more on the context of early Anglo-Saxon identities, this chapter investigates their symbolic content. I will describe the iconography in terms of the animal and human entities it represented as well as its artistic composition. The themes of this ambiguous and complex art form will then be related to the mythological tradition from which it may have been drawn. Above all, I will suggest that this iconography represented a cryptic and restricted cosmological knowledge held by the wearers of the cruciform brooch and was used to legitimate the authority that may have been associated with their identity.

Chapter 9 provides a brief overview of the thesis and outlines its wider implications for Anglo-Saxon studies. It will also provide an outlook for future research.

Theoretical Basis

Due to the wide range of topics and datasets that will be used during the course of this thesis, I do not set out an all-encompassing theoretical approach. If there is a primary theoretical precept underpinning the following analysis, it is that material culture plays an active role in the constitution of society by facilitating social relations and constructing identity (e.g. Hodder 1989; Tilley 1999). Secondly, this account relies on the idea that material culture is a structured phenomenon that can reflect, and acts to construct, elements of social structure (Eco 1973; Tilley 1990). However, these are now fairly standard and widely accepted approaches both common to archaeology and the wider field of material cultural studies (see Buchli 2002). Of course, that is not to say that this

work is not based on almost a century's worth[1] of theoretical progress in early medieval archaeology, but merely that such theory will be largely implicit in the chapters as they progress.

Indeed, it is the wide acceptance or engagement with all past studies of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology and their theoretical bases that will hopefully lend this study a broad scope. Although this is a study of a single artefact type, it is intended to have some significance to our more general understanding of early Anglo-Saxon society and its historical development. The theoretical basis of early medieval archaeology is sometimes cast in a negative light (e.g. Lucy 1998, 5), yet the past 30 years of research in particular can be characterised as witnessing a flourishing diversification of approaches (Moreland 2010, 2, 6). Traditional theory and methodology can be seen to work in harmony with contemporary approaches to early medieval archaeology. The theoretical and methodological perspectives of this thesis have been intentionally selected to cut across these diverse approaches and present a holistic picture of a single artefact. If there is a need to apply theoretical labels to the theory and methods of this thesis, they may be seen to be at least partially culture-historical, even if, for instance, the definition of culture has been replaced with a more historically and theoretically sensitive definition of ethnicity. The analysis of typology, chronology and distribution will all involve some traditional methodology although contemporary statistical techniques will also be applied. In addition, an interpretation that emphasises the active and symbolic role of material culture in the burial ritual may be seen as post-processual.

This diverse range of theoretical perspectives is not self-contradictory: they form different perspectives of social analysis, and here they are complementary. The same is true for the development of Anglo-Saxon archaeology in general. Changes in theoretical perspective do not necessarily make previous work redundant: rather, they may be concerned with a different issue, or have sought new archaeological information from older data. For example, the culture-historical aspects of migration and tribal identity still exist, but generally lie outside the interests of post-processual archaeologists. Though post-processualism often deals with the related ideas of identity, these big (and essentially historical) questions can be very difficult to approach from such a standpoint. These questions are, however, still pertinent. Whether we are looking at early Anglo-Saxon

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[1] Even if not explicitly present, the development of archaeological theory is implicit with the very first interpretations of early medieval material culture. Such early studies should not be dismissed as 'atheoretical'.

society through the lens of religion, functionalism, structuralism, identity or economics, useful and complementary knowledge can still be produced.

Data and Methodological Basis

The sum of data (including images) used for this study can be found in the Microsoft Access (2007) database included on the accompanying DVD. This database supplies tabulated data for all cruciform brooches, sites and grave contexts used in this thesis. It also provides the facility to search for and query individual records in an easily accessible format. Various sources of data have been consulted including publications, museums, Heritage Environment Records (henceforth HERs) and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (henceforth PAS) database. Data collection began with information requests sent out to English museums with archaeological collections, asking in the first instance whether or not they possessed any 5th- to 7th-century material, and secondly if any of these objects had been identified as cruciform brooches. Minor problems immediately arose in the various definitions of cruciform brooches that museums have implemented in the past. For instance, there was general confusion between small long, cruciform, and "square-headed brooches". These problems were fairly easily overcome in most cases by the exchange of photographs and drawings but some cruciform brooches were doubtlessly missed due to this problem of terminology. There is therefore a very real need to standardise our terminology further and to communicate the accepted classification of this occasionally complex subject to museum archivists. About a year was spent visiting many of these museums in person to record this material first-hand. In all, about 30 museums were visited and a few more were able to contribute information or images by email. Each brooch was recorded on a paper record sheet, which was accompanied by photography of the front, back and profiles of each item, as well as a pen and paper illustration when the time was available. In all, 519 cruciform brooches were examined first-hand. Sadly, a small number of museums were not able to accommodate my research. The most important of these were York Museum and Norwich Castle. At the time of data collection York Museum was undergoing refurbishment, while the staff of Norwich Castle were too busy to facilitate the significant amount of time it would have taken to record their substantial collection. Thankfully, the publication of material from Yorkshire and East Anglia has been very good, so this unavoidable gap in the data collection has not been detrimental.

The data collection from museums was complemented by a further 287 cruciform brooches obtained from published illustrations or photographs, and another 808 from the PAS database, giving a total of 1614 objects. Of these, only 607 were deemed complete. The vast majority of fragments came from the PAS database as most of these metal-detected artefacts had obviously (and evidently) been subject to plough-damage. Completeness was measured by the presence of at least one of each design attribute (see below for a definition of these).

Most of the data collection from the PAS database was done before the recent renovation of the website. From 2008 to 2009 the database was difficult to use and search terms could not be specific. This meant that all finds in the "early medieval" category were browsed, and all brooches that were reliably early Anglo-Saxon (5th to 6th century) were recorded in spreadsheets. From this dataset cruciform brooches were extracted and recorded on digital data sheets in a more organised and easier to read format than the PAS at that point in time could generate. Therefore, this data gathering not only resulted in 808 cruciform brooches and fragments, but a total of 1,983 find-spots of metal-detected general early Anglo-Saxon finds that could be used to contextualise the cruciform brooch corpus.

Requests for data were also sent out to all English Heritage Environment Record offices asking for any records related to "5th- to 7th-century burial" and "5th- to 7th-century metalwork". Once received, these records were thoroughly processed and all the reliable sites and artefacts to which they related were added to the database. Sites were deemed to be reliably of this date if they had yielded datable metalwork or, in a few instances, had been carbon-dated. A small number of sites have been included in the database that may have been exclusively 7th century (and therefore slightly later than the period for which the cruciform brooch was in use). However, the numbers of these 7th-century sites are likely to be small, and as such they will not bias the data set to any significant extent.

Only two problems were encountered in the HER data collection. The first was that Northamptonshire HER, due to funding and staff shortages, have been forced to charge a fee to distribute information. This fee could not be afforded for the present research. Nonetheless, Northamptonshire represents a relatively small region that was well covered by alternative information from publications, the PAS, and museums research. A more

significant problem was encountered with Norfolk HER which has been particularly efficient in its recording of stray finds. An enormous total of more than 1,000 individual records were received from Norfolk HER, which was about 50% of the sum of information received from the rest of the country. Treating these records thoroughly and critically would have taken more time than was realistically available for the current project. Therefore, only excavated and datable burials were extracted from the Norfolk records, and the large number of stray finds awaits further research. Although this was an unfortunate but unavoidable practicality, Norfolk is still well-represented by published and PAS data.

The total result of this data collection was a corpus of 1614 cruciform brooches from 911 sites or find-spots. This data is contextualised by a further 3113 sites and find-spots that have yielded datable material from the early Anglo-Saxon period. All of this data is made available in the accompanying digital database.

In the following chapters, I will analyse these diverse sources and types of data according to some very different methodologies. Therefore, like the broad theoretical approach outlined above, the methodology of this thesis will be reflexive. For instance, the typology will be based on both subjective judgement and multivariate statistical analyses. Similarly, the chronology will rely on some statistical techniques as well as qualitative judgement. Spatial distribution will be investigated through Geographical Information System analysis in order to produce relative measures of the frequencies of burial and cruciform brooch use. The analysis of iconography will be structured and quantified, but its interpretation requires an almost entirely subjective approach.

Terminology

The terminology used in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology can at times be complex, and is often disputed, especially where the naming of regions and periods is concerned. It is therefore necessary to outline precisely what is meant by certain terms before the analysis commences. "Early Anglo-Saxon" is taken here to refer mainly to the 5th to 7th centuries; although the cruciform brooch was only used from approximately 450-575 (see Chapter 3). This term is also generally used here to refer to the parts of Britain that practiced furnished burial, and therefore largely the eastern half of England with an

extension westward up through the Thames Valley. Regions outside this zone will generally be referred to as 'western Britain'. 'Insular' will be used to describe the present-day Scotland, England and Wales in opposition to 'continental' regions. The themes addressed in this thesis will occasionally require contextualisation within the rest of Europe, and when this is appropriate the term 'Migration Period' will be used. This is a term generally used to refer to just the 5th and 6th centuries in Europe, traditionally ending with the start of the Vendel period in Sweden at some point in the later 6th century (Arrhenius 1983). When specificity of locality is required, particularly for the distributions of cruciform brooches, the term 'Anglian England' will be used. This term is especially disputed, but its usage will be explained and justified in Chapter 4. The term 'Final Phase' refers to a transitional period that occupies the time around the 7th and earlier 8th centuries when furnished inhumation was still occasionally practiced, albeit in a considerably different way from the mortuary rituals of the 5th and 6th centuries. This term is therefore strictly relevant only to burial practices, but has some additional connotations that relate to the formation of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the later 6th and 7th centuries. The only other specialist term that will be used repeatedly is 'Style I'. This is an abbreviation of 'Salin's Style I', a definition devised by Bernhard Salin in 1904. It is a collective term for the kind of animal and human art that appears on much decorative metalwork of the 5th and 6th centuries, including cruciform brooches. Other specialist terminology will be used, but such terms will be justified as and when it is necessary.

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Figure 1.2: Anatomy of a cruciform brooch (the pin is a modern reconstruction). Scale 1/2.

Cruciform brooches are complex objects with several different constituent elements. These will therefore also require some initial definition as they will be used extensively throughout this thesis. Figure 1.2 summarises the terminology used. All brooches will be illustrated with the head-plate uppermost. This has long been the standard method of representation, and because cruciform brooches were worn at almost any orientation (see Chapter 6) there is no reason to alter this. Although generally only the obverse of brooches will be illustrated within the main text of this thesis, as well as in the accompanying visual catalogue (Appendix 3), reverse and profile views of brooches, where these were obtainable, are provided in the images embedded in the accompanying digital database.

The brooches themselves will be named following the formula used by Catherine Mortimer (1990).[2] Where a brooch is specifically referred to (as opposed to the cemetery or particular grave it was from) it will be printed in **bold**. Brooches are named by site, then by grave or cremation number with a 'G' indicating inhumation, and a 'C' cremation. If there is more than one cruciform brooch from a single context, then this is followed by a number in brackets. Thus '**Cleatham G30 (3)**' indicates the third cruciform brooch found in grave 30 (an inhumation) at the Cleatham cemetery. '**Cleatham C116**' is the single cruciform brooch found in cremation 116. If the cruciform brooch is not from a known context then it will be given an arbitrary number in a series. So '**Cleatham 4**' represents the fourth unstratified cruciform brooch found at Cleatham. If the finds come from two distinct cemeteries or find-spots from the same site, this will be indicated by Roman numerals, so '**Mucking I G92**' is the cruciform brooch from grave 92 in cemetery 1 at Mucking. A correspondence chart between these names, accession numbers, and PAS identification numbers is given in the accompanying digital database.

Summary

This research represents a conscious effort to go beyond the limitations of the purely typological and chronological treatments of artefacts that tend to dominate specialist

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[2] Though the names used here do not necessarily correspond with Mortimer's as the corpora themselves are quite different.

material culture studies of the early Anglo-Saxon period. Typological and chronological information will be generated, but this information will be used specifically for social analysis. Similarly, this account hopes to extend its significance beyond the bounds of just mortuary archaeology and make some more general contributions toward our understanding of early Anglo-Saxon and Migration Period societies. Because most of the information used in this study originates from cemetery contexts (or have no archaeological context at all) this is not necessarily a straightforward task. Nonetheless, the central tenet of this thesis is that the cruciform brooch's role in the mortuary ritual, alongside the development of its typology and iconography, can provide significant insights into how such objects were used in life, as well as in death, to construct and display complex identities.

Chapter 2: Typology and the Structure of Cruciform Brooch Design

> If there is one irrefutable example of the application of the typological method to the study of this period's material remains, it is that of the cruciform brooch (Leeds 1936, 81).

The typology of the cruciform brooch is one of the most studied among early Anglo-Saxon artefacts and has provoked interest since the late 19th century. The published typologies (Åberg 1926; Leeds and Pocock 1971; Reichstein 1975; Schetelig 1906) were designed as tools whose primary purpose was to generate chronologies and compare culture groups in terms of stylistic influence. These kinds of study, and especially those of the cruciform brooch, were the essential apparatus of culture history. The typology presented here has a comparable purpose: it will provide a primary descriptive division of the corpus. For the most part it will supply the foundations for studying chronology and distribution, which will have significant implications for all the following chapters. Above all, this thesis provides a study of social context, and development over time and space can be considered as the two core dimensions of any such study (Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997, 29).

The present typology, however, has a secondary purpose and this is to explore stylistic variation in terms of the structure of cruciform brooch design. Hence, the relationships between classes of brooch will be given some quantitative consideration in order to reveal measures of relatedness. This will expose categories of brooches that tend to be more consistently designed than others. Primarily, this typology provides a descriptive aid to understanding the kind of material culture these brooches constitute, and paints an honest picture of the variation within and between classes of brooch. In doing so, the method emphasises the justification for typological ordering. Describing the variation in this manner also has the advantage of avoiding the over-reification of the typology, which can often be a risk in classificatory studies. In addition, the idea of structured design provides insight into the motivations behind stylistic development. At the simplest level it can provide answers to questions such as whether consistency or originality was sought, and whether or not this varied over time and space.

The resulting typology will have several advantages over those that pre-exist. Firstly, it will be a fully-considered division of the material that explicitly takes into account and quantifies the composite design of cruciform brooches. It will also be the most detailed organisation yet devised and lends itself particularly well to identifying fragments. As the following chapters will demonstrate, the typology is well-suited to chronological (Chapter 3) and spatial (Chapter 4) analyses. It also has some relevance to how different kinds of brooches were worn (Chapter 6), and especially to their iconographic development (Chapter 8).

Past Typological Work on the Cruciform Brooch

As one of the most visible artefacts of Migration Period north-west Europe,[1] the cruciform brooch has long held a central position in the definition of cultural groups and the construction of chronology. This is especially true in early Anglo-Saxon England. The cruciform brooch was integral to the definition of these periods and cultures from the outset. Late 19th-century German and Scandinavian scholars employed the cruciform brooch in the earliest syntheses of Migration Period material. Scholars such as Worsaae, Hildebrand, Müller, Tischler, Montelius and Almgrem all recognised the importance of the cruciform brooch among the Migration Period's most datable artefacts (Reichstein 1975, 9-11). In the early 20th century the cruciform brooch was critical to Edward Thurlow Leeds' definition of the 'Angles' as a culture group; he termed it "the Anglian brooch *par excellence*" (1913, 76; 1936, 81). The history of work on the cruciform brooch has been discussed in several places (Dickinson 1978, 337-338; Hines 1984, 244-253; Leahy 2007, 234; Mortimer 1990, 37-41; Reichstein 1975, 9-17), so only the most relevant detail is included here.

Haakon Schetelig's treatment of the cruciform brooch was the first dedicated monograph. It did not constitute a typology as such (Mortimer 1990, 37), but instead represented a systematised organisation of the brooch's development in Norway. The English cruciform brooch's development is considered, but without reference to formal types.

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[1] The cruciform brooch is the most numerous, if not quite the most decoratively elaborate, of the large bow brooches that are common to Migration Period north-west Europe. According to a survey conducted by myself in the spring of 2009, it provides more than 50% of all early medieval brooches recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

There is little need to detail the shortcomings of Schetelig's treatment of the English cruciform brooch, as no proper detail is given. Nonetheless the study was of critical importance as it outlined the foundation for Åberg's more formal study of 1926.

Nils Åberg's typology, despite its obvious shortcomings, is still widely used (for example Drinkall and Foreman 1998; Green *et al* 1987; Haughton and Powlesland 1999a, 98, 252; Leahy 2007, 134-143, as well as almost all PAS records). The reason for its continuing use lies in its simplicity, as well as the lack of a viable published alternative. Its use, however, is limited to basic cataloguing and very approximate description rather than interpretation or analysis. The first level of organisation in the typology constructed here (the 'Group' level, see below) is a more accurate replacement for Åberg's now outdated system. Åberg's typology has five basic rules that define five groups:

1. A fully rounded top-knob defined group I
2. A half-round top-knob foot with semi-circular nostrils defined group II
3. Spiral nostrils indicated group III
4. The presence of lappets defined group IV
5. Group V brooches[2] possessed expanded head-plate knobs and feet, both elaborately ornamented.

Rules 1, 4 and 5 have been broadly retained in subsequent treatments of the cruciform brooch, and all of these rules remain true of the brooch's most general development. However, the simplicity of Åberg's typology is also its weakness. It is perfectly adequate for outlining a general development, but its lack of detail makes it of limited use for the kind of social analyses that are now common in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Perhaps more critically, the simplicity of the scheme belies the complexity of cruciform brooch design and style. It does not do justice to the diversity of the brooch, its regional groupings, nor its complex iconography.

Edward Thurlow Leeds retained an ongoing interest in the cruciform brooch (Leeds 1913, 76; 1936, 81-88) but never completed a formal typology. His work was finished posthumously by Michael Pocock (Leeds and Pocock 1971) who presented a classification that attempted to elucidate every stage in the development of Åberg's (florid) group V brooches. The resulting typology, given the small corpus size it was

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[2] Åberg's group V brooches were termed "florid" by Leeds (1936, 71).

based on, was over-complicated. Pocock's accompanying division of Åberg's group IV is almost indecipherable to all but the expert due to its lack of illustrations and summarised form.

Leeds had earlier encountered one of the most challenging aspects of the cruciform brooch's typology: the multivariate nature of Åberg's group IV whose decorative elements seemingly vary independently, and merge with group III to the extent that a division seems unnecessary (Leeds 1945, 69).[3] His solution was to promote group III brooches with a top-knob finial (but no lappets) into group IVa, while group IVb comprised brooches with lappets (Leeds 1945, 69-72; Leeds and Pocock 1971). In essence, the typology presented here agrees with this division.

Joachim Reichstein's typology of the cruciform brooch has never gained favour in England (although it has occasionally been utilised in excavation reports such as Evison 1994, 5; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 39; Kinsley 1993, 62). This is most likely to do with it being written in German, but there are also some fundamental difficulties with Reichstein's typological methodology. These failures have been discussed elsewhere (Dickinson 1978, 337-8; Hills 1981, 106; Leahy 2007, 234; Mortimer 1990, 39-41) and they are largely due to Reichstein's cryptic method of classification. Though some rules for grouping are outlined, he himself does not always seem to obey them. Perhaps the more crucial shortcoming of Reichstein's typology, which renders it applicable only with difficulty to Anglo-Saxon England, is that it fails to address the most numerous and uniquely insular types.[4] Cruciform brooches continued to be used in Migration Period England after their production had ceased in Scandinavia, and Reichstein concludes his treatment with the end of the Norwegian series.

Nonetheless, Reichstein's typology deserves more credit. At the expense of a typology that was generally applicable to most cruciform brooches, Reichstein identified a number of very specific types that form the basis for some of the present typology.[5] Perhaps the most important observations in Reichstein's work are the parallels drawn between Scandinavia, the Continent and England. However, due to the lack of a hierarchical

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[3] This difficulty is met with once again within the present typology's Group 3.
[4] The exclusively English brooches include most of Åberg's groups III and IV, as well as all group V brooches, or the present typology's Groups 3 and 4.
[5] For instance, Reichstein's *typ Midlum* compares well to Type 1.2.2, *typ Stratford* is very similar to Type 2.1.1, as is *typ West Stow Heath* to Type 2.2.1, *typ Krefeld-Gellep* to Type 2.2.3, and *typ Holywell Row* to Type 3.2.4

structure, most cruciform brooches fall into his *einzelformen*: brooches that purportedly have no relationship to any other form. This is a fundamental misrepresentation, as most of these *einzelformen*, when compared to a larger sample, are not so unique.

Catherine Mortimer's typological treatment of the cruciform brooch is executed concisely and clearly, but with little explanation or justification. Nonetheless, Mortimer's typology also underpins the one presented here, and a number of her types are identical or highly comparable.[6] The typology is hierarchically structured and essentially provides internal divisions to Åberg's basic typology. The strengths of Mortimer's typology lie in its ease of application, and this perhaps explains, for an unpublished work, the rate at which it is has been utilised subsequently (e.g. Drinkall and Foreman 1998; Malim and Hines 1998, 200; Timby 1996). However, there are also some weaknesses. The main problems are the typology's simplistic rules: the presence of one attribute type, and it is not always the same attribute, places the brooch within a type (e.g. group B is sub-divided by nostril form, while group D is sub-divided by lappets). There is little consideration of the composite structure of the brooch. However, the simplicity of its groupings and lack of consideration of attributes mean that a number of regional or iconographic characteristics remain hidden within the larger groups.[7]

All past typological analyses of the cruciform brooch have been intuitively structured without any quantification. This is partly due to the general unavailability of such techniques at the time of most of these studies.[8] However, it is also due to the non-uniformity and complexity of cruciform brooch design. Statistical typological techniques require discrete types of attributes, which are not obviously apparent on the cruciform

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[6] As far as it is understood, Mortimer's A1, A2 and A3 compare well (though not identically) to the present Sub-Group 1.1, and Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2. B2 and B3 are similar to Types 2.1.2 and 2.1.4. Mortimer's class C is almost equivalent to Type 3.1.1. Class D was classified almost entirely on lappet form; an approach that is not taken here. However, D1 is very similar to Type 3.2.5, D5a is almost equivalent to Sub-Group 3.3, while D5b is similar to Type 3.2.4. The classification of florid, or Mortimer's Z class brooches, is here expanded. Z1 compares well with Sub-Group 4.1, Z2 with Sub-Group 4.4, Z3 with Type 4.7.1, and Z4a and Z4b with Types 4.3.2 and 4.3.1.

[7] This is especially true for Mortimer's group D. Because it is structured by lappet design rather than foot design, the regional trends in foot design seen below in Sub-Group 3.2 are not especially clear. Mortimer's Group Z also lacks detail being based on general decorative style rather than the attribute-defined Group 4 types outlined below.

[8] Though they were available, Mortimer's decision not to implement statistics was a conscious and theoretically informed one. Although I agree that "selecting variables for recording and levels of significance for grouping means these new methods are just as likely to be subjective as old-fashioned methods" (Mortimer 1990, 44), this is not necessarily an argument about subjectivity and objectivity, but about depth of description and consequently the level of justification for the proposed typology.

brooch, and this has made such approaches unattractive or even impossible in a strictly empirical sense. Mortimer's typology is the only one to have been constructed with a stated research aim beyond classification and chronology, which was to see how metallurgical composition related to artefact style and chronology.

In sum, there is no existing systematic and detailed examination of the structure of cruciform brooch design. The existing typological work lacks explicit justification. Though Mortimer's thesis has the same deficit, it represented a significant step forward for cruciform brooch typology. However, it was never published and is therefore not widely available. A new and attribute-structured typology has been called for (Penn and Brugmann 2007, 24) and the strengths of this classificatory method for Migration Period brooches has been emphasised elsewhere (Bode 1998; Høilund Nielsen 1997a, 80). There is also an urgent need to meet this demand for cruciform brooches due to the rate at which their numbers are currently increasing.[9] A modern and revised typology is required to suit the needs of the recently invigorated area of early medieval material culture studies. Cruciform brooches constitute a significant proportion of such material, and it is important that they become sufficiently catalogued and accessible so that they can play a suitably proportionate role in its reconsideration. Most importantly, however, this thesis examines the structuring of individual and group identity, and perceives the structure of cruciform brooch design to be germane to this issue. Consequently, there is a need to examine how the cruciform brooch is structurally composed, how variable each type is, and whether this differentially relates to chronology, regionality, archaeological context, and iconography.

Typology and Early Anglo-Saxon Material Culture

There are myriad Anglo-Saxon artefact typologies, and most have followed an intuitive and non-quantified method. The first studies of the earlier 20th century followed an approach similar to Schetelig's (1906, see above). Though some types were given a system of names and relationships, the discussion focused on the intricacies of the type's development by reference to individual examples, and often with reference to events

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[9] Thanks largely to the activities of metal detectorists and the PAS, the known corpus of cruciform brooches has approximately trebled in the past 20 years, and has even noticeably increased since data collection for this thesis commenced in 2009. This leaves an extremely high number of cruciform brooches inadequately, or worse, misleadingly, described on the PAS database.

recorded in the historical literature (e.g. Åberg 1926; Baldwin Brown 1915a; 1915b; Leeds 1912; 1913; 1936; 1945), but there was little effort made to systematise descriptions of artefacts into formal typologies.

After these early studies there was a general shift towards establishing concrete and absolute types or trends that acted to abbreviate enlarged corpus sizes. The results of these studies were more suitable for generating relative chronologies and establishing regional distributions (e.g. Avent 1975; Avent and Evison 1982; Dickinson 1979; Fowler 1960; 1963; Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Leeds 1949; Leeds and Pocock 1971). The deficiency of these studies was that they lacked an explicit typological methodology. The reader was intended to accept and utilise the classification without justification, relying wholly on the author's knowledge of the subject. Similar to these are publications with little typological analysis *per se*, but which still have an important role in making available an ordered corpus of material (Briscoe 1983; Cook 2004; Guido 1999; Marzinzik 2003).

In the 1980s, largely through the work of Tania Dickinson and John Hines, typological methodology was made explicit, and there was a subtle change in how the material culture was conceptualised. Instead of dealing with discrete and whole artefacts, the individual components of these artefacts were examined. Some types became defined, if not always explicitly, in terms of clusters of related attributes. Thus Dickinson's (1982) re-evaluation of Elizabeth Fowler's G-type penannular brooches provided an exploration of their stylistic composition. Similarly, Hines' (1984; 1993) classification of wrist-clasps (particularly Hines' type B) considered a whole host of explicitly named attributes both decorative and technical. A more complex version of this technique was followed in Hines' (1997a) meticulous treatment of the great square-headed brooch. Dickinson's (1991; 1993b) preliminary typological analyses of the saucer brooch utilised a similar attribute-based technique and offered an explorative analysis of the structural 'grammar' of brooch design. Sadly, the preliminary work was never followed up, and the saucer brooch remains in dire need of typological treatment. While Hine's methodology appears to have been motivated by an aim to achieve more empirically accurate and detailed accounts of artefact design, Dickinson's was inspired by structuralist and post-processual approaches to material culture (Dickinson 1991, 39).

The quantitative techniques used in these studies were relatively simple and generally amounted to a calculation of how many attributes of what type were shared by each brooch. Seiichi Suzuki's (2008) typology of the button brooch was generated using an intricate statistical technique known as recursive partitioning. In essence, it followed the same quantitative logic as the studies by Hines and Dickinson, but used a more complex algorithm to calculate a measured scale of difference between artefacts based on their combination of attributes.

From past research on the cruciform brooch and other artefact types it seems that any new consideration of typology should be detailed and sensitive to clusters of attributes (as is suggested in Hines 1984, 252 and foreshadowed by Bode's 1998 compositional study that contextualised a small group of cruciform brooches from a cemetery in Schleswig Holstein). Though studies of other early Anglo-Saxon artefacts help to inform a method by which this can be done, there is also a wider literature on typology theory that requires some consideration.

Aims, Theory and Methodology

As was outlined in Chapter 1, the ultimate purpose of the typology presented here is to explore the social meanings of the cruciform brooch. A typology diminishes the need to reference specific brooches, and thus permits inter-site comparisons. The usefulness of the typology should be evaluated by the extent to which it illuminates general stylistic trends, as well as regional, chronological and other contextual relationships. Any such result would suggest that the proposed groupings had some significance in the minds of their producers and consumers, conscious or otherwise. The secondary purpose recognises that the exploration of style is a research area in itself. The typological method presented here contributes to debates over the complex machinations of Migration Period artefact variability. Finally, it is hoped that this typology might be of some use for the cataloguing and description of the increasing mass of cruciform brooches in museums as well as those recorded in Heritage Environment Records and the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

The major theoretical debate in typological studies has been whether types are artificial constructions, or are inherently present and await a suitable methodology to reveal them.

This might be expressed as the difference between etic and emic[10] approaches. An emic approach assumes that a good typology will produce types very close to the conscious categories of the past society (e.g. Spaulding 1953). An etic approach suggests instead that all cultural phenomena form continuums. The extent of variation, and where it might be broken up into types, is only observable to the cultural analyst. Types, therefore, exist only in the minds of the typologist, and not the subjects (e.g. Ford 1954). These opposed perceptions of cultural behaviour can be broadly related to the two major typological methodologies: attributal and quantified, or intuitive and qualitative. The latter technique is more often aligned with a belief that types are real due to their intuitive or obvious similarity. The former approaches are generally assumed to be approximate measures, or descriptions, of a continuum of cultural phenomena (Dunnel 1986, 191). Since the advent of New Archaeology, intuitive techniques have suffered increasing criticism. Rather than the use of intuition *per se*, this is perhaps due to the fact that such techniques rarely consider artefact attributes and are also rarely placed in the context of theoretically informed social meaning. It is the general failure of monothetic types[11] (most often generated from intuitive techniques) to form discrete groups that has encouraged the construction of polythetic[12] typologies, which at least acknowledge the underlying artefact variability (starting with Clarke 1968, 189).

As is often the case, theorisation that creates neat lines between qualitative and quantitative or emic and etic approaches becomes somewhat less systematic when confronted with real archaeological data (Adams 1988, 40). Perhaps more worryingly this level of abstraction encourages binary judgements of successful or failed typologies based not on their results or applicability, but on which theoretical school they are aligned with (Dunnel 1986, 150). This is especially problematic in a situation where theoretical opinion is split and irreconcilable. The attributes that are of interest to the present study are variations of style: something that cannot be approached entirely objectively or quantitatively. In order to produce a list of attributes and all their variations, a significant amount of intuitive and subjective judgement is necessary and unavoidable. This is by no means an unusual situation. The one pragmatic point that most can agree on is that a typology must be useful: "(t)ypologies, like other archaeological procedures, are not ends

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[10] Etic accounts are those recorded by an external observer, while emic accounts are those from the perspective of the subject.
[11] Monothetic types are formed by an absolute concordance of all attributes (Adams and Adams 1991, 350)
[12] Polythetic types are formed by clusters of attributes, though not in exactly the same combinations (Adams and Adams 1991, 355).

in themselves but means to an end, and the ends must justify the means" (Adams 1988, 52).

A Progressive Methodology

The typology presented here was initially structured by subjective judgement incrementally informed during two year's handling and recording of the material. Nonetheless, it is consistently methodical and quantitatively measured. The theoretical basis of the classificatory method does not conform fully to either of the opposed schools of thought outlined above, but is intended to take the best from both. When dealing with notions of style, intuitive classification is unavoidable. Therefore, the system presented below was, in the first instance, devised by intuitive grouping. This involved the grouping together of brooches that appeared to be most similar, then the splitting of these agglomerations into as small groups as could be reasonably justified. This intuitive classification was followed by a lengthy period of quantitative testing. Therefore, the typology and statistical results presented below constitute only the end results of a longer and more complex process. This typology is the product of reflexive and continuous feedback between intuitive judgement and statistical quantification. The resulting classification is the one that works the best from both of these perspectives.

Each brooch can be broken down into constituent elements, or attributes.[13] The attributes are shown in Figure 2.1 and include: head-plate knobs, head-plates, bows, catch-plates, lappets, and feet. These individual elements were then classified and subjected to a statistical analysis to see if the intuitive groupings would still hold. The original intuitive groups were then adjusted according to the results of the quantitative analysis. The presentation of these results (below) is intended to reflect this method. Though it is not necessarily the order in which the research was pursued, each class of brooch is subjectively described prior to a statistical exploration of variation within the grouping. It is hoped that this will aid in the communication of how brooches within broader classes differentially relate to one another. Material culture, despite the purported objectivity of

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[13] Again, the attributes presented here are the end result of extensive experimentation. Most attributes, such as lappet decoration, can be classified into exponentially more specific forms as very few are identical. Broadly, it was found that the more general these definitions were the more satisfactory the groupings became. Some forms of decoration, such as the decorative punches applied after casting, have not been included in the classification at all as they proved too complex, and although they display very broad trends, they were not found to be particularly informative.

some classificatory accounts, is not a neat phenomenon, and it is unrealistic to expect a precise, quantified, and *true* account, as it is subject to interpretation and judgement at every stage. The approach favoured here is an honest one that presents the difficulties, as well as the successes, of applying a typological method to this kind of material culture.

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Figure 2.1: The attributes of a cruciform brooch. Scale 1/2.

Early Anglo-Saxon material cultural forms were fluid and even the major brooch types are not entirely distinct. There are plenty of hybrid forms that imply a lack of absolute rules directing the stylistic composition of dress fasteners.[14] Although the designs of whole brooches were rarely copied, it was common to copy individual elements, and by mixing and matching these parts, create a new design. A direct analogue of this process can be seen in their iconography, which seems to have been structured by more or less expert copying. It has been said that "this...notion, with its inherent value-judgements, seems out of place in modern archaeology, yet anyone who studies early medieval animal ornament comes to recognise the phenomenon and finds its use unavoidable as a

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[14] For instance, great square-headed brooches and cruciform brooches are linked by hybrid forms (see below, Type 4.7.2), as are cruciform brooches and small long brooches. Similarly, saucer brooches overlap with button brooches (Suzuki 2008, 300). Similarities between the earliest cruciform brooches (Type 1.1.1) and supporting-arm (*Stützarmfibeln*) are also notable. The earliest cruciform brooches are a continuous development of 4th-century Germanic brooches with a returned foot, and perhaps also Roman crossbow brooches, in a similar manner that late Roman belt equipment seems to overlap with the earliest Anglo-Saxon belt sets (Hawkes and Dunning 1961), and Quoit Brooch Style lies between late Roman and Anglo-Saxon decorative styles (Suzuki 2000, 6).

dimension in classificatory frameworks" (Dickinson 1993b, 14). Thus, there is a fundamental problem in any classificatory account of these items that claims to be objective. Nonetheless, there are observable stylistic trends, and this is what the typology describes. However, as the lack of integrity between even the major brooch classes suggests, it is likely that a single class of brooch will sometimes include a small number of transitional forms that sit equally well in one category as they would in another.

Due to the variability among copies of a single design, each grouping is hypothesised to have been broadly formed around a prototypical design structure. Around this agglomeration of tight parallels lies a fuzzy cloud of brooches, polythetically related, that are best compared with the prototypical examples, but occasionally overlap with other defined classes. A fundamental observation that has occurred through the construction of this typology is that it was most often the foot of the cruciform brooch that acted as an attractive force for a set of attribute variables. The foot was therefore chosen as the primary classificatory attribute of cruciform brooches, not only for this reason, but also because it is the only element that can be seen to develop through every example in the corpus.

The proposed classification reflects the structure of cruciform design and its various trends. It is neither intended to be, nor should be taken as, an authoritative solution to the problem of classifying cruciform brooches. That problem is an artificial one that will exist for as long as there is a belief in an all-encompassing authoritative structure to material cultural. Nonetheless, an underlying structure is necessary for an artefact style to make sense as a decorative and symbolic object. Though elusive and fluid, cruciform brooches possessed structuring principles.

To be applicable to as many individual brooches (and fragmentary examples) as possible, a hierarchical typology was necessary. Four broad Groups were divided into Sub-Groups, which were divided into Types. Though each Group has a specific number of closely related foot forms, they are best described by their general proportions or the presence/absence of particular attributes (e.g. small and narrow, or with or without lappets), and Sub-Groups are defined similarly. The specific Types are defined largely through foot variety only, although there are a small number of exceptions. This is expressed in a numerical format of the formula: [Group].[Sub-Group].[Type] e.g. 3.1.2 describes a brooch that is Type 2 of Sub-Group 1 within Group 3. When a formal Group,

Sub-Group or Type is referred to, it will be indicated by the use of the capitalised word, to distinguish between the more common uses of these terms.

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                              Group 2
                            /         \
                          /             \
                  Sub-Group 2.1        Sub-Group 2.2
                   /      \              /       \
                 /          \          /           \
          Type 2.1.1    Type 2.1.2  Type 2.2.1   Type 2.2.2
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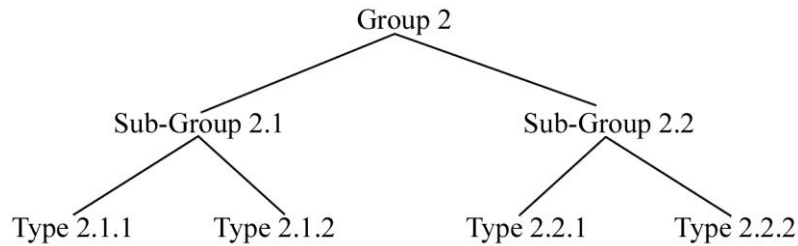
Figure 2.2: The hierarchical structure of Groups, Sub-Groups and Types.

The Statistical Techniques

The main statistical technique utilised for typological investigation was correspondence analysis (hereafter CA).[15] CA is a multivariate method[16] that, unlike the more familiar principle components analysis, can be used on nominal data (Shennan 1997, 308).[17] The purpose was to identify inter-dependence between variables. In the case of cruciform brooches a question such a technique might answer would be whether or not certain foot styles were generally associated with specific head-plate or lappet styles. The technique also produces measures of relatedness, which can be its major importance to a quantified typological analysis. The key advantage of CA is that it is a technique for revealing structure or the lack of it (Høilund Nielsen and Jensen 1997, 37). It generates relative measures of similarity on two or more axes of variation, which the typologist can then interpret according to their aims. Other statistical techniques (such as recursive partitioning or hierarchical cluster analysis, see below) presuppose a structure and then force the data to fit it, and hence can occasionally be misleading.

CA is most commonly used for chronological seriation (Baxter 2003, 137-8), and has become especially widespread among those working on Migration Period chronology (Hines 1999a; Høilund Nielsen 1995; Jørgensen 1992). However, if the first two

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[15] The statistical techniques employed were all executed with SPSS 16.0.

[16] Multivariate statistics are capable of interrogating more than two variables. In the present case Figure 2.1 shows the six variables ('attributes') that are examined in this typology.

[17] Because the categories of each variable have been subjectively judged according to how similar they are, there is neither a scale nor a hierarchy of difference between them. Hence, they are 'nominal'.

dimensions of variation calculated from CA are plotted against one another, they can also be used as a cluster analysis. Unlike more conventional cluster analyses, CA does not begin by grouping cases that are most alike, or even least alike, but graphically represents the distance between them, and therefore reveals the structure in a format that is not predefined. This makes it more useful to interpretation (Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997, 37). CA can generate a graphical plot that compares almost literally to the analogy of a class of brooches given above whereby an agglomeration of prototypical examples are surrounded by a varied cloud of related objects.

A secondary technique was also implemented: hierarchical cluster analysis (hereafter HCA). This was only used on Groups 1 and 4 which showed particularly tight clustering on the CA plots. Though using the same nominal data as CA, HCA works on a different principle. HCA provides measures of distance that depend on the states of a number of variables in each case (Shennan 1997, 217). HCA, however, is a hierarchical agglomerative method and therefore works in steps. In the first step, the most similar cases are grouped together. The analysis then creates groups of these groups all the way up to the last cluster that unites all the cases in one group at a very low level of similarity (Shennan 1997, 217). The results can be represented on a dendrogram. The analogy with the hierarchical typology that is presented here is clear. Figure 2.2 (above) would be an ideal hypothetical result of such an analysis. The drawback of HCA, as mentioned above, is that it forces a predefined grouping on objects, and therefore can present a deceptively ordered picture of even the most disparate material.

It is important to state that these techniques have not been used to create groupings in the first instance. As outlined above they were implemented in a lengthy process of feedback and restructuring of the data. The general success of these methods should be expected given that the variables were defined to maximise differentiation between intuitively perceived classes of brooches. While the attributes were analysed objectively, their initial definition was subjective. Consequently the utility of these computer-aided methods is not to replace the human typologist, but to further explore intuitive observations. As mentioned above, previous typologies have not given explicit and quantified accounts of the attributes of cruciform brooches. These methods cater for this additional and crucial dimension.

The Primary Division between Groups

Classifying a corpus as large as 1614 items is a complex task, especially with items as diverse as the cruciform brooch. Because much of the classification was based on the combination of elements it was necessary to only work in the first instance with complete examples, which here number 607. The total number of attributes for this quantity of brooches was too large to work with, so an initial division had to be made into a smaller number of basic classes. This primary stage of division will be known as the 'Group' level.

