

ICONIC COSTUMES

SCANDINAVIAN LATE IRON AGE
COSTUME ICONOGRAPHY



ULLA MANNERING



ANCIENT TEXTILES SERIES VOL. 25

ICONIC COSTUMES: SCANDINAVIAN LATE
IRON AGE COSTUME ICONOGRAPHY

By

ULLA MANNERING

Published in the United Kingdom in 2017 by
OXBOW BOOKS
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JE

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2017

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-215-0
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-216-7 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library and the Library of Congress

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in Malta by Melita Press
Typeset in India by Lapiz Digital Services, Chennai

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

Front cover: Gold figures © National Museum of Denmark

Contents

List of illustrations

List of tables

Acknowledgements

Introduction

1. Clothing and iconography
2. Gold-foil figures
3. Bracteates