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Figure 2.3: The four Groups: (a) Group 1, St John's 9; (b) Group 2, Holywell Row G48 (4); (c) Group 3, Londesborough G9 (2); (d) Group 4, Norton G30. Scale 1/2.

The most obvious division on both stylistic and formal grounds was between simpler cruciform brooches and the florid examples.[18] The florid brooches are consistently larger and more highly decorated with a diversity of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ornament. These brooches formed Group 4. Group 1 was formed by brooches at the other end of the spectrum: the smallest, narrowest, and simplest examples. Group 3 was defined by brooches that lay closest to the very large and flat florid brooches. These are characterised by a foot that expands laterally (and generally has a crescentic or spatulate terminus). The same trend toward lateral expansion is seen with the frequent presence of lappets, top-knob finials, and trapezoid head-plate wings. The last Group to be defined

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[18] See note 2.

was closer to the simplest forms, but lies somewhere between this and Group 3. Group 2 brooches have broader feet than Group 1, and a wider head-plate. This elementary division provided the following Group definitions (Table 2.1 and Figure 2.3):

1. Small and narrow brooches, unexpanded head-plate.
2. Broader foot, expanded head-plate.
3. Expanded foot with expanding terminus, often with lappets and top-knob finials
4. Large and flat with complex and detailed ornamentation

	Top-knob	Head-plate	Bow	Catch-plate	Foot
Group 1	Plain, full-round, occasionally half-round	Narrow, occasional narrow wings	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow and plain
Group 2	Plain, half-round, occasionally full-round	Broad, rectangular wings, sometimes trapezoid	Broad	Broad	Broad
Group 3	Plain, half-round, sometimes with a finial	Broad, trapezoid wings, sometimes rectangular	Broad, sometimes decorated	Broad, often with lappets	Broader, generally with a terminus
Group 4	Decorated, broad and flat	Very broad, sometimes decorated	Broad, sometimes decorated	Broad, with lappets, and sometimes decorated	Broader, with terminus, highly decorated

Table 2.1: The basic attributes of Groups 1-4.

While cruciform brooches have traditionally been divided into five major classes (e.g. Åberg's groups I-V, Mortimer's groups A, B, C, D and Z), a decision was made to reduce this to four. Hence, Åberg's groups III and IV, Leeds' groups IVa and IVb, and Mortimer's groups C and D have been merged in the present Group 3. The justification for this was that these former groups share identical foot forms, as well as basic proportions. They are therefore clearly part of the same stylistic development, and their chronological development is not straightforward. The four Groups divide the English corpus into two halves: Groups 1 and 2 that, though distinct, have continental parallels, and Groups 3 and 4 that are strictly insular inventions. This primary division reveals the broadest trend of the cruciform brooch stylistic development: a tendency to enlarge, flatten, and more highly decorate the item. All cruciform brooches can be placed at a

relative position along this continuum, and it is this general trend that forms the basis for dividing the material.

Group 1 Cruciform Brooches

Group 1 represents the simplest and generally smallest brooches. Many of these brooches are closer to Roman fibulae forms with their narrower, pin-like construction. Group 1 can be divided into two Sub-Groups. The basis for this distinction can be seen most plainly in the general aspects of their construction. Group 1.1 top-knobs are small and irregular in shape. Those of Sub-Group 1.2 are rounded and sharply defined. A slightly less marked difference can be seen between head-plates which are generally narrower and lacking distinct wings in Sub-Group 1.1. Bows are more likely to be long and narrow in Sub-Group 1.1, as are catch-plates. In general, Sub-Group 1.1 is smaller and narrower than Sub-Group 1.2.

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Figure 2.4: Group 1 Types: (a) Type 1.1.1, Dorchester G2; (b) Type 1.1.2, St John's 10; (c) Type 1.2.1, Middle Rasen 1; (d) Type 1.2.2, Sleaford G66. Scale 1/1.

Being very basic, there is little variation between most Group 1 foot forms, and their differentiation here is more one of scale and proportion than specific iconography. It is possible to define four Types (Figure 2.4): a geometric faceted form (Type 1.1.1), a

zoomorphic foot that narrows at its terminal with joined nostrils (Type 1.1.2), another that broadens at the joined nostrils (Type 1.2.1), and a generally larger form with nostrils that tend toward a separated and lentoid shape (Type 1.2.2). A decision tree for classifying Group 1 cruciform brooch is summarised in Table 2.2.

Group 1	**Sub-Group 1.1** Narrow form, irregular top-knob	**Type 1.1.1** Geometric foot
		Type 1.1.2 Very narrow zoomorphic foot
	Sub-Group 1.2 Broader form, regular top-knob	**Type 1.2.1** Narrow foot, joined nostrils
		Type 1.2.2 Broader foot, lentoid nostrils

Table 2.2: Group 1 decision tree.

Type 1.1.1 (Plate I)

Type 1.1.1 is distinct from the rest of the cruciform brooch series due to their lack of a zoomorphic terminal. For this reason they are only borderline cruciform brooches, but are necessarily included to indicate a likely stylistic heritage. The faceted and linear decorated foot recalls those of Roman crossbow brooches and supporting-arm brooches (*Stützarmfibeln*). Type 1.1.1 brooches possess small irregular top-knobs. The one exception is **Little Dunham 1** which has a polyhedral top-knob, a feature more common in Sub-Group 1.2. Nonetheless its faceted foot means that it can belong nowhere else. This brooch perhaps indicates the link between early cruciform brooches and the small-long cruciform brooch hybrid (excluded from this study).[19] All top-knobs are fully round in section and cast with the rest of the brooch. Side-knobs are separately cast, and on the single example where they survive (**Cleatham G9**), they are fully-round in section, which is true for all of Group 1. Head-plates lack wings with the exception of **North Kelsey 1** which has very narrow ones. **Dorchester G2** stands out among these brooches by being especially small and narrow, the head-plate in particular even narrows between the top-knob and bow. This undoubtedly early feature is also known from two further Sub-Group 1.1 fragments: **Preston St Mary II 1** and **Spong Hill C2197**. These three brooches may well be the earliest insular examples of cruciform brooches. Like most cruciform

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[19] This type of brooch is, however, included by Reichstein in his *typ Foldvik-Empingham*, *typ Barrington*, *typ Ådland*, and to a lesser extent *typ Lima*.

brooches, Type 1.1.1 has a distribution focused in the eastern half of the country (Plate CCLX), though they are not found north of Lincolnshire. They are spread fairly evenly, and this is also true for those that are found unusually far west.

Type 1.1.2 (Plates II-III)

Type 1.1.2 is primarily defined by their small narrow zoomorphic foot with nostrils that often narrow to a width smaller than at the eyes. All the top-knobs are cast with the brooch and are of an irregular domed shape, fully round in section. Side-knobs were cast separately, though none survive. Head-plates generally lack wings with the exception of **Unprovenanced 12** and **Horham 2** that have very narrow ones. Bows and catch-plates are generally long and thin.

The fragmentary examples demonstrate the true variation among the foot forms of Type 1.1.2, although one very tight group can be seen between **Miningsby 1, Horham 2, Tuddenham St Martin V 1, St John's 9, Falkenham 2** and **Thorndon 2**. They are linked by very narrow feet, bows that broaden quite dramatically at their apex, and sharply trapezoid catch-plates. There are some minor differences between these brooches but they indicate the first set of cruciform brooches whose manufacture may be related. Type 1.1.2 has a similar distribution to Type 1.1.1 (see Plate CCLXI), though they are perhaps a little more concentrated in East Anglia.

Type 1.2.1 (Plate V)

This Type lies somewhere between Type 1.1.2 and Type 1.2.2, being small, but with a more regular top-knob and slightly broader overall form. It is defined by a zoomorphic foot with joined nostrils that broaden to about the same width as the eyes. They all have very narrow head-plate wings, narrow bows with a slight bulge at the apex, and domed top-knobs, cast with the rest of the brooch and more sharply defined than those in Sub-Group 1.1. All side-knobs were cast separately, though none survive. Again, Type 1.2.1 brooches are concentrated in the eastern parts of the country (Plate CCLXII), but are more concentrated in East Anglia and Lincolnshire than those preceding Types.

Type 1.2.2 (Plates VI-X)

Type 1.2.2 is characterised by zoomorphic feet with nostrils of lentoid shape. The nostrils tend toward separation, but are sometimes joined together at their very tip. Top-knobs are generally fully-rounded and in addition polyhedral top-knobs are occasionally present (seen on seven examples). All side-knobs were separately cast. Head-plate wing size varies significantly. In some cases the wings expand to about the same size as on Group 2 brooches, and it is these brooches that provide continuity between Groups 1 and 2. There is also some major variation in size with **Spong Hill C1469, Braiseworth 2, Bawburgh 1, Eye I 2** and **Claxby 1** all being considerably smaller than the rest of this type. Despite their small size, they follow the same design principles. Once again, this Type is concentrated in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, but have a wider dispersal north of the Humber, and also relatively far west (Plate CCLXIII).

One very closely related set of brooches of this Type include **Coddenham VII 1; Little Waldringfield 1; Baston II 4** and to a lesser extent **East Shefford 1** and **Cavenham 1**. They are characterised by a polyhedral top-knob, small head-plate wings, and a relatively large size. The former three brooches also possess scoring on the nostrils and around the eyes. The three fragments **Cley next the Sea 2, Headbourne Worthy 2** and **Thorndon 3** are also very similar to this small set of brooches. These brooches have some parallels with a number of Scandinavian brooches, and their production may be related.

A Statistical Exploration of Group 1

Group 1 displays a considerable amount of variation in terms of relative proportions, absolute size, and the execution of attributes such as feet. This is perhaps not surprising. Being the smallest Group (158 examples of which 102 were complete enough to be assigned to a Type) one might expect their classification to be more problematic. An in-depth comparison with continental cruciform brooches would probably provide more tightly defined Types, as will future discoveries. Nevertheless, this is not the case for the similarly scarce Group 4 brooches (196 examples) which show remarkably consistent design. Therefore, an underlying structural difference exists between Group 1 and Group 4 that must be accounted for in terms of the motivation behind the structure of their

design, and its technical execution. Group 1 elements and their general proportions vary significantly. However, because the designs are so simple, Group 1 styles (in terms of their general style of iconography) are remarkably consistent. In other words, while the *idea* of the Group 1 brooch was extremely consistent, its execution was not.

It has been suggested that while later cruciform brooches were probably produced from two-piece moulds (that were most likely made from models to produce at least an approximate layout) these earliest brooches were cast using the lost wax method (Mortimer 1999, 85). The lost wax method involves carving a new wax model *de novo* each time, which is entirely destroyed during the mould-creating process. Understandably, this process would create brooches that were less consistent, as the wax models would have to be copied entirely by eye, and perhaps even from memory. Much of this variation, and the initial development of the cruciform brooch, can probably be explained by this different casting method. However, at the same time, there does not seem to have been the same drive toward iconographic or significant stylistic consistency among Group 1 brooches.

Group 1 brooches display much variation in their proportions and size. Type 1.1.1 is narrower and smaller while Type 1.2.2 is larger and broader. Yet, there is a brooch to fill every intermediary shape, and this presents a problem in any classificatory system. This is best seen in the dimensions of the bow and catch-plate. The variation within and between the Sub-Groups can be tested using measurements of these elements.

Dimension ratios were calculated by dividing bow and catch-plate length by their width. This gives a relative scale of the attribute's broadness. When plotted against one another (Figure 2.5) it is clear that there is no strong relationship between catch-plate and bow shapes: a narrow catch-plate does not necessarily predict a narrow bow. However, there is some relationship between attribute shape and Sub-Group, and also to some extent, Type. Sub-Group 1.1 brooches show considerably more variation but tend toward more slender shapes, while Sub-Group 1.2 occupies a much tighter range being generally broader. This analysis also shows that while Sub-Group 1.1 varies most in catch-plate ratio, Sub-Group 1.2 displays more variation in bow ratio. The one major outlier is **Dorchester G2**, which clearly falls far beyond the range of any other brooch. If the developmental tendency of Group 1 was to become broader, this is a good re-affirmation of **Dorchester G2**'s status as the earliest Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch (see Chapter 3).
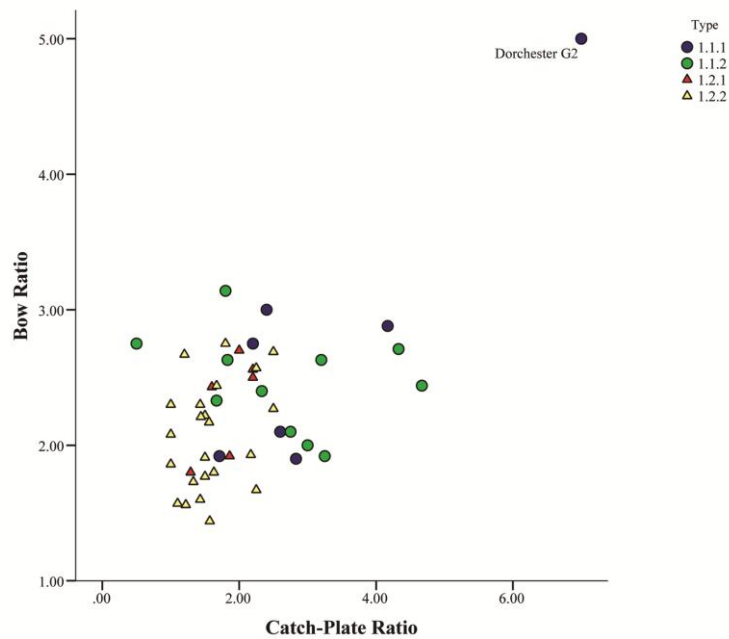
Figure 2.5: Group 1 catch-plate ratios plotted against bow ratios.

When shape and absolute size are compared, there is a similar relationship. Plotting length of bow or catch-plate against the shape of that attribute produces a similarly mixed picture (Figures 2.6 and 2.7). Generally, as length of attribute increases it becomes thinner, though this is less convincing for bows than it is for catch-plates, and also more true for Sub-Group 1.1 than 1.2. **Pakenham 1, Coddenham VII 1, Little Waldringfield 1** and **West Stow SFB 1** are outliers for possessing particularly long bows, while **Dorchester G2** has a particularly thin bow. With catch-plates there is also a similar relationship to Sub-Group. Sub-Group 1.1 brooches are more mixed, but overall are longer and thinner than Sub-Group 1.2 brooches, which possess a more restricted range of shorter and broader catch-plates. Again, **Dorchester G2** has an exceptionally long and thin catch-plate, as does its closest parallel **Nassington G17**. **Glentham 2** is a major outlier of the Sub-Group 1.1 due to its very short catch-plate. However, the collar of the foot is exceptionally long,[20] making the actual dimensions about the same as other Sub-Group 1.1 members. In summary, there are broad trends in bow and catch-plate size and shape that are aligned with the Sub-Groups if not the Types.

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[20] This seems to be a feature more common to continental brooches (Reichstein's *typ Hoogebeintum*, or to a lesser extent the Swedish *typ Götene*).
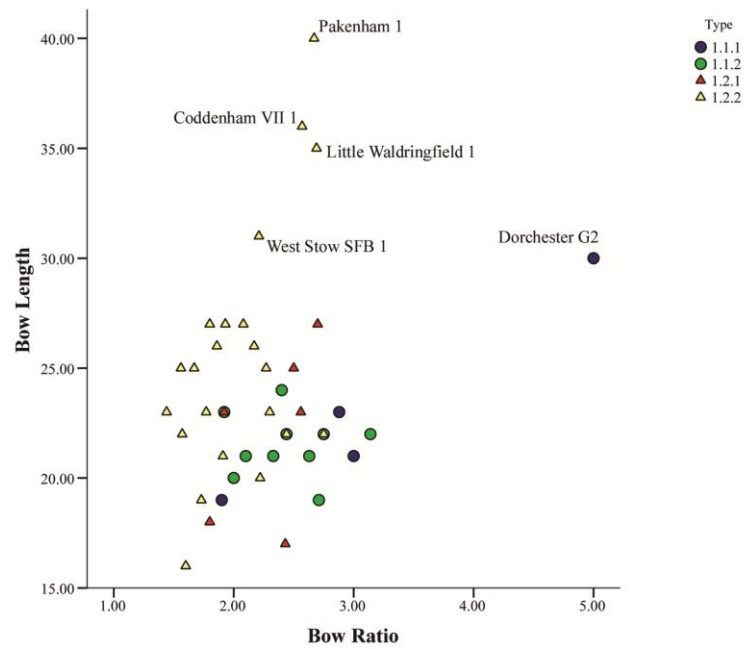
Figure 2.6: Group 1 bow ratios plotted against bow length (mm).
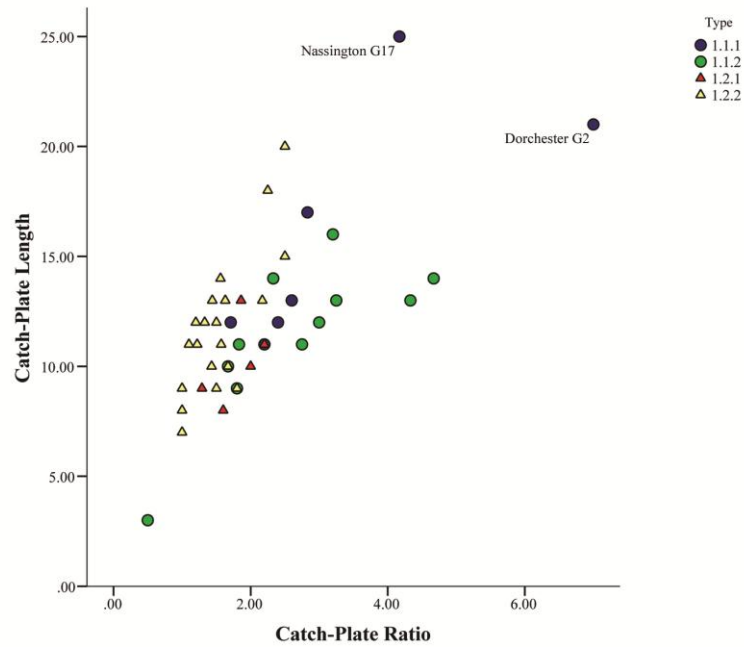
Figure 2.7: Group 1 catch-plate ratios plotted against catch-plate lengths (mm).

While general proportions are well-aligned with the two Sub-Groups, it is also true that a particular size and shape is not exclusively associated with a foot style. Foot style was used as the primary organising principle. Therefore, it is necessary to draw some comparisons between all the attributes of Group 1 brooches to see how consistent the

Types are in terms of their overall composition. In order to examine compositional variation the attributes of these brooches were classified as illustrated in Figure 2.8. These data were subjected to a correspondence analysis.

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Figure 2.8: Group 1 attributes (a) Top-knobs; (b) Head-plates; (c) Bows; (d) Catch-plates; (e) Feet. Scale 1/1.

A plot of the first two axes of variation from the CA can be seen on Plate CCCV. Once again, there is a more significant clustering of the Sub-Groups than there is of Types. Type 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 are mixed and plotted towards the positive (right) end of axis 1, though Sub-Group 1.1 as a whole is well defined. Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 are well-separated and both are plotted toward the negative (left) end of axis 1, though there is some internal variation. The main division between Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 is accounted for by axis 2, with Type 1.2.1 being plotted towards the negative (bottom) end of the axis, while Type 1.2.2 are plotted towards the positive (top) end. There is one outlier of Type 1.1.1 (**Little Dunham 1**) and this is due to its relatively broad bow together with its polyhedral top-knob. These two features associate it with Type 1.2.2, though its spatulate foot form justifies its presence in Type 1.1.1. **Claxby 1** is slightly more removed from the rest of Type 1.2.2 due to its very thin bow and catch-plate. Nonetheless, its well-defined top-knob and specific foot form places it safely within Type 1.2.2.

To examine exactly how these brooches vary according to their attributes the discrimination measures of the CA can be consulted (Figure 2.9). The attributes that are

most often associated and therefore are preferentially controlling the clustering of the correspondence analysis are (a) head-plate and foot and (b) catch-plate and bow. Top-knob style accounts for the most variation on axis 1, and is therefore important to the horizontal separation of Sub-Groups 1.1 and 1.2 on the CA plot (unsurprising given that it was a diagnostic feature used to separate the Sub-Groups in the first instance). Similarly, the vertical separation of Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 is largely accounted for by head-plate and foot form.
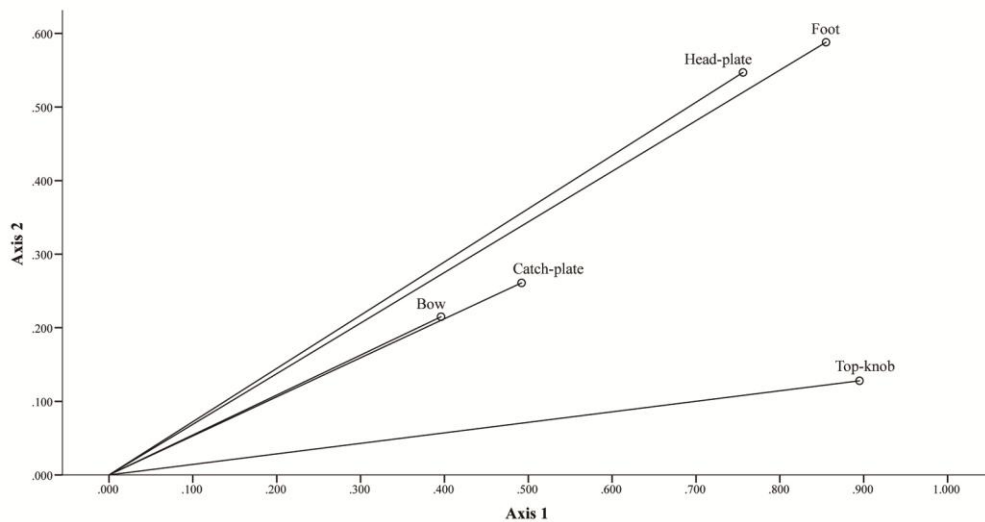
Figure 2.9: Discrimination measures for the correspondence analysis of Group 1 attributes.

Correspondence analysis has demonstrated a general correlation between associated attributes and Sub-Groups and, to a slightly lesser extent, Types. Due to the relatively discrete clusters and small number of cases, it is possible to look at these similarities in more detail with HCA. The utility of this technique is to show the clusters of brooches that would form if the foot was not prioritised.

The dendrogram (Figure 2.10) reinforces the good separation seen between Sub-Groups 1.1 and 1.2 which are separated at the first cluster level. The single exception is **Little Dunham 1**, which once again stands out from Sub-Group 1.1. The individual Types, however, separate less well. Types 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 are very mixed and this emphasises their stylistic proximity: they share attributes almost indiscriminately and are only justifiably classified by their dramatically different foot forms. Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 are slightly better defined, with the majority of Type 1.2.1 separated from Type 1.2.2 at the second cluster. However, **Burston 1**, **Coddenham VII 1**, **Little Waldringfield**, and

Baston II 4 are mixed with some Type 1.2.1 brooches, and are only separated at the fifth cluster. These examples also interpose between the Types on the CA plot. It is interesting that the latter three form a tight group of related brooches within Type 1.2.2 (see above). Their separation from the rest of the Type might be explained by their resemblance to a number of Norwegian brooches (Reichstein's *typ Lunde*) and especially an example from Krejberg, Vibord in Jutland (Reichstein 1975, *tafel* 72, no.8). The reason this small set of brooches are slightly removed from the rest of Type 1.2.2 could be because they represent an interface between Scandinavian and insular styles.
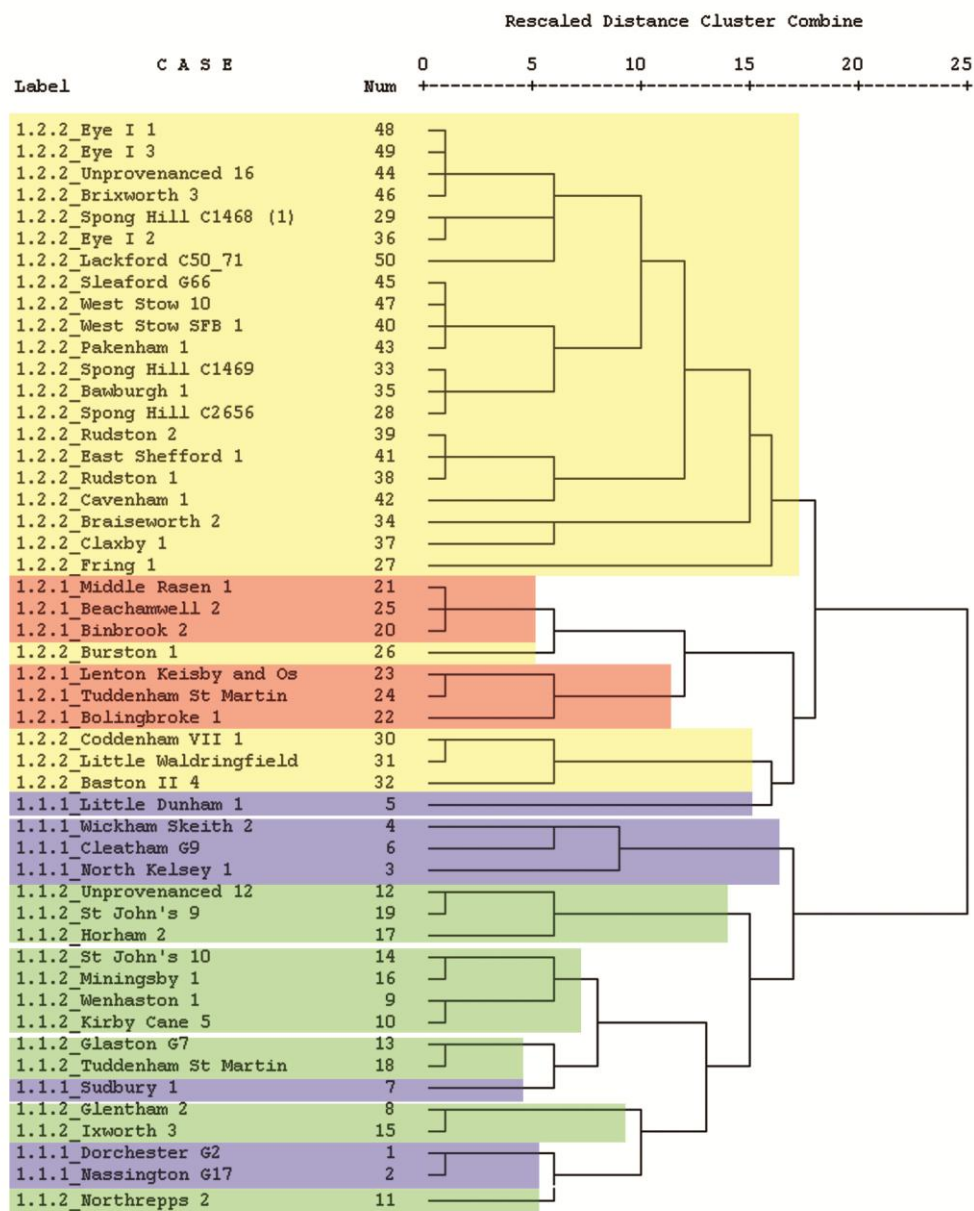
Figure 2.10: Hierarchical cluster analysis of Group 1 attributes.

In summary, these statistical techniques help to qualify and quantify the intuitive classification as well as illustrate the relatedness of the brooches and the difficulties classification can pose. The key contribution of these quantitative methods is that they do not prioritise any attribute, thereby revealing the underlying structure rather than glossing over it in a purely descriptive typology. However, both the CA and HCA have demonstrated that in the majority of cases the foot styles chosen to represent Types tend to attract certain attributes over others. Most convincingly the differences between Sub-Groups 1.1 and 1.2, as well as between Types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 have been demonstrated. The differences between Type 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 are based almost entirely on the foot.

Group 2 Cruciform Brooches

Two Sub-Groups have been defined for Group 2. Sub-Group 2.1 is typologically closest to Group 1, and its members sometimes exhibit similar attributes, such as top-knob forms (which are occasionally polyhedral and fully round). Sub-Group 2.2 is made up of miniaturised versions of Sub-Group 2.1 brooches. They are smaller (approximately the same size range as Group 1 brooches), but generally have side-knobs cast with the rest of the brooch. In addition they occasionally have double pin-axis lugs. None have top-knobs cast separately from the body, and knob design is the normal dome shape with no variation. These factors suggest that they are typologically more distant from Group 1 than Sub-Group 2.1, even though they are more similar in terms of their size. The foot forms of Sub-Group 2.2, however, imitate quite closely the styles of Sub-Group 2.1.

Eight foot forms were designated to define eight Types. Only the most prototypical examples will be illustrated in the following discussion, and it should be noted that the majority of these forms are very fluid, and some blend into one another almost seamlessly (Type 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 especially), the full range of shapes and sizes can be seen in the accompanying catalogue of plates. Therefore, in a small number of cases, brooches with foot styles somewhere between the typical forms have been placed in a Type according to other attributes, most often general form and size. A decision tree for classifying Group 2 brooches is illustrated in Table 2.3.

Group 2	Sub-Group 2.1 Larger with separately cast side-knobs.	**Type 2.1.1** Joined/separate nostrils, no brow
		Type 2.1.2 Joined/separate nostrils, brow
		Type 2.1.3 Joined/separate nostrils, projecting eyes, no moulded brow
		Type 2.1.4 Comma-shaped nostrils, brow or no brow.
	Sub-Group 2.2 Smaller, side-knobs generally cast with rest of brooch.	**Type 2.2.1** Joined/separate nostrils, no brow.
		Type 2.2.2 Joined/separate nostrils, brow
		Type 2.2.3 Comma-shaped nostrils, brow or no brow.
		Type 2.2.4 Separate and circular nostrils

Table 2.3: Decision tree for Group 2 brooches.

Type 2.1.1 (Plates XIII-XIX)

Type 2.1.1 (Figure 2.11a) is defined by a foot that is broader (and larger) than any seen in Group 1. Specifically, the nostrils form a much clearer heart-shape than the lentoid nostrils of Type 1.2.2. In contrast to Mortimer's (1990) typology, this general shape has been deemed more important than whether the nostrils necessarily join (though most do). The main reason for this decision is that abrasion on brooches often disguises whether this might be the case, as well as the presence of over-riding morphological similarities that seem more obvious than this relatively minor factor. There are several attributes present in Type 2.1.1 that betray a very close relationship with Group 1 brooches. A small number have fully-rounded top-knobs, and a few also have the polyhedral top-knob which is not seen throughout the remaining cruciform brooch series. In general, top-knobs are domed and half-round, and side-knobs are generally separate. Type 2.1.1 has an unremarkable distribution (Plate CCLXIV), being found largely in East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and the eastern midlands.

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*Figure 2.11: (a) Type 2.1.1, Cleatham G36; (b) Type 2.1.2, Holywell Row G48 (4).
Scale 1/1*

Cleatham G36, **Spong Hill G26** and **Girton G7 (1)** represent a very close set of brooches within this Type. They are all of the same proportions and possess polyhedral head-plate knobs. **St John's 7, St John's 8**, **Haslingfield 6**, and **Broughton Lodge 1** are also very closely related forms, having strikingly similar foot designs, broad bows, and a large size. A last set of close parallels include **St John's G8**, **Sewerby G12 (3)** and **Nassington G13 (1)** which are all unusual for their sharply cast knobs, and square head-plates. Two of these brooches also have ring-and-dot decoration, which is very rare in Group 2, non-existent in Group 1, but more common in Group 3.

Type 2.1.2 (Plates XX-XXVIII)

These brooches (Figure 2.11b) are generally large and possess feet the same as Type 2.1.1, but with the addition of a moulded brow. This represents the first step toward anthropomorphism among cruciform brooches. The eyes on many examples have a particularly angular or triangular appearance, and there is frequently a narrowing of the foot between the eyes and the brow. Side-knobs were generally cast separately. Group 1-related features are less common in this Type: polyhedral head-plate knobs do not occur, though the head-plate wings are sometimes very narrow. Type 2.1.2 brooches are more numerous, but have a similar distribution to Type 2.1.1 (Plate CCLXV), being found largely in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the eastern midlands, with a small number of outliers.

There are a high number of closely related brooches within this Type. One set is linked by their identical forms, but especially their unusually triangular-shaped head-plate knobs. Another set is linked by their separately cast and tabbed top-knobs, as well as very similar proportions. A final set of parallels are linked by their unusually trapezoid head-plate wings and foot attachment loops.

Type 2.1.3 (Plates XXIX-XXXIII)

This Type (Figure 2.12a) possesses very similar foot forms to those just discussed, but is distinguished by eyes that project stalk-like upwards and outwards. They generally lack moulded brows, which are instead sometimes marked by incised criss-crossed linear decoration. They possess similar additional attributes to Type 2.1.2 including separately cast and tabbed top-knobs, attachment loops, and occasionally trapezoid head-plate wings. This foot form is not remarkably different from that of Type 2.1.1. However, the dramatically projecting eyes strongly identify Type 2.1.3 with some Swedish forms.[21] Of special note is one particularly close set of parallels: six brooches of identical construction that have cast side-knobs, knobs with small flat extensions, narrow head-plate wings and a very broad but plain foot. Type 2.1.3 brooches have a relatively dispersed distribution (CCLXVI) that spreads quite far westward, and is as concentrated in the midlands as it is in East Anglia and Lincolnshire.

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[21] Reichstein's *typ Götene* especially.

Figure 2.12: (a) Type 2.1.3, Little Wilbraham G143; (b) Type 2.1.4, Sancton 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 2.1.4 (Plates XXXIV-XXXVII)

Type 2.1.4 (Figure 2.12b) is defined by small comma-shaped nostrils, distinct from, though related to, the broader and more circular nostrils seen in Group 3. These brooches are of the same proportions as the rest of Sub-Group 2.1, but there is a definite tendency toward trapezoid head-plate wings. One very close set of related brooches within this Type are clearly distinguished by their broad moulded brow divided at its centre, though most other examples lack brows altogether. Nearly all these brooches have separately cast side-knobs. The divided brow and tendency toward trapezoid head-plate wings, as well as spiral-shaped nostrils, places these brooches in a close relation to Group 3. Type

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2.1.4 represents the first of a few Types to have a particularly northern distribution (Plate CCLXVII). Though they are also found in East Anglia, Type 2.1.4 is concentrated in Lincolnshire as well as above the Humber estuary.

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Figure 2.13: (a) Type 2.2.1, Owersby 1; (b) Type 2.2.2, Trumpington 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 2.2.1 (Plate XXXIX)

This small group (Figure 2.13a) represents smaller versions (in some cases diminutive) versions of 2.1.1 brooches. All have cast side-knobs but otherwise vary in their proportions and precise foot style. Of particular interest is **Owersby 1** (Figure 2.13a), evidently a very accurate smaller version of the close set of parallels observed above in Type 2.1.1. Type 2.2.1 has a relatively normal distribution in East Anglia and Lincolnshire with a small number of outliers in the midlands (Plate CCLXVIII).

Type 2.2.2 (Plates XL-XLIV)

Type 2.2.2 brooches (Figure 2.13b) are miniature versions of Type 2.1.2. At the core of this Type is a remarkably consistent set of parallels that are all linked by a very standard foot design, brows, a narrowing between the eyes and brow, and joined nostrils. They also all have the relatively rare feature of notches on the inner edges of the head-plate wings. Attachment loops are also occasionally seen, providing another parallel with a set of brooches in Type 2.1.2 (**Haslingfield 7**, **Thelnetham 1**). Again, almost all of these brooches have side-knobs cast with the body. Type 2.2.2 brooches have almost exactly the same distribution (Plate CCLXIX) as Type 2.2.1: concentrated in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, with a thin dispersal across the midlands.

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Figure 2.14: (a) Type 2.2.3, Barrington 3; (b) Type 2.2.4, Rothwell 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 2.2.3 (Plates XLV-XLIX)

Type 2.2.3 brooches (Figure 2.14a) are miniaturised versions of Type 2.1.4. Though some are quite consistent with these larger versions, there is much more variation in the foot design, with some broadening to about the same proportion as some Group 3 brooches, though they lack the foot termini and lappets. Such brooches should be regarded as relatively peripheral to this Type. Once again, the distribution of Type 2.2.3

(Plate CCLXX) matches that of Type 2.2.1 and 2.2.2: covering East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and the eastern midlands.

Type 2.2.4 (Plate L)

This small set of brooches (Figure 2.14b) constitute a relatively heterogeneous group that are not clearly miniaturised versions of any Type, but are linked by their diminutive size and feet with clearly separated and largely circular nostrils. They certainly fall into Sub-Group 2.2, but have little else in common. Despite the heterogeneous nature of this Type, they have a remarkably tight distribution (Plate CCLXXI) and are almost only found in southern East Anglia, with a single outlier to the far north in East Yorkshire.

A Statistical Exploration of the Group 2 Cruciform Brooches

The differences between most Group 2 Types are subtle. They do not display the more obvious variation in proportions, head-plate form nor even foot style seen in Group 1 (with the exception of the spiral and circular nostrils seen in Type 2.1.4, 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). Neither do they possess the decorative complexity of brooches in Groups 3 or 4. Therefore the main purpose of the statistical analysis is to reveal some of the subtle structuring within this Group, and to emphasise the frequent lack of consistency in the selection of attributes. The trends that exist are very subtle ones, but are nonetheless significant. Despite these difficulties, this large number of brooches requires division by some means.

An examination of bow and catch-plate proportions demonstrates mixed relationships between the Sub-Groups. Figure 2.15 shows bow ratio (length divided by width) plotted against catch-plate ratio.[22] For both Sub-Groups there is a positive relationship between bow and catch-plate ratios: generally a broader bow predicts a broader catch-plate, or vice versa. Though the relationship is somewhat mixed it seems that Sub-Group 2.2 shows a tendency toward more slender forms, and especially in the case of bows.

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[22] Concordance with Types showed no obvious patterning, so brooches are labelled here only by Sub-Group.
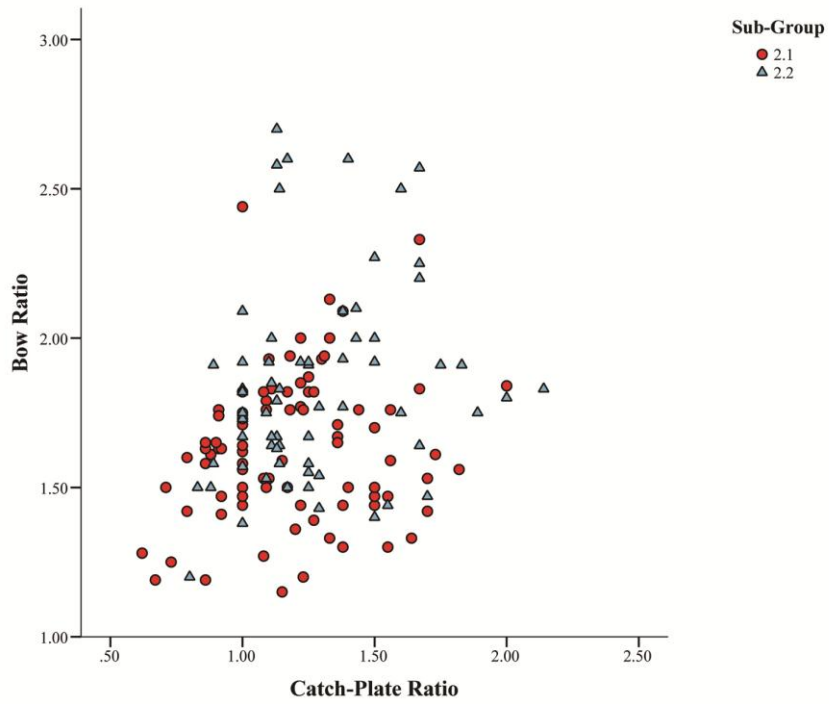
Figure 2.15: Group 2 catch-plate ratio (length divided by width) plotted against bow ratio.
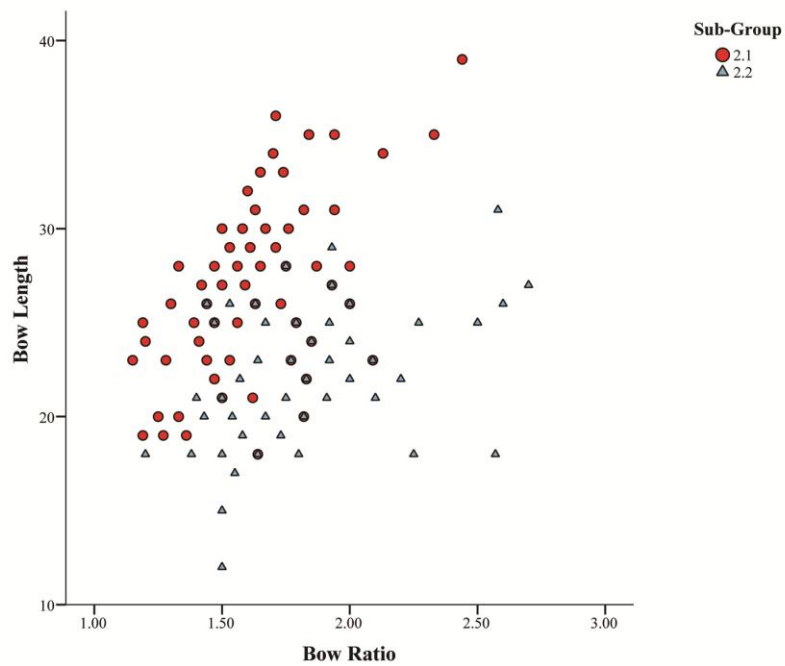
Figure 2.16: Group 2 bow ratio (length/width) plotted against bow length (mm).
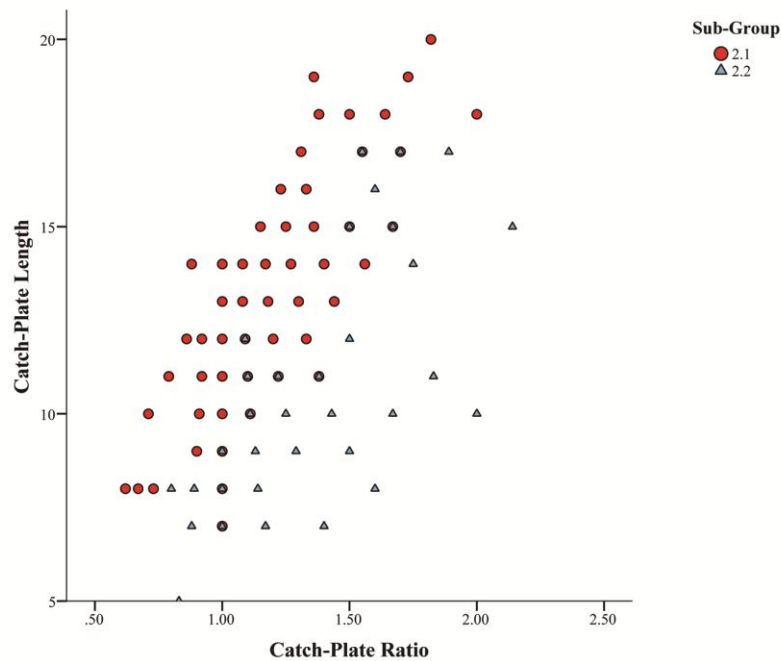
Figure 2.17: Group 2 catch-plate ratio (length/width) plotted against catch-plate length (mm).

When absolute scale is considered the relationship becomes very clear. This is not surprising given that the Sub-Groups were primarily defined by size, but a more subtle relationship between Sub-Type and the relative proportions of bows and catch-plates is also evident. Sub-Group 2.1 has longer catch-plates and especially bows (Figures 2.16 and 2.17), but they are also generally wider than their counterparts of the equivalent length in Sub-Group 2.2.

The attributes of Group 2 brooches were classified (Figure 2.18) and subjected to CA. Top-knobs and feet were classified according to their various styles (e.g. standard, polyhedral, conical and tabbed), as were feet. Head-plates were defined by the shape of their wings: rectangular, notched or trapezoid. Bows and catch-plates, however, were defined according to their relative dimensions (length/width).[23]

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[23] For bows the four categories were defined by the following ratios of length/width: (1) <1.25; (2) 1.25-1.49; (3) 1.50-1.74; (4) > 1.74. Catch-plates were defined by the following ranges: (1) <1.00; (2) 1.00-1.24; (3) 1.25-1.49; (4) >1.49. These ranges were decided by plotting frequencies of each value and observing where the greatest natural breaks lay between these proportions.

Figure 2.18: Group 2 attributes.

Plate CCCVI shows the plot of the first two dimensions of the Group 2 CA. Sub-Group 2.2 is largely limited towards the negative (left) end of axis 1. Sub-Group 2.1 is spread almost indiscriminately across both axes, but tends slightly toward the positive (right) end of axis 1. Types show better, if still mixed, clustering and separation. Type 2.1.1 is very loosely distributed around point zero on both axes, suggesting it possesses an average range of features with little discrimination at all, though it does tend toward the negative (left) end of axis 1, and the positive (top) of axis 2. Type 2.1.2 is more isolated than most

at the positive (right) end of axis 1, and the negative (bottom) end of axis 2. Due to their stylistic similarities, it is not surprising that Type 2.1.3 clusters nearby, being removed from Type 2.1.2 only by axis 2, being at its positive (top) end. Type 2.1.4 is predictably the furthest removed from the other Sub-Group 2.1 brooches, and we might also note its unusually northern distribution in this context. Not only is its foot style the most divergent, but its heavy use of trapezoid head-plate wings is the likely factor pulling it away from the other Sub-Group 2.1 Types.

Sub-Group 2.2 Types are more tightly clustered. Types 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 are very closely related and cluster towards the negative (bottom left) ends of both axes. Types 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 occupy the same spaces as Types 2.1.1 and 2.1.4 toward the negative (left) end of axis 1, and the positive (top) end of axis 2, perhaps due to their generally mixed characteristics and more frequent use of trapezoid head-plate wings. **Mildenhall 1** (Type 2.2.3) is only major outlier and is found in an otherwise discrete cluster of Type 2.1.2 brooches. This is due to its relatively broad bow and catch-plate for a Sub-Group 2.2 brooch. Nonetheless, its foot form is identified with the other, admittedly heterogeneous, foot forms of Type 2.2.3. There are numerous other less extreme outliers that are too numerous to describe individually.

CA demonstrates the overlapping and mixed nature of Group 2 attributes, though some structure is perceivable. One observation is that despite their generic appearance, Type 2.1.2 and their miniature counterparts 2.2.2 (and 2.2.1), regardless of size, are relatively distinct Types that are more consistently designed than most of the other members of Group 2. Type 2.1.1 is the most mixed, and it perhaps inherits this ill-defined structure from its close relationship with Group 1 brooches. Types 2.1.4, 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 are all closely related but separated somewhat from the rest of the Group. This is not necessarily surprising as they lie in relatively close relation to Group 3 forms (e.g. their frequent trapezoid head-plate wings and spiralled or separated circular nostrils), and two of these Types (2.1.4 and 2.2.4) also have distinctive distributions: one in the north, and the other in southern East Anglian.

Figure 2.19 shows the discrimination measures of the CA, which help to explain the mixed nature of the above clustering. As can be seen, no single attribute is clearly associated with another; each appears to occur relatively independently. Most variation

seems to be accounted for by the foot form, which justifies the use of this attribute as the primary identifier of Types.
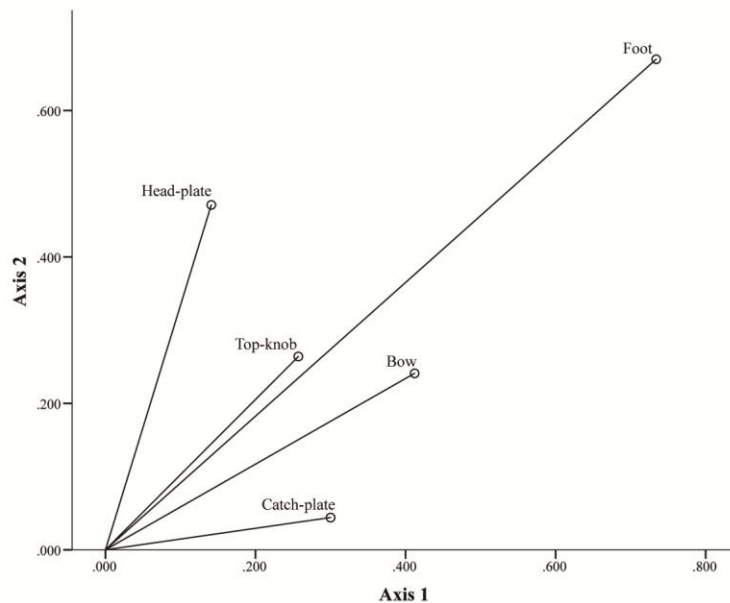
Figure 2.19: Discrimination measures of the Group 2 CA.

At a much finer level of analysis, Group 2 possesses more almost identical sets of brooches than Group 1. This implies a significant difference only explicable by the desire and ability to copy designs more efficiently. This may indicate a different technical process behind their manufacture, perhaps using piece-moulds and models rather than the lost wax process. Alternatively, or in addition, it may also imply more stable workshops producing runs of very similar brooches, and perhaps heightened communication and copying between jewellery makers. Such workshops may also explain the regionalised distributions seen for two of these Types. However, despite the presence of a high number of nearly identical sets of brooches, the CA demonstrates an overall mixed picture. Although the execution of attributes among Sub-Group 2.2 forms was more variable (e.g. these brooches expressed many different versions of the spiralled or separate and circular nostrils), the structure of these miniature brooches in fact seems more consistent than it is for their larger counterparts, as they are generally more tightly clustered. Even Sub-Group 2.1, however, shows some clustering (excepting perhaps Type 2.1.1). The significant overlap between Types shows that though foot forms were attracting other frequently associated attributes, those attributes were also often shared with other forms.

	Sub-Group 3.0 Simple Group 2 foot styles with foot termini or lappets	Type 3.0.1 Crescentic foot terminals
		Type 3.0.2 Lappets
	Sub-Group 3.1 Medium size with foot termini but no lappets	Type 3.1.1 Feet: spiral/circular nostrils
		Type 3.1.2 Feet: human mask, spiralled moustache
	Sub-Group 3.2 Medium size with lappets, and almost always with foot termini, sometimes with top- knob finials	Type 3.2.1 Feet: spiral/circular nostrils
		Type 3.2.2 Feet: human mask, spiralled moustache
		Type 3.2.3 Feet: as in Type 3.2.1 but with Style I nostrils
		Type 3.2.4 Feet: small or no terminal, comma nostrils
		Type 3.2.5 Feet: nose 'sheathed'
		Type 3.2.6 Feet: lateral expansion at eyes, occasional Style I nostrils
		Type 3.2.7 Feet: tiny circular nostrils, like a second pair of eyes
Group 3		Type 3.2.8 Feet: broad human mask, spiralled moustaches
		Type 3.2.9 Feet: very broad, 'kidney'- shaped nostrils
		Type 3.2.10 Feet: Significant lateral expansion at eyes, very large spiralled nostrils
	Sub-Group 3.3 Large, feet with a central ridge, frequently with top- knob finials	Type 3.3.1 Feet: spiralled/circular nostrils
		Type 3.3.2 Feet: nose 'sheathed'
	Sub-Group 3.4 Miniaturised versions of Sub- Group 3.1 and 3.2 brooches	Type 3.4.1 No lappets. Feet: spiralled/circular nostrils
		Type 3.4.2 Feet: spiralled/circular nostrils
		Type 3.4.3 Feet: 'sheathed' nose
		Type 3.4.4 Feet: various. Knobs: crescents, no domes.
	Sub-Group 3.5 Head-plate knobs formed by crescentic plates	Type 3.5.1 Miscellaneous assortment of with Sub-Group 3.5 knobs

Table 2.4: Group 3 decision tree.

Group 3 Cruciform Brooches

Group 3 constitutes the largest class of cruciform brooch, and also the most diverse. Though many Types have been defined within this Group, most are represented by relatively small numbers of brooches with related, but distinct, foot forms. A high number of Sub-Groups have also been defined, which reflects the highly variable shapes and sizes of Group 3 brooches, as well as the presence and absence of some attributes. The Sub-Groups are defined by a lack of lappets in Sub-Group 3.1. Sub-Group 3.2 represents the majority of Group 3 brooches and are average in size, with lappets and foot termini. Sub-Group 3.3 are larger and are also marked out by a central ridge down the centre of their feet, decorated bows, and frequent top-knob finials. Sub-Group 3.4 represents the miniaturisation of 3.1 and 3.2 forms. Also included in Group 3 are a small number of transitional forms that exist between Groups 2 and 3 (Sub-Group 3.0) and Groups 3 and 4 (Sub-Group 3.5).

Sub-Group 3.0

Sub-Group 3.0 is represented by a very small number of brooches that are essentially Group 2 brooches with either foot termini (Type 3.0.1) or lappets (Type 3.0.2). They do not possess the foot forms seen on other Group 3 brooches. Therefore, these are true hybrid or transitional forms that lie somewhere between Groups 2 and 3.

Type 3.0.1 (Plate LII)

These few brooches and fragments are the equivalent of Type 2.1.2 brooches with a foot terminus (Figure 2.20a). Two of them, **Barrington 1** and **Welbeck Hill G64 (1)**, are identical, while the fragments represent a heterogeneous mix. Type 3.0.1 brooches are distributed almost exclusively in East Anglia, and are not found in the north at all (Plate CCLXXII).

Type 3.0.2 (Plates LIII-LV)

These brooches have Sub-Group 2.1 feet and lappets (Figure 2.20b). They appear to have been under a heterogeneous mix of influences. Most have feet consistent with Type 2.1.2. **Waddington 1** and **Collingham** 2 have feet more akin to Type 2.1.3, while **Bottesford 1** has a unique foot that is closest to Type 2.1.4. **St John's 12** and **Little Wilbraham G40 (1)** are Sub-Group 3.4 brooches with Type 2.2.1 feet. The stylistic influences on this set of brooches are diverse and as such Type 3.0.2 does not represent a homogeneous set of brooches at all. The distribution of Type 3.0.2 (Plate CCLXXIII) shows two distinct clusters in Lincolnshire and south Cambridgeshire.

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Figure 2.20: (a) Type 3.0.1, Barrington 1; (b) Type 3.0.2, Girton G39 (2). Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 3.1

To most intents and purposes, Sub-Group 3.1 brooches are the same as Sub-Group 3.2. The only demonstrable difference is their lack of lappets. Whether or not this merits their separation from Sub-Group 3.2 is questionable, but this decision was taken for the ease of classification and description. There are only two forms, which are the direct equivalents of Types 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 (see below). Why it is only these two forms (as well as Type 3.4.1) of Group 3 that did not have lappets is an interesting question. It is highly likely that sooner or later some of the rarer Sub-Group 3.2 Types will be unearthed that lack lappets, but for the time being this poses an intriguing problem. It has previously been proposed (Åberg 1926) that these brooches are stylistically intermediately between Groups 2 and 3. Yet, as has been demonstrated, this position is better occupied by Sub-Group 3.0. That there is a chronological element to this is also unlikely: in all other respects these brooches are identical to Sub-Group 3.2 forms. In addition, the presence of the anthropomorphic Type 3.1.2 (anthropomorphism seems to be a development of a number of Group 3 forms), and the presence of Style I nostrils on an example of Type 3.1.1 makes any chronological argument dubious.

Type 3.1.1 (Plates LVII-LXXV)

Type 3.1.1 brooches (Figure 2.21a) are numerous and are characterised by a zoomorphic foot with a spatulate terminal, identical to that seen in Type 3.2.1 (see below). The head-plate wings are almost all broad and trapezoid. Members of this Type may be divided in three ways: the shape of the terminus as crescentic, or as a flat chisel shape. The shape of the top-knob finial (if present) also varies between a sweeping crescent and a Style I human mask. The nostril shape differs between the most common spiral and a simple circle shape. There is one fragmentary example (**Ixworth 5**) that has two helmed profiles/bird profiles for nostrils as in Type 3.2.3. These differing details demonstrate the multiple and complex stylistic influences that seem to act on most of Group 3. Type 3.1.1 has a wide distribution (Plate CCLXXIV) across East Anglia and Lincolnshire to the north, as well as westward across the midlands.

Figure 2.21: (a) Type 3.1.1, Saxby 1; (b) Type 3.2.1, Ixworth 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.1.2 (Plate LXXVI)

These two brooches barely constitute a Type due to their scarcity, but are classified as such for the sake of completeness. The Type is also justified by the dramatic divergence of the foot style away from Type 3.1.1: it has a clearly anthropomorphic face with curled moustaches (Figure 2.21b), identical to that seen on Type 3.2.2. These brooches are distributed (Plate CCLXXV) very close together in Suffolk. Because these two brooches are also identical, this strongly suggests they were the products of a single workshop.

Sub-Group 3.2

This Sub-Group is the most highly populated in terms of individual examples as well as Types. Each has been defined by an individual foot style, of which there are a high number (ten). Previous typologies have not taken these diverse foot forms into account, relying instead on lappet forms (Mortimer 1990) or the presence/absence of top-knob finials (Leeds and Pocock 1971). Because most of this typology is based on foot forms, it was felt that this principle should be maintained even when the cruciform brooch becomes equipped with additional decorative and classifiable attributes. Lappet forms are also shared between Groups 3 and 4, whereas foot forms show less compatibility. In addition, although some lappets styles show some geographical variation, this is more clearly expressed by foot forms, some of which have quite obvious regional distributions.

The final Types in this Sub-Group (3.2.8, 3.2.9 and 3.2.10) are evidenced by a very small numbers of examples, and as such presented a dilemma whether to merge them with their closest parallels in another Type, or define them as Types by their own merit. There can be no doubt that they follow the same design principles as other Sub-Group 3.2 brooches (trapezoid head-plate, lappets, laterally expanded feet, and their average size) yet they have foot forms that are remarkably different from anything else. In addition, the foot forms of these Types are known from a small number of absolutely identical examples. This is rare even within a Type as numerous as 3.2.1. Their stylistic divergence and extremely consistent design (as well as their very limited distribution) suggest they might represent the outputs of single craftspeople or workshops. Their small number and unique appearance self-evidently defines them as typological dead-ends.

Type 3.2.1 (Plates LXXVII-CXI)

These 81 brooches and single fragment represent the most common Type in the series. Like Type 3.1.1, the nostrils can take the form of spirals (Figure 2.22a) or circles. A third nostril form is best described as a 'trilobe': the nostrils and terminus all expand from one central point. Top-knobs vary between lacking a finial altogether, possessing a small crescentic one, or one formed by a Style I human mask. The foot terminus can vary between a sweeping crescent and a rectangular plate, including all intermediary forms. There are a number of lappet designs including plain plates, spirals, helmed profiles, and

biting beasts. These forms (shared between all Sub-Group 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 as well as Group 4 brooches) will be the subject of detailed discussion in Chapter 8, but they are used indiscriminately in Type 3.2.1. Although there are a number of nearly identical sets, comparison between brooches is more clearly seen in the copying of individual elements (feet, lappets or top-knob finials) than entire brooches. As might be expected from such a large and stylistically varied class, the distribution of Type 3.2.1 shows little regionalisation within the general area of cruciform brooch use. These brooches are found from the far north to southern East Anglia, and across into the eastern midlands. Type 3.2.1 demonstrates the general distribution of most cruciform brooches.

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Figure 2.22: (a) Type 3.2.1, Londesborough G9 (2); (b) Type 3.2.2, Brixworth 2. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.2.2 (CXIV-CXXII)

This Type (Figure 2.22b) has the same anthropomorphic foot design as Type 3.1.2, and they also share the same variety of termini and lappet designs, though strangely none have top-knob finials. Three of these brooches, however, have a tabbed top-knob, which is not seen anywhere else in Group 3, being far more common in Sub-Group 2.2. Not all examples have foot termini. This, together with the presence of tabbed head-plate knobs may well place this Type in proximity to Group 2, yet their anthropomorphism draws them closer to Group 4. Lappet design shows a clear tendency toward the biting-beast motif, though other types of lappet are also present. Among the Type 3.2.2 brooches are a small number of very large examples which have a lot in common with Sub-Group 3.4. The distribution of Type 3.2.2 (CCLXXVII) shows a relative preference for the north.

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Figure 2.23: (a) Type 3.2.3, Carlton Scroop 1; (b) Type 3.2.4, Hornsea G1. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.2.3 (Plates CXXIV-CXXVIII)

These brooches (Figure 2.23a) are typologically very close to Type 3.2.1, the only difference being that instead of the spiral and circular nostrils, they have helmed profiles, most of which mirror their lappet design. Some of these brooches (**St John's 11, Dean and Shelton 1**) certainly approach the more florid forms of Group 4. Like Type 3.2.1 these brooches do not have a distinctive distribution, but are spread across East Anglia, Lincolnshire, the north, and the midlands (Plate CCLXXVIII).

Type 3.2.4 (Plates CXXIX-CXXXII)

These brooches (Figure 2.23b) are remarkably consistent in their design and clustering of attributes. The core prototypical examples include seven virtually identical brooches (**Barrington 6, Castledyke South G115, Londesborough G10, Barrington A 2, Little Wilbraham G144, Soham III G7,** and **Near the Nunnery 2**). They have relatively small spiralled nostrils, as well as only small crescentic foot termini. All side-knobs are separately cast, and only one top-knob has an anthropomorphic design (of a very rare kind). Lappets are mostly dual helmed profiles, though the more common single helmed profile is also present. Their lack of foot termini and top-knob finials, as well as their small and tightly curled nostrils, suggests this Type is relatively close to Group 2 brooches, especially Type 2.1.4. These brooches seem to be concentrated around the south Cambridgeshire region (Plate CCLXXIX), and those found in this area are especially consistently designed. However, there is another smaller cluster of this Type quite far removed in East Yorkshire.

Type 3.2.5 (Plates CXXXIII-CXXXVII)

The foot design of Type 3.2.5 has a unique form whereby the nose appears to be sheathed within a second element, supposedly composing the equivalent of nostrils (Figure 2.24a). The nostrils themselves can be either d-shape or circular, or in one unique case (**Morning Thorpe G131**) rectangular. Lappets are consistent, and almost unique to this Type for

showing no division for the central catch-plate. The detail of the lappets, however, varies between plain rectangular plates and spirals, with just two examples of helmed-profile lappets. Also notable among these brooches is a high frequency of bosses on bows. Type 3.2.5 brooches are found almost exclusively in East Anglia and south Cambridgeshire, and are especially concentrated in the area around the Lark Valley (Plate XXLXXX). There are, however, a small number of outliers in south Lincolnshire.

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Figure 2.24: (a) Type 3.2.5, St John's 2; (b) Type 3.2.6, Louth 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.2.6 (Plates CXXXVIII-CXLI)

This Type (Figure 2.24b) is defined by a foot form that shows a clear lateral expansion at the eyes, formed by the extension of d-shape nostrils all the way up to the brow. Foot termini are all sweeping crescents. Of particular note is the presence of Style I nostrils, as well as florid top-knobs, such as on **Ruskington 4, West Heslerton G29** and **Fonaby G43 (2)**. Type 3.2.6 therefore lies in close relationship with Group 4 brooches. Lappet designs show variation, but the majority are helmed profiles. The distribution of Type 3.2.6 is particularly striking, being found only in Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire (Plate CCLXXXI).

Type 3.2.7 (Plates CXLII-CXLIII)

This Type (Figure 2.25a) is defined by a foot form that appears to have, instead of nostrils, a second pair of eyes. The foot termini tends toward a crescentic shape, while lappet forms are generally plain being undecorated or spirals, with a single helmed profile. Like most of these distinctive Sub-Group 3.2 forms, Type 3.2.7 also has a distinctive distribution pattern (Plate CCLXXXII) in East Anglia, perhaps even being concentrated in the east, rather than around the Lark Valley like most East Anglian forms.

Type 3.2.8 (Plate CXLIV)

Type 3.2.8 (Figure 2.25b) only has three complete members, which are all identical and quite different from almost any other cruciform brooch. The head-plate knobs are cast, and all have large crescentic finials. The bow has a unique shape that narrows slightly at the apex and expands outward at both the top and bottom. The lappets are also of a unique form. These three brooches were all found in very close proximity in south Cambridgeshire (Plate CCLXXXIII) and hence probably represent the output of a single workshop.

Figure 2.25: (a) Type 3.2.7, Snape G10 (2); (b) Type 3.2.8, Little Wilbraham 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.2.9 (Plate CXLV)

This small number of brooches has been singled out as a Type for the same reason as 3.2.8: they are very unique. They are large and robust with a very unusual foot form of an origin that is difficult to locate (Figure 2.26a). The central vertical field on the foot perhaps demonstrates a relationship with Type 3.2.2, though the nostril form of this Type is more kidney-shaped than spiralled. Predictably, this unique form of cruciform brooch has a very limited distribution (Plate CCLXXXIV) and is concentrated around the Humber estuary with a single outlier to the south.

Type 3.2.10 (Plate CXLVI)

Again, it is the foot form of these brooches that make them unique, which is unusual for having an elongated collar and eyes that extend quite far laterally. They also have very large spiral nostrils (Figure 2.26b). The expansion at the eyes relates them to Type 3.2.6, though in every other respect they are quite different. Given the unique appearance of these two fragments, it would be expected that they would have been found close together. Their distribution (Plate CCLXXXV) suggests that they probably represent another northern Type (none have been found as far south as East Anglia), but we must await more finds to say this with any certainty.

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Figure 2.26: (a) Type 3.2.9, Flixborough 1; (b) Type 3.2.10, Norton G63, Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 3.3

Sub-Group 3.3 brooches are characterised by their large size. However, they are also related by specific stylistic tendencies, such as foot forms that have a central ridge running down the nose to the foot termini, a relatively high frequency of bow bosses, and a frequent presence of top-knob finials. Their large and flattened design also relates them to the general form of Group 4 brooches.

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Figure 2.27: Type 3.3.1, Holywell Row G16. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.3.1 (Plates CLV-CLXVII)

Type 3.3.1 (Figure 2.27) has a foot form that relates directly to that of Type 3.1.1 and 3.2.1. Anthropomorphic top-knob finials are common and there are also a high number of bow bosses. Lappets are generally large as well as intricate and show a helmed profile. All nostrils are spiral-shaped aside from one circular example. Foot termini tend towards very large rectangular forms, though crescentic examples are also present. There are also nine examples of notched head-plate wings, which, though not uncommon in Group 3, were also encountered in Type 2.2.2. Ring-and-dot motifs (some of which certainly contained enamel) and other very rare geometrical decorations (such as quatrefoils and S-shapes) are also common to this Type. Like Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1, Type 3.3.1 has an even distribution (Plate CCLXXXVI) across most of the cruciform brooch-using regions, though it is not found north of the Humber.

Type 3.3.2 (Plates CLXVIII-CLXXII)

Type 3.3.2 (Figure 2.28) is closely related to Type 3.2.5 by its 'sheathed' foot. The lack of a division between the catch-plate and lappets is also common to these two Types. Bow bosses are even more common in this Type, as are very large spatulate top-knob finials. Foot termini range from small stubs to large chisel-shape plates. These additional characteristics also associate it very closely with Type 3.2.5. The distribution of Type 3.3.2 (Plate CCLXXXVII) is also very similar to that of Type 3.2.5 showing a definite concentration in East Anglia and westward across the south-east midlands. These two Types are therefore very closely related, perhaps even showing development from the smaller version (Type 3.2.5) to the larger one (Type 3.3.2) with an increasingly westward spread.

Figure 2.28: Type 3.3.2, Harper's Brook 1. Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 3.4

Sub-Group 3.4 are miniature versions of other Group 3 forms. Therefore, they provide an analogue for Sub-Group 2.2 brooches (which were miniaturised Sub-Group 2.1 brooches). However, the relationship does not appear to be quite that simple. Even the Type 3.4.2 brooches with identical, if smaller, foot forms to Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 seem to have the bow bosses and the undivided lappet forms more common to Types 3.2.5 and 3.3.2. As a result, they would seem to be miniature hybrids of these four Types, rather

than direct copies of their larger counterparts. Like Sub-Group 2.2, side-knobs cast with the rest of the brooch are more common among these brooches, as are dual pin-axis lugs.

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Figure 2.29: (a) Type 3.4.1, Little Wilbraham G95 (1); (b) Type 3.4.2, Little Wilbraham G173-4 (2). Scale 1/1.

Type 3.4.1 (Plates CLXXV-CLXXVI)

Type 3.4.1 (Figure 2.29a) is represented by eight brooches and five fragments. They are miniaturised versions of Type 3.1.1, some of which are very small indeed, and also share the same range of spiralled and circular nostrils. Their distribution (Plate CCLXXXVIII) is also similar to that of Type 3.1.1: a broad spread through East Anglia and Lincolnshire, though they are not found north of the Humber.

Type 3.4.2 (Plates CLXXVII-CLXXIX)

The foot form of Type 3.4.2 (Figure 2.29b) is a smaller version of that seen on Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1. Lappets tend toward plainer designs, and the undivided lappet/catch-plate form common to Types 3.2.5 and 3.3.2 is present on three of these examples. Similarly, bow bosses and large spatulate top-knob finials are not uncommon. Like Type 3.4.1, these brooches do not have a distinctive distribution (Plate CCLXXXIX) but are found throughout East Anglia and Lincolnshire, with a couple of examples from East Yorkshire.

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Figure 2.30: (a) Type 3.4.3, West Stow 1; (b) Type 3.4.4, Woodston Barrow 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 3.4.3 (Plate CLXXX)

These brooches (Figure 2.30a) are miniature versions of Type 3.2.5 or Type 3.3.2, and possess the same 'sheathed' foot design. They are all very consistent in their composition. All have spiral lappets, and uncommonly for Group 3 brooches, they all have rectangular head-plate wings. Like the other two Types that it resembles, the

distribution of Type 3.4.3 is highly restricted to the East Anglia/south Cambridgeshire region (Plate CCXC). It can therefore be said, with a high degree of confidence, that this specific foot design (the 'sheathed' foot) was a localised design unique to this region.

Type 3.4.4 (Plates CLXXXI-CLXXXIII)

These brooches are unusual in Group 3 for having head-plate knobs formed by crescentic plates, without the classic dome-shape (Figure 2.30b). Therefore they are miniature versions of Sub-Group 3.5 brooches (below) and lie somewhere between Group 3 and 4. The distribution of Type 3.4.4 (CCXCI) also shows a distinct preference for East Anglia and south Lincolnshire, so perhaps this style was a similarly localised phenomenon.

Sub-Group 3.5 (Plates CLXXXVI-CLXXXIX)

These brooches have little in relation to each other except that they all lie somewhere between Group 3 and Group 4 brooches. None have properly florid head-plate knobs, yet they also lack the classic cruciform dome-shaped knob. Lappet forms tend toward plain and spiral examples. The Style I panels on **West Heslerton G177** and **Ufford 1** certainly place them in close relation to Group 4 brooches. These very unusual brooches include the only known iron cruciform brooch (Figure 2.31a, **Hoxne 1**) as well as a lead example (**Ford 3**). These brooches are therefore unique in terms of their style as well the material from which they were made. They perhaps indicate another typological dead end. The distribution of this heterogeneous Sub-Group is predictably dispersed (Plate CCXCII), and are spread through East Anglia, Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire

Group 3 Related Brooches (Plates CXC-CXCII)

These brooches (Figure 2.31b) are all very unique and some are barely classifiable as cruciform brooches. Their unusual appearance comes from a frequent lack of domed head-plate knobs, as well as foot forms that are only remotely related to the rest of the series. These brooches have been included largely as a demonstration of the fluidity of cruciform brooch forms, and again represent forms that never became popular.

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Figure 2.31: (a) Sub-Group 3.5, Hoxne 1; (b) Group 3 related, Little Wilbraham G111. Scale 1/1.

A Statistical Exploration of Group 3

The high number of Group 3 brooches, together with their stylistic variety, means that their attributes have more possible permutations. The tendency of the cruciform brooch producers to pick and choose styles of attribute and combine them in unique

configurations is therefore particularly prevalent in this complex set of brooches. Nonetheless, some attributes show clustering tendencies probably loosely related to chronology and region, as well as what was deemed an appropriate combination.

The relative proportions of bows and catch-plates differ little between Types or Sub-Groups, although the absolute length of these attributes still separates the larger Sub-Group 3.3 and the smaller Sub-Group 3.4 examples. Therefore it is not necessary to pursue an analysis of these elements as was done for Groups 1 and 2. As an alternative, Group 3 bows have been classified by their decoration and catch-plates by their adjoining lappets. Figure 2.32 shows the classification of attributes that was used for the CA.

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Figure 2.32: The attributes of Group 3 brooches. Scale 1/2.

Because Group 3 is so much larger and varied than the other Groups, a statistical analysis of all members simultaneously was not successful. Figure 2.33 shows the result of such a correspondence analysis. Most examples, regardless of Type, are mixed in a tight cluster with the exception Sub-Group 3.3. The major division is along axis 1, with Sub-Group 3.3 being plotted towards its negative (left) end, and all other Sub-Groups plotted either around the origin (centre), or toward the positive (right) end of axis 1. This demonstrates

that Types 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 share very few attributes with the other Group 3 types. Decorated head-plates and bosses on bows are almost unique to this Sub-Group,[24] so it is probably these attributes and their linkage that are controlling this separation.
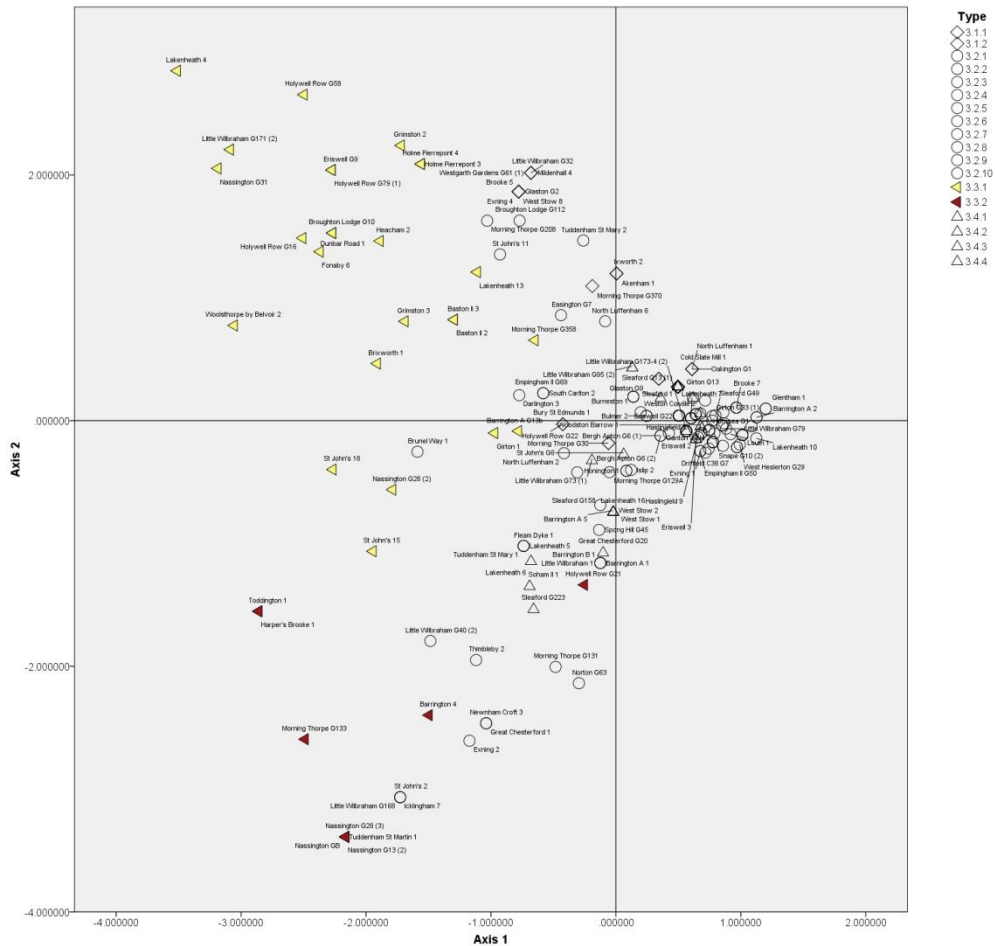
Figure 2.33: Correspondence analysis plot of all Group 3 members.

Because Types 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 are so divergent, a further CA was conducted with these brooches excluded. The result, shown in Plate CCCVII, was dramatically different and helps to elucidate the variation within the very tight cluster seen in the previous analysis (Figure 2.33). The most striking thing about this second analysis is its three-armed appearance. Around the origin there is a very loose cluster consisting mainly of the

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[24] Because Types 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 are not only separated from the majority of other brooches, but are also not tightly clustered, it should be noted that in addition to possessing a divergent set of attributes, they also vary on a different scale of similarity to the other brooches. While the majority of Group 3 brooches cluster together due to an association of knobs, catch-plates/lappets and feet (see the discrimination measure in Figure 3.37, below) Types 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 are associated by their head-plates and bows.

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highly populated Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1. It is not surprising to also find within this general cluster their miniature counterparts Types 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. It may be significant that Type 3.1.1 examples are plotted further toward the negative (bottom) end of axis 2, their difference being more marked by their complete lack of lappets. Also clustered on the periphery of this general grouping is Type 3.2.3 which is found toward the positive ends (top right) of both axes. This might be expected as they differ from these other Types by their incorporation of Style I nostrils. The loose clustering of these closely related Types around the origin (centre) shows that they possess very little consistency in their attributes. This is especially the case for Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1. They can all therefore be considered as fairly generic Group 3 Types. None have particularly restricted regional restrictions, and this reinforces such an argument.

Type 3.2.5 represents the most separated cluster, being the closest to the negative end (left) end of axis 1, and it also displayed a high degree of regional restriction in its distribution. Brooches of this Type are most closely associated with Types 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 (both of which are also concentrated in the East Anglian region), suggesting that they all differ from the rest of the Group 3 brooches in a similar manner. The attributes likely to be causing this separation are lappets that are continuous with the catch-plate, and crescentic top-knob finials, which are particularly prevalent in these Types and rare in others. It is also worth noting that these Types all tend toward the region of the plot previously occupied by Sub-Group 3.3 in the previous analysis, and therefore a link may also be implied between Types 3.2.4, 3.4.2, 3.4.3 and Sub-Group 3.3.

The positive ends (top right) of both axes also display clustering. Types 3.2.2, 3.2.4, and 3.2.6 are all relatively closely affiliated, and radiate out from the origin on slightly different axes. Of these, Type 3.2.2 is the most removed toward the positive (top right) ends of both axes. This segregation is also substantiated on more subjective grounds. Unlike all other brooches (excepting the two Type 3.1.2 examples and the three Type 3.2.8 examples) its foot is the most obviously anthropomorphic. Both Types 3.2.2 and 3.2.6 also showed a northern regional preference, and Type 3.2.4 was concentrated in south Cambridgeshire.

Types 3.2.2 and 3.2.4 are also more typologically distant from the more generic Type 3.2.1 brooches through an element that was not even included in the CA: their frequent lack of a foot terminus, which relates both more closely to Group 2 brooches. Sub-Group

3.3 (as well as, to a lesser extent, Type 3.2.5) is more closely related to Group 4 through their bosses on bows and Style I top-knob finials.

Finally, the discrimination measures of the CA can be consulted to help elucidate what the major attribute associations were that structured the variation. As can be seen in Figure 2.34, top-knob, catch-plate and foot styles show far more association than bow and head-plate styles which seem to differ independently and control more variation on axis 1 and 2 respectively.
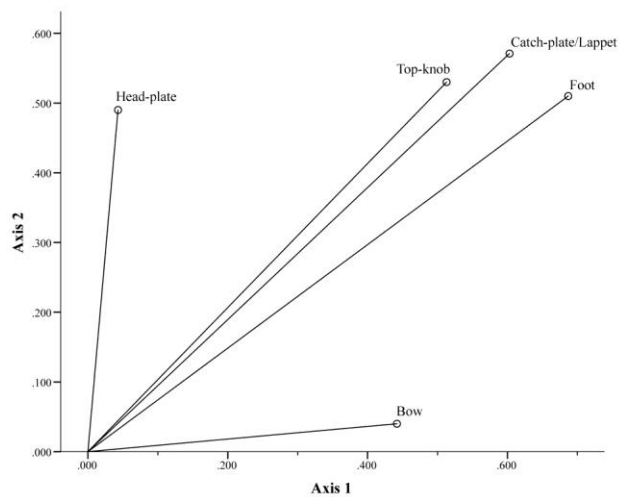
Figure 2.34: Discrimination measures of the Group 3 correspondence analysis.

In sum, these statistical analyses have demonstrated that the most numerous of Group 3 Types (Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1, as well as their miniature versions 3.4.1 and 3.4.2) show little consistency in the configuration of their attributes, and are united only by their common foot style. However, the other major Types (3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.2.4, 3.2.5 and 3.2.6) all display a convincing clustering of attributes. These are also the Types that show little regionalisation in their distributions. In addition, typological removal from Group 2 and association with Group 4 on the CA plot (Plate CCCVII) appears to run from right to left.

The mixing of diverse attributes among the more generic Types is reminiscent of the structuring of Group 2. Although Group 3 provides less identical sets of brooches than Group 2, there are some Types that show far more consistency in their general design. As can be seen from their distribution plots, many of these Types were also regionally restricted. Not only does this imply the growth of localised styles and tastes, but it

suggests the presence of either single workshops/craftspeople with high outputs of very similar brooches, or groups of closely related workshops/craftspeople who shared designs, perhaps even exchanging models or moulds. One also has to account for the desire for a localised style in the first place, and why craftspeople should have been motivated to create one. This will be explored further in Chapter 4, but hinges upon the idea of localised identities nested within a broader 'Anglian' one.

Group 4 Brooches

Group 4 cruciform brooches are quite different from the rest of the series in terms of their complex iconography and larger size. As we shall see, the attributes of these brooches were also structured far more consistently, which not only makes them easier to classify (only one complete example is unclassifiable - **Sleaford G50**), but also allows for more specific Types to be defined dependent on a number of mutually occurring attributes. The consistent structuring of Group 4 brooches means that there is more difference between Types (because they share fewer attributes). This is represented in the typology by the creation of a high number of Sub-Groups containing only small numbers of Types. A decision tree for classifying Group 4 brooches can be seen in Table 2.5.

Sub-Group 4.1

This Sub-Group has a basic lappet form of an upward facing helmed profile. The foot shows some continuity with Group 3 brooches, especially Type 3.2.3, and is formed by the traditional anthropomorphic or zoomorphic foot, though in Sub-Group 4.1 it terminates in a human mask or helmed profiles. The head-plate knobs are all of the human mask/bird profile variety which is similar to, but more elaborate than, the finials seen on some Group 3 top-knobs. Their close typological relationship to Group 3 is also seen in the mixed nature of their attribute combinations, which is more consistent than most Group 3 Types, but more mixed than the rest of the Group 4 series.

Group 4	Sub-Group 4.1 Simple form showing continuity with Group 3. Simple human mask/bird profile knobs, upward-facing helmed profile lappets. Feet are Group 3 styles terminating in helmed profiles or human mask	**Type 4.1.1** Feet: terminate in helmed profiles; knobs have a simple form with no crescentic finials
		Type 4.1.2 Feet: terminate in human mask, knobs larger with crescentic finials
		Type 4.1.3 Feet: helmed human mask, terminating in crouching beasts. Executed in especially rounded relief
	Sub-Group 4.2 Simple form. Group 3 related foot terminates in square field flanked by helmed profiles. Knobs formed by opposed helmed profiles	**Type 4.2** (See left)
	Sub-Group 4.3 Knobs grown together to form square head-plate, crouching beast lappets, feet formed by human masks with tightly curled moustaches	**Type 4.3.1** Feet: human mask with curled locks, empty oval field
		Type 4.3.2 Feet: terminate in large triangular field flanked by helmed profiles
	Sub-Group 4.4 Knobs and lappets formed by biting-beast motif. Foot is a human mask flanked by biting-beasts	**Type 4.4** (see left)
	Sub-Group 4.5 Knobs formed by human mask with bird-profile head-dress, lappets are elaborate helmed profiles, feet are helmed human mask with wide circular eyes terminating in square field and crescentic plate	**Type 4.5** (see left)
	Sub-Group 4.6 Lappets, knobs and feet feature human mask with an up-curled brow. Head-plate is square with no wings	**Type 4.6.1** Small with square knobs, rectangular foot with small projections formed by human mask terminating in helmed profiles
		Type 4.6.2 Large knobs, complex helmed-profile lappets, foot is a small human mask terminating in very large triangular field
	Sub-Group 4.7 Very large flat form, highly decorated, foot is a large human mask terminating in a large triangular field flanked by helmed profiles	**Type 4.7.1** Very large head-plate knobs, framed on inner edge by striated thin rectangular field
		Type 4.7.2 Head-plate directly copied from great square-headed brooch series

Table 2.5: Group 4 decision tree.

Figure 2.35: Type 4.1.1, Little Wilbraham G95 (2). Scale 1/1.

Type 4.1.1 (Plates CXCIII-CXCV)

These brooches (Figure 2.35) are primarily defined by their simple feet that show a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic mask terminating in human or bird helmed profiles. The head-plate knobs are relatively small and simple with thin and curved helmed profiles, and the band by which they are attached to the head-plate is less broad and more curved than those seen on Type 4.1.2 and 4.1.3. The knobs also lack the crescentic finials of the other Sub-Group 4.1 Types. The lappets are upside-down helmed profiles, sometimes with a single limb, and sometimes simplified to a spiral. Type 4.1.1 have a generic distribution (Plate CCXCIII) in East Anglia, up through Lincolnshire, with one example from north of the Humber.

Figure 2.36: Type 4.1.2, Icklingham 6. Scale 1/1.

Type 4.1.2 (Plates CXCVI-CCII)

This Type is defined by a foot which features a traditional Group 3 design terminating in a human mask flanked by helmed profiles and a crescentic finial (Figure 2.36). The lappets display a crouching beast, which is abbreviated on some examples to an upside-down helmed-profile with a Style I limb at its base. The head-plate knobs are broader and more detailed than in Type 4.1.1, and they also terminate in crescentic plates. Their distribution (Plate CXCIV) is the same as for Type 4.1.1, but with a noticeable spread that reaches the further west than any Type yet encountered.

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Figure 2.37: Type 4.1.3, Soham I 1. Scale 1/1.

Type 4.1.3 (Plates CCIII-CCV)

Type 4.1.3 has a foot composed of an anthropomorphic mask flanked by two crouching beasts (Figure 2.37). The head-plate knobs are similar to the other Sub-Group 4.1 Types, though the helmed profiles are somewhat broader. Intriguingly, the ornamentation of these brooches was executed in a noticeably deeper and more curved relief. The lappet

form is difficult to perceive, but appears to be a large helmed profile with little elaboration. Type 4.1.3 is found only in East Anglia and Lincolnshire (Plate CCXCV).

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Figure 2.38: Sub-Group 4.2, Market Overton 1. Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 4.2 (Plates CCVI-CCX)

Not only does this Sub-Group (constituted by a single Type) have a foot form that departs from the above styles with its central square panel and distinctively crested helmed profiles, but the head-plate knob form is also significantly different (Figure 2.38). Rather

than having a central anthropomorphic mask flanked by helmed profiles, these brooches have just two opposed helmed profiles. The lappet forms are also helmed profiles, which may be orientated either way up. These brooches have a distribution that has not yet been seen in this account, and are concentrated in the midlands (Plate CCXCVI), spreading into Lincolnshire and south Cambridgeshire.

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Figure 2.39: (a) Type 4.3.1, Darlington 1; (b) Type 4.3.2, Hornsea G3. Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 4.3

Sub-Group 4.3 (Figure 2.39) has frequently been misunderstood as part of the great square-headed brooch series (e.g. Leeds 1949). However, unlike Type 4.7.2 (below)

which are true hybrids, the head-plates of Sub-Group 4.3 brooches are square due to the growing together of the head-plate knobs. They are therefore entirely explicable within the cruciform brooch series, and external influence does not necessarily need to be invoked, although it may have provided the motivation for the general shape. Sub-Group 4.3 Types are also related by feet depicting an anthropomorphic mask with a tightly curled moustache. Both Types are very consistently designed, though there is one example (**Kenninghall 6**) that has a unique foot.

Type 4.3.1 (Plates CCXI-CCXIII)

This Type (Figure 2.39a) is defined by feet composed of an anthropomorphic mask whose locks of hair are formed by flanking crouching beasts with bird-profile heads. In the middle of the foot is an empty oval field. Lappets are formed by a crouching beast. All of these brooches are very consistently designed. They also have a distinctive distribution (Plate CCXCVII) concentrated in the far north, which is especially important given the rarity of cruciform brooches in north Yorkshire and beyond.

Type 4.3.2 (Plates CCXIV-CCXVIII)

The feet of these brooches have the same human mask, flanked by much smaller bird profiles (Figure 2.39b). The major difference is that the foot terminates in a very large triangular field, filled with concentric triangles, flanked by helmed profiles. The lappet forms are the same crouching beasts seen on Type 4.3.1, and the head-plates are also identical. Again, these brooches are very consistently designed, although the design is executed with highly variable iconographic precision. Like Type 4.3.1, these brooches have a distinctively northern distribution (Plate CCXCVIII), though there are a few more southern outliers.

Sub-Group 4.4 (Plates CCXX-CCXXVII)

This Sub-Group (Figure 2.40) has only one Type, and in iconographic terms represents a dramatic departure most other cruciform brooches. All of their iconography (head-plate

knobs, lappets and feet) consists solely of the biting-beast motif, previously only seen on the lappets of some Group 3 Types (largely Type 3.2.2). The bows frequently have a raised rib as well as a boss, and some of these brooches also have rectangular Style I panels on the head-plate as well as the catch-plate. Overall, however, there is little variation in this very consistent Type. There is one exception in particular, **Sandy 1**, whose bottom half is identical to the other 4.4 brooches, but has a head-plate directly transplanted from the great square-headed brooch series. This brooch is a very peripheral member of Sub-Group 4.4, and could alternatively be classed as Type 4.7.2. Sub-Group 4.4 is especially concentrated in Lincolnshire, but is also found at a relatively lower concentration in East Anglia (Plate CCXCIX).

Figure 2.40: Sub-Group 4.4, Empingham II G129. Scale 1/1.

Figure 2.41: Sub-Group 4.5, Norton G30. Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 4.5 (Plates CCXXVIII-CCXXIX)

This very small Sub-Group and Type (Figure 2.41), has a foot design closely related to that of Sub-Group 4.2. However, it differs in other details. Although a small central square panel is present on both, the mask on the feet of Sub-Group 4.5 is clearly anthropomorphic as opposed to the more zoomorphic version on Sub-Group 4.2, and the flanking helmed-profiles are more clearly defined. The most obvious difference is seen

on the head-plate knobs that feature an anthropomorphic mask. In contrast to all other Group 4 brooches, the mask is inverted so that the helmed profiles that usually form the moustaches of the mask, now curl outward from the top of the head. The lappets show a detailed helmed profile. The similarities between the feet of Sub-Groups 4.2 and 4.5 are also reflected in their distributions. Sub-Group 4.5 has an almost identical concentration in the midlands (Plate CCC), although there is also a pair of intriguing outliers in the very far north.

Sub-Group 4.6

Sub-Group 4.6 is also represented by a very small number of examples. The defining feature of these brooches is the presence of up-curled brows on the human masks that decorate the feet and knobs. This iconographic detail is also seen on a small number of great square-headed brooches, horse-harness fittings, and on the foot termini of Type 4.1.2 brooches). These brooches do not have the typical three-panelled head-plate present on all other cruciform brooches except Sub-Group 4.7. The execution of decoration, especially on Type 4.6.2, is of a particularly deep and detailed relief, comparable to that seen on Type 4.1.3 brooches.

Type 4.6.1 (Plate CCXXX-CCXXXI)

The three complete examples of this Type are identical and have feet composed of anthropomorphic masks with two layers of up-curled locks of hair (Figure 2.42). The mask terminates in two flanking upside-down helmed profiles and a spatulate terminus. Lappets are simple helmed profiles. A large number of fragments have been assigned to this Type with a degree of uncertainty. Most are head-plate knobs, yet no complete cruciform brooches possessing these specific designs have yet been found. Type 4.6.1, however, provides their best parallels. This small number of brooches is highly dispersed across East Anglia, through the midlands, and further across to the west (Plate CCCI).

Figure 2.42: Type 4.6.1, Empingham II G85A (Timby 1996, 212, fig.134). Scale 1/1.

Type 4.6.2 (Plates CCXXXII-CCXXXIV)

This small number of brooches and fragments has a similar foot to Type 4.6.1. However, instead of terminating in up-turned helmed profiles, from the oval mouth of the anthropomorphic field extends a large triangular field containing Style I decoration (Figure 2.43). This large triangular field relates these brooches to Type 4.3.2 and Sub-Group 4.7. The knobs are similar to Type 4.6.1 but the top-knob is noticeably larger, and all three are more detailed. The lappets are formed by detailed helmed profiles. Type 4.6.2 brooches are distributed largely in the eastern midlands, with a single outlier to the west (Plate CCCII).

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Figure 2.43: Type 4.6.2, Empingham II G73 (Timby 1996, 204, fig.126). Scale 1/1.

Sub-Group 4.7

Sub-Group 4.7 are defined primarily by their very large and flat form, with a foot consisting of an anthropomorphic mask terminating in a large triangular field filled with Style I decoration and flanked by two up-curled helmed profiles. There are two Types, which differ only in their head-plate construction. Type 4.7.1 has a head-plate that

clearly continues in the cruciform brooch tradition. The head-plate of Type 4.7.2, however, is lifted directly from the great square-headed brooch series.

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Figure 2.44: Type 4.7.1, Broughton Lodge G3. Scale 1/1.

Type 4.7.1 (Plates CCXXXV-CCL)

This Type (Figure 2.44) represents the largest and most consistently designed variety of cruciform brooch. The feet are all of the same style, and the only major differences are in

the composition of the Style I that fills the triangular field. The lappets are generally rectangular and plain, though a small number possess additional decoration depicting either helmed profiles or Style I limbs. All have a rectangular decorative panel on their head-plates and catch-plates filled with either Style I or geometric ornamentation. The head-plate knobs are all joined to the head-plate by a striated rectangular field. The knob form is an enlarged and flattened version of that seen on nearly all other Group 4 brooches: a human mask flanked by helmed profiles. Occasionally the human mask is reduced to a few lines, and very occasionally it is missing altogether. The distribution of these brooches is especially dispersed and shows almost equal concentrations throughout the midlands, Lincolnshire and East Anglia (Plate CCCIII).

Type 4.7.2 (Plates CCLI-CCLII)

These brooches are true hybrids between cruciform and great square-headed brooches (Figure 2.45). They have been designated as cruciform brooches due to their foot design, which has been deemed the key identifier of Types throughout this typology. However, they are certainly peripheral to the series as their head-plates are transplanted directly from the great-square-headed brooch series. As such, they are equally classifiable as great square-headed brooches. The lappets of **Holdenby G4** also depart somewhat from the rest of Sub-Group 4.7 recalling those seen on Type 3.2.8 as well as some (incomplete) Sub-Group 3.4 miniature brooches. Therefore, it seems that there are more complex sources of stylistic influence acting on this peripheral Type. The distribution of Type 4.7.2 (Plate CCCIV) is focused in the midlands, spreading southwards in Cambridgeshire and the western reaches of East Anglia.

Unclassifiable Group 4 Brooches (Plate CCLV)

This assortment of miscellaneous brooches includes **Sleaford G50** which does not easily fall into any of the Group 4 Types or even Sub-Groups. The head-plate knobs are of the design seen among Type 4.1.2 while the head-plate and triangular field on the foot are more akin to Type 4.7.1. The lappets are decorated with the helmed profiles seen on Type 4.6.2 and a number of Sub-Group 3.3 brooches, while the mask on the foot with its flanking helmed-profiles is similar to Type 4.6.1 or perhaps even Sub-Group 4.5

brooches. This single brooch is therefore equally related to a number of Group 4 Types. The completely unique **Spilsby 2** fragment is obviously part of a cruciform brooch, but as yet has no parallel.

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Figure 2.45: Type 4.7.2, Kempston 1. Scale 1/1.

A Statistical Exploration of the Group 4 Cruciform Brooches

Group 4 brooches tended to fall into Types in a more consistent manner than any other Group. This is due to the fact that certain attributes occurred far more regularly in

combination with each other. The purpose of a CA was therefore to demonstrate this graphically, and show a plot that is noticeably different from the relatively mixed structures of Groups 2 and 3. The frequent, almost identical, replication of some individual Group 4 attributes also allowed them to be classified far more easily, as well as accurately. A relatively large range of attributes was therefore prepared for statistical analysis (Figure 2.46).

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Figure 2.46: All Group 4 attributes. Scale 1/2.

The consistency of design that was observed during the intuitive classification is indeed reflected on the CA plot (Plate CCCVIII). As can be seen, Sub-Group 4.1 is tightly clustered toward the negative (left) end of axis 1, and the positive (top) end of axis 2. The individual Types within this Sub-Group (4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.3) are not especially clustered, but do tend toward their own zones. Sub-Group 4.2 is closely associated with 4.1, if slightly further toward the positive (top) end of axis 2. Types 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 are a little further removed from Sub-Group 4.1 at about the same position on axis 1, but toward the negative (bottom) end of axis 2. They appear less clustered, but this is because the majority of these brooches are identical and they therefore occupy only one or two points (e.g. **West Heslerton G147**, **Fonaby G38**, **Castle Morpeth 1**, **Norton G22** and so on). Even though they are dispersed, Types 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 form a fairly discrete cluster. About as equally removed from Sub-Group 4.1 is the small cluster of Sub-Group 4.5 (situated a little closer to point zero on axis 1). Type 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 lie somewhere between Sub-Groups 4.1 and 4.7. Sub-Group 4.4, due to its drastically different iconography is very well-separated, and forms a discrete cluster much closer to the negative (bottom) end of axis 2. Similarly distant are Types 4.7.1 and 4.7.2. Type 4.7.1's 13 members fall only on two points, all being virtually identical.
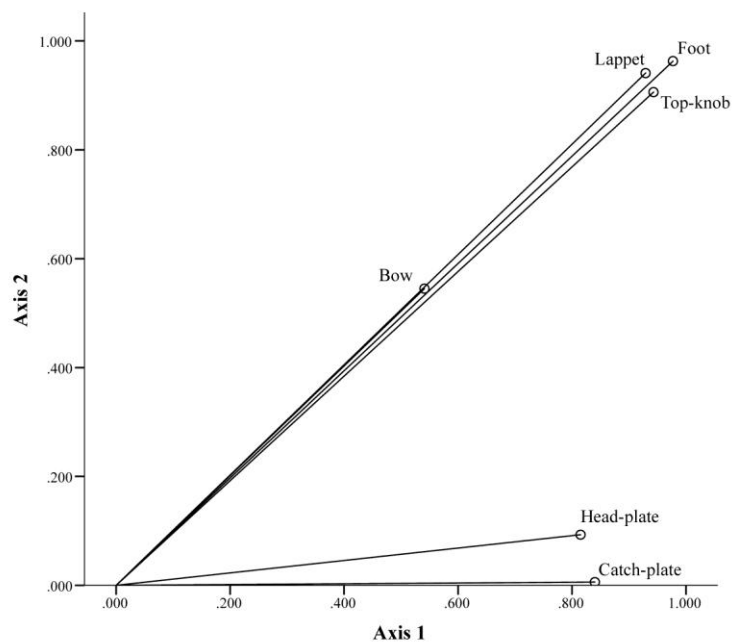
Figure 2.47: Discrimination measures of the Group 4 correspondence analysis.

The discrimination measures of the CA (Figure 2.47) provide more evidence for the close coincidence of some attributes. Foot, lappet, and knob styles (slightly less so bows), are extremely closely related, as are head-plates and catch-plates. These discrimination measures indicate especially clearly that during the manufacture of Group 4 brooches, head-plates and catch-plates were specifically chosen to match. Similarly lappets, feet and knob styles appear to have had far stricter combinations that were considered appropriate for Group 4 brooches.

Because of the tight grouping and relatively small number of complete cases (77) the results of a hierarchical cluster analysis were used to clarify and further explore the typological relationships within Group 4 (Plate CCCIX). The first and most significant cluster level separates Sub-Group 4.7 and all other brooches. The next division falls between Sub-Groups 4.5, 4.6 and the rest of the remaining Sub-Groups (4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). This is to be expected due to the attributes that Sub-Groups 4.5 and 4.6 share with 4.7 (Style I panels for instance). The next major division separates Sub-Group 4.4 from 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3. After this the remaining divisions split the Sub-Groups into specific Types, with Sub-Group 4.1 splitting at a slightly lower level. Therefore the organisation of Sub-Groups 4.1 to 4.7 reflects their relatedness in terms of their shared attributes with 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 being the closest related, then 4.4 followed by 4.5 and 4.6, and finally 4.7. These results support those of the CA. Sub-Group 4.1 Types are all closely linked and form the most generalised cluster with the poorest association of attributes, perhaps a trait inherited from their close association with Group 3. Sub-Group 4.7 is the furthest removed from the others, closely followed by Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6.

The order of typological development between all these Types is far clearer among Group 4 brooches than any other. Whether this reflects chronology is an additional question that will be addressed in Chapter 3. For now it is necessary to note that in Group 4 the degrees of stylistic influences between Types and Sub-Groups is quite clear and these statistical techniques in combination demonstrate this very well. The reason these degrees of influence are so much more obvious is because Group 4 brooches were very consistently designed. There seems to have been a conscious notion of the appropriate structure for each Type, if slightly less so for Sub-Group 4.1. This almost certainly reflects a slightly different production method or mentality, and the decrease in iconographic clarity among some Types (seen especially clearly among Type 4.3.2 and 4.7.1) quite directly suggests that these brooches were more or less expertly copied down

the line, rather than continually reinvented as Groups 2 and 3 appear to have been. Consistency of design also reflects a desire by the wearers of these brooches to conform more highly to a particular set of symbolic associations. What these symbolic associations may have been is reflected most clearly in their iconography, especially between Sub-Group 4.4 with its biting-beast motifs and the other Group 4 brooches which emphasise helmed profiles and moustached human masks. These kinds of restricted meanings are also reflected in the distributions of some of these brooches. Sub-Group 4.3 was mainly found in the north, as was to a slightly lesser extent Sub-Group 4.4. Sub-Groups 4.5 and 4.6 were a midlands phenomenon, while 4.7 has a very wide distribution.

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Figure 2.48: (a) Kentish Group 1, Bifrons G15 (1) (Hawkes 2000, 16); (b) Kentish Group 1, Howletts 1; (c) Kentish Group 2, Howletts 2; (d) Kentish Group 2, Howletts G1 (2).

A Note on Kentish Cruciform Brooches

Kentish cruciform brooches have been excluded from the typology for two main reasons: (a) they differ significantly from the rest of the series, and (b) they are too few to classify satisfactorily. Mortimer (1990, 164) observed that "(t)he Kentish brooches...show some

of the closest associations with continental forms, whilst being separated from development in the rest of Britain", and it is perhaps in a continental context that they should be classified. Mortimer's (1990, 164) comment that Kentish cruciform brooches are particularly "individualistic" remains true and has interesting implications for the different meanings of these brooches in the two regions. Kentish brooches will only have a minor role in the following chapters: they possess too few grave associations to be useful to either chronology or mortuary analysis. However, for the sake of reference it is useful to outline their forms. Kentish brooches are best compared to Groups 1 and 2, and never achieved the size or complexity of Groups 3 and 4. From their most basic characteristics they were therefore categorised as 'Kentish Group 1' and 'Kentish Group 2' (Figure 2.48), which, being stylistically similar, were probably concordant with their Anglian counterparts.

Discussion

A continuous line of typological development runs from Type 1.1.1 to Type 4.7.2. Although the thread is branched and occasionally doubles back on itself (in the creation of the miniature copies of larger brooches, for instance) it traces a general impetus toward larger and more complex forms. As Chapter 3 will demonstrate, this was broadly a chronological development. If we consider the cruciform brooch as a locus of semiotic meaning (after Dickinson 1991), these symbols became louder, larger, and more complex. In other words, there was an obvious drive toward ostentation. The iconographic content of these symbols will be discussed in Chapter 8, and Chapter 4 will use this growing display to represent the gradual development of a specific identity.

In addition to this broad and basic observation, the statistical analyses and detailed descriptions have allowed the characterisation of each Group in terms of its structure. Group 1 Types appear to be consistently designed. Rather than representing a strict adherence to a symbolic code, this was probably largely a result of the fact that they were very simple objects. In reality, the variation within a single variety of foot form was significant, and the divisions drawn between them for the sake of this typology were at times relatively arbitrary. Therefore, although there was an idea of what a cruciform brooch should look like, it did not seem to have particularly stringent rules guiding its precise form. The idea behind these brooches was a very general and basic one that could

not accommodate the complex nuances of style seen in the other Groups. As discussed above, this may also have been due to the use of lost wax casting methods for Group 1 brooches which would naturally produce more idiosyncratic or individualistic items.

Groups 2 and 3 were structured by the selective combination of a mass of decorative elements, and this was especially the case for Group 3. The correspondence analyses of these Groups demonstrated a high degree of stylistic crossover between Types, but also some degree of clustering. Therefore, there were certain combinations of attributes that were seen to be more appropriate than others. Because there were also some regionalised distributions of Types, these trends may be accounted for by regional tastes or perhaps, in some cases, even individual craftspeople. Groups 2 and 3 therefore represent a bricolage of physical attributes, and this may have some symbolic significance. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966, 17) coined the term 'bricolage' to describe the manner by which individuals act to recombine pre-existing cultural symbols to create new meanings. Though Lévi-Strauss was talking primarily in terms of the creation of mythology from lived experience, this also provides a fitting analogy for the appropriation of existing cruciform brooch attributes and their meaningful recombination into new forms. Hence, Group 2 and 3 brooches were constituted by a restricted assortment of symbols that could be combined and subtly innovated to create particular and nuanced symbolic messages.

Group 4 was structured very differently from those Groups that preceded it. The makers of these brooches tended to reproduce a limited number of templates over and over again. Even the most loosely structured Types (such as those that constitute Sub-Group 4.1) consistently combined a foot form with a particular lappet and knob form, which was never the case in Group 3. However, consistency was especially marked among the later Group 4 forms, from Sub-Group 4.3 onward. These brooches in particular represented a slightly different kind of message that lacked the flexibility seen in the symbolism of Groups 2 and 3. Group 4 brooches were also covered in complex iconography which was significantly more intricate than that seen among cruciform brooches of Groups 2 and 3. The structure of Group 4 brooches was therefore motivated by a desire for a more specific but less negotiable symbolism. Again, the regionalised distribution of some of these Types indicates local tastes and perhaps smaller numbers of more highly skilled craftspeople.

Although broad structural trends within Groups can be identified, it is also quite clear that the development of cruciform brooches was not linear. New forms did not entirely replace the older ones upon which they elaborated, but instead their decorative attributes continued to circulate as part of a repertoire that could be drawn from to create new designs. In addition, I have undertaken some experimental work which has suggested that it is far easier to carve the individual attributes from wax separately and then join them, rather than carve the whole object from one piece. This was especially true for Group 2 and 3 forms. If this was also the case in the Migration Period, it would have been more natural for craftspeople to think of cruciform brooches, and especially Groups 2 and 3, as composite forms. These composite wax models could then be used to create a pattern, perhaps a lead one (Mortimer 1994), for use in two-piece (bivalve) moulds. The more consistent Group 4 forms were also most likely cast from two-piece moulds. However, the evidence suggests that they were differently conceived as indivisible singularities. Moulds or patterns for these larger brooches may have circulated as complete forms. Sadly, due to a shortage of archaeological evidence for brooch production, much of this discussion is speculative. Catherine Mortimer (1990) has provided empirical discussions that still contribute a good summary of what we can know about such processes, but much is still open to discussion.

There is also evidence for stylistic influence from a wide range of copper-alloy decorative metalwork. Group 1 cruciform brooches can account for much of the variation seen in later brooches purely through the elaboration of pre-existing attributes. But they cannot account for all of it. Cruciform brooches existed among a host of other decorative objects, and many were probably made by the same craftspeople, and even worn on the same costumes. Thus there was a whole sphere of inter-artefactual influences that has barely been touched upon in this account. For instance, a number of foot designs are also seen on girdle-hangers, while the growth of the spatulate foot termini on Group 3 brooches mirrors that seen on the much simpler foot of the small-long brooch. The helmed profiles seen on florid cruciform brooch head-plate knobs have close parallels on some wrist-clasps (Hines 1993 type C), girdle-hangers and stave bucket bindings. There are also some quite specific elements that great square-headed brooches share with cruciform brooches. Bossed and ribbed bows occur on both series, as well as the anthropomorphic masks with up-curled brows seen on Sub-Group 4.6 brooches, not to mention the head-plates transplanted wholesale onto Type 4.7.2 cruciform brooches. The human mask with a central ridge seen on Types 3.1.2 and 3.2.2 may also be an inspiration

from similar motifs on great square-headed brooches. Style I provided the vehicle for much of these trans-artefact associations, and this will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 8. Cruciform brooches were therefore linked into a wider symbolism present in the Anglian area and even further afield to Scandinavia where a different series of cruciform brooches was developing in parallel. If we also consider Style I, links can be drawn between Anglian cruciform brooches and significant proportions of continental Europe.

Fundamentally, the typology presented in this chapter provides a descriptive framework from which the rest of this study can progress. However, the typology also has interpretative significance, based on the premise that the typological development of the cruciform brooch reflects the growth of symbolic meanings. These networks or clouds of symbols have been presented in an analogous form using statistical plots and dendrograms. Importantly, much of this understanding has been gained by providing empirical and measurable scales of difference between individual brooches. Through such analyses, this typology has provided an insight into the motivations of the producers and consumers of cruciform brooches which will be deeply relevant to the interpretations drawn from the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Relative and Absolute Chronology

This chapter presents a chronology of the cruciform brooch in light of the classification presented in Chapter 2, the enlarged corpus, as well as general progress in early Anglo-Saxon chronology since Catherine Mortimer's (1990) phasing and absolute dating. The chronology of cruciform brooches is especially important due to their prominence in the Anglian region. The dating of other concurrent objects (for instance wrist-clasps, girdle-hangers, small long brooches, annular brooches, great square-headed brooches and even cinerary urns) often relies on the phasing of cruciform brooches. The cruciform brooch's relatively frequent occurrence in graves, its gradual stylistic development, and its apparently long period of use renders it an ideal candidate for a typology-based chronology.

All 5th- and 6th-century Anglo-Saxon artefacts have a relative chronology based either on stylistic development or grave associations (generally both), and only provide absolute dates through often lengthy chains of association to coin-dated continental finds. The extent to which any single Anglo-Saxon mortuary deposit can be dated from an individual artefact is limited, due to the length of time these items were in circulation, how long they were retained prior to their deposition, as well as the ritual and intentional nature of mortuary assemblages (Wilson 1959). There are three critical difficulties to the relative dating of such artefacts: (1) patterns of both acquisition and use of the object; (2) the age at death of the individual; and (3) the age of the artefact at the time of burial (Hirst and Clark 2009, 688). Despite all this, broad and absolute phasing is possible to some extent and the cruciform brooch's chronology is among the most reliable. Because of the cruciform brooch's prominence in Anglo-Saxon England, and its utility for dating other objects and graves, it is necessary to present the full evidence for its phasing in order to communicate the sometimes fragile and often convoluted nature of Migration Period chronologies.

The first part of this chapter will consist of an overview of the existing literature. Following this will be a chronological analysis based on the present corpus. This chronology will not rewrite the current understanding, but will add some much-needed

detail and provide reinforcement by utilising new data and some previously unexplored methodology.

Past Work on Cruciform Brooch Chronology

As mentioned in Chapter 2, 19th-century typological work on the cruciform brooch helped define the Migration Period itself (Reichstein 1975, 9-11). Egil Bakka's (1973) influential establishment of chronological phases for Norwegian graves retained the cruciform brooch as the key artefact that marks the start of the Migration Period, as did Asbjørn Engevik's (2008, 23) more recent chronology of Norwegian bucket-shaped pots. Additionally, the cruciform brooch is central to John Hines' ongoing research on Anglo-Saxon chronology (Hines 1984, 16-32; 1999a, 68).

Schetelig (1906, 115) wrote of the cruciform brooch: "it is possible to distinguish perfectly the different stages of a development and to attribute each of the specimens to their proper place in the series of successive forms". What we know now is that due to the nature of these data, the chronology of a single variety of object can only be established as broad trends either in stylistic terms, or by grave associations. The stressed presence of continuity in the present typology (Chapter 2) strongly suggests that different stages of development cannot be distinguished "perfectly" at all. Nevertheless, a chronological framework is fundamental to any social analysis, and even if it is only possible to demonstrate a small number of broad phases they still constitute vital information.

Schetelig's (1906) dating of cruciform brooches was based on Oscar Montelius's chronology of the Scandinavian Iron Age. Montelius was a pioneer of early archaeological methods of dating, and his chronology was founded upon a seriation of artefact types through the whole Germanic Iron Age. The key site for Schetelig and Montelius was Nydam Mose, which was (and still is) an enormously significant bog deposition of late Roman weaponry and associated material (including the very earliest cruciform brooches) excavated and published by Conrad Engelhardt (1865). The Roman finds were thought to have been deposited in the bog around A.D. 400, which led Schetelig to suggest a date of *c*.350 for the manufacture of the earliest cruciform brooches (Schetelig 1906, 117). This date is still accepted. A similarly late 4th-century date was

arrived at for the horizontal stratigraphic dating[1] of a grave from Tolkwade in Schleswig-Holstein (Schetelig 1906, 120). The pace of the stylistic development of cruciform brooches from this point was estimated by Schetelig using their occasional association in (generally Norwegian) graves with an even more highly decorated item – the relief brooch[2] – thought by Montelius and Bernhard Salin to span the period between the mid-4th and 7th centuries. The rich and broadly measurable stylistic development of these relief brooches was at the time an ideal tool for constructing chronology.

The absolute dates given to cruciform brooches by Schetelig are now outdated and do not concern us here. More important are the methods, sites and related artefacts that he used. These included the estimation of typological development interpolated between the Nydam bog finds and later cruciform brooches associated with the highly decorated Scandinavian relief brooches. As we shall see, it is only very recently that these methods have changed.

Nils Åberg's (1926) treatment of the cruciform brooch does not provide methodological detail. Absolute dates were applied with little or no explanation. Presumably, Åberg based his dates on something, and most likely this was Schetelig's 1906 account as he reaches similar conclusions. If Åberg was working from Schetelig's work (originally Montelius'), as is hinted (Åberg 1926, 35), he was implying that the stylistic similarity between English and Norwegian forms indicated contemporaneity, as neither Schetelig nor Montelius attempted to date the English cruciform brooches. Alternatively, Åberg may have been following Leeds (1912; 1913) by basing his chronology on dates interpolated between the historically recorded Germanic migrations and the Christianisation of England. Again, the accuracy of Åberg's dating is not especially relevant here; it has long since been superseded. More importance lies in his methodology, which involved the transplantation of relative sequences and absolute dates from overseas, specifically from Norway. In contrast to Scandinavian scholars, Åberg had the mixed blessing of historical sources that gave absolute dates to the arrival of the people who he assumed brought this material to England.

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[1] Horizontal stratigraphy, unlike the more familiar vertical stratigraphy, is based on the manner in which Frankish and Alamannic row grave cemeteries expanded regularly in predictable directions. Thus the relative order of graves can sometimes be suggested without any vertical stratigraphic relationship.
[2] The relief brooch is the Scandinavian precursor and model for the Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooch, occasionally also found in Kent and generally thought to be the originator of Salin's Style I (Haseloff 1974, 14).

Over the course of a number of publications, Leeds adjusted Åberg's chronology very little. He disagreed with some of Åberg's (minor) typological propositions, leading to only small adaptations to chronology (Leeds 1945, 69). Even Leeds' more thorough (if posthumously completed) treatment (Leeds and Pocock 1971) adds little if anything to the chronology established by Åberg. Instead, further confusion was added to the absolute dating of these brooches by Leeds' somewhat circular argument of dating from historical events and then using the material culture to 'prove' those events. Thus the perceived mid-6th-century expansion of florid cruciform brooches (the present Group 4) outside the East Anglian and Cambridgeshire region and into the north is taken to represent the foundation of the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira by individuals with royal connections in these more southerly regions (Leeds and Pocock 1971, 36).

It was not until Reichstein's (1975) study that English cruciform brooches became properly contextualised by the continental and Scandinavian material. There has been some (largely justified) criticism of Reichstein's chronology for the English series (Dickinson 1978, 337; Hines 1993, 3), and his Norwegian chronology has recently been adjusted by Asbjørn Engvik (2008). Reichstein himself was not confident of his English chronology, admitting that it was based largely on very few (24) grave associations. Reichstein correctly deemed this small number of associations insufficient for the method he had more successfully used on the 81 Norwegian grave groups (Reichstein 1975, 90). Indeed, Reichstein's seriation should not be relied on.

There are, however, other interesting aspects to Reichstein's chronological analysis. Much of the discussion focuses on the **Dorchester G2** brooch and its associated zoomorphic buckle – by all accounts the earliest brooch thus far seen in England[3] – and the absolute date of their late/post-Roman context. The dating of these very early brooches (comparable to the present Type 1.1.1) is also assisted by their similarity to brooches from approximately datable cremation burials in the Mecklenburg region of north Germany (Reichstein 1975, 90). This gives the earliest cruciform brooches a date somewhere around 400. At the other end of the spectrum is the presence of one of the Reichstein's latest English brooches (**Little Wilbraham G131**, Type 3.1.1),[4] in the same

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[3] Though see **Preston St Mary II 1** for a new fragmentary example recorded by the PAS and **Spong Hill C2197** is also highly comparable.
[4] Reichstein does not deal with the florid (Group 4) brooches at all, and only deals with the Group 3 peripherally, as they have no continental parallels.

grave as a pair of radiate-headed brooches. These Frankish brooches, for Reichstein, could be dated no more accurately than "6th century" (Reichstein 1975, 94). The remaining mass of his English forms are interpolated between these two dates by his seriation of 24 graves and their associated finds, and with stylistic similarity to more reliably dated finds from the Continent and Scandinavia.

All cruciform brooches in Reichstein's typology are given a relative phase – *ältere, jüngere, späte* and *späteste*[5] – and each of his *typen* belong to one or more of these phases.[6] The tightest chronological resolution Reichstein can offer is a very small number of brooches from the later 5th century, and a mass of forms from unspecified points during the 6th century. Given the lack of clarity in Reichstein's typology (see Chapter 2), any stylistic similarities drawn both internally between English examples and externally between English and Continental or Scandinavian examples are never entirely reliable, and require further scrutiny. In addition, the small number of grave groups in the seriation means that this does not provide a reliable sequence. Nonetheless, Reichstein's study will prove an invaluable tool for observing continental parallels that will become important to the Anglian cruciform brooch chronology.

Mortimer's (1990) chronology was based on a number of methods all aimed toward building a small number of phases. In the first instance, cruciform brooches of different classes from the same grave are seen to be contemporary. Further grounds for contemporaneity are drawn from high stylistic similarity and identical rare punch-marks. The final method Mortimer uses to establish phasing is grave-associated artefacts. At no point is a seriation of these attempted. Rather, cruciform brooches are judged to be broadly contemporary if they are associated with the same type of artefact (e.g. specific types of wrist-clasp, comb, stamped pottery, buckles etc.). Therefore, the focus of Mortimer's method is to establish which brooches are contemporary. The order of these phases is then established by reasonable judgement of typological development. Absolute dates again focus on the **Dorchester G2** and **Little Wilbraham G131** examples, in addition to further associations with bracteates, a claw beaker, a Frankish buckle and other potentially independently (i.e. by continental rather than Anglo-Saxon

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[5] "Older", "younger", "late" and "latest".

[6] In England *Ältere* brooches are *typen Dorchester* and *Pritzier*; *ältere/jüngere* brooches are *typen St John's College* and *Hjelmhede*; *jüngere* brooches include only *typ Groß Seimß*; *späte* brooches are *typen Midlum, Achlum, Krefeld-Gellep, Stratford, Barrington, Corbridge, West Stow Heath, Bradwell, Holywell Row, Lyminge, Goutum* and *Howletts*; and *späteste* brooches are *typen Little Wilbraham, Feering, Islip* and *Nassington*.

parallels) datable artefacts. Typological similarity to continental cruciform brooches is also considered.

The outcome of Mortimer's chronological analysis is four broad phases. These are: early 5th century, late 5th century, early 6th century and mid-6th century (Mortimer 1990, 177). Because of the correlation between the present classification and Mortimer's, the present chronological analysis will act to complement and reinforce these results, with the advantage of a larger data set as well as some new methodology. While the chronology presented here is indeed similar, it does differ in some details.

The Broader Context of Migration Period Chronology

The dating of most early Anglo-Saxon artefacts has followed much the same pattern as that described above for cruciform brooches. Recently there has been a much-needed shift toward chronological studies that focus not on specific artefact types, but on region- or cemetery-specific seriations that utilise a wide range of artefact types allowing for more detailed and reliable seriations (e.g. Jørgensen 1992; Hines 1999a; Penn and Brugmann 2007, 42-71). This generally computer-aided version of 'cross-dating', or *fundcombination,* is a technique that has been used by continental and Scandinavian scholars for some time. Its general disregard this side of the North Sea partly explains the poor state of early Anglo-Saxon chronology (Høilund Nielsen 1997a).

John Hines has been instrumental in linking Anglo-Saxon dating to the continental phases (Hines 1984, 17-32; 1993, 2-3; 1997a, 223-226; although see Welch 1987 and 1999 for critique) as well as applying these methods to Anglo-Saxon material (Hines 1999a and his forthcoming "Anglo-Saxon England c.580–720: The Chronological Basis" project). These studies are persuasive and rather than creating an entirely independent cruciform brooch chronology, it would be more useful to link into these pre-existing and widely understood phases. In part, this has been done already (Hines 1984, 22; Penn and Brugmann 2007, 48), but never with a comprehensive data set structured by a modern typological method. Neither have there been any detailed investigations into what aspects of cruciform brooch design are chronologically significant. The attribute-based typology (Chapter 2) makes this readily possible. Mette Palm and John Pind's 1992 chronological seriation of cruciform brooches is generally thought to have failed due to their small data

set, erroneous typologies, as well as a poorly informed method (Hines 1992; Høilund Nielsen 1997a, 72). It is hoped that the analysis presented below will go some way toward complementing the existing chronological analyses by providing an explicit method, a larger corpus, and a more thoroughly considered typology.

Table 3.1 presents a summary of Migration Period chronological phases. Ultimately, each of these phases represents a body of material that is frequently associated in graves, or has been associated by cross-dating. Absolute dates are derived, through direct or indirect routes, from coin finds in continental row grave cemeteries. Each chronology is also specific to typologically or regionally-restricted groups of material. Thus Egil Bakka's (1973) chronology is based on Norwegian grave associations (largely of bracteates), Böhner's (1958) on continental row grave cemeteries, Nissen Meyer's (1934) on Norwegian relief buckles, Reichstein's (1975) on cruciform brooches, Penn and Brugmann's (2007) on a sample of East Anglian cemeteries, Hines' (1997a) on Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches, Ament's (1976, 1977) on Merovingian material, Engevik's (2008) on Norwegian bucket-shaped pots, while the "Styles" column is based on pan-European material, largely the work of Bernhard Salin (1904) with numerous subsequent adjustments, most importantly the work of Günther Haseloff (1974, 1981). There is no space here to go into the intricate workings of these phases, the intention being only to demonstrate (a) the importance of such seriations, and (b) the complex systems by which relative and absolute dates are obtained. The simplicity of some accounts belies the true complexity of the issue.

Absolute Date	Styles	Bakka 1973	Reichstein 1975	Penn and Brugmann 2007	Nissen Meyer 1934	Böhner 1958	Hines 1997	Ament 1976, 1977	Engevik 2008
350-450	Nydam	VWZ I	Jüngere	-	Stadia 1	Stufe I	-	-	C3/D1
450-475	Nydam	VWZ II	Ältere	FA1	Stadia 2	Stufe II	-	AMI	D1
475-500	Style I	VWZ III	Späte	FA1/FA2	Stadia 3 and 4	Stufe II	-	AMI	D2a
500-525	Style I	VWZ III	Späte/Späteste	FA2	Stadia 5	Stufe II	Phase 1	AMI	D2a
525-560	Style I/Bichrome	VWZ IV	Späteste/florid	FA2/FB	Stadia 6	Stufe III	Phase 2/Phase 3	AMII	D2b
560-570	Style II/Bichrome	-	Florid	-	-	Stufe III	Phase 3	AMIII	D2b
600	Style II	-	-	-	-	Stufe III	-	JMI	-
700	End of early Anglo-Saxon period								

Table 3.1: Approximate summary of north western European Migration Period chronological phasing (based on; Brugmann and Penn 2007; Eng Hines 1984; 1993; 1997a; 1999a).

A New Analysis of the Relative Chronology of Cruciform Brooches

The method followed here will consist of three parts:

1. A seriation of the changing stylistic composition of cruciform brooches
2. Types of cruciform brooch directly associated by grave context
3. A seriation of other grave-associated finds

The first part of the method demonstrates the relative order in which the Types might have developed according to the evolving styles outlined in Chapter 2. The second part is an analysis of Types that tend to occur in the same graves. The third part is an approximate seriation of grave-associated dress-accessories, which should show the gradually changing overall compositions of grave assemblages over the period in question. These three approaches will cumulatively provide complementary bodies of evidence entirely from data internal to this study, and therefore will not rely on any tangential information. This was a necessity to remove any risk of circular argument. Many of the existing Anglo-Saxon artefact chronologies are themselves based on the cruciform brooch.

Relative Chronology I: An Internal Stylistic Seriation

As the typology in Chapter 2 has outlined, the development of the cruciform brooch was from small and simple to large and complex forms. The following analysis demonstrates the order in which Types fall on this simple continuum and which stray away from it. In doing so, it proposes an order in which the cruciform brooch Types developed. By considering the stylistic development of various attributes, rather than viewing brooches as indivisible objects, this analysis will provide some counterbalance to the necessary, but perhaps artificial, delineations drawn between Types in Chapter 2. The current emphasis is that the overall variation of cruciform brooches represents a single continuum of forms related by stylistic cross-germination. Whether the continuum progresses in one direction through time is a complex question: there are likely to have been various branches, and perhaps even minor 'retrogressions'. Nonetheless, this stylistic evolution will be broadly accurate, and it is confirmed by the grave-associated material discussed below. Even a simple, linear development does not progress at a regular pace and especially considering

their grave associations (see below) Types at one end of the continuum may well have continued to be produced after their style had been superseded by new varieties. Others may have simply been used for longer periods of time prior to their deposition. For the purposes of establishing a phased chronology the use of this technique is suggestive rather than decisive. It represents a quantification of likely directional change.

The method used here is similar to that which was used to explore stylistic variation in Chapter 2. Each brooch's attributes were classified (according to Table 3.2), and subjected to a correspondence analysis. However, in this case the attributes were classified according to broad changes seen throughout the whole series, rather than certain stylistic or iconographic differences only present in some Groups or Sub-Groups.

Top-knob	Dome, fully rounded	Dome, half-round	Dome, half-round, crescentic finial	Dome, half-round, zoomorphic finial	Florid
Head-plate	Small wings/no wings	Rectangular wings	Trapezoid wings	Large head-plate, narrow wings	Large head-plate, no wings
Nostril form	Ovoid	Spiral	Zoomorphic	-	-
Face form	Eyes, nostrils	Brow, eyes, nostrils	Brow, eyes, human nose, nostrils	-	-
Lappets	No lappets	Plain lappets	Zoomorphic lappets	-	-
Terminus	No terminus	Attachment loop	Crescentic terminus	-	-
Surface treatment	No surface treatment	Gilded	Silvered	Bichrome (Gilded and silvered)	-

Table 3.2: Classification of elements for the stylistic seriation.

The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis can be plotted on two axes exactly as they were in Chapter 2. This time, however, rather than looking for the clustering of the most commonly associated attributes, a smooth and gradual development from one association of attributes into another is sought. This is indicated not by the presence of clusters, but of a parabola. The extrapolation of seriation from a parabola generated by the first two dimensions of a correspondence analysis is a chronological tool that is effective and growing in popularity (Hines 1999a; Høilund Nielsen 1995; 1997a; Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997; Jørgensen 1992; Penn and Brugmann 2007). It is a technique generally used for seriating grave assemblages. Here, however, it is being used to seriate 'assemblages' of decorative attributes.

As Karen Høilund Nielsen (1995) has stressed, good correspondence analysis seriations are indicated by a smooth parabola. However, a smooth parabola is only achieved by manipulating the data. This generally consists of removing outliers and variables that do not have relevance to the general sequence (Høilund Nielsen and Jensen 1997, 49). Even this process has significance to understanding the chronology of cruciform brooches as it can immediately reveal brooches that are chronological aberrant (i.e. those that mix early features with late features) as well as those attributes that do not have chronological significance. Three outliers had to be removed before the parabola in Figure 3.1 was achieved: **Gilton 1**, **Glentham 1** and **Barrington 4**. The first of these is one of very few likely imported cruciform brooches (this one is probably from Norway). **Glentham 1** stands in contravention of the general development as it has an anthropomorphic foot and lappets (generally late features) alongside rectangular head-plate wings (earlier features). **Barrington 4** was completely unique for being the only brooch whose surface treatment was silvered and not gilded as well. In addition, the variable "terminus" had to be removed altogether. This suggests that the foot terminus had a more complex chronological trajectory, and it was not present on *all* later cruciform brooches. Most significantly, however, the entirety of Sub-Group 3.1 had to be removed. The reason for this was that the brooches in this Sub-Group possess generally later features such as brows, trapezoid head-plate wings, and top-knobs with finials, yet, they lack lappets. The fact that they disrupted the smooth parabola provides a good argument for not situating them as intermediate between Groups 2 and 3 (typologically as well as chronologically), as has been done in the past. Sub-Group 3.1 appears to lie somewhere outside the general development of cruciform brooches. Like foot termini, lappets have often been thought to be straightforward chronological indicators when in fact, they are not.

Figure 3.1 shows the results of the final correspondence analysis labelled by Type. The direction of change is from right to left, starting with Group 1, and ending with Group 4. Because of their greater internal variation, some Types are stretched further than others along the parabola and this can be interpreted to represent chronological development that was internal to a Type. Thus, a Type 3.2.1 brooch that is plotted adjacent to a Type 4.1.2 and Sub-Group 4.2 brooch demonstrably (by examination of its individual elements) possesses stylistic cross-germination between Group 3 and Group 4 brooches. Hence, it can be extrapolated that the production of Type 3.2.1 continued into a time when Group 4 brooches were being produced.
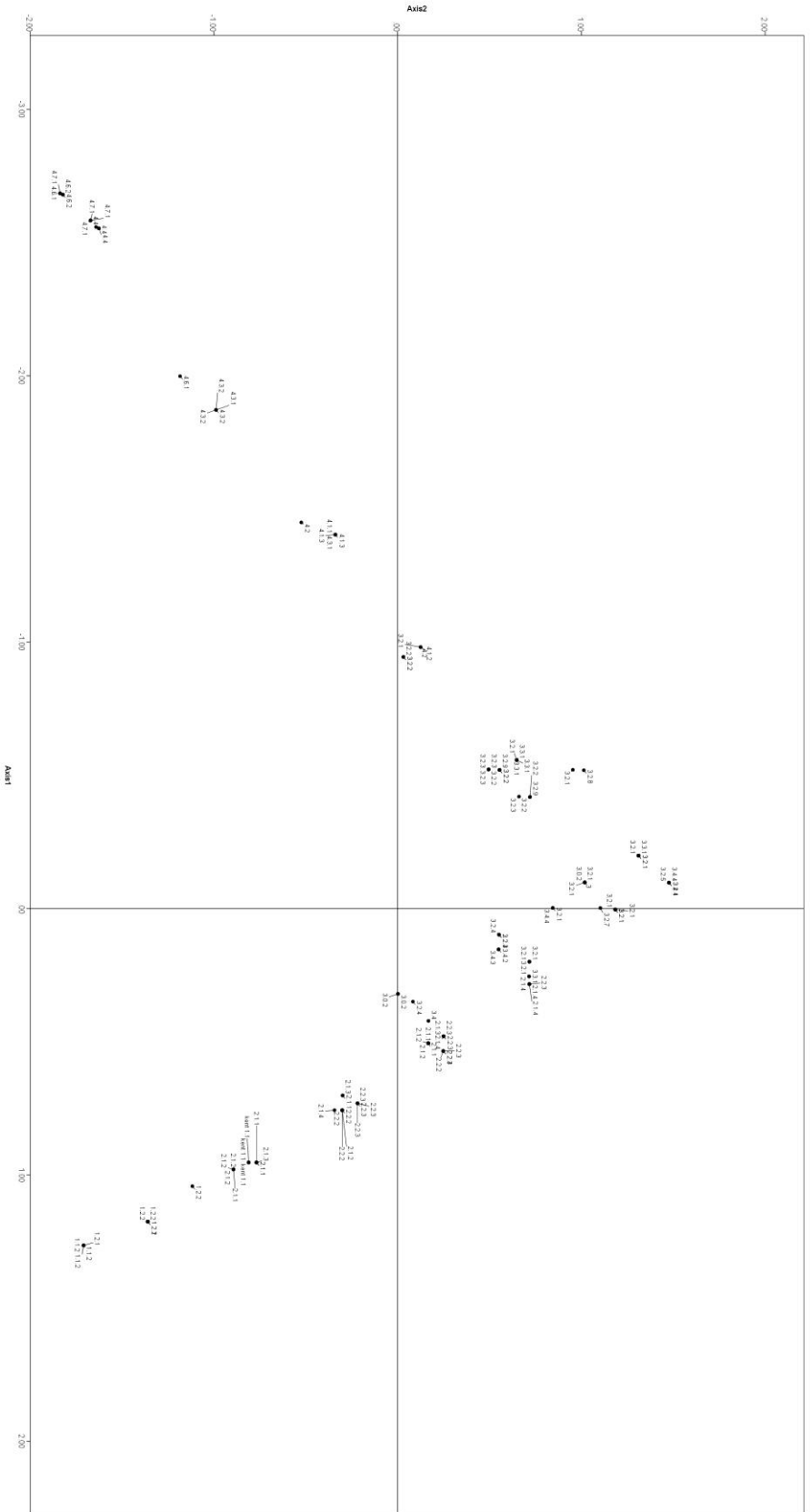
Figure 3.1: Correspondence analysis of selected cruciform brooch attributes.
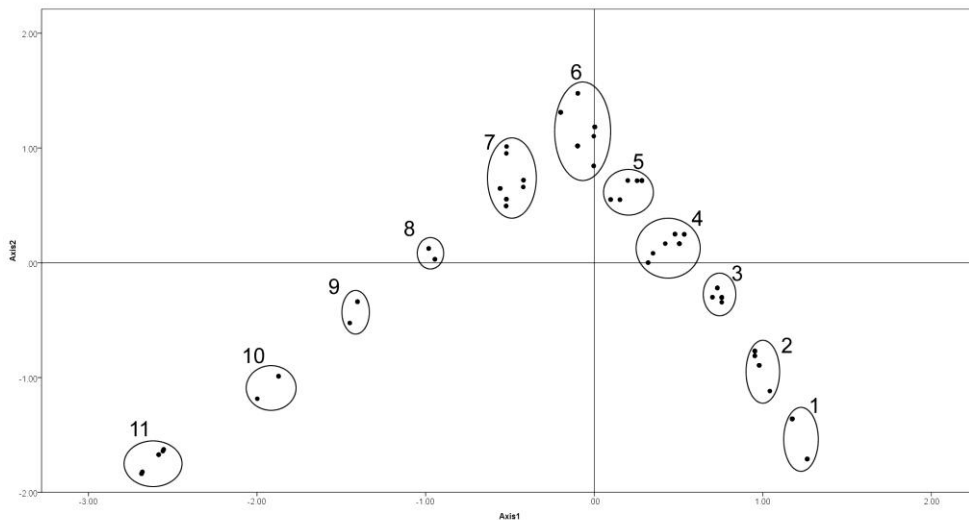
Figure 3.2: Annotated CA plot representing clustered stages of stylistic development.

The parabola can be seen as the series of eleven clusters annotated on Figure 3.2. Each cluster represents a number of brooches that display stylistic cross-germination. Hence, they are likely to have been broadly contemporary. These stylistic phases can be displayed in the sorted matrix seen in Table 3.3 which represents the waxing and waning of the different stylistic inclinations that guided the cruciform brooch's metamorphosis from a simple pin to a flattened surface bearing panelled relief decoration. The matrix was constructed by first ascertaining continuity between each cluster: at least one Type must be shared between phases for this to be the case. Because this was not true for clusters 9 and 10, they were combined, giving a total of the ten "style phases" seen in Table 3.3. As an example, the last cluster associates Types 4.4, 4.6.1, 4.6.2 and 4.7.1, while the penultimate one associates Types 4.3.2 and 4.6.1. Thus, Type 4.6.1 has stylistic influence in both clusters and links them in a sequence.

Table 3.3 also indicates that some Types occur in more than one cluster. This can be interpreted to demonstrate some particularly long-lived varieties of cruciform brooch. Type 3.2.1 in particular demonstrates stylistic cross-germination with at least 16 other Types. Type 1.1.2, on the other hand, is close to only two others. However, this seriation should be read with some caution. In reality, stylistic development is neither regular nor even necessarily unidirectional. This seriation should therefore be treated only as suggestive of a sequence of development and a potential measure of longevity for each Type.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	11
1.1.2	■									
1.2.1	■									
1.2.2	■	■								
2.1.1		■	■	■						
2.1.2		■	■	■						
2.1.3		■	■							
2.2.2			■	■						
2.1.4			■	■	■					
2.2.4				■						
3.0.2				■		■				
2.2.3				■	■					
3.2.4				■						
3.2.4					■					
3.4.2					■					
3.4.3					■					
3.2.1					■	■	■	■		
3.4.4					■	■				
3.2.5						■				
3.2.7						■				
3.3.1						■	■			
3.2.3							■			
3.2.8							■			
3.2.9							■			
3.2.2							■	■		
4.1.2								■		
4.2								■	■	
4.1.1									■	
4.1.3									■	
4.3.1									■	
4.3.2									■	
4.6.1									■	■
4.6.2										■
4.4										■
4.7.1										■

Table 3.3: Sorted matrix of cruciform brooches from the correspondence analysis.

Translating Table 3.3 into a relative chronology is straightforward. Group 1 brooches develop from Types 1.1.2 and 1.2.1 through to 1.2.2 which links them to the Group 2 brooches. The sequence of Group 2 brooches is more complex. The miniaturised Group 2 Types (Sub-Group 2.2) appear to emerge from the larger Sub-Group 2.1 forms rather than bearing a direct relationship with Group 1 (as might otherwise be suggested by simply their size). This can also be said for the miniature Group 3 Types (Sub-Group 3.4) that seem to be stylistically later than the larger Sub-Group 3.2 brooches. Type 2.2.2 and 2.1.4 are of particular interest as they cross over into the Group 3-dominated clusters.

As might be expected, Sub-Group 3.3 (the largest Group 3 brooches) occur last. Type 3.2.4, due to their sometimes rectangular head-plate wings are found among the earliest Group 3 brooches amongst members of Group 2. Type 3.2.2, however, owing to their anthropomorphic imagery, are seen relatively late among Group 3 brooches, and cross-over into the Group 4 clusters. Type 3.2.8, another anthropomorphic Group 3 Type, is also seen only relatively late.

The sequence of Group 4 brooches is harder to interpret due to their more discrete clusters. Types 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 link them to Group 3 brooches. The longer horizontal length of this parabola does not represent a longer period of time, but merely the fact that Group 4 Types (as discussed in Chapter 2) are more stylistically discrete. Nonetheless, the parabola suggests a potential order for their development, from Sub-Groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 into the further removed Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.6 and 4.7.

The matrix can be divided into phases at the points of least connection between each cluster, which may indicate chronological distinction. Thus between cluster 1 and 2 there is only one Type that occurs in both (Type 1.2.2). A similar split can be seen between clusters 8 and 9 where the only linking brooches are of Sub-Group 4.2. In terms of this analysis, Group 3 brooches cease to directly influence Group 4 after Sub-Group 4.2. Effectively, there is an amount of stylistic cross-germination between Groups 2 and 3 that is not seen between other Groups. Three major phases can be deduced, each with potential internal stylistic development that can be further sub-divided in the last phase. These are summarised in Table 3.4.

Phase	Sub-Groups (note crossovers)
Phase A:	1.1, 1.2
Phase B:	1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4
Phase C^1	3.2, 4.1, 4.2
Phase C^2	4.2, 4.3
Phase C^3:	4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7

Table 3.4: Phasing suggested by the stylistic seriation.

Grave	Associated types
Bergh Apton G6	2.1.3 and 3.2.7
Cleatham G30	2.1.2 and 3.2.1
Cleatham G34	3.1.1 and 3.2.6
Cleatham G41	2.1.2 and 2.1.3
Fonaby G43	3.2.1 and 3.2.6
Girton G33	2.2.2 and 3.2.3
Holywell Row G48	2.1.2 and 2.2.2
Holywell Row G79	2.1.4, 3.1.1 and 3.3.1
Holywell Row G99	3.2.1 and 3.2.3
Little Wilbraham G171	3.2.1 and 3.3.1
Little Wilbraham G173/4	2.2.2 and 3.4.2
Little Wilbraham G40	3.0.2 and 3.2.5
Little Wilbraham G73	2.1.2 and 3.4.2
Little Wilbraham G95	3.2.2 and 3.4.2
Londesborough G9	3.2.1 and 3.4.1
Morning Thorpe G30	2.1.2 and 3.1.1
Morning Thorpe G353	2.2.2 and 4.1.1
Morning Thorpe G90	2.1.1 and 2.1.2
Nassington G28	3.2.1, 3.3.1 and 3.3.2
Sewerby G12	2.1.1 and 3.4.4
Sheffield's Hill G1	3.2.1 and 3.2.6
Snape G10	2.1.2 and 3.2.7
Spong Hill C3055	2.1.2 and 3.1.1
Spong Hill G22	2.2.3 and 3.2.4
Tallington G8	2.1.1 and 3.2.1
Welbeck Hill G64	3.0.2 and 3.2.1
Westgarth Gardens G61	2.1.1and 3.1.1

Table 3.5: Graves containing more than one Type of cruciform brooch.

Relative Chronology II: Types Associated by Grave Context

The present dataset includes 27 graves (see Table 3.5) that contained more than one Type of cruciform brooch. Types that occur in the same grave should represent broadly contemporary examples. Using this principle, it should be possible to create chains of association (or a seriation), indicative of a sequence. However, the cross-dating of cruciform brooches in this manner is not straightforward. With the exception of Groups 1 and 4, nearly all of the major Types are very highly interrelated. The greatest stylistic range associated by these graves is Type 2.1.1 to 4.1.1, no earlier or later Types have been found in combination. However, even this typological distance can be covered in just two steps. Thus to travel from Type 2.1.1 to Type 4.1.1 (working backwards), the first step is **Morning Thorpe G353** which associates Types 4.1.1 and 2.2.2. **Holywell Row G48** then associates a Type 2.2.2 and a 2.1.2 brooch. Finally, **Morning Thorpe G90** provides an association between Types 2.1.2 and 2.1.1. Nevertheless, these two

steps are more than exists between most Types. Because these two Types (2.1.1 and 4.1.1) are also the most stylistically divergent in this small sample, these results indicate that the method may well work. The high level of interrelatedness between many Types simply demonstrates that a very high number of them were contemporary, or could be obtained over the course of a single individual's life. Therefore the maximum two steps it takes to travel between these very different varieties suggests that it was improbable for a Type 2.1.1 brooch to have been obtained at the same time as a Type 4.1.1 brooch.

No Group 1 brooches have been found in the same contexts as other Types of cruciform brooch. There is also only one Group 4 brooch associated with another Type (above, Morning Thorpe G353). According to the stylistic seriation explored in the previous section, Type 2.1.1 provides a stylistic link between Groups 1 and 2, while Type 4.1.1 does the same for Groups 3 and 4. This information, however, also indicates that some Group 4 brooches occurred in a subsequent phase when their styles could no longer be influenced by Group 3 forms, and their association with Group 3 brooches in graves was highly unlikely. In the same way, Group 1 brooches seem to have occurred largely before this phase of tightly interrelated Types cruciform brooches.

Table 3.5 presents a list of every grave that associates more than one Type of cruciform brooch, and this can be translated into Table 3.6 which provides a list of grave associated varieties of cruciform brooch by Type. From the high rates of association between most Types, it is likely that many of these grave associations represent an overall phase in which it was appropriate to wear more than one Type of cruciform brooch (probably fastening different garments, see Chapter 6). **Morning Thorpe G353** perhaps represents the beginning of a transition out of this phase and the emergence of Group 4 brooches. Despite such high rates of interconnectedness it is possible to extract useful information about the longevity of some of these Types. For instance, Types 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2.2, 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 all have wide-ranging associations, and this suggests they existed for the whole of this intermediary period. The stylistic seriation explored in the previous section indicates exactly the same. These Types in particular are all found in multiple clusters, and therefore have a maximised rate of stylistic cross-germination. Many of these are also very similar (Types 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.1.3 for instance). These two analyses therefore produce complementary results.

Type	Associated with
2.1.1	2.1.2; 3.1.1; 3.2.1; 3.4.4
2.1.2	2.1.1; 2.1.3; 2.2.2; 3.1.1; 3.2.1; 3.2.7; 3.4.4.
2.1.3	2.1.2; 3.2.7
2.1.4	3.1.1; 3.3.1
2.2.2	2.1.2; 3.2.3; 3.4.2; 4.1.1
2.2.3	3.2.4
3.1.1	2.1.1; 2.1.2; 2.1.4; 3.2.6; 3.3.1
3.2.1	2.1.1; 2.1.2; 3.0.2; 3.2.3; 3.2.6; 3.3.1; 3.3.2; 3.4.1
3.2.2	3.4.2
3.2.3	3.1.1; 3.3.1
3.2.4	2.2.3
3.2.6	3.1.1; 3.2.1
3.2.7	2.1.2; 2.1.3
3.3.1	2.1.4; 3.1.1; 3.2.1; 3.3.2
3.3.2	3.2.1; 3.3.1
3.4.1	3.2.1
3.4.2	2.1.2; 2.2.2; 3.2.2
3.4.4	2.1.1
4.1.1	2.2.2

Table 3.6: Summary of Types associated by grave context.

The less common Types have few grave associations and are also generally found later in the stylistic seriation. For instance, Type 3.2.2 is only associated with a single Type 3.4.2 brooch. Type 3.2.3 is similarly only associated with Group 3 brooches, as is Type 3.2.6. These three Types all have stylistically late features, such as anthropomorphic terminals (Type 3.2.2), zoomorphic nostrils (Types 3.2.3 and 3.2.6), and even occasional florid head-plate knobs (Type 3.2.6). Therefore, the fact that they have only relatively late associations is not surprising and fits well with the results of the stylistic seriation. Conversely, Type 3.2.7 has surprisingly early associations with Types 2.1.2 and 2.1.3. Accordingly, this Type is characterised by its lack of spiral nostrils, a unique stylistic trait among Group 3 brooches, but common among Group 2 brooches. Type 2.1.4, which appears later in the stylistic seriation than most Group 2 brooches, is predictably associated only with Group 3 brooches (3.1.1 and 3.3.1). Type 3.2.4 which occurs relatively early amongst Group 2 brooches in the stylistic seriation only has a Group 2 association (with Type 2.2.3). Therefore, although the majority of cruciform brooches seemingly appear almost simultaneously in paired associations, some of these may be placed at an earlier or later phase of a broad period that lies between the majority of Group 1 and Group 4 forms. This phasing can be combined with the results from the stylistic seriation to produce Table 3.7.

Phase	Types	
Phase A	1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.2	
Phase B[1]	2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 3.1.1,	3.2.4, 3.2.7
Phase B[2]	3.2.1, 3.3.1, 3.3.2, 3.4, 4.1.1	2.1.4, 2.2.3, 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.2.6
Phase C[1]	3.2.1, 3.2.2, 4.1, 4.2	
Phase C[2]	4.2, 4.3	
Phase C[3]	4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7	

Table 3.7: Summary of phases from the stylistic seriation and grave-associations.

These two short analyses have been based on two different data sets, but also two different chronological principles: date of manufacture and date of deposition respectively. Overall, they complement each other, and this suggests that the length of time between manufacture and deposition was broadly similar. Hence, most cruciform brooches (though there are certainly exceptions) seem to have been worn for a similar period of time. This idea will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5 when the age profiles of cruciform brooch wearing individuals are analysed. The idea that cruciform brooches can be even more finely dated by interpolating the age of an individual at death and the age when they may have obtained a cruciform brooch may be theoretically possible, but in practical terms is presently far too unreliable and complex to implement.

The stylistic seriation would provide a reasonable relative chronology by itself if we accepted that cruciform brooches developed in a regular and unilinear series. However, the second analysis of grave-associated cruciform brooches provides an important warning that graves should not be dated by typological estimation alone. It shows beyond doubt that a very high number of these Types were in fact contemporary. Broadly speaking, many Group 2 brooches may well have been manufactured earlier than Group 3 brooches, and this is indicated quite persuasively from the stylistic seriation. However, the evolution between Groups 2 and 3 appears to have taken place within a short enough period to have easily obtained both over the course of one lifetime. There was most likely a considerable period when both Group 2 and 3 brooches were being produced simultaneously. From this evidence, Groups 1 and 4 seem to have been affected by more defined chronological boundaries. Perhaps Group 1 occupied a period largely before furnished inhumation, and Group 4 largely after it was fashionable to wear more than one Type of cruciform brooch.

Relative Chronology III: Associated Dress-Accessories

In recent years there has been substantial work seriating grave groups using correspondence analysis (Hines 1999a, Hines *et al* 1999; Jørgensen 1992; Penn and Brugmann 2007). It would seem that with nearly 300 grave groups, cruciform brooches might yield reliable results. Yet, attempts using the present data set were not successful, and no manipulation of the variables would produce a smooth parabola on a correspondence analysis plot. This is because the technique has very specific and complex data requirements. Primarily, an accurate and dependable seriation requires a large number of complete and reliable grave groups, and also has the requirement that the investigated grave goods should all have some chronological significance. Removing all but the most reliably recorded and undisturbed grave groups from the sample dramatically reduced its size.[7] In addition, attempting to produce a chronological seriation that considers only graves that yielded cruciform brooches puts a major bias on the data set causing it to be geographically confined and socially restricted (not all members of early Anglo-Saxon society could be interred with a cruciform brooch, see Chapter 5). In addition, it reduces the sample to a relatively restricted chronological period. The sample therefore contravenes almost all of the guidelines set down by Karen Høilund Nielsen (1995), and experimentation with the data has proven the sound nature of this advice.

This analysis will therefore be more discursive, but will make some effort to quantify changes in the frequencies of associated grave goods. The purpose of this analysis is to measure how associated grave goods change with cruciform brooch Types. Underpinning this analysis is the idea that some varieties of grave good display unidirectional chronological trends. In other words, their use either increased or decreased steadily over time. Aligning these trends with sequences of cruciform brooches will allow certain Types to be placed in an approximate order. The resulting sequence can then be compared to the phases produced from the two previous analyses of stylistic seriation and grave-associated cruciform brooches.

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[7] 19th-century excavations often recorded grave groups, but did not consistently record every item in the grave. Often the less spectacular finds, such as iron artefacts or fragments of copper alloy artefacts were not recorded or even kept. These techniques require the full grave group in order to work, rather than just a selection of associated artefacts.

Only chronologically sensitive grave goods will be utilised, and consequently this analysis will be focused on artefacts that would have been part of a costume. Dress-accessories tend to follow more noticeable chronological development than other artefacts, and this is thought to be especially true for Anglo-Saxon England (Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997, 30). For instance, the inclusion of vessels or a coffin in a grave might possess a chronological dimension, but also indicates a slightly different burial ritual which may have been revisited throughout the period. Although burial in a mortuary costume is also the outcome of a ritual process, it seems more likely that these individuals were buried in the clothes they wore during their life (Chapter 7, on the wear and repair of cruciform brooches, will provide some supporting evidence for this).

The above two analyses suggested that a sequence can be established from Groups 1 to 4, with an amount of overlap, especially between Groups 2 and 3 which seem to be broadly contemporary. The first step in this analysis is therefore to demonstrate this premise by proving that a similar pattern is seen with the grave goods associated with cruciform brooches of Groups 2 and 3.

Table 3.8 lists the number of inhumation and cremation contexts that included cruciform brooches of each particular Group. It is significant that there is a major difference between the numbers of cremations and inhumations with Group 1 brooches in particular. Cremation is thought to have been an earlier mortuary rite for the majority of the population, although it did continue to a lesser extent through the rest of the early Anglo-Saxon period (Hills 1999, 20). These figures provide further evidence for this. Therefore it is not surprising to see what the above two analyses have shown to be the earliest cruciform brooches associated with a generally earlier burial rite.

Typological Group	Inhumation	Cremation
Group 1	5	18
Group 2	54	5
Group 3	127	3
Group 4	35	2

Table 3.8: Typological groups and number of contexts.

The most commonly associated dress-accessories that are associated with cruciform brooches are wrist-clasps, annular brooches and small long brooches, and slightly less commonly girdle-hangers. There are a number of other dress-accessories that occur in

smaller numbers in this region (great square-headed brooches, openwork brooches, disc brooches and Anglian equal arm brooches, for example), but these are rare and unique items that are less likely to represent broad changes in fashion.

To assess some of these grave associations it was necessary to work only with inhumation burials. Inhumations provide a fuller assemblage of the dress-accessories that would have made up that individual's costume in life. The cremation process generally distorts copper-alloy dress-accessories into amorphous lumps of metal and the remains of some may not even have been collected from the remains of the pyre and placed in the urn. In addition, because both rites were different ritual processes, we cannot say that the individual would have been dressed according to the same rules.

Table 3.9 compares the four major Groups of cruciform brooches with their most commonly associated dress-accessories (small long brooches, annular brooches, wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers). Firstly, figures are provided for the absolute numbers of each cruciform brooch Group associated with a particular dress-accessory. Secondly, Table 3.9 presents the total percentage of cruciform brooches of each Group (from recorded inhumation contexts) associated with each variety of dress-accessory. Note that some of the inhumations did not provide associations with any of these major varieties of dress-accessory. Also, many of these cruciform brooches were associated with more than one other major variety.

	Group 1 (n=5)		Group 2 (n=54)		Group 3 (n=127)		Group 4 (n=35)	
Small long (n=64)	3	(60%)	17	(31.5%)	36	(28.3%)	8	(22.9%)
Annular (n=76)	1	(20%)	6	(11.1%)	50	(39.4%)	19	(54.3%)
Wrist-clasps (n=115)	0	(0%)	25	(46.3%)	68	(53.4%)	22	(62.9%)
Girdle-hangers (n=19)	0	(0%)	3	(5.6%)	13	(10.2%)	3	(8.6%)

Table 3.9: Frequencies and proportions of common dress-accessories associated with each Group of cruciform brooches.

These data demonstrate some unidirectional trends of either gradually increasing or decreasing frequencies of small long brooches, annular brooches, wrist-clasps, and, to a lesser extent, girdle-hangers. Frequencies for Group 1 cruciform brooch associations must be taken tentatively as they are only based on five inhumations, but small long

brooches decrease steadily from Groups 1 to 4, while annular brooches, despite the anomalous 20% from just one Group 1 association, gradually increase in popularity.[8] Wrist-clasps show no associations with Group 1, but suddenly increase in association with Group 2 cruciform brooches, and from there steadily increase. Girdle-hangers are few in number, but also show a gradually increasing trend from no associations with Group 1 up to around a 10% rate of coincidence with Groups 3 and 4.

The fact that all four of the most commonly associated dress-accessories follow broad unidirectional trends provides further evidence indicating that the relative chronology of cruciform brooches does indeed run in one direction from Group 1 through to Group 4. However, this is only a very general indicator of change over time and it does not enable individual graves or types of cruciform brooch to be dated. Association with wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers may well imply a later context than Group 1 brooches are found in, but annular and small long brooches *can* be found with all four cruciform brooch Groups. It is therefore necessary to further classify these dress-accessories to see if their forms display any stylistic change parallel to that of the cruciform brooch.

Small Long Brooches

Sixty years after its publication the most comprehensive study of small long brooches is still by Leeds (1945) who proposed a typology based on head-plate form.[9] This is their most obviously classifiable characteristic. Foot form varies widely between a sub-triangular and a sweeping crescentic terminus, but these shapes, as with the foot termini of some cruciform brooches (above, Chapter 2), are not easily measurable. They occasionally have lappets, which may well have chronological significance, but unfortunately they are relatively rare. Due to the lack of alternatives, Leeds' division by head-plate form will be used here. Leeds proposed five basic types: trefoil, cross potent, cross pattee, square-headed and panelled (see Figure 3.3), to which can be added forms that appear to be derived from these basic shapes, as well as the cruciform/small long brooch hybrid.

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[8] Hines (1997a, 247) found a similar trend in the association of annular brooches with great square-headed brooches. Høilund Nielsen (1997a, 87) also found that paired small long brooches seem to occur before paired annular brooches.

[9] Helen Geake is, however, currently working on a new classification of these brooches (pers. comm. 2010).

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Figure 3.3: Small long brooches (a) trefoil (West 1998, 141, fig.25); (b) cross pattee (Timby 1996, 196, fig.116); (c) cross potent (West 1998, 174, fig.56a); (d) square-headed (West 1998, 158, fig.42) (e) panelled (West 1998, 158, fig.42). Scale 1/1.

The proportions of different varieties of small long brooch associated with each Group of cruciform brooch remain largely unchanged, as does whether they are of a "prototype" or derivative form. Trefoil small long brooches increase in frequency with Group 3 cruciform brooches, while square-headed small long brooches increase in frequency with Group 4 brooches. There is no obvious typological development that appears to run parallel to that of cruciform brooches. As can be seen from Table 3.10 each variety of small long brooch is about equally represented. There is a lack of the square-headed and related types associated with Group 1 (square-headed, panelled and cruciform), but their

frequency increases in its proportions with Group 4, suggesting that these types increase in popularity over time. Lappets are also missing from any small long brooches associated with Group 1 cruciform brooches.

	Cross Pattee	Cross Potent	Trefoil	Square	Panelled	Cruciform	Other	Total
Group 1	2 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3
Group 2	3 (16.7%)	6 (33.3%)	3 (16.7%)	2 (11.1%)	2 (11.1%)	1 (5.6%)	1 (5.6%)	18
Group 3	7 (17.5%)	9 (22.5%)	12 (30%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	40
Group 4	0 (0%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)	3 (33.3%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	9

Table 3.10: Types of small long brooch associated with cruciform brooches divided by Group.

If there is any chronological patterning in small long brooch forms, it seems to be more subtle than head-plate or lappet forms can represent. A detailed study of these relatively plain brooches is required before a proper analysis can proceed. For now, it is only possible to say that all forms of small long brooch seem to have been present throughout the stylistic development of the cruciform brooch, and though there may well be some subtler patterning, it is not possible to extract much with any confidence from this sample. While cross pattee and cross potent varieties generally increase in frequency with each successive cruciform brooch Group, trefoil small long brooches remain approximately steady, while square-headed types broadly increase. However, this is based on a very small sample and should be accepted only tentatively.

Annular Brooches

Being very plain objects, decorated only with subtle moulding or punch marks and incised lines, there is no satisfactory classificatory scheme for annular brooches. The most obvious distinction can be made between the very thin and flat copper-alloy

brooches and the moulded varieties with a circular section (see Figure 3.4).[10] Table 3.11
shows that the overall number of moulded annular brooches is very low. However, the
percentage of moulded brooches gradually decreases from Group 2 through to Group 4
from 33.3%, 10.5% down to 6.3%. This potentially demonstrates a decrease in moulded
annular brooches over time. Yet, they are still present at nearly every stage (excepting
Group 1, which only has one annular brooch association).

	Flat	**Moulded**
Group 1	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
Group 2	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
Group 3	36 (90%)	4 (10%)
Group 4	15 (93.8%)	1 (6.3%)

*Table 3.11: Numbers of annular brooches of each type associated with cruciform
brooch Groups.*

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*Figure 3.4: Annular brooches: (a) Moulded (Timby 1996, 177, fig.99); (b) Flat
(Timby 1996,178, fig.100). Scale 1/1.*

Wrist-Clasps

Wrist-clasps are the only commonly associated item with cruciform brooches that have
been comprehensively classified (Hines 1993), and therefore a more detailed analysis of
the way in which their form changes alongside the cruciform brooch is possible. Tables
3.12 and 3.13 present the data in full. Most of these types are fairly rare (A, C, B8, B9,
B14, B16, B17, B18, B19 and B20). However, B7 and B13 are present in adequate

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[10] Bruggman and Penn (2007) suggested that the shape of the pin and the perforation by which it
was attached to the brooch had some chronological significance. This detail was not easily
assessed for the current sample compiled from published illustrations.

numbers to arrive at some conclusions. While B13 remains steadily represented in Groups 2, 3 and 4 (Group 1 cruciform brooches have no associations with wrist-clasps), B7 gradually increases in frequency through the cruciform brooch's development.

	A	B7	B8	B9	B12	B13	B14	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20	C	*Total*
Group 2	2	2	0	0	3	8	1	1	3	2	0	0	2	*24*
Group 3	3	17	1	1	6	24	2	3	4	3	1	4	4	*73*
Group 4	0	9	0	0	1	8	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	*22*

Table 3.12: Absolute frequencies of wrist-clasps associated with each Group of cruciform brooch.

	A	B7	B8	B9	B12	B13	B14	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20	C	*Total*
Group 2	8.3	8.3	0	0	12.5	33.3	4.2	4.2	12.5	8.3	0	0	8.3	*24*
Group 3	24.3	23.3	1.4	1.4	8.2	32.9	2.7	4.1	5.5	4.1	1.4	5.5	5.5	*73*
Group 4	0	40.9	0	0	4.5	36.4	0	9.1	4.5	4.5	0	0	0	*22*

Table 3.13: Percentages of types of wrist-clasp associated with each Group of cruciform brooch.

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Figure 3.5: Wrist- clasps (a) Type B7 (Hines 1993, 41, fig.80); (b) Type B13a (Hines 1993, 51, fig.98). Scale 1/1.

These brief typological examinations add detail to the chronological characteristics of the material associated with cruciform brooches. Though little can be taken from the small long brooches (tentatively, square-headed variants increase with time), annular brooches show a gradually changing preference for flat rather than moulded forms, and wrist-clasps

show an increasing preference for the thinner, simpler B7 forms. Even at this level of detail the same basic conclusion is reinforced further: where change can be identified it is unidirectional.

Adapting a Continuum of Development into Delineated Phases

The stylistic seriation demonstrated a gradual development with noticeable breaks between Groups 1 and 2 on one hand, and Groups 3 and 4 on the other. Groups 2 and 3, however, displayed significant stylistic merging, and this was interpreted to demonstrate their contemporaneity. An analysis of grave-associated cruciform brooches confirmed that Group 2 and 3 brooches were indeed frequently found associated in the same context. The picture from other grave-associated dress-accessories further isolated Group 1 brooches, which were rarely associated with annular brooches, and never with wrist-clasps. However, chronological change as well as continuity is suggested between Groups 3 and 4 with similarly increasing numbers of wrist-clasps and annular brooches, and decreasing numbers of small long brooches. This third analysis also indicated that Groups 2 and 3 were not entirely contemporary, as there were differences in their associated dress-accessories that followed broader unidirectional trends.

This completes a picture of total continuity: there are no absolute stylistic divisions between the four major cruciform brooch Groups, and there are no dramatic changes in grave-associated artefacts. Yet, a chronology that does not make distinctions between phases is of little use. Therefore, it is necessary to return to the phases suggested above (Table 3.7) and subject them to further scrutiny based on the above understanding of the unidirectional trends seen in grave-associated dress-accessories.

Phase A

Phase A, represented by Group 1 brooches, for the reasons outlined above, is relatively isolated. However, it may display some internal chronological development. The inhumation rite and wearing more than one brooch (of any variety) might be understood to be more typical of Phases B and C. The only Phase A cruciform brooches associated with an annular brooch are of Type 1.2.2 (**Sleaford G66**). Type 1.2.2 brooches are

stylistically speaking the latest in Phase A. The two grave associations of Group 1 cruciform brooches with small long brooches include only Type 1.1.1 brooches (**Cleatham G9** and **Nassington G17**). Unlike Type 1.1.2, which seems to be limited to cremation burials, Type 1.1.1 may, in fact, have had a very long period of use, which is perhaps also suggested by a large degree of stylistic variability internal to the Type (Dorchester G2 and Cleatham G9, are, for instance, very different indeed). **Castledyke South G156** is a Type 1.2.1 brooch, stylistically earlier than Type 1.2.2, and yet is associated with an openwork swastika brooch: a rare variety of brooch that is also associated with Group 4 brooches. However, this grave is unusual for being that of a younger individual (see below, Chapter 5). The brooch itself is also unusual for being only a fragment, which could not be worn in the normal manner and therefore does not necessarily represent a contemporary fashion. **Castledyke South G156** therefore was likely an heirloom, and should be removed from chronological consideration.

Brooches of Phase A seem to be the most chronologically discrete. Development within the phase from Types 1.1.2 to 1.2.1 to 1.2.2 is tentatively suggested both from a stylistic perspective as well as from their associated goods and method of burial. Type 1.1.1, however, appears to overlap with all of these, being found in both the earliest and latest contexts of Phase A, and probably therefore displays considerable internal chronological development.

Phase B

Phase B is the most complex. It contains the majority of cruciform brooches and they all seem to overlap in terms of their stylistic seriation as well as grave associations. As the analysis of grave-associated cruciform brooches demonstrated, the more general forms seem to span the whole period, while the more specific and tightly defined Types, as might be expected, tend to fall into an earlier or later period within this phase. This picture was muddied somewhat by an analysis of associated dress-accessories that demonstrated some contextual distinctions between Groups 2 and 3. It is now necessary to look at the individual Types to see where their grave associations lie along the unidirectional trends proposed above, and if they can be put into either an earlier or later part of Phase B.

Types 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 are all very stylistically similar. As was established in Chapter 2, Type 2.1.1 provides a link with Group 1 brooches through their lack of a brow on their feet, among other more subtle characteristics. This Type is numerous and varied and also displays a high number of grave associations with Group 3 brooches. It is likely that Type 2.1.1 spanned the whole of Phase B, and there is little evidence from their associated artefacts to claim anything different, although they do display internal stylistic development. The Type 2.1.1 brooches **Stratford G70 (1)** and **(2)** are small and simple, with head-plates not outside the size range for Group 1 brooches, and they are associated with an early zoomorphic buckle (this will be discussed below). Then again, **Tallington G8** associates two Type 2.1.1 brooches with two Type 3.2.1 brooches, as well as a B7 wrist-clasp, a variety that most likely became popular a little later. Type 2.1.2 brooches also show a wide variety of grave associations, and are found in the same contexts as Types 3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.2.7 brooches, annular brooches, small long brooches and wrist-clasps. Conversely, Type 2.1.3 has only one association with a Group 3 brooch (a potentially early pair of Type 3.2.7 brooches), no associations with annular brooches, and one association (notably in a cremation: **Lackford C50,127**) with a wrist-clasp that Hines identifies as a B7 (Hines 1993, 116), but whose shape does in fact look more akin to his very early and largely Scandinavian type B2. Therefore, it would be justifiable to move the Type 2.1.3 brooches into an earlier part of Phase B.

Type 2.1.4 is closely related to Group 3 by their frequent trapezoidal head-plate wings and spiral nostrils, yet they also lack lappets and foot termini. It seems likely therefore that this brooch spanned Phase B. The evidence from associated grave goods confirms this. The only annular brooch association is a moulded type (suggestive of an earlier date), and there is only one associated wrist-clasp, which tend to be more commonly associated with later brooches. Conversely, Type 2.1.4 is in one instance grave-associated with a Type 3.3.1 brooch (stylistically late), and a unique small long brooch that is a miniature copy of a great square-headed brooch (Hines type III or VII), which is probably a later variety.

Sub-Group 2.2 are miniaturised versions of the 2.1 brooches. Stylistically they are later than Sub-Group 2.1 brooches as they often lack features related to Group 1 such as separately cast side-knobs (represented on nearly all Sub-Group 2.1 Types) and fully round top-knobs (present on a few examples of 2.1 Types). Associations with other cruciform brooches confirm this: there is only one Sub-Group 2.2 brooch from the same

context as a Sub-Group 2.1 brooch (**Holywell Row G48** – and even these Type 2.1.2 brooches look relatively late). All other associations are with Types 3.2.3, 3.2.4, 3.4.2 and even a Type 4.1.1 brooch. The evidence from associated small long, annular brooches and wrist-clasps is inconclusive. There are two associations with Anglian equal arm brooches, which are not associated with any other Group 1 or 2 brooches, and also an association with a silver necklace ring (**Spong Hill G46**). Silver items in general seem to be found especially with Phase C florid and bichrome cruciform brooches. There is, however, an association with a remarkably early quoit brooch style equal arm brooch (**Westgarth Gardens G55**). Such brooches, due to their rarity and perhaps antique associations may have been retained for a long time, and should not unduly inform a chronological argument (see below, absolute dating). There is also a Sub-Group 2.2 grave association with an openwork swastika brooch, likely to be a slightly later variety. The evidence, though mixed, is possibly enough to situate Types 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 in a later part of Phase B. Types 2.2.1 and 2.2.4 have too few grave associations to be reliable, but they are stylistically very close to Types 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 which is all the evidence we have to suggest they were contemporary.

Group 3 brooches are dominated by Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1. Both of these show wide stylistic variation that overlaps with Group 2 and Group 4 brooches. In addition, they are associated by grave context with Types 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.4, 3.0.2, 3.2.6, 3.2.3, 3.2.4, 3.2.6, 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. Associations with other dress-accessories are similarly encompassing with a fair number of small long brooches, annular brooches, and most types of wrist-clasp. Other grave associations include openwork swastika brooches, an Anglian equal arm brooch, great square-headed brooches, and girdle-hangers. This evidence confirms that these widespread and stylistically varied cruciform brooches span at least all of Phase B.

Types 3.0.1 and 3.0.2 are hybrids of Group 2 and 3 forms (see Chapter 2). They are associated by grave context only with Types 3.2.1 and 3.2.5. They possess two associations with annular brooches, one of which is the supposedly earlier moulded variety. Also, they have no associations with B7 wrist-clasps, more typically associated with stylistically later brooches. Then again, there is an association with a great square-headed brooch and scutiform pendant, which are potentially later forms (see below, absolute dating). The evidence is mixed, and Types 3.0.1 and 3.0.2 are relatively heterogeneous. There is not sufficient evidence from associated items to establish

anything conclusive about these relatively rare brooches, but most likely they spanned Phase B.

Types 3.1.2 and 3.2.2 are unusual (along with Type 3.2.8, and arguably Type 3.2.9) among cruciform brooches outside Group 4 for displaying anthropomorphic imagery. Stylistically, therefore, they are late. Some examples also approach a form more typical of the very large Sub-Group 3.3 brooches. Then again, these brooches frequently lack a foot terminus, occasionally have rectangular head-plate wings, and at least two have tabbed head-plate knobs – which are all stylistically early (Group 2) traits. Yet, nine out of ten examples from known contexts were not paired with other cruciform brooches, a proportion more typical of Group 4 brooches. They also have far more associations with annular than small long brooches, a very large number were worn with wrist-clasps, a couple of which were the typically later B7 form. There are also two associations with other relatively late items: a scutiform and a gilded zoomorphic pendant. There may well be a large degree of stylistic development within Type 3.2.2, but grave associations strongly suggest a later date within Phase B.

Type 3.2.3, on account of their zoomorphic nostrils, represent another stylistic overlap with Group 4. They are associated by grave context with Types 2.2.2, 3.2.1 and 3.2.4, as well as a mix of small long, annular and wrist-clasp types. In addition, they are grave-associated with a scutiform pendant and C-bracteate (**Morning Thorpe G80**). The evidence for any more specific dating is not strong, but there are no particularly early associations. Their stylistic crossover with Group 4 brooches is persuasive, and therefore they can tentatively be placed in the later part of Phase B.

Type 3.2.4 brooches are especially homogeneous and unusually among Group 3 brooches possess very small foot termini. The foot style puts them in very close relation to Type 2.1.4, and they only have grave associations with Type 3.2.1 and the miniaturised versions of Type 2.1.4: Type 2.2.3. They share more grave contexts with small long brooches than annular brooches, and are not associated with B7 wrist-clasps. The one grave-association with an apparently later Type 2.2.3 brooch (**Spong Hill G22**) is of an example peripheral to Type 3.2.4 (it has both a brow and lappets more typical of Type 3.2.1). Therefore, it seems that the core of Type 3.2.4 lacks any reliable later associations, and should be put into the first part of Phase B.

Type 3.2.5 does not have a sufficient number of grave associations to make any confident conclusions about its phasing. Being a tightly defined class concentrated in a geographical region, it is most likely from a limited chronological period. Stylistically, it is close to Types 3.3.2 and 3.4.3, which are suggested to be later (see below). However, its grave associations are limited and mixed (a Type 3.0.2 brooch, a great square-headed brooch, small long brooches, and annular brooches). This evidence is not sufficient to be any more specific about their dating.

Types 3.2.6, 3.2.7, 3.2.8, 3.2.9 and 3.2.10 all have an insufficient number of grave associations to come to any firm conclusion as to their phasing. They are obviously all closely related to other Sub-Group 3.2 forms. Types 3.2.6 and 3.2.8 show the closest association with Group 4 brooches by their florid head-plate knobs, anthropomorphic feet (Type 3.2.8) and zoomorphic nostrils (Type 3.2.6), and on this evidence alone they can be placed in the second half of Phase B. Type 3.2.7 may be placed in the first half of Phase B on account of them having only generic (Type 2.1.2) or earlier (Type 2.1.3) cruciform brooch grave associations. In addition they do not share grave contexts with any annular brooches, and have two small long brooch associations. The remaining Types 3.2.9 and 3.2.10 possess no reliable dating evidence except their general similarity to Sub-Group 3.2 forms, and therefore cannot be placed any more specifically than Phase B.

Types 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 are very similar, both are found in the same grave contexts, and have similar associations with other dress-accessories. They have two associations with silvered objects (a buckle and a pendant), and two with crystal beads. They have more grave associations with annular brooches than small long brooches, and two of the latter are more likely to be of later varieties (square-headed and panelled). There are also three associations with B7 wrist-clasps, and no particularly early associations. Sub-Group 3.3 can be safely placed in the second half of Phase B.

Sub-Group 3.4 brooches are comparable to Sub-Group 2.2, being miniaturised versions. Again, they have only generic or late grave associations with cruciform brooches (Types 3.1.1 and 3.2.2). They have about an equal number of associations with small long and annular brooches, but a relatively high number of associations with B7 wrist-clasps. Sub-Group 3.4 brooches therefore most likely to fall into the latter half of Phase B.

Also contemporary with later Phase B are a number of Group 4 brooches. Type 4.1.1 is found associated with a later Phase B brooch (Type 2.2.2). The stylistic seriation suggests that the earliest Group 4 Types may have been Sub-Groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. Known grave contexts for all these Types are few – eighteen in total. Their grave associations are similar to the later Phase B brooches: a large number of annular brooches, a few B7 clasps, and one silver finger ring. From these contexts alone, it is perfectly possible that some of these forms may well have extended further back into the earlier part of Phase B, but according to their stylistic development, this seems unlikely (but nonetheless possible). There are also three examples of these earlier Group 4 brooches being worn alongside other cruciform brooches: a habit completely absent among the later Group 4 brooches, but a frequent characteristic of Phase B. All these Types therefore should be reassigned from the phasing given by the stylistic seriation above from Phase C to the later part of Phase B.

Phase C

With the reassignment of some Group 4 forms into Phase B, Phase C is made up of Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7. These brooches display a major stylistic break with the rest of the cruciform brooch series: almost all are gilded, and many are decorated in bichrome. Most head-plates lack the three-panelled structure of virtually all other cruciform brooches. Nearly all bows are decorated either with panels or bosses. There are also major changes in iconography with Type 4.4 brooches displaying almost solely the biting beast motif (see Chapter 8). Style I panels are almost unique to these brooches

Grave contexts for these brooches are relatively few (20), but there are some differences that are significant enough to justify separating these brooches into Phase C. None are worn in pairs with another cruciform brooch. Only two are grave-associated with small long brooches (both unusual square-headed forms), while almost all the others are found with annular brooches. At least fifteen share grave contexts with wrist-clasps. Proportionately, this represents the highest association with annular brooches and wrist-clasps for any variety of cruciform brooch. A relatively high number of these graves (more than a quarter of them) also have silver grave goods (mounts, armillae, pendants), something that is very rare among earlier Types. These graves therefore represent a new fashion (cruciform brooches worn singly with accompanying silver artefacts), and

perhaps the availability of new materials (high rates of gilding and silvering). There is a possibility that these brooches, given their ostentatious appearance, could represent an elite class contemporary with Phase B, rather than a later phase. However, given the continuity that these brooches display from the later Phase B brooches, as well as the fact that their associations follow the unidirectional trends seen in grave good associations, it seems that there is sufficient evidence to support these brooches being a development of earlier trends, rather than something entirely different as might be the case if we were dealing with a different social group. Therefore, these brooches have all been placed together in Phase C

This discussion provides the evidence to construct the refined chronology represented in Table 3.14. As can be seen, the vast majority of cruciform brooches can be found in Phase B, and only a small number of these can be assigned to Phase B1. However, many of the general Phase B brooches would also have been in use during this earlier period. Much of the evidence that separates the two halves of Phase B can only be treated tentatively, but some confidence can be placed in the three broadest divisions.

Phase A	1.1.1; 1.1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.2
Phase B (general)	2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.4; 3.0.1; 3.0.2; 3.1.1; 3.2.1; 3.2.5; 3.2.9; 3.2.10
Phase B1	2.1.3; 3.2.4; 3.2.7
Phase B2	2.2.1; 2.2.2; 2.2.3; 2.2.4; 3.1.2; 3.2.2; 3.2.3; 3.2.6; 3.2.8; 3.3.1; 3.3.2; 3.4.1; 3.4.2; 3.4.3; 3.4.4; 4.1.1; 4.1.2; 4.1.3; 4.2; 4.3.1; 4.3.2.
Phase C	4.4; 4.5; 4.6.1; 4.6.2; 4.7.1; 4.7.2

Table 3.14: The relative phasing of cruciform brooch Types.

Kentish Cruciform Brooches and Relative Chronology

The Kentish cruciform brooches remain peripheral to this study, but drawing some parallels between them and the rest of the series has some significant chronological implications. The eleven grave contexts they are known from are not sufficient for a detailed analysis, so they are only linked to the Anglian cruciform brooches by stylistic similarity. However, because the Kentish brooches are stylistically divergent, the grounds for contemporaneity are potentially complex. For instance, miniature brooches

with cast side-knobs in the above chronology are of a later date than their larger counterparts, yet stylistically early Kentish brooches quite frequently have cast side-knobs. It may well be the case that this was a technique that arose and ceased at an earlier date in Kent given that there is no evidence for comparable Phase B1 brooches here. The stylistic parallels between Anglian and Kentish Groups and Sub-Groups are given in Table 3.15.

Kentish Group	Anglian Sub-Group	Phase
1	1.2	A
2	2.2	B

Table 3.15: Stylistic comparison between Kentish and Anglian cruciform brooches.

Absolute Chronology

The major difficulty with applying absolute dates to these phases is that all items with a common enough association with the cruciform brooch to be useful and reliable have been dated by their associations with cruciform brooches in the first instance. There are, however, a small number of grave finds that can be independently dated by their continental parallels. The major problem with these is that they were very rare items that may have followed different norms of circulation. Though these will be discussed, a more reliable method of applying absolute dates will be to link these phases into the various chronologies based on a much broader spectrum of material already developed for Anglo-Saxon England, the continent and Scandinavia, and fixed into an absolute dates by continental coin-dated graves. Therefore, even if these absolute dates are called into question (as they often are, and surely will be) the cruciform brooch phases suggested here can simply be shifted accordingly.

Absolute Chronology I: Independently Datable Grave Associations

There has been much discussion over the date of the three graves at Dyke Hills, Dorchester (Kirk and Leeds 1954; Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Hills 1999; Reichstein 1975, 92-4), one of which contained what is stylistically the earliest cruciform brooch

from a known context in England (**Dorchester G2**). Another grave in the same group contained late Roman (4th-century) military belt equipment. This find strongly suggests a very late Roman or narrowly post-Roman date for these graves, and has also led to an ongoing debate about whether the grave was that of a Germanic mercenary in the employ of the Roman army. The associated grave is important to chronological arguments surrounding the early cruciform brooch. As was shown in Chapter 2, the brooch is relatively peripheral to Type 1.1.1, being much thinner in its proportions. These brooches are known as 'Nydam' brooches on the continent, and are seen to precede the main cruciform brooch series. They are usually dated to the second half of the 4th century (Engvik 2008, 21). The Dorchester brooch is unparalleled by a complete example in England, although the fragments **Spong Hill C2197**, **Preston St Mary II 1** and perhaps **Foulsham 2** come close.

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Figure 3.6: Zoomorphic buckles: (a) Dorchester G2 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 2, fig.1); (b) Stratford-upon-Avon G70 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 46, fig.16); (c) Bifrons G23 (Hawkes 2000, 20, fig.11). Scale 1/1.

Dorchester G2 potentially represents the earliest known 'Anglo-Saxon' grave in England. The interred individual was also wearing a zoomorphic belt buckle and decorated plate of the same variety that was found associated with a pair of cruciform brooches at **Stratford-upon-Avon G70** (see Figure 3.6). The buckle loop is formed by two outward-facing horse profiles. This type of buckle (Marzinzik 2003, type II1b) has a wide distribution on Romano-British sites (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 47-8), but is also known from a few Anglo-Saxon mortuary contexts and Marzinzik dates them to the 5th

century (Marzinzik 2003, 36). A related zoomorphic buckle with confronted 'dolphin' heads was found in the same grave as another cruciform brooch: **Bifrons G23**. The Dorchester grave is undoubtedly very early, and probably even precedes Phase A. The **Bifrons G23** brooch is most likely a Phase A brooch (Kentish Group 1), and so would fit the early dating suggested by these Roman or post-Roman buckles. Conversely, **Stratford-upon-Avon G70 (1)** and **(2)** are both Phase B brooches (Type 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). As mentioned above, Sub-Group 2.1 shows considerable typological development within its Types, and some were probably very early Phase B or even late Phase A brooches. **Stratford-upon-Avon G70 (1)** and **(2)** would be the most likely candidates of Type 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 to fall into this category: they are small with narrow head-plate wings, and therefore their association with a very early zoomorphic buckle should not be too surprising. Marzinzik (2003) makes no further suggestions for the dates of these buckles than those proposed by Hawkes and Dunning (1961, 26) of the mid-5th century. However, this absolute dating is based entirely on the proposed earliest dates of Anglo-Saxon migration and settlement – none of their contexts are reliably datable (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 26).

Bifrons G23 was also found associated with an additional late Roman item: a copper-alloy knife handle decorated with the motif of a hound and hare (Hawkes 2000, 20), very close to the immediately post-Roman quoit brooch style ornamentation (see Figure 3.7 and Suzuki 2000 for examples). This association also supports a date in the 5th century.

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Figure 3.7: Zoomorphic copper-alloy knife handle from Bifrons G23 (Hawkes 2000, 20, fig.11). Scale 1/1.

The only other 5th-century artefact (dated independently from cruciform brooches) associated with a cruciform brooch is a single chip-carved equal arm brooch[11] (Böhme's type Nesse) from **Westgarth Gardens G55** (see Figure 3.8). These north German brooches have been dated to the second half of the 5th century by Evison (1977, 134) and

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[11] The chip-carved quoit brooch style "Saxon" equal arm brooches are not to be confused with the later, plainer "Anglian" or "bow-tie" equal arm brooches.

Böhme (1986, 542-51). This relatively early date is problematic given its association with a (Type 2.2.2) Phase B2 cruciform brooch. Penn and Brugmann (2007, 23) place this grave in their earliest phase (FA1), which ends at some point in the late 5th century (Penn and Brugmann 2007, 58). However, they take this date from their proposed phasing of the associated cruciform and small long brooches and their typology for cruciform brooches does not distinguish between Groups 1 and 2, let alone the full-size and miniaturised versions of Group 2. The evidence from stylistic seriation, grave-associated cruciform brooches, and other grave-associated dress-accessories (see above) all strongly suggest that Sub-Group 2.2 brooches are later than Group 1 brooches, and even some Sub-Group 2.1 brooches. Therefore, this association with a relatively early equal arm brooch should be treated as exceptional. This elaborate equal arm brooch was a unique and special item, and had potentially been curated for some time prior to its deposition.

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Figure 3.8: "Saxon" equal arm brooch from Westgarth Gardens G55 (West 1988, 60, fig.78). Scale 1/1.

Phase A probably began around the mid-5th century, and ceases, with some crossover, with the start of Phase B. This date must be taken only tentatively as it is based largely on our current understanding of the end of Roman Britain and the commencing of large cremation cemeteries and furnished inhumation practices. In the case of the Dorchester grave, this could be considerably earlier, even the late 4th century, and considering this, a fair number of these earliest cruciform brooches could potentially be pushed back into at least the earlier 5th century. Sadly, however, the state of 5th-century chronology is not secure enough to say this with confidence. We must, however, accept it as a possibility.

There are no reliable associations with datable material for Phase B1 brooches. The only plausibly independently datable material associated with Phase B brooches are all from its latter half (Phase B2). The brooches, buckles and pendants we can use to suggest independent dates are those which have good continental or Scandinavian parallels. These include radiate and great square-headed brooches, shield-tongue buckles, bracteates and scutiform pendants.

The radiate-headed brooches associated with a Type 3.1.1 cruciform brooch from **Little Wilbraham G131** (Figure 3.9) are among the most reliably datable among the associated grave goods of Phase B cruciform brooches. Then again, radiate-headed brooches are a Frankish variety and these examples are probably imports. Therefore they may have been deposited in an Anglo-Saxon grave at a later date than they generally were on the continent, although this is not necessarily the case. They belong to Kühn's group 21 (Kühn 1940, 200), which Reichstein (1975, 94) dates no more specifically than the 6th century. Hines (1984, 26), however, believes that this type can be dated more accurately to 520-550 (they fall into Ament's phase AMII – see Table 3.1) as was suggested by Ursula Koch's dating of the row grave cemetery in Schretzheim, Germany (Koch 1977, 48-9). Mortimer (1990, 146) agrees with this dating. Therefore, Phase B can be seen to extend into the second quarter of the 6th century.

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Figure 3.9: Radiate-headed brooches from Little Wilbraham grave 131 (Reichstein 1975, pl.106). Scale 1/1.

Shield-tongue buckles are another continental variety and have two associations with cruciform brooches of Types 3.2.1 (**Sewerby G57**) and 4.3.1 (**Norton G22**); a Phase B and B2 brooch respectively (Figure 3.10). Sonja Marzinzik asserts that this kind of buckle was in use on the continent during the latter half of the 5th century, but they seem to be only present in 6th-century Anglo-Saxon contexts, perhaps even extending into the 7th century (Marzinzik 2003, 19). However, these buckles raise an issue typical of apparently continental types: once they reach England, their dating becomes more dependent on their associated brooches: in this case cruciform brooches. Nonetheless, they are absent from any apparently very early Anglo-Saxon graves, and from continental contexts are known to extend through the whole of the 6th century. Typologically, the example associated with **Sewerby G57** is relatively early, which may suggest a date in the first half of the 6th century (Marzinzik 2003, 19). These two associations therefore conform to the above dating for the radiate-headed brooches: Phase B2 appears to lie somewhere in the first half of the 6th century.

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Figure 3.10: Shield-tongue buckles (a) Sewerby G57 (Hirst 1984, p.144, fig.57); (b) Norton G22 (Sherlock and Welch 1992, 134, fig.38). Scale 1/1.

The final three associated dress-accessories to be discussed are great square-headed brooches, scutiform pendants and bracteates, and they all have strong Scandinavian rather than continental parallels. Bracteates perhaps offer the best opportunity for independent dating, but there are only two from known associations with cruciform brooches (Figure 3.11). They are both C-bracteates, defined by their representation of a human head and a quadruped animal (Mackeprang 1952). This variety is dated approximately to 500-550 in England by their Scandinavian parallels (Axboe 2004; Behr 2010; Hines 1984, 214; *contra* Bakka 1973). C-bracteates can also be approximately divided into stylistically early and late varieties. The two associations are with Types 3.2.3 (**Morning Thorpe G80**) and 4.7.1 (**Longbridge G1**): a Phase B2 and a Phase C brooch. Morning Thorpe grave 80 was a double burial, and the cruciform brooch and bracteates were worn by the

different individuals. Because all the grave goods appear undisturbed (no skeletal material survives) it appears that the interments were simultaneous. However, this slight complication does necessitate a little caution. While the parallels for the Morning Thorpe bracteates fit this date range, the Longbridge example is quite unique, as well as extremely worn, and so the date of deposition may well be at the later end of the above range (Hines 1984, 214). These dates both support the evidence already discussed for the dates of Phase B, and also suggest a date for Phase C. The earlier Morning Thorpe bracteate is dated to around the 500-525. Therefore, the dates of deposition for Phase B2 brooches can be extended to the range of 500-550 with the evidence from radiate-headed brooches, shield-tongue buckles and bracteates, while Phase C may fall somewhere around the mid-6th century.

Figure 3.11: C-bracteates. (a) and (b) Morning Thorpe G80 (Green et al 1987, 223, fig.320); (b) Longbridge G1 (British Museum). Scale 1/1.

Scutiform pendants are very similar to bracteates. Both were made from a precious metal (most bracteates are gold, most scutiform pendants are silver). They also probably both originated in Scandinavia (Hines 1984). Rather than displaying zoomorphic motifs, however, scutiform pendants look like miniature shields and are only ever decorated with geometric ornamentation. Because they are plainer and do not have datable Style I decoration, their chronology is not well understood. It tends to rely on their grave associations with bracteates, cruciform brooches or great square-headed brooches, the latter also being partly dated by associated cruciform brooches (Hines 1984, 227-8). Therefore some care must be taken here to avoid circular argument. In their East Anglian grave seriations, Brugmann and Penn (2007, 26) place scutiform pendants in phase FA2/B, or 525-550. Overall, they appear to be a 6th-century type that even extends into

the 7th century. They have a number of associations with cruciform brooches including **Cleatham G46**, **Empingham II G73** and **G91**, **Morning Thorpe G80**, **Sewerby G35**, **Sleaford G116** (four of which are illustrated in Figure 3.12).[12] These are a mix of Phase B (3.0.1, 3.1.1), Phase B2 (3.2.2, 3.2.3) and Phase C brooches (4.4, 4.6.2), which corroborates perfectly with the generally 6th-century dates scutiform pendants are generally given.

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Figure 3.12: Scutiform Pendants. (a) Cleatham G46 (Leahy 2007, 194, fig.98); (b) Empingham II G91 (Timby 1996, 220, fig.142); (c) Sewerby G35 (Hirst 1985, 131, fig.44); (d) Morning Thorpe G80 (Green et al 1987, 223, fig.320). Scale 1/1.

There are five recorded concurrences of cruciform and great square-headed brooches: **Eriswell G28**, **Little Wilbraham G40** and **G111**, and **Tuddenham St Mary G1** (Figures 3.13).[13] Their associated cruciform brooch Types (2.1.1, 3.0.2, 3.2.1, 3.2.5 and a Group 3.4-related brooch) are all general Phase B brooches. The great square-headed brooches are all from Hines' (1997a) phases 2 or 3, which are assigned absolute dates partly from their stylistically close Norwegian examples, which in turn are dated by their grave-associations with Norwegian cruciform brooches. Norwegian cruciform brooches have absolute dates established through Reichstein's seriations, which link into absolute dates ultimately derived from continental material, and therefore their dating owes little to the English cruciform brooches. As we shall see below, there is a good degree of correspondence between Reichstein's Scandinavian chronology and the current phasing (though significant adjustments have to be made to his dating of English material). Hines' phases 2 and 3 have the absolute dates from 525-560/70 (Hines 1997a, 223-234). Again, this places some general Phase B brooches in at least the second quarter of the 6th

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[12] Hines mentions another two associations: one from a grave at Mildenhall for which the records are uncertain, and another associated with a cruciform brooch from Welbeck Hill (grave 3) (Hines 1984, 227). Unfortunately the Welbeck Hill material is still in the possession of its excavator and is therefore unavailable for study.

[13] The association of a cruciform brooch and a great square-headed brooch in Morning Thorpe grave 371 is in fact the result of two intercutting burials: they are not contemporary, and the relationship between them is unsure.

century. There is one slight discrepancy, and that is a decidedly stylistically early Type 2.1.1 cruciform brooch, **Eriswell G28,** being associated with a phase 2 great square-headed brooch. This contradicts the absolute dates already suggested for this kind of early cruciform brooch which straddles the divide between Groups 1 and 2 and therefore should date to the late 5th century. This is not detrimental to the chronology, and the only explanation can be that **Eriswell G28** was of a greater age than the great square-headed brooch at their time of deposition. Importantly, this highlights the dangers of dating by single associations, as some items may well have been obtained at earlier or later points in the lives of individuals (especially important given that we are trying to deal with 25-year periods), as well as the possibility that some of these items may have been used for more than a single generation.

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Figure 3.13: Great square-headed brooches. (a) Tuddenham St Mary G1 (Hines 1997a, pl.50) (b) Eriswell G28 (West 1998, 151, fig.35); (c) Little Wilbraham G111 (Hines 1997a, pl.78); (d) Little Wilbraham G40 (Hines 1997a, pl.34). Scale 1/2.

In summary, absolute dates derived from associated material generally confirm the relative phasing already established, and contribute suggestions for absolute dates. These dates should be taken with the understanding that any of these relatively few items may not have been deposited during their typical period of manufacture. Nonetheless, they constitute a further piece of evidence that supports the current argument.

Absolute Chronology II: Association with Pan-European Seriations

The present cruciform brooch chronology can be supported by increasing the scale of analysis to include graves that lack cruciform brooches, and in addition, graves from outside Anglo-Saxon England. This can be done by linking the phases (A, B, B1, B2 and C) into seriations that have been devised using a much larger number of graves. Table 3.1 provided an approximate summary of a number of these. Fortunately the major part of this work has already been done by John Hines who has associated Anglian English material with these continental and Scandinavian seriations (Hines 1984; 1993; 1997a; 1999a). However, in the absence of a more comprehensive system Hines built his work largely on Reichstein's cruciform brooch chronology (Hines 1993, 3). Though Reichstein's system has flaws these can be amended for Anglo-Saxon England, just as Engvik (2008, 126) has recently adjusted Reichstein's Norwegian cruciform brooch chronology. Because of the crossover between some of the present typological groupings and Reichstein's, this is a fairly straightforward task. The above analyses can also be demonstrated to support these pre-existing chronologies, which in turn lend their authority to the present enterprise.

The critical connection that John Hines (1984, 22; 1993, 3) draws is between Egil Bakka's (1973) phasing of Norwegian graves (phases VWZ I-IV) and Reichstein's phasing of cruciform brooches (phases *jüngere* through to *späteste*). Engevik (2008) also broadly retains Bakka's chronology. Hines slightly adjusted Bakka's system to allow for material that falls into more than one of his phases (e.g. something that can be both VWZ III and IV can be expressed as VWZ III/IV), as well as intermediary periods that lie "on the cusp" of phases (expressed VWZ II-III) (Hines 1993, 3). Crucially, Bakka's system has absolute dates estimated from parallels between Norwegian and continental coin-dated graves. The absolute dates of the present chronology will therefore hinge upon these associations. Due to the complexity of Bakka's chronology these will not be brought into question here, but future reconsideration of these will obviously have ramifications for the absolute dates attributed to Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches. Hine's chronology appears to be reliable, and current work on a finer chronology utilising C14 dating is reaffirming its dependability, although the results are not yet published (Hines pers. comm. 2010). These dates are critical to the current analysis as well as Günther Haseloff's (1974) dating of the emergence of Style I to *c*.475. Table 3.16 extracts the most relevant information to the present concerns from Table 3.1.

Date	Bakka	Reichstein
350-450	VWZ I	*Jüngere*
450-475	VWZ II	*Ältere*
475-500	VWZ III	*Späte*
500-525	VWZ III/IV	*Späte/Späteste*
525-550	VWZ IV	*Späteste*
550-575	End	End

Table 3.16: A summary of Bakka and Reichstein's phasing (after Hines 1984).

Although Reichstein's phasing seems to compare well with Bakka's for the Norwegian material, the present analysis has shown that the line drawn between Reichstein's *späte* and *späteste* brooches (roughly the equivalent of the present Groups 2 and 3 respectively) is not clear-cut at all. In fact, there is some substantial overlap, and precise dating depends on the Types within these Groups. Engevik (2008, 126) has demonstrated a similar difficulty with Reichstein's later chronology for the Norwegian cruciform brooch series, and has given a small number of Reichstein's types slightly later dates. For the absolute chronology of the Anglo-Saxon series, the major question rests upon stylistic continuity between England and Scandinavia and whether on this basis alone we can transfer absolute dates.

Because of close stylistic similarities between the earliest English (Group 1), German and Scandinavian cruciform brooches, the earliest cruciform brooches align relatively easily with this chronology. The only cruciform brooch that falls into Reichstein's *jüngere* phase is **Dorchester G2**; ostensibly a member of Type 1.1.1, but in its detail has no close parallels in Anglo-Saxon England. According to Hines, this phase is equivalent to Bakka's VWZ I, dating approximately to 350-450. However, given the likely historical context of the Dorchester burials (as those of sub-Roman Germanic mercenaries and their families), it seems likely that this burial took place during the post-Roman transition (see Reichstein 1975, 92-4 for an extensive discussion). At the least, it can be said that the Dorchester cruciform brooch dates to the first half of the 5th century.

Many of Reichstein's *ältere* types (e.g. *typ Groß Seimß*) compare well to the present Group 1 brooches, especially Sub-Group 1.1 and Type 1.2.1. A number of Type 1.2.2 brooches, however, fall into one of Reichstein's *späte* types: *typ Midlum*. Contradictory to Reichstein's phasing, the above analysis has found that Group 1 brooches, including Type 1.2.2, all occur in comparable contexts (largely cremations and inhumations containing only limited associated dress-accessories) which characterise Phase A. Therefore, it seems likely that Phase A is broadly the same as Reichstein's *ältere* phase dated 450-475. It may well be the case that some of the Sub-Group 1.1 brooches extend into an earlier period, and Type 1.2.2 may fall slightly later. The latter extension is perhaps even more likely given the stylistic merging between Type 1.2.2 and 2.1.1.

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Figure 3.14: English Type 2.1.3 compared to Swedish typ Götene. *(a) Stångebro, Sweden (Riechstein 1975 pl.74); (b) Götene, Sweden (Reichstein 1975, pl.73); (c) Wickenby 1; (d) Little Wilbraham G143. Scale 1/2.*

The major problem from this point onward is that Norwegian and English cruciform brooches share only the most basic stylistic trends, and typological parallels are few. The closest Scandinavian parallel among Phase B brooches is Type 2.1.3, which shares some very close typological parallels to Reichstein's *typ Götene* (see Figure 3.14 noting rectangular head-plates, projecting eyes, criss-crossed incised lines on the foot and semi-circular or almost lentoid nostrils). Reichstein dates *typ Götene* by a grave association with a Norwegian *späte* cruciform brooch, in turn dated by his Norwegian grave seriation (Reichstein 1975, 74). This, as well as other more general stylistic similarities between Group 2 cruciform brooches and Norwegian *späte* brooches is sufficient to link a large number of Group 2 Phase B brooches to their Norwegian equivalents, Bakka's VWZ III phase, and hence the absolute dates 475-525. Given, however, that Type 2.1.3 is one of

few varieties assignable to the earlier part of Phase B (Phase B1) we can associate this specifically with Bakka's VWZ III. Of course, there is still some discussion to be had over the contemporaneity of style in Migration Period England and Scandinavia, but this is an area best explored through a typology that would comprehensively cover both regions, which is a limitation, albeit a necessary one, of the present account.

This is where specific typological parallels with Scandinavian material cease to be obvious. Yet, there are still some general stylistic similarities that can be drawn between the English and Norwegian material. Typically insular Group 3 attributes such as much larger forms, laterally expanded feet, the presence of lappets, and zoomorphic/anthropomorphic decorated head-plate knobs are all present on Norwegian brooches. On the fragile chronological basis of the association of the Frankish radiate-headed brooches with a Type 3.1.1 brooch, Reichstein assigns all these features on English brooches into his *späteste* phase. According to Reichstein, this is a phase that is unique to England and occurs after cruciform brooches go out of use elsewhere. This, however, has recently been challenged by Engevik (2008), who has suggested that a small number of cruciform brooches (*typ Draugsvoll)* continue to be used in the Hordaland region of Norway after this date. The result of Reichstein's argument is the counter-intuitive conclusion that English *späteste* brooches are later than the Norwegian (*späte*) brooches with which they share the most stylistic parallels. The implicit assumption Reichstein therefore makes is that there was a 25-50 year delay between the emergence of these traits in Norway and in England. Given the cultural similarity between these regions (Hines 1984) such a time lag is unlikely. It seems more reasonable to suggest that these stylistic innovations, whether or not they first appeared in Norway, occurred broadly in parallel. If this is accepted, it allows the dating of general Phase B brooches to occur as early as the later 5th century.

According to their Norwegian parallels, Phase B brooches would have been in use until about 525. However, it seems clear that the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch undergoes further typological development beyond that seen in Norway. This is most obvious among Phase B2 traits such as the emergence of the earliest florid brooches and stylistic developments of Group 3 brooches such as the miniaturisation of larger forms (Sub-Groups 2.3 and 2.4), obviously anthropomorphic iconography (Types 3.1.2, 3.2.2, 3.2.8), geometric motifs, and considerable enlargement (Sub-Group 3.3). This typological development, as well as the subtle changes in grave contexts discussed above, suggests

that these brooches continued their typological development after the Scandinavian series had largely ceased. Because of this, assigning absolute dates is not easy. However, given that this phase of elaborate mortuary ritual and its associated dress fashions appears to cease around 560-570 (Hines 1999a, 76), it seems a reasonable estimate to associate Phase B2 with Bakka's VWZ IV, allowing it to run from *c*.525-550.

This leaves Phase C brooches. Reichstein does not address florid cruciform brooches at all, while Hines suggests that florid cruciform brooches span 525-560/570. The above analysis, however, has drawn a distinction between florid cruciform brooches that belong in Phase B2 (Sub-Groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3), and those that belong in Phase C (Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7). Because a distinction can be made for the contexts of these later brooches, it is likely that these rare and unique grave groups occurred around or after the end of Phase B (*c*.550). How far they extend into the 6th century (or even into the 7th) century is very difficult to say, as there are no comparable grave goods that replace them in a seriation. Rather, the female grave goods in the 7th-century Final Phase burials gradually disappear (Geake 1997). Nonetheless, the new jewellery (typically made from precious metal) that began to emerge in Final Phase burials (see Geake 1992, 85 for a summary) may see its first glimpses in related Phase C objects, such as gold and silver dress-accessories (pendants, arm-rings, finger-rings). Because the Phase C cruciform brooches were relatively few, and stylistically all very similar, it may be the case that they were fairly short-lived. There is no evidence to suggest they continued into the 7th century as they are not associated with any typically 7th-century grave goods. By this albeit arguable logic it seems likely that Phase C cruciform brooches gradually went out of use and were deposited over the last half of the 6th century. The findings of this Chapter can therefore be summed up in Table 3.17.

Date	Bakka 1973	Reichstein 1975	Brugmann and Penn 2007	Anglo-Saxon Cruciform Brooches
350-450	VWZ I	*Jüngere*	-	Late/Post-Roman
450-475	VWZ II	*Ältere*	FA1	Phase A
475-500	VWZ III	*Späte*	FA1/FA2	Phase B[1]
500-525	VWZ III/IV	*Späte/Späteste*	FA2	Phase B[2]
525-550	VWZ IV	*Späteste*	FA2/FB	Phase B[2]/C
550-575	-	-	-	Phase C

Table 3.17: A summary of all relevant chronological phases.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has devised a relative chronology for the English cruciform brooches that relates integrally to the typology proposed in Chapter 2, and depends solely on material internal to this study. The relative chronology therefore avoids the risks of circular argument and tangential information that can often plague artefact phasing. The desire or even need to create a high-resolution chronology for this period is not easily fulfilled, and never with absolute confidence due to the nature of the material and its archaeological contexts. The present analysis has attempted to overcome these problems by rallying a diverse set of evidence, much of it new, to the cause: a quantified stylistic seriation, cruciform brooch varieties associated by grave context, and an approximate seriation of associated dress-accessories focusing on unidirectional trends. Absolute dates were built up from pre-existing work, and fundamentally rest upon a pan-European phasing system. It is hoped that should the absolute dates of this pre-existing chronology change, the cruciform brooch chronology proposed here can be shifted accordingly.

It is particularly satisfying that in the most part all of these techniques have proved complementary, and the results appear to corroborate very well. Some much-needed amendments have been made to Reichstein's chronology, and importantly, the florid cruciform brooches now have a position in this sequencing. The single frustration in the current arrangement is the inability to separate the emergence of a large number of Group 2 and 3 Types. The only interpretation that fits the data is that Group 3 brooches emerged relatively rapidly from Group 2 forms, and that most of these Types had a long period of circulation and significant internal chronological development.

This chronology has been produced primarily for the requirements of the present research. The cruciform brooch clearly develops stylistically over time and therefore we can expect its social meaning to do the same. Measuring or quantifying this development is critical to a holistic understanding. The dating resolution proposed for many Types is very good, and although the dating of individual graves will always be problematic, the 25-year phases offered here allow for a detailed view on the development of the cruciform brooch. The inability to date individual graves accurately will always be a

problem for chronologies based on single artefact types. Relatively recent work limited to small regions (Penn and Bruggman 2007), or even single cemeteries (Koch 1977; Malim and Hines 1998, 279-89) will always be more accurate for these purposes as the chronologies they provide can sometimes deal with a much wider spread of artefact types over a longer time span, as well as the localised fashions that seem to characterise the Anglo-Saxon period. However, for such studies to obtain an optimum accuracy the chronological variables of all their artefact types need to be characterised, and this has long been found wanting for potentially the most useful chronological tool of Anglian England: the cruciform brooch.

Chapter 4: Chronological Distribution and the Development of Anglian Identity

The cruciform brooch has, in the past, been treated as one of the fundamental building blocks of English culture history (Leeds 1913, 76; 1936, 81). It was thought to represent a definable stock of people that migrated to Britain in the 5th century from Angeln in the broad region of present-day Schleswig-Holstein. However, the true complexity of these issues is now better understood through more critical readings of the historical literature and advances in social theory and migration studies. This chapter addresses the role of the cruciform brooch as an active material cultural agent in the construction, negotiation and maintenance of so-called 'Anglian' identity. Precisely what this may have entailed will be discussed below. The interpretation of a regional distribution in terms of identity is inextricably bound-up with long-debated ideas relating to archaeological 'cultures' (Shennan 1989, 6). Therefore, the complex relationship between regionally restricted material culture and identity will involve a considerable amount of discussion. This chapter will focus on the general theme of the development of regional identity, as represented by the cruciform brooch, over time,[1] and therefore will address some of the major historical questions of the insular Migration Period: migration, ethnicity, and the development of kingdoms.

This chapter will begin with an introduction to the ways in which the cruciform brooch has previously been seen as the key material expression of the supposed Anglian people that settled this region. Subsequent to this the actual data will be interrogated by looking at the distribution of the cruciform brooch in relation to other material forms found within the regions that practised furnished inhumation and cremation. This will establish the regional limits and concentrations of cruciform brooches against a backdrop of the use of other material culture. Due to the high number of metal-detected (PAS) finds in the present corpus, the contexts of such objects will be discussed in terms of their potential origins in casual loss or (disturbed) mortuary deposits. This is important as it may tell us

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[1] The assembled data would in fact allow for regional studies of more local identities, and perhaps even the identification of individual craftspeople. Comparing possible products of the same workshops to their distribution in cemeteries might also constitute an interesting study. Sadly, there is not space here to accomplish such a complex task, although certain regional styles (perhaps representative or workshops, or at least direct communication between workshops) are observable.

whether or not the intentional (and ritual) distribution of cruciform brooches in graves is any different to patterns of casual loss (and even whether these processes can be distinguished with unstratified finds). With these empirical parameters established, changes in the regional distribution of cruciform brooches will be discussed. Each of the three major phases established in Chapter 3 will be interpreted through a dominant theme: Phase A (*c*.450-475) in terms of migration, Phase B (*c*.475-550) in terms of the formation of ethnic identity, and Phase C (*c*.525-575) in terms of the development of the earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Cruciform Brooches and Anglian Identity

Our perception of early medieval ethnic identities hinges upon how we understand the mobility of individuals or whole communities during the time we explicitly refer to as the 'Migration' period. The nature of Migration Period ethnicity is a matter of significant debate, but there is also a persistent degree of contention surrounding the scale of these migrations. These topics will be given more room for discussion below, but the key question is whether migrated groups re-established older cultural identities on new soil or created new ones during the 5th and 6th centuries. At the other end of this period there are the uncertainties surrounding the nature of the power structures the earliest historical (7th and 8th) kingdoms emerged from, and whether these kingdoms had any precedents in the material culture of the 5th and 6th centuries. The fundamental question is whether or not the kingdoms of Northumbria (*Nord Angelnen*), East Anglia (*Ost Angelnen*), and Mercia (*Mittlere Angelnen*) had their roots in a common Anglian identity, as is explicitly indicated by Bede (I.15), and whether or not this identity was partly constructed and negotiated through a 6th-century style of feminine dress.

The cruciform brooch has come to represent Anglian identity by virtue of the fact that its distribution aligns with the often-quoted descriptions of Anglian migrants given in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (I.15):

> These new-comers were from the three most formidable races of Germany, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent and the Isle of Wight and those in the province of the West Saxons opposite the Isle of Wight who are called Jutes to this day. From the Saxons – that is, the country

now known as the land of the Old Saxons – came the East, South and West Saxons. And from the Angles – that is, the country now known as Angulus, which lies between the provinces of the Jutes and Saxons and is said to remain unpopulated to this day – are descended the East and Middle Angles, the Mercians, all the Northumbrian stock (that is, those people living north of the river Humber), and the other English peoples.

The distribution of the cruciform brooch aligns with Bede's description of the regions settled by the Angles, and there can be little doubt that this regional distribution of a feminine dress-accessory represents some form of restricted identity. The distribution of the saucer brooch in Wessex and the Upper Thames Valley represents another area of distinctive feminine dress, and this aligns with the western part of the region Bede defined as settled by the Saxons (Leeds 1912, 160). In addition, the lack of furnished burial in southwest and northwest England as well as in Wales indicates alternative regions of apparently distinct identities expressed by the absence of furnished burial, variously described as sub-Roman or native British. Yet the straightforward notion of a primordial Anglian ethnic identity, stemming from defined tribal groups of a north-German people, and relating directly to cruciform brooch distribution (Leeds 1913; 1936; Leeds and Pocock 1971) is now somewhat antiquated and requires some reconsideration. Whether or not we can refer to this as an 'ethnic' identity (e.g. Hines 1999b), is also a matter of debate.

Doubt as to the primordial nature of such regional identities was first expressed some time ago (Lethbridge 1956, 114), but the major development has been the introduction (called for by Dickinson 1980) of more theoretically, historically and archaeologically informed concepts of ethnicity (Härke 1998; Hines 1999b) and migration (Hamerow 1997; Hills 2003). These studies have often taken their cues from social anthropological research (Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000). This change in attitude accords with more general movements in archaeological thought that have rejected migration as a satisfactory explanation for the geographical proliferation of material culture, and some have doubted the efficacy of archaeological evidence in dealing with such matters (starting with Clarke 1966). Nonetheless, there is plenty of evidence (historical and archaeological) that allows us to counter the high degrees of scepticism that sometimes characterise these debates, and the wide range of studies now available permits a more balanced reconsideration of these important issues (e.g. Heather 2009).

Evaluation of the traditional presuppositions about migration and ethnicity has led to a critique of the historical literature (Bartholomew 2005; McNamara 1994; Yorke 1993) and place-name evidence (Gelling 1993), as well as a reconsideration of the archaeological record (since Rahtz *et al* 1980). The review of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology in terms of migration and ethnicity has been extensive, considering both the settlement (Hamerow 1999) and the cemetery evidence (Hills 1999). Increasingly subtle understandings of ethnicity and migration have emancipated early Anglo-Saxon archaeology from its cultural-historical research agenda and have opened up the discipline to many new kinds of research such as the active construction of gender- and age-related identities through material culture (Lucy 1997; Stoodley 1999), the study of social memory (Devlin 2007a; Williams 2006), and the basis of Anglo-Saxon paganism (Carver *et al* 2010).

A tendency toward geographically localised studies has recently emerged in Anglo-Saxon archaeology (Brookes 2007; Chester-Kadwell 2009; Lucy 1998). Although such studies have made major contributions to our understanding of these regions, and have some implications for our understanding of wider Anglo-Saxon society, we risk losing the ability and confidence to talk about the grand historical narrative of Anglo-Saxon England. Such has been the aversion to earlier monolithic studies of tribal migrations that those original and incredibly rich sources of historical and cultural information – early Anglo-Saxon brooches – have almost been abandoned as a result of the antipathy toward culture history. An attitude occasionally prevails that the only kind of social or cultural information brooches can yield is cultural-historical, or at least that general meanings can only be reasonably studied in a highly localised context (Lucy 1998, 24). However, it is very difficult to observe high numbers of the same type of brooch occurring repeatedly in the same archaeological contexts within a restricted region, worn by a limited female age group (see below, Chapter 5) with a limited stylistic repertoire and *not* envisage that some kind of general symbolic meaning might be found that has wider significance to the constitution of Anglo-Saxon society in general.

That is not to say the study of dress-accessories has been neglected altogether, and in recent years several detailed and informative studies have been published (Hines 1997a; Marzinzik 2003; Suzuki 2000; 2008). Yet, recent publications of this nature tend to focus on production and technical properties, or typology and chronology, with only a minimal

consideration of social context. These works produce valuable information, but also prompt many questions as to the social context of the items they so capably describe and explain. There are some notable exceptions (Dickinson 1991; 2005) and the social archaeology of early medieval portable material culture is a field that is currently undergoing reinvigoration. It is, for instance, well-represented in current doctoral research.[2]

The Parameters of Cruciform Brooch Distribution

This section will outline both the general distributions of early Anglo-Saxon furnished inhumation and cremation, and locate the restricted distribution of cruciform brooches within it. The purpose is to contextualise the regional usage of cruciform brooches. By looking at other regions that show high quantities of alternative types of decorative metalwork the distribution of cruciform brooches indicated by the present corpus can be shown to be representative and reliable.

The Extent of Early Anglo-Saxon Furnished Burial

Map 1 (Plate CCCX) displays the distribution of general early Anglo-Saxon (5th-7th century) burial sites and stray finds of decorative metalwork. These data were based primarily on information received from English Heritage Environment Records (HERs) returning search requests for "5th- to 7th-century burial and metalwork". The information received was then filtered for metalwork and burials that could be dated to this period with some certainty. Ambiguous records were therefore excluded, as were sites identified by metalwork that is not easily dated (e.g. spearheads) and sites only represented by unfurnished burial. As was observed in Chapter 1, it is important to note that Norfolk is significantly under-represented in this sample. Norfolk HER has been

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[2] Jane Kershaw has recently completed the doctoral project 'Culture and Gender in the Danelaw: Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian brooches, 850-1050' at Oxford University, and Hilary Paterson from the University of York has also recently submitted a thesis entitled 'Power and Possession: The Importance of Dress and Personal Adornment to the Construction of Complex Societies in Early Medieval Northern Britain and Ireland'. Also of particular note are current doctoral projects by Kathrin Felder on girdle-hangers at Cambridge University, Rosanagh Weetch on later Anglo-Saxon brooches at Reading University, and Lisa Brundle on human figural representation on decorative metalwork at Durham University.

particularly efficient in recording stray finds and returned more results than could feasibly be treated with the due attention to detail given to the rest of the country (over 1000 results were returned by Norfolk HER, about 50% of that recovered from the rest of the country). Consequently, only burial sites from Norfolk were included in the database. A recently published study of Anglo-Saxon Norfolk by Mary Chester-Kadwell (2009) may help fill these gaps, but for the time being the following maps should be regarded with this underrepresentation in mind. In total, data-gathering from HERs yielded about 2000 reliable early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and stray finds. Published sources were also consulted including Audrey Meaney's (1964) gazetteer[3] and the comprehensive annual updates that were previously published in the journal *Medieval Archaeology*. A significant quantity of information was also obtained from the Portable Antiquities Scheme's online database. Searches for "early medieval" finds were executed and the results were filtered to those that could be confidently dated to the 5th and 6th centuries. This produced approximately 2000 further find-spots.[4]

Of these 4000 sites, the grid references of only 3000 could be reliably obtained. Frustratingly, a very large number of PAS finds lack grid references altogether, and a fair number of sites recorded by HERs were also not locatable. Approximately 3000 sites are therefore represented as dots on Map 1 (a larger and higher resolution map would reveal more of them). These 3000 sites were subjected to a kernel density analysis[5] which produced the density contour map.

Map 1 (Plate CCCX) therefore represents comprehensive (with the exclusion of HER-recorded stray finds from Norfolk) contemporary knowledge of the regions in which communities were practicing furnished burial during this period, and the precise localities where such activity appears to have been concentrated. It can be considered to be an update of Chris Arnold's (1988b, 165, figure 5.3) map published more than twenty years ago, and although it is similar, it also shows considerable differences. Map 1 demonstrates a very large area extending from East Anglia into south Cambridgeshire and north Essex; another spreading down from East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire into the east and central midlands; a further concentration in the Thames Valley and west midlands;

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[3] The national grid references of this gazetteer are notoriously inaccurate. Where records could be matched between this and HER information the grid references of the latter were used.
[4] This work was commenced in spring 2009, before the PAS database was re-designed with more specific and usable search functions. The vast majority of data was gathered at this point, though new finds of cruciform brooches specifically were inserted up to the summer of 2010.
[5] Spatial analysis and mapping was all done using ArcMap 9.3.

another in Hampshire and Wiltshire; a major focus in Kent; and two lesser zones in the Derbyshire peaks and dales and on the coast of Suffolk.[6]

The Extent of Cruciform Brooch Use

Map 2 (Plate CCCXI) shows sites that have yielded cruciform brooches and fragments in the current corpus from all sources (publications, HERs, museums, PAS), which number about 800. Again the density of these sites is displayed by contours, which also take into consideration the numbers of brooches from each site. Comparing Map 2 with Map 1 immediately reveals the most obvious observation that there are areas of intensely-practiced furnished burial in regions where the cruciform brooch is not generally found. Though these maps show this more convincingly and in more detail than has been achieved before, there is nothing new about this observation, though it is nonetheless critical. However, the amount of data on these plots facilitates a more detailed and quantified analysis. As can be seen, the particular concentrations of general Anglo-Saxon activity (Map 1) are broadly replicated in the areas of major cruciform brooch use (Map 2). Therefore, in these core localities, cruciform brooches are found at a very high number of sites.

There are, however, also some disparities between the concentrations of general burial or metalwork and concentrations of cruciform brooches, the most obvious of which can be seen in Kent. While general early Anglo-Saxon burial and stray finds are more concentrated in Kent than anywhere else, cruciform brooches are not. In fact, cruciform brooches are barely as frequent in Kent as they are in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The cruciform brooches of Kent form a distinct cluster but it is by no means of the same density as the general activity seen on Map 1. This is certainly not the case when it comes to comparing the general burial and stray finds of these two regions. Conversely, in the far north cruciform brooch finds are relatively more concentrated in the Tees Valley than general Anglo-Saxon activity is. Within the East Riding and Lincolnshire the distributions are about the same, though moving south-eastward this correspondence ceases somewhere around the Vale of Belvoir (Melton Mowbray) on the borders of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, and we do not see the same

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[6] It would also be interesting to compare these results to the natural geography of Anglo-Saxon England as well as equivalent distributions of sites in late Roman Britain. This, however, lies significantly outside the research purposes of the present project.

concentration of cruciform brooches around Leicester as we do with general Anglo-Saxon activity. In East Anglia and South Cambridgeshire/North Essex there is again a very similar distribution of early Anglo-Saxon sites and cruciform brooches, but only as far southwest as the Cambridgeshire/Bedfordshire border.

Disparities can also be seen on a much finer scale, and there are some very subtle differences between specific local concentrations of cruciform brooch deposition and local concentrations of general burial and metalwork. The East Riding concentrations are approximately the same, though the cruciform brooch density is slightly more focused toward the coast. In Lincolnshire there are three internal concentrations: north Lincolnshire (around Market Rasen), Kesteven (around Sleaford), and a lesser focus in south Lincolnshire/Rutland (around Stamford). The same three concentrations are seen in on Map 1, though cruciform brooches are considerably more concentrated in the north Lincolnshire area. There are some similar discrepancies in the East Anglian/south Cambridgeshire region. For both general activity and cruciform brooch use there are about five highly concentrated areas. These are South Cambridgeshire (around Cambridge), the Lark Valley (around Mildenhall), west Norfolk (around East Dereham), east Norfolk (around Morning Thorpe), and North Suffolk (around Eye). Once again, in some of these places cruciform brooches are far more highly concentrated relative to Map 1. This is in fact true for all these zones, but is especially the case with the two concentrations in Norfolk.

These discrepancies suggest that, within the core regions of furnished burial and cruciform brooch use, there were particular local communities practising the same volume of furnished burial, but whose members were more likely to wear a cruciform brooch. There are two conceivable, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, reasons for this: cruciform brooches had a particular importance in these highly localised areas perhaps relating to kin groups, or these were areas in which cruciform brooches were more readily available i.e. these concentrations represent production centres. A third possible reason is that these regions are somehow biased by differential rates of excavation or metal-detecting activity. Investigating the precise nature of these concentrations would be very interesting, but would require a far more localised aspect and dataset than this project can offer.

Outside the core areas, cruciform brooch density decreases on a fairly even distance-decay model. The further from the core regions cruciform brooches are found, the less frequent they become. Those brooches that lie outside the region may be of interest as many were presumably transported considerable distances from the workshops in which they were produced. As will be explored below, there is in fact a chronological dimension to these distributions that helps explain this, but many may indicate either trade, the movements of women, or perhaps even the movements of itinerant craftspeople.

Comparing Metal-Detected and Archaeological Data

Due to taphonomic processes, cruciform brooches are considerably over-represented compared to other early Anglo-Saxon artefacts found by metal detecting (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 74). There may be several reasons for this. Cruciform brooches break-up more easily into several pieces if disturbed by the plough. They are also relatively large and so more likely to give a stronger signal to a metal detector. Many examples are also more obviously decorative and may be considered more worthy of report to a PAS finds liaison officer. Hence, cruciform brooches make up a substantial proportion of all early medieval brooches recorded on the PAS database though they represent a considerably smaller portion of the material yielded by a fully-excavated cemetery. However, this does not bias the distributions. It simply means that a single cruciform brooch recorded on the PAS may well represent a host of other material less likely to be found and reported by metal detectorists.

The identification of these sites in the first place is a more important concern, as it is this process that provides the data for all the distribution maps presented here. Almost 75% of the 800 sites yielding cruciform brooches are from the PAS database. Therefore, it is of interest to ask whether these finds originate from different contexts than cruciform brooches from archaeologically excavated graves. The critical question is whether metal-detected cruciform brooches originate from intentional deposition in (disturbed) cemeteries or from casual loss. This can be done by comparing the locations and relative densities of finds from excavations on Map 3 (Plate CCCXII) and those from metal detecting on Map 4 (Plate CCCXIII). Because the analysis concerns the nature of find-spots rather than quantities of brooches, neither of these density maps are weighted by the

number of cruciform brooches from a single site. However, for the sake of comparison the numbers of brooches from each site is indicated by the size of the dot.

There are some quite major differences between these two data sets. In short, it seems that the previous Map 2 was significantly influenced by the far more numerous PAS find-spots than it was by excavated data. The East Riding, all of Lincolnshire, south Cambridgeshire/the Lark Valley and east Norfolk are all very broadly similar. However, in other regions there are some discrepancies. In particular, excavated sites in west Norfolk (around East Dereham) are under-represented, and in the central midlands (around Rutland, Leicester, Warwick and Northampton) excavated sites are especially over-represented relative to PAS sites. Whether or not these discrepancies are the results of preferential regions for metal-detecting is open to question that would require a larger dataset and local knowledge of metal-detecting to answer (e.g. Chester-Kadwell 2009).

Obviously, without excavation the nature of PAS sites is ultimately unknowable, but it is reasonable to suggest that at least the majority of metal-detected finds are from disturbed mortuary contexts. There are several reasons to accept this suggestion. Firstly, there are approximately fifty complete brooches from the PAS data that would not have survived in this condition unless they were intentionally buried (most complete brooches and fragments of catch-plates show traces of iron corrosion on their catches, suggesting the brooch had fastened a dress at its time of deposition). Secondly, many PAS finds occur in quite tight clusters, or are composed of several objects from one find-spot. This is not the kind of distribution one might expect from random, casual loss. [7] In addition, these are not likely to represent settlements. Anglo-Saxon settlements generally only have low finds densities, and decorative metalwork is often especially sparsely represented. These kinds of concentrations would not be expected from settlements and especially not from the rural land surrounding them.

In terms of the current concern, whether the majority of these finds are from mortuary contexts, settlement contexts or casual loss does not necessarily impact. Because early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries at least seem to have generally been in the close vicinity of settlements (for example West Stow, Mucking, West Heslerton, Wasperton) there is not necessarily, for the purposes of assessing trends in distribution, a need to

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[7] PAS find-spots are generally recorded to a 100x100m accuracy, but they cannot necessarily always be relied on. They are frequently given at a lower resolution, or even just from within a particular parish

distinguish between these contexts. Mary Chester-Kadwell (2009, 1) has overcome the problem of identifying the origins of metal-detected finds by placing them into a new context she defines as Anglo-Saxon "communities" – a level of analysis that incorporates both cemeteries and settlements. Extensive study of the assemblage from each find-spot may well allow each site to be characterised as most likely to be evidence of a cemetery, casual loss or a settlement. Sites tend to be characterised by the specific nature and size of their assemblage (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 81). Again, the identification of such sites lies well outside the research remit of this project. Because the level of analysis in the present thesis is a much broader one such a detailed analysis is not necessary. We can therefore conclude that the densities shown on Maps 1 and 2 depict broadly representative regions of early Anglo-Saxon funerary activity as well as reliable distributions of cruciform brooch use.

Chronological Development

With these core areas of cruciform brooch use established, it is possible to interrogate the distribution according to the chronological phasing developed in Chapter 3. This will allow for an examination of regional changes in the cruciform brooch's frequency of use over the course of the 5th and 6th centuries. Mapping the phases constructed in the previous chapter provides a clear picture of the crystallization of cruciform brooch use as a highly regionalised practice around the late 5th century, and the dispersal of this only a few generations later at some point around the mid-6th century.

Phase A

Map 5 (CCCXIV) shows all Phase A brooches (*c*.450-475) brooches from 141 sites. Comparing this distribution with the general distribution of cruciform brooches (Map 2) shows a slightly different picture. Cruciform brooches in Lincolnshire and the East Riding in Phase A are found slightly further eastward toward the coast (or the Humber estuary). There is already a definite focus in north Lincolnshire, and a lesser one in south Lincolnshire (around Sleaford), but there is also a concentration in Nottinghamshire (around Newark-on-Trent) not seen in later phases. The distribution in East Anglia seen on Map 2 appears to be established even in Phase A, though it does not yet spread

westwards into Cambridgeshire. Kent possesses a higher density of cruciform brooches in this period than during any other, while minor concentrations can also be seen at the mouth of the Thames estuary and there is a small isolated group around Winchester. Although they do not show up on the density analysis, there are relatively more outlying find-spots of Phase A cruciform brooches in southern central England (Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire) than in any other period. The distribution of cruciform brooches is therefore already at this early stage focused in Lincolnshire and East Anglia, though it tends slightly toward the coast in these areas than in later phases. In addition there are areas of relatively high concentration in the East Riding, Kent, and to a lesser extent, Hampshire. Running counter to this more coastal distribution, however, is a greater relative number of central and inland outlying early cruciform brooches. Importantly, the edges of the regional distribution are not well-defined, and even the outliers gain some significance in the density analysis.

Phase B

The picture from Phase B1 (*c*.475-500) seen on Map 6 (Plate CCCXV) is intermediary between Phases A (Map 5) and B2 (Map 7, Plate CCCXVI). Although it is based on relatively small number of sites (57), this helps to reaffirm the relative position of Phase B1 brooches presented in Chapter 3 derived from their apparently intermediary styles and grave associations. The distribution in the East Riding and Lincolnshire is virtually the same as in Phase A though there is no longer a focus on the North Sea coast or Humber estuary. However, the concentration has moved up to, though not beyond, the river Trent, and further south around Sleaford. The concentration in the east midlands has grown to about the same as in north Lincolnshire. There is a similar change of focus to more inland sites in East Anglia with a definite concentration arising in the Lark Valley and further westward in Cambridgeshire. The concentration seen in Oxfordshire comes only from one find-spot (West Hendred) so its significance should not be overstated, but it may well indicate a continuing tradition from Phase A of central and inland cruciform brooch outliers.

Map 7 (Plate CCCXVI) shows the distribution of Phase B2 cruciform brooches (*c*.500-550), from 293 sites. As can be seen, it is more typical of what is generally understood as the area of Anglian cultural identity. Unsurprisingly given the high number of Phase B2

brooches, the same areas of density occur here as in Map 2. The concentrations seen in the east midlands are still present but less strong, with clear focuses in north Lincolnshire and south Lincolnshire spreading southward into Rutland. Similarly in East Anglia the concentrations in west and east Norfolk, east Suffolk and the Lark Valley, and South Cambridgeshire and north Essex are more noticeable. The concentration in Kent is considerably smaller. In addition the relative numbers of outlying cruciform brooches in southern central England are fewer, and are attributed less significance in the density analysis. These outliers also seem to fall slightly further north in the west midlands. Outliers in Phase B2 are seen in the far north in the Tyne and Tees valleys especially. For the sake of completeness Map 8 (Plate CCCXVII) shows all general Phase B cruciform brooches (including those assigned specifically to Phase B1 or B2), from 578 sites. The distribution of Phase B brooches demonstrates convincingly the climax consolidation of the Anglian area as a region with a high rate of cruciform brooch use, and perhaps a highly defined regional identity.

Phase C

Map 9 (Plate CCCXVIII) shows the distribution of Phase C cruciform brooches (*c*.550-575), from 62 sites, and depicts a radically different picture. At this point in time the tightly focused regional distribution of cruciform brooches seen in Phase B (Map 8) breaks down almost entirely, and we see a relatively even distribution from Lincolnshire and East Anglia spreading westward across the entire midlands. The south of England, however, is almost entirely without cruciform brooches. Relatively speaking, if not in terms of absolute numbers, the Tees Valley becomes an area of increased cruciform brooch use, although north Yorkshire and the East Riding seem to drop out of the picture entirely. Though the small numbers of Phase C brooches barely allow for the mapping of densities, the regions of most intense cruciform brooch use are south Lincolnshire, Staffordshire, southeast Suffolk, and south Cambridgeshire/north Essex.

Summary of Chronological Development

This completes the analysis of the cruciform brooch's parameters in time and space. In England the cruciform brooch begins to be used somewhere around 450 AD, perhaps

with a very small number of very early cruciform brooches preceding this date (e.g. **Dorchester G2**). From here until about 475 AD the focus of cruciform brooch use is generally focused in Lincolnshire and East Anglia with a tendency toward the coast and estuaries, but with a relatively high quantity of dispersed use further inland in central and southern England. At some point between c.475 and c.500 AD production and use of the cruciform brooch increases dramatically and its regions of focused use change slightly to more inland areas. In terms of density, the borders of this region at this point become increasingly well-defined. This zenith in cruciform brooch use continues until sometime around c.550 AD when it seems to lose most of its regional associations and is spread fairly evenly across central England, from the North Sea coast to the west midlands, with no examples found in the far south, and with increased use in the far north. This definite and obvious patterning in the data demands an interpretation.

Phase A Cruciform Brooches and Migration

In line with symbolic approaches to material culture (e.g. Tilley 1999) this thesis perceives the cruciform brooch not as a passive reflection of a discrete and 'primordial' ethnic identity (e.g. Leeds 1913, 76; 1936, 81). Instead, it is seen as an active agent in the ongoing construction, negotiation and maintenance of identity. The cruciform brooch was a single cultural component, if a particularly important one, among many that were active in the construction of various intersecting or nested identities in the Migration Period. It is in these terms that we should interpret the use of the cruciform brooch with respect to migration and ethnicity.

Debates in Migration

As mentioned above, the regional differences in particular brooch distributions have long been known, and have also for some time been critiqued as representing the migrations of three distinct tribal groups from north-western continental Europe: Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Debate over the ethnic identities of the Anglo-Saxons is complex and has its roots in the ever-contentious subject of migration. The nature of these migrations has relevance to nearly every subject of inquiry in 5th- to 7th-century Anglo-Saxon England

(Hamerow 1997, 40). Migration is therefore an issue that cannot be ignored, and it is with this that any discussion of the cruciform brooch and regional identity must begin.

Helena Hamerow, over a decade ago, observed an "increasing malaise" (Hamerow 1994; 1997, 33) towards the issue of the Anglo-Saxon migration. Since then, much useful work has been done on this issue (e.g. Gillett 2002; Halsall 2007; Heather 2009), though at least in part this attitude persists in the 21st century. Part of the reluctance to address migration is perhaps the realisation that the answer as to whether or not mass migration took place is not sufficient in itself. Many await more direct evidence of population movement from stable isotope analysis, and although this evidence will be enormously beneficial, increased data will not solve the problem by itself. Since the rise of processual archaeology, research has been more concerned with social processes than demographic events. Despite the efforts to apply ethnography and social anthropological theory to an archaeological understanding of migration (Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000), in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology at least, this has not always been noticeable (but see Brookes 2007, Hills 2003 and Moreland 2010, chapter 5 for some exceptions).

A definitive answer to the migration question is not feasible from archaeological data alone. As mentioned above, our best hope for obtaining scientific information about population movement is from stable isotope analysis, and initial studies in this area do indeed suggest significant population movement within and into Britain during this period (Budd *et al* 2004; Hemer 2010; Hills 2003, 63; Montgomery *et al* 2005). However, even if reliable statistical estimates of the numbers of migrants were produced, questions as to the nature of migration as a social process will persist, and especially the manner in which it affected the construction of identity in the 5th and 6th centuries.

The present study of a single early Anglo-Saxon artefact type alone cannot hope to offer comprehensive answers to any of these questions. For example, the general focus of the early Phase A brooches along the coast and the Humber and Thames estuary could potentially represent either trade or migration routes – or even locations that had an ongoing close relationship with communities on the other side of the North Sea. Frustratingly, the chronology of the 5th century is not yet sufficiently refined to be able to tell us how suddenly cruciform brooches appeared in Phase A. The date of *c*.450 set for the start of this phase is one of convenience, but there may have been a steady trickle of earlier brooches from before this, and potentially even during the later 4th century.

Nevertheless, as one of very few artefacts that can at least be dated to well within the 5th century thanks to its close continental parallels, the cruciform brooch certainly has a significant part to play in the migration debate.

The current state of the migration debate is gradually resolving (e.g. Halsall 2007; Hamerow 1994; Heather 2009; Hills 2003) down to the mass migration (e.g. Evison 1981; Leeds 1936; Myres 1969) and elite dominance models (Arnold 1984; Hodges 1989; Higham 1992). The mass migration hypothesis, in its most extreme interpretation, suggested that whole communities or even tribes migrated to sub-Roman Britain leaving the homelands virtually depopulated, and displacing the native Romano-British population. This, of course, is the original account given by Gildas and Bede. The elite dominance model suggested that the only migrants were war leaders and their immediate retinues. Upon settling in England they formed allegiances with the native population who assumed a politically ascendant Germanic identity. Given the context of much this debate before and after the Second World War, there has been a general recognition that much of this debate has been informed by contemporary politics (Härke 1998), and that it is perhaps regional variation that distinguishes between the two, with mass migration more likely in the east, and elite dominance in the west (Hamerow 1997, 40; Hills 1992, 989; 1999, 21). This chapter will argue for something between these models: large-scale migration seems highly likely in the Anglian regions, but people most likely did not migrate as politically coherent entities. Rather, political ascendancy was obtained by individuals that emerged from this milieu with claims to origins in the perceived ancestral homelands. Therefore, Anglian identity is seen to have been the product of ethnogenesis in the later 5th and 6th centuries. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Some of the major problems in the migration debate are concerned with cultural interpretations of ethnicity, scientific extrapolation of geographical origins, and how both of these might relate to material culture. Heinrich Härke (2007) has suggested that insufficient conceptualisations of racial and ethnic identity have been responsible for some considerable confusion in the migration debate, and that there are now two different ways of investigating migration: biologically (from skeletal data) or culturally (from archaeological data). Both of these forms of evidence need to be combined to obtain a comprehensive understanding, but it is the disjuncture between them that is the critical point. This is a simple but important consideration, and it helps to demonstrate the point that apparently Germanic dress-accessories found in early Anglo-Saxon England will

never directly demonstrate population movement by themselves. Nonetheless, it is possible to consider cruciform brooches alongside the other available lines of evidence. Material culture, such as cruciform brooches, imparts cultural information to the archaeologist, which, combined with contextual archaeological, historical and linguistic data may suggest specific identities. Combining this knowledge of identity with skeletal or biological information might reveal something of the nature of population movement. Thus the distribution of the earliest cruciform brooches only shows the introduction of a new cultural form. It is likely that items such as cruciform brooches were among symbols (many not available to archaeologists) used to constitute ethnic boundaries (of the kind suggested by Barth 1969). As will be explained below, this seems to be more likely the case for Phase B cruciform brooches. Stylistic influence cannot be used in isolation to declare whether these symbols were used to demonstrate an ethnic identity that, for instance, depended on descent. However, we can suggest that where ethnic identity is concerned, descent needs to be more than 'real' and biological; it needs to be believed and demonstrated with various cultural forms (e.g. language, religion, material culture). Without these symbols, descent from, for instance, Germanic stock, may neither be important nor effective in socio-political terms.

Cruciform Brooches and the Extent of Migration

The chronology proposed in Chapter 3 suggests a date *c.*450 for the earliest cruciform brooches, and this approximately coincides with the event known as the *adventus Saxonum*, or the supposed first large-scale *völkerwanderung* described by Gildas and later by Bede. Of course, as was outlined in Chapter 3, the absolute dates and this historical record are to some extent commensurate, but even without the historical literature (relying purely on the dating of continental parallels) these early brooches would be dated to some point between the early and late 5th century. Again, there may have been a small number of cruciform brooches in sub-Roman Britain prior to this, but this appears to be a relatively safe date for proposing anything on a larger scale. The dating of the apparently rapidly emerging large cremation cemeteries indicates something similar (Hills 1999). Traditionally, cruciform brooches (alongside quoit brooch style objects, zoomorphic buckles, *stützarmfibeln* and applied saucer brooches – Evison 1981) are among the few sources of evidence used to demonstrate the initial emergence of Germanic material culture in Britain. The Germanic influence behind cruciform brooches should not be

underrated: they are very different in form from even their closest Roman parallels (crossbow brooches). The technology of casting and the nature of the English cruciform brooch's technical design were also closest to their continental equivalents in this early period (Mortimer 1990, 308). In addition, the low zinc and high tin alloy compositions of these earlier English cruciform brooches link them more closely to the continent than at any other stage (Mortimer 1990, 397).

These objects, alongside major changes in nearly all aspects of archaeology between late Roman Britain and early Anglo-Saxon England (Esmonde Cleary 1993), have long been used to demonstrate large scale Germanic immigration. With a very large number of new cruciform brooches of this early date from the PAS, the evidence deserves a re-evaluation.

The quantity of new early cruciform brooch finds is significant. While Mortimer's 1990 study included just eight of the very earliest cruciform brooches (Mortimer type A1, current Types 1.1.1 and 1.1.2), the current corpus, including fragments, contains more than fifty of these brooches. Relatively speaking, there is a greater increase in this kind of brooch than any other. This is partly because these brooches are more readily identifiable from the fragments that make up the majority of PAS finds, but there is also perhaps a difference in the manner in which these early brooches entered the archaeological record. To return briefly to the above discussion of the origins of metal-detected finds from disturbed graves or casual loss (this chapter, see above), there may be a difference for Phase A cruciform brooches. Only a very small number are known from recorded graves (less than seven), and the rest are from unstratified contexts. One explanation for this is that, unlike most cruciform brooches, perhaps a relatively large number of these finds originate from casual loss. Therefore, they may not have been used as intensively as they were in later phases to signify identity in the mortuary ritual (there are other exceptions to do with the absence of such stringent age and gender restrictions for these very early brooches, see Chapter 5), and therefore perhaps this was also the case in everyday life. Indeed, typically Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices were not at this early stage widely established.
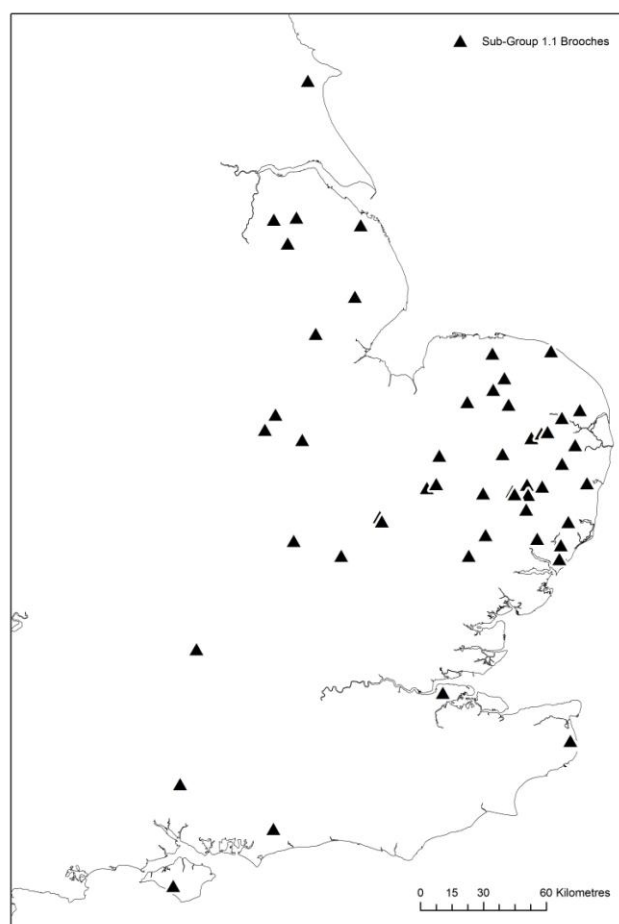
Figure 4.1: Distribution of the earliest Phase A brooches (Sub-Group 1.1).

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of these earliest Sub-Group 1.1 cruciform brooches. If we compare this with distribution maps of similarly early material (e.g. Higham 1992, 162, figure 6.2), the same concentrations in East Anglia are evident. However, the earliest distribution in Lincolnshire was previously only indicated by a single find (**Glentham 1**). The new data contributes at least another five brooches, and even includes a Phase A cruciform brooch fragment as far north as Bridlington in north Yorkshire.[8] The frequently cited **Dorchester G2** cruciform brooch was the only known find from this far west, but is now complemented by four more western examples: two finds from near Winchester, one from Chichester, and one from the Isle of Wight. In addition, there are new finds from Kent and the mouth of the Thames estuary. In sum,

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[8] This find (**Near Bridlington 2**) is only tentatively placed among these early finds. It is an 'onion' shaped side-knob, as is seen on **Cleatham G9**, but it also bears some resemblance to Roman crossbow brooch knobs. It is included because the implications of a very early Anglo-Saxon object this far north would have some significance.

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finds from the PAS demonstrate that the earliest insular cruciform brooches were not limited to East Anglia, but were dispersed more widely to the north, west, and south.

It has previously been suggested that, due to its obvious proximity to the continent, the east of England saw something closer to the 'traditional' *völkerwanderung* than the west (see above). The most convincing evidence for this is not only the higher frequency of very early metalwork in this region (above, and Figure 4.1), but the establishment of large cremation cemeteries (for example, Spong Hill in Norfolk and Cleatham in Lincolnshire) in this area which is not seen in the west. If anything indicates the large-scale folk movements recorded in the historical literature it is these cemeteries, which are very similar to the cemeteries of north Germany (Hills 1999, 21). Thus the transplantation of single types of material culture (e.g. cruciform brooches, *Stützarmfibeln,* cinerary urns) from the continent to eastern England is complemented by the transferral of whole belief systems and mortuary practices. In the face of all the evidence, it seems overly cynical and contrary to suggest that migration on a large scale did not occur in at least some regions, and as Hamerow (1994, 174) has suggested, the key to the debate probably lies in producing a regionally sensitive model.

Though there may have been significant population movements into eastern England at some point around the mid-5th century, they were not necessarily of distinct tribal groups, and were even more unlikely to have been an ethnically, or even racially, defined group of *Angli* from present-day north Germany/Jutland (Hines 1994; 1999b). The migrations of this period were likely to have been part of an ongoing (if perhaps accelerating) process, made up of groups only loosely affiliated as 'Germanic' or 'barbarian' (and even these identities may have only been applied by those external to them), with specific tribal or ethnic identities being the politically expedient creations of later generations (Halsall 2007, 462). As will be discussed below, it seems that Anglian identity as we understand it may have been an insular creation of the later 5th and 6th century (Hines 1999b; Moreland 2010). The increasingly regional restriction of some female dress-accessories in Phase B may well provide direct evidence of ethnogenesis. As mentioned above, this account argues that large-scale migration took place during this period, though not on the mass tribal scale that would have emptied the homelands and replaced the native population, as was traditionally suggested. Large-scale migration also makes the elite dominance model (Arnold 1984; Higham 1992; Hodges 1989) unlikely in the Anglian region. Elite dominance will be shown to have evolved over the course of the

late 5th and 6th centuries, but was not necessarily dependent on a small group of powerful migrants. Rather, Anglian identity is seen to have been a social structure that emerged from the milieu of migrants and natives that constituted the population of England by the end of the 5th century. It represented claims to an ancestral identity that were partly demonstrable through material culture such as the cruciform brooch. The process by which this took place will be given more room for discussion below.

Recalling the analysis of the typological structure of Group 1/Phase A cruciform brooches, it was suggested that they were idiosyncratic and individualistic designs and their possible stylistic permutations were limited by the simplicity of their form. This relates directly to their distribution. Although they are most frequently found in the east, the borders of their distribution are not well-defined, and some groups of outliers to the west are occasionally found in comparable concentrations. The strong presence of very early cruciform brooches in Lincolnshire should also be emphasised given the primacy generally afforded to East Anglia and Kent in most discussions of migration. If material culture is seen to represent a symbolic language, the message these brooches communicated was general rather than specific. Neither can we pinpoint a convincing stylistic origin of the earliest cruciform brooches in the Germanic Angeln region. These brooches have such a basic design that good parallels can be found from Frisia to north Germany and beyond into Scandinavia.

The presence of the very early cruciform brooch **Dorchester G2** in what seems to be a sub-Roman context (see Chapter 3) should also warn us not to discount the possibility of Germanic peoples in Roman Britain long before the proposed *adventus Saxonum* (see Clay 2010). It is a possibility, albeit a slim one, that those early cruciform brooches were just as much a Germanic-influenced sub-Roman product as one that originated from strictly outside the bounds the Empire.

Cruciform brooches can also provide evidence against some statements concerning the gender ratio of these first migrants which further impacts against the elite-dominance model. Higham (1992, 165-8) suggested that the first wave of migrants were a small number of entirely male kin-related raiding parties. This is also the picture frequently given in popular narratives, stemming from the emotive manner in which Gildas described the *adventus* (Gildas II.23; Higham 1992, 165). The introduction of weapon burials in post-Roman England is highly comparable with mortuary practice at late

Roman military cemeteries on the Rhineland frontier and might imply the movement of male warriors into England in the 5th century (Härke 1997b, 150). However, the large numbers of very early cruciform brooches (even if they do not imply the presence of migrants) also suggest an active feminine participation at this very early stage of migration (Heather 2009, 284). This participation was at least equal to the role played by men. It may be worth noting that female migrants (albeit ones wearing distinctly insular cruciform brooches of a later date) have already been identified by stable isotope analysis at West Heslerton (Montgomery *et al* 2005, 134). This of course remains an important piece of evidence as it points to the longevity and perhaps even continuous nature of the migration process.

In sum, a critical reading of the historical literature, and an assessment of the related archaeological information, makes it untenable to suggest that the east of England did not see significant Germanic immigration during the 5th century. Whether most Phase A cruciform brooches were a direct result of this is a more complex question, but they are certainly indicative of the increasingly Germanic character of sub-Roman Britain in the 5th century. Some of those very earliest (Sub-Group 1.1) cruciform brooches may well constitute direct evidence of migration, while we should not deny the possibility that many were insular products. However, that these first migrations were constituted by defined tribal groupings transplanted wholesale from their homeland in Angeln (as suggested by Bede) seems unlikely, and this is also implied by the loose typological structure of the earliest cruciform brooches. Largely subsequent to Phase A, though perhaps already evident in Sub-Group 1.2, Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches began to take more characteristically insular (as opposed to continental and Scandinavian) forms. This is where we can begin to chart the ascendance of Anglian identity as a politically expedient or instrumental ethnic identity.

Phase B Cruciform Brooches and the Formation of Anglian Identity

If the regional identities indicated at the earliest stages of the insular cruciform brooch's development are nebulous (in terms of distribution and stylistic structure), Phase B presents a more defined picture. There was a significant stylistic divergence from overseas cruciform brooch design, and a consolidation of the regions in which cruciform brooches were worn. The stringent regionalisation of cruciform brooches during Phase B

is also seen with other items of material culture (wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers in the Anglian region, saucer brooches in the Saxon area to the south and west) and has been noted before (e.g. Hines 1994, 53). It has also been established that during the Final Phase of furnished burials (late 6th and 7th century), the regionalised use of dress-accessories almost disappears (Geake 1997, 125). However, a dispersal of regional distribution, as seen with Phase C cruciform brooches (*c*.525-575), which crucially pre-empts the Final Phase, presents an intriguing phenomenon, and this will be addressed below.

It would be possible to suggest that this crystallization and subsequent dispersal of a regional distribution can be suggested to represent the ethnogenesis and subsequent disintegration of regional Anglian identity from the late 5th to the mid-6th century as Anglo-Saxon society moved from community-based forms of hierarchy to regional ones, eventually leading to formal kingship. However, this would contradict our historical understanding of the period: Anglian identity may well have been a construction of the 6th century evident in material culture, but it certainly did not disappear in the 7th century – it is only after this period that we have the textual evidence which supplies the name 'Anglian' for this group of people. This hypothesis also raises some questions about archaeological definitions of the term 'ethnicity' and this will be discussed below. Primarily, we must ask whether we can justifiably refer to Anglian identity as 'ethnic'.

Another very important question to pose, given the apparent fragmentation of regional distribution in Phase C, is how can Edward Thurlow Leeds' "Anglian brooch *par excellence*" (Leeds 1913, 76) cease to represent the Anglian zone precisely at the point of the apotheosis of Anglian identity in royal genealogies and, a little later, texts? Such questions concerning the chronological disparity between material cultural and textual constructions of Anglian identity might be resolved by a more interpretative approach to both objects and texts (after Moreland 2007). Anglo-Saxon England, before the 7th century, was a virtually ahistorical, and probably illiterate, society (our single insular source for this period is Gildas, a western British monk). Therefore, Anglian identity during the 6th century was largely constructed and demonstrated through material culture (and its only clear expression was in feminine dress, male grave assemblages do not seem show the same regional variation), but after this point it appears to have been constructed and negotiated in textual accounts (i.e. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*), and in royal genealogies linked to origin myths. Anglian identity therefore moved from being a

predominantly material phenomenon to a textual or historical one, depending on the prevailing technology for the authentication of identity at the time: dress or texts. Of course, at this point in Anglo-Saxon history, the nature and instrumental purpose of Anglian identity was also adjusted to serve a new purpose: to justify royal authority and affiliation with a royal line.

This still leaves some major questions about the formation and structure of identity in the earlier period (Phase B), such as the extent to which an item of jewellery can represent an ethnic identity. Further, it is crucial to ask whether or not an item of jewellery worn only by women, and not even the majority of women, can represent ethnicity. An affirmative answer to these questions will be given here, but only with the proviso that we have sufficiently defined the Migration Period perception of (what we would term) ethnicity.

Definitions of Ethnicity

The contemporary view of identity is that its facets are many as well as fluid, nested and situational. Even the supposedly binary and immutable biological givens of sexual identity (as opposed to gender identity) can be questioned on philosophical grounds (Butler 1990). The term 'ethnicity' in its most uncritical implementations can be used to mean something more singular, permanent and primordial than this i.e. racial identity. At the least, ethnicity is generally seen to cross-cut other nested identities such as gender, age and, perhaps less often, political hierarchy. For the early medieval period, much research has shown that ethnicity may well be an identity that was instrumentally assumed in order to manipulate power (Curta 2007; Moreland 2010). It is the subject of power or political authority that will be the major focus of discussion here.

There are some major difficulties in transporting a contemporary understanding of ethnic identity into the archaeological past, and this is compounded by a number of factors specific to the Migration Period. Though there is a strong argument to be made for empirically detectable self- and externally-defined groups of people using combined evidence from the historical literature, linguistics and archaeology (Hines 1994; 1999b), there is also some scepticism as to whether the term 'ethnicity' can be applied to this period at all (Lucy 1998, 19), and even whether these sharp differences between groups of people are where we should be focusing attention (Gowland 2007). In short, groups,

and probably named ones, existed and were only later set down in texts in a slightly adjusted permutation. Although we do not know the precise and probably complex conditions of group membership, as we shall see below it is likely that descent (or at least perceived and demonstrated descent e.g. through dress) was an important factor.

Group identity involves complex social anthropological concepts that can be depreciated by uncritical use of the term 'ethnicity' (e.g. Scull 1993, 71). The debate is directly related to the nature of migration and the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and ultimately refers back to the nature of the Germanic tribes described by classical and early medieval historical literature as exemplified in the works of Tacitus and Bede, which is by no means a simple issue, and is more often questioned than it is confirmed (Siegmund 2003; Springer 2003; Wood 1997; though for the alternative view see Hines 1999b). It is possible to suggest that most classical and early medieval ethnographers of barbarian or Migration Period Europe (such as Tacitus and Bede) can be described as the first culture historians. Their task, as they saw it, was to record bounded and named groups, explain something of their historical development, movements, and habits, and in doing so explain the contemporary situation. Although these ancient historians were recording a perceived reality of the time, their accounts should perhaps be subject to the same critique as cultural-historical archaeology. There is a potential problem that not all of these ethnic names were used in the same way (Bartholomew 2005).

Though there is no singular definition, ethnicity is traditionally defined as a named group identity, internally or externally ascribed, based on perceived shared qualities such as race, descent, language or religion. Even this short definition invokes a number of complex and disparate ideas, and it is this diversity of meaning that can be problematic. The study of ethnicity from ethnographic data has a lengthy and complex history with some anthropologists emphasising the maintenance of boundaries between ethnicities rather than any necessary differences in the specific cultural practices of those groups (Barth 1969). Others have emphasised the instrumental and optional use of an ethnic identity to secure a social advantage (Cohen 1969). Florin Curta (2007, 166), from an historical archaeological perspective, describes ethnicity less as a way of being, but "as a mode of action and representation", and this is perhaps a particularly useful definition for the present concern.

There have been many significant ethnographic studies into the creation or adaptation of an ethnic identity due to changed social situations such as the crystallisation or invention of ethnicity in a nationalised and globalised climate (e.g. the Chamba identity found in Nigeria and Cameroon - Fardon 1987), or even more relevantly the creation of descent as a primary ethnic identifier due to migratory lifestyles (such as among migrating Greek populations - Just 1989). The cross-cultural application of the term 'ethnicity' is complex, and frequently questionable.

These kinds of ethnographic studies can in fact be paralleled in the late Roman world. The deep antiquity of most Germanic groups (e.g. Vandals, Franks, Saxons, Lombards) as definable and continuous ethnicities (in the strictest sense of the term) is now generally doubted. Franks, for instance, are mentioned in Roman sources from the 3rd century onward, but by the 7th century, the idea of being a Frank was most likely something very different implying not so much membership of a tribe, but of a kingdom. Hence, what it was to be a 'Frank' changed over time, and much of this process is dependent on "the invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), or perhaps more accurately, given the diverse actual origins of most of these populations, the selection and elaboration of one of many possible traditions (Goffart 2002, 23). It is therefore more accurate to see these ethnicities as going through continuous recreation and ethnogenesis. Elements of past ancestry could be forgotten as well as created according to the socio-political environment or demands of the time (Goffart 2002).

The processes by which groups formed and adapted was likely a highly complex one. One particularly convincing theory of the makeup of these named Germanic groups, most prominently associated with the work of Reinhard Wenskus (1961) and Herwig Wolfram (1988) is the idea of a *Traditionskerne*, or critical kernels of tradition held by particular families perceived to have possessed ancestral linkages with the distant past which served as justification for their present authority (cited in Gillett 2002). These perceived lineages can be seen as the bearers of an ethnic tradition, or the ethnos, that one either possessed or lacked. The term '*gens*' (plural '*gentes*') occurs in the Latin literature of this period, thought by Wenskus to refer directly and formally to those bearers of the ethnos. There are, of course, critics of this model. Alexander Murray (2002) for instance suggests that too much emphasis is often placed on these names, and names alone are not sufficient to posit a whole tradition. Rather, these labels may have been a part of the Latin tradition of writing about a people, and hence literary fictions. This may well partly

have been the case, but this process can still be seen as the external attribution of an ethnic identity, an equally real process. This model is, however, widely accepted. Effectively ethnic terminology is abundantly clear in the Burgundian law codes of the 5th and 6th centuries that make explicit distinctions between the *populos noster* (i.e. the Burgundians) and *Romani* (Amory 1993, 9). These distinctions likely characterise how groups were conceived in Migration Period Europe, and they are also echoed in the later Anglo-Saxon law codes that denigrate people known as *wealh* (most likely referring to the Welsh or potentially even native Britons). Thus we can see that the idea of *gentes* may have been a very real one with very real political implications. In further support for the ethnogenesis model, Guy Halsall sees the recreation of named groups of peoples in the immediately post Roman period as filling the power vacuum left by the fragmentation of the political authority of 'being Roman' (Halsall 2007, 457). Such groups formed around the collective acceptance of ethnic origins, however selective the reality of these histories really was. Peter Heather (2009, 20) also characterises the named peoples of this period as "not closed groups with continuous histories, but entities that could be created and destroyed". If the Migration Period can be characterised by "the creation of peoples" (Halsall 2007, 458), this was only the case because it was politically expedient to belong to a tradition.

The multifarious nature of the term 'ethnicity', has naturally led to a degree of disillusionment and malaise as to its utility, and even a palpable trepidation among many archaeological accounts to go anywhere near it for fear of transgressing the deconstructive attitudes that tend to dominate post-processual archaeology (Curta 2007). According to the social anthropologist Marcus Banks, ethnicity is best described as "an analytical tool devised and utilized by academics to make sense of or explain the actions and feelings of the people studied" (Banks 1996, 186). Banks defines ethnicity as "a collection of rather simplistic and obvious statements about boundaries, otherness, goals and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification, which has been constructed as much by the anthropologist as by the subject" (Banks 1996, 190). This deconstructive, though not necessarily pessimistic, approach to ethnicity does not render the term useless, but it does require reconceptualising the relationship between the academic analyst and the object of their study (Banks 1996, 186). Therefore, analyses of past identities should be free to use the term without fear of castigation, as long as sufficient definitions are provided. The definition provided here can be supported by both historical and (as will be demonstrated) archaeological evidence. We can therefore

define this version of Migration Period ethnicity as one that was constituted by a perceived descent from a named group of people with a shared, perhaps even partly mythical, past. It will here be suggested that Phase B cruciform brooches were used to construct the notion of belonging to an Anglian people. Fundamentally, the individuals who wore these items are suggested here to have been the perceived bearers of the ethnos or cultural tradition: they constituted the *Traditionskerne*. Part of this tradition can be seen to have been a material cultural one, of which the cruciform brooch itself was a substantial part.

Cruciform Brooches, Object Agency, and the Construction of Anglian Identity

Naming and describing ethnic groups or archaeological cultures is no longer sufficient in early medieval archaeology (Geary 1983). Suggesting that the cruciform brooch passively reflected an Anglian ethnic group no longer provides an adequate account. It will be necessary to describe the manner in which material cultural was used to construct notions of identity, and how the exchange and ownership of particular objects also constituted the conferral of power.

As mentioned above, it seems that Anglian identity, at least by the 6th century, was a material as well as a presumably ideological phenomenon. The absence of textual records for the period forces this to be the case, but at this point we also do not see any convincing differences in the structure of ritual behaviour (e.g. the mortuary rite) between the supposed Anglian, Saxon or Jutish zones, nor in settlement archaeology or other areas that might show a cultural distinction. It is true that the large cremation cemeteries were limited to the eastern half of the country, but inhumation seems to have been the dominant funerary rite for most of the population for most of this period. The ethnos was therefore a political idea constructed and demonstrated predominantly through material culture. The much hoped-for essence of a particularly Anglian ethnicity-based cultural difference does not seem to be evident in any other facet of overall behaviour other than particular forms of feminine dress. Association with such individuals provided association with the ethnos, and likely conferred political authority. Therefore, if only one member of the descent group dressed in this manner, association with them would have been beneficial. The idea of descent from such individuals will become particularly

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important in Chapter 5 when the generally older age of cruciform brooch wearers is considered and explained in these terms.

There are, however, some complications surrounding the relationship between an ideological ethnicity, and the use of material culture in its construction. As Maurice Godelier (1999) emphasised, symbolic expression through objects has to originate in a pre-existing ideology or in Godolier's (1999, 162) words: "imaginary kernels and symbols which belong to the mental aspect of the functioning of social relations". Therefore, the *idea* of Anglian identity must have existed before its objectification in cruciform brooches. Yet, the cruciform brooch also seems to have existed in England before the ethnogenesis of the Anglian identity (see above). This account therefore suggests that the cruciform brooch, as a pre-existing material form with Germanic connotations that connected it at least approximately with the perceived homelands, was appropriated in an act of opportunism by an emerging ethnic group seeking a suitably authentic symbol with which to demonstrate their descent.

Recalling the typological analysis of the Group 2 and 3 brooches that represent the vast majority of Phase B (some of the earlier Group 4 forms were also of Phase B: Sub-Groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3), these varieties were characterised by complex and innovative combinations of a restricted number of attributes. In other words, the same attributes (such as varieties of head-plate knobs, foot forms, lappets) were combined in many different ways to create new forms. In Chapter 2 this was described as quite literal acts of bricolage, but ones that could also represent a bricolage in more abstract, semiotic terms (after Lévi-Strauss 1966). This provides a direct metaphor for the assembling of the ethnos (or its cultural traditions) from what was probably a mix of the real and mythical origins of the migrants and perhaps even natives that came to identify themselves as Anglians. These brooches therefore represent a material phenomenon that was subtly different from the Phase A (Group 1) brooches which were simplistic but idiosyncratic, and the Phase C (Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7) forms which were generally reproduced almost wholesale. Phase B brooches may therefore indicate subtly nuanced symbolic communications which suggests some form of cultural negotiation. If we see these brooches as establishing for the first time the idea of an Anglian ethnos, they represent its social negotiation, but only within the symbolic boundaries represented by the range of attribute styles. This restriction of attribute varieties is also echoed in the

Phase B distribution (see above), which indicates stringent geographical limitations on who could wear this kind of brooch.

If we consider the cruciform brooch, through its use as a dress accessory and a grave good, as an active agent in the construction of Anglian identity, it cannot represent just a passive reflection of identity located in some other aspect of culture or psychology: the cruciform brooch was a central part of the identity itself. To some extent, we must envisage the development of the cruciform brooch and an ideology of 'being Anglian' as parallel processes. It is the dress-accessory that existed *a priori* (during Phase A) whereupon an identity was construed by the wearer and observers. This occurred in the everyday reiterative performance of costumed dress (the everyday use of the cruciform brooch will be explored further in Chapters 6 and 7) and in the mortuary ritual (the nature of the cruciform brooch as a grave good will be investigated in Chapter 5). Therefore, the top-down approach of positing ethnic groups passively reflected in archaeological cultures approaches identity from just one possible direction. The underlying theoretical presumption has been functionalist insofar as it has conceptualised the role of material culture in fulfilling an adaptive need. It may be useful to reconsider the paradigm and suggest instead that social groups can form their ideas at least partly around groups of related objects. In the present thesis, style is directly represented by, and is analogous to, the typology presented in Chapter 2.

The growing popularity of regionalised dress styles can be explained by the developing need for distinction in the immediate community (the early Anglo-Saxon settlement), which was the efficacious social and economic unit in the early Anglo-Saxon period, as opposed to the civic structures of the Roman period. However, it is possible to suggest that material culture was part and parcel of a growing sense of shared identity from the very start (from the end of Roman Britain through to Phase A), and perhaps even preceded the idea of Anglian, Saxon and Jutish regions. Indeed, it is now generally accepted (and was even hinted at as early as Leeds 1945, 78) that it was the later 5th and 6th century that saw a process of ethnogenesis among Anglo-Saxon communities (Moreland 2010, 174), the ultimate expression of which can be seen in the origin myths written as textual history by Bede. From the very first introduction of Germanic material culture (by whatever means) a regional distribution of objects was set up which became increasingly defined through the process of intensification up to the mid-6th century. Although the cruciform brooch may never before have been a signifier of ethnic identity

(as might be suggested by its nebulous design structure and distribution in Phase A, and because of the suggestion that these ethnicities did not even exist at this point), as an object with perceived or actual origins in what was thought of as the homeland, it became an ideal symbol for 'proving' or performing membership of a formal ethnic group: the *gens Angli* (as is suggested by the stringent regional distribution and symbolic language or bricolage of attributes in Phase B).

Chris Gosden, in a discussion of the Romanisation of Britain four centuries earlier, suggests that "the forms of objects, the historical trajectories of the class of objects and their perceived sources combine to have social effects on people, shaping people as socially effective entities" (Gosden 2005, 193). Traditionally, archaeology has focused on the boundaries between culture groups: boundaries that are perhaps seen to be maintained by different ways of dressing. An approach that takes the agency of material culture into account emphasises instead the way in which "objects set up universes of their own into which people need to fit" (Gosden 2005,194). Thus we can see the initial distribution of cruciform brooches (Phase A), largely in the south and east, as setting up such a constellation of material forms which was exploited by the inauguration of Anglian identity in the later 5th century. The claiming of cruciform brooches as a cultural symbol was therefore one of opportunism.

These similarities in the relationships between both people and objects permits the situation described by Gosden whereby the "universes" created by stylistic association among objects can be perceived and even imitated by people (Gosden 2005, 194). The theory also only works if we accept that material culture can possess some social agency. Agency describes the means by which people or objects actively participate to affect social constructions, and thereby change any element of culture, such as, for instance, regional identity. Alfred Gell (1998) famously put forward this theory to suggest the manner by which art objects can become social agents. Individuals, therefore, can be seen to form relationships with objects analogous to those they form with people. Through this process the object becomes imbued with an agency capable of enacting a very real influence on society. The mechanisms that make this kind of agency possible are the communicative qualities that material culture can possess, as Tilley writes: "artefacts perform active metaphorical work in the world in a manner that words cannot" (Tilley 2002, 25). As Umberto Eco (1973, 57) suggested some time ago, the system of signs that constitute social discourse extends to objects, and even clothing.

Of course, the agency of objects can be overstated, and it is crucial to maintain that the production and use of material culture is still ultimately guided by human action and understanding (Morphy 2009), even if this is not conscious. The processes by which cruciform brooches became so highly regionalised during the later 5th century was of course ultimately guided by the actions of individuals (by population movement, exchange and production for instance), but they were not necessarily acting consciously at this point to establish a regional style of dress. However, it is possible to envisage the development of cruciform brooches (among other Anglo-Saxon material culture) in a similar manner to that expounded by Chris Gosden (2005, above), and in many ways, it is a better explanation of the data.

Phase B Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches were uniquely insular and stylistically distinct from those seen in Scandinavia and the continent. If there was a need to consciously emulate overseas dress and directly represent (real or imagined) kin relations to Germanic groups, the jewellery makers were more than capable of fulfilling it. This is what we might expect from the functionalist explanation of culture and identity. Cruciform brooches were utilised by a group of individuals that saw themselves as distinct, but related, to the homelands cited in their origin myths: they helped to create the *gens Angli*. For these individuals and their communities, cruciform brooches may have related more directly to their perception of Germanic, as opposed to late/sub-Roman, material culture. This, alongside ongoing population movement, created a sense of otherness from the preceding Romano-British society. Indeed, the origin myths may have had a basis in ongoing migratory patterns in early medieval Europe (described above, Phase A), but were directly informed by the perceived material stylistic similarities between Anglo-Saxon England, the continent, and Scandinavia.

Through this discussion of one specific brooch form, it is important not to lose sight of other related items of material culture found in Anglian feminine dress, and amongst which the cruciform brooch may have had a particular meaning. As Hines (1984) has described, the Anglian dress ensemble demonstrates some major Scandinavian influence: wrist-clasps in particular. The cruciform brooch, however, had been around since the early 5th century in England, and may have been perceived to have possessed a deeper antiquity, and hence a more convincing demonstration of descent from the ethnos.

The typological correspondence analyses (Chapter 2) were intentionally chosen to demonstrate the underlying structure of cruciform brooch design. These analyses isolated stylistic attributes (head-plates, bows, feet, lappets) and interrogated their differential combinations with the aid of multivariate statistics. The result was a graphic plot intended to be a pragmatic analogy for Gosden's (2005, 194) abstract, and perhaps even abstruse, "stylistic universes". The plots represent a set of diverse, yet interlinked constellations of style. Another aspect that resulted from the typological analysis was that over time, the cruciform brooch became increasingly standardised. The process culminated in the Phase C brooches (Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7), many of which were virtually identical. This process represents a gradually increasing crystallization of a set of symbols, and is likely to have run parallel to, and perhaps even influenced, how 6th-century Anglo-Saxon communities were beginning to think about themselves. It may also be important to recognise that almost as soon as these symbols became set into standardised forms, the regional patterning seen in all previous cruciform brooches changed dramatically.

Phase C Cruciform Brooches and the Rise of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms

The development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is a particularly difficult subject to approach given that their roots lie in a virtually ahistorical, or pseudo-historical past (Scull 1993, 66). The most convincing accounts of the pre-7th century development of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are found in Christopher Scull's processual social structural modelling (Scull 1992; 1993; 1999). Though founded on archaeological evidence, they essentially agree with previous models built on a more historical (Bassett 1989) or functionalist basis (Arnold 1988a; 1988b). General thinking on the origins of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms suggests that they were the outcome of cumulatively agglomerating socio-political factions headed by specific descent groups. These groups are thought to have subsumed one another through competitive processes (Bassett 1989, 26) embodied in the mechanisms of exchange (Arnold 1988a, 196; Hodges 1982), conspicuous display (Arnold 1988b), and warfare (Bassett 1989). Throughout this process the key development was a drive toward territorial expansion and land ownership (Scull 1999, 22). Authority had ceased to be invested in tenurial rights with the collapse of Roman Britain, and much of the political expediency of assuming an ethnic identity

during the later 5th and 6th centuries can be explained by a need for an alternative source of political authority (Wickham 2005, 330).

This gradual accumulation of power by increasingly fewer individuals is thought to originate in the later 5th century with the establishment of early Anglo-Saxon furnished burial ritual as a forum for competitive display. It is argued that this process reached its climax in the horizon of princely burials in barrows such as Sutton Hoo, Snape (Suffolk), and Asthall (Oxfordshire) and the elite residence sites such as Yeavering and Millfield (Northumberland). The material culture of 7th-century kingship and its associated elites is a well-established subject (e.g. Carver 1992; Hedeager 1999; Høilund Nielsen 1999) and is undoubtedly set to experience renewed enthusiasm since the recent discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard. However, the material culture of the 6th-century origins of Anglo-Saxon kingship is largely limited to mortuary archaeology, and the identification of growing distinctions in wealth between burials (epitomised in Arnold 1988a, though see Shepherd 1998 for an iconography-based approach). The dominant themes in the archaeology of the development Anglo-Saxon kingship are: expanding socio-political groups, increasingly stratified social hierarchy, and site specialisation.

Cruciform Brooches and the Development of Hierarchy

As has already been demonstrated above, Phase C (*c*.525-575) marks the end of a distinctly eastern regionalised cruciform brooch distribution. The Anglian basis of the Phase B identity was based on a perceived ethnicity related to claims of descent and migratory origins. These groups were at least partly constructed, and are made visible to archaeologists, by their differential material culture. The legacy of some became enshrined in the textual accounts and names of the emergent Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and even in the names of a number of present English counties and regions (Wessex, Essex, Sussex and East Anglia for example). The loss of regional definition in cruciform brooch distribution in Phase C therefore cannot represent the complete loss of all regional or ethnic identity, as these regional ethnicities were yet to become substantiated in the names of kingdoms, and the genealogies of their kings. Yet, it may mark the beginning of a more regionally flexible basis of ethnicity, as well as its restriction to fewer, more elite, individuals. In addition, the westward expansion of the cruciform brooch, largely limited to the north side of the Thames, might also represent claims to Anglian descent

being made by the progenitors of the Mercian dynasty. Indeed, Edward Thurlow Leeds interpreted this distribution as indicating East Anglian dominance over the west midlands thanks to the pre-eminence of Raedwald, and this was only checked in the earlier 7th century by the ascendancy of the Mercian king Penda (Leeds and Pocock 1971, 15, 23). Obviously, this chronology has since been shown to be highly dubious, and assumes a much later date for cruciform brooches than can be demonstrated. In addition, it is also an overly literal reading of the historical literature as well as the material culture. Nevertheless, the Phase C distribution undoubtedly demonstrates the expansion of characteristically Anglian material into the region that was to become the Mercian kingdom, and this requires explanation.

The end of the tight regional restrictions on cruciform brooch use (of Phase B) can be seen in the context of the later complete loss of regional distributions in the Final Phase of furnished Anglo-Saxon burial in the 7th century (Geake 1999a; Leeds 1936, 98). In an extensive analysis of Final Phase/conversion period grave goods (600-850), Helen Geake suggests that the loss of most regional distributions was due to a growing sense of Englishness and hence a lesser desire to display regional identity through female dress and the mortuary ritual (Geake 1997, 126). In support of this argument, Geake uses the linguistic studies of John Hines (1990) and the historical evidence analysed by Patrick Wormald (1983) to suggest that the 7th century may have seen the emergence of commonalities in the languages and dialects spoken throughout England. The idea that a common English language emerged this early is a matter of dispute. Bede, for instance, (at some point around 731) wrote of the dialects *lingua Anglorum* and *lingua Saxonica*, even though his recognition of an English people is self-evident in the title of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Hines 1994, 51). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suggest that at this point in time, due to the trans-regional networks of power that were emerging, there was a growing sense of England as a place, even if it was not a named and politically unified one (Brooks 2000, 21). Early Anglo-Saxon kingship of the 7th century, despite the presence of multiple kingdoms still named after a perceived ancestral heritages (the heptarchy continued into the 9th century), may have at least began to be subsumed under a notion of perceived Englishness at this early stage. The loss of regional dress in the 7th century may well represent the very start of a shared identity between English communities. The cause of this gradual homogenisation may well have been changes in the nature of social hierarchy. John Hines (1984, 285) describes this development thus:

[Over the course of the 6th century] a new social structure emerged, more stable, controlled and aristocratic, visible at the top level in the emergence of the English so-called heptarchy. In this changed society it was the smaller number of rulers who needed to express their prestige within larger areas through burial practices, either through rich barrow burials, or later through being buried within the churches or cathedrals.

Therefore, the dispersed distribution of Phase C cruciform brooches may well be the very beginning of this process: these brooches were fewer and worn over a much larger area, and were more obviously opulent items. They demonstrated, more than ever before, an elite act of conspicuous consumption. Phase C cruciform brooches are, almost without exception, gilded and silvered (i.e. bichrome, see Appendix 2). They have extensive relief decoration, and are the only group of cruciform brooches to consistently possess Style I panels. They are also, of course, very large, perhaps even too large to function practically as dress-fasteners without being sewn to the garment. It is critical to emphasise that graves containing Phase C cruciform brooches were not Final Phase burials. Compared to Final Phase graves, Phase C cruciform brooch interments were relatively numerous, and lavishly furnished with all the grave goods typical of early Anglo-Saxon practice such as numerous brooches, girdle-hangers or keys, wrist-clasps and large quantities of beads. They lack the distinctive Final Phase grave goods described by Helen Geake (1997) characterised by their subtlety and classical influence. Phase C cruciform brooches are precisely the opposite of this image: they are large, brash, exaggerations of Germanic style. This last phase of cruciform brooch use is therefore quite distinct from the subsequent Final Phase, but it may well capture the germ of its de-regionalisation.

In sum, the fragmentation of the cruciform brooch's regional restriction had complex causes, and probably represents the first glimpses of the social processes described by Geake and Hines. This does not represent a growing sense of Englishness, but rather the laying down of the trans-regional elite relationships necessary for its later inception. As outlined above, by the mid-6th century (during Phase B) regional styles of dress had acted to create a conspicuous Anglian identity. During Phase C, however, it appears that the associations with power demonstrated by wearing a cruciform brooch became further restricted to a particular class of women that was no longer so strictly regionally defined

and had the economic means, or perhaps more accurately the prestige exchange relationships with individuals outside their immediate group, to acquire these items.

The typological analysis (Chapter 2) demonstrated a distinct change in the structuring principles of Group 4 cruciform brooches, and especially among its later Sub-Groups which are constituted by Phase C brooches (Sub-Groups 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7). These brooches abandoned the complex and nuanced bricolage structure of Phase B brooches, and assumed more standardised forms. Phase C brooches appear to have been mechanically copied to the point that the Style I on some examples is practically illegible (especially evident among Type 4.7.1, see Chapter 8). These brooches retreat from the enthusiasm for stylistic innovation of earlier cruciform brooches, the fundamental motivating factor that drove the organic and diverse typological development of the whole series. With the benefit of hindsight it is tempting to suggest that at this point the demise of the cruciform brooch (and Migration Period bow brooches in general) was fated and entirely predictable: acts of personal display and hence the construction and demonstration of specific ethnic identities were becoming increasingly exclusive and non-negotiable. There was less room for individual agency in manipulating this performance due to the more opulent and therefore less easily obtainable nature of dress-accessories, as well as their increasing conservatism in terms of stylistic innovation. In addition, the materials and skills required to create these items may have come at a higher premium.

As described above, the later 6th century was a time of increasing socio-political control by fewer individuals. We might expect that among the first resources this new class would have sought to control would have been the means of production and hence command of the circulation of prestige goods. Not only were Phase C cruciform brooches prestige goods, but they also represented an older cultural tradition. Therefore, the appropriation of these items by a more restricted class of elite individuals represented an appropriation of the past, or at least the partly mythical origins and descent that it had the power to authenticate. Crucially, these were also prestige goods that conferred identification with a hegemony based on ethnic identity. Such identities were described above as being fundamentally displayed and even proven by specific material adjuncts (e.g. the cruciform brooch). Therefore, these elite may also have been controlling the right to display and therefore possess such an identity. Effectively, these elite individuals controlled the ethnos. Controlling this powerful material culture therefore represents the

control of the political expediency of claiming Anglian descent. As can be seen from the distribution patterns this power was wielded with less regional restriction, and was at least partly dependent on the building of trans-regional elite relationships.

It is of related interest to know that Helen Geake has suggested that the Final Phase also saw a manipulation of dress styles by the elite. However, during this slightly later period it was a sense of *romanitas* that was emphasised in order to legitimise the emergent power structures in the 7th century (Geake 1999a). During the 7th and 8th centuries we also see the removal of the elite from seemingly undifferentiated rural communities to specific sites. The uppermost levels of society became a further step removed from the rest of the populace by isolated burial grounds (Sutton Hoo), burial rites (first in barrows, later in churches), and elite residences (halls such as Yeavering and Millfield). In parallel, specialist craftspeople were again later restricted to production and exchange sites (the *emporia* or *wics*) where the distribution of their products was better controlled by the elite.

The Phase C developments seen in cruciform brooch design and distribution indicate a switch in the nature of production that preceded these later 7th and 8th century developments. It does not represent the emergence of specialist trading or production sites, nor does it indicate the emergence of formal kingship. Nonetheless, this may have been part of a lengthier process of elite involvement in craft production as a means of exerting a political influence. This development might mark the beginning of the removal of craftspeople from the context of their descent or community group whom they had served for the 5th and 6th centuries, and their introduction into a more formally politicised world. Of course, if the above arguments that consider the (Phase B) cruciform brooch as a crucial demonstration of ethnic identity are accepted, Phase C also indicates a more tightly defined and restricted class of individuals staking their claim on the ancestral past, and controlling its conferral among specific individuals.

Phase C cruciform brooches may therefore represent the beginnings of a more closely managed form of patronage. The increasingly standardised cruciform brooch designs and their wider dispersal point quite directly to an increased capacity for exchange. The nature of these objects (and their relative scarcity) suggests prestige gift exchange between elites, perhaps indicative of intensified competition between elite groups towards

the latter half of the 6th century as described in the processual models of the 6th century development of kingdoms (Bassett 1989; Scull 1992; 1993; 1999).

To take the argument one step further, by the mid-6th century it seems early Anglo-Saxon society consisted of a large number of competing socio-political groups (Bassett 1989, 26). It is feasible to suggest that Phase C cruciform brooches were made by a very small number of workshops, even from a small number of mould-patterns. It may have been the case that each competing socio-political group, or perhaps just the most successful, included a single jewellery workshop which, depending on the exchange relationships and status of their patron, had the ability to redistribute its products trans-regionally. An earlier household-based workshop may have had greater freedom (Hines 1995, 77), but would have had a far lesser ability to distribute products widely. Hence, the only standardised designs of earlier brooches (which might be seen to be the products of fewer workshops) are regionally restricted (for example, Types 3.2.2, 3.2.5, 3.2.6, 3.2.7, 3.2.8, 3.2.9, and 3.2.10, see Chapter 2). All other cruciform brooches are far less homogeneous, and occur in the focused pockets of denser cruciform brooch distribution seen in Phase B. In theoretical terms, during Phase C there is less emphasis on the agency of objects and more on the political manipulation of gift exchange and conspicuous display.[9]

Conclusion

This chapter has built upon the chronological analysis of the previous chapter, as well as the knowledge of cruciform brooch design structure from the typological analysis, to provide a broad review of the cruciform brooch's regional distributions. The interpretation has emphasised the cruciform brooch's role in migration, the construction and perception of ethnic identity, and later developments in social hierarchy. It is largely thanks to finds from the PAS that such a broad analysis has been possible, and that the basic distributions can be relied upon with some confidence. Cruciform brooches have traditionally been seen in synoptic accounts as homogeneous indicators of a regionally defined Anglian identity, which has been shown to be an insufficient explanation of their chronological distribution. Through a more thorough scrutiny of the data and the theoretical basis of such statements, this chapter has shown the situation to be somewhat

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[9] Some comparisons can also be drawn with the high status metal-production that occurred on some slightly later sites in Scotland, such as Dunadd.

more complex. In parallel to its lively typological development, the cruciform brooch did not have a static meaning.

A synthesis of typological, chronological and spatial information has provided an interpretation that can contribute to major debates in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology: the nature of migration and ethnicity, the construction of Anglian identity, and the rise of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Some original comments have been made possible thanks to a greater quantity of data, a new statistical typological method, a small amount of spatial analysis performed by a GIS, and the application of some contemporary archaeological theory. Some archaeological understandings of ethnicity, and trepidation about the general subject, have been shown to be among the greatest barriers to a more nuanced understanding of how early Anglo-Saxon dress-accessories were used to both display and construct identity. Of course, though we can suggest that the cruciform brooch played a major role in the construction of Anglian identity, other related material culture should not be forgotten. It is also important to note that a complex structure like ethnicity was probably nested within other identities, and the gender and age dimensions of this will be investigated in the next chapter.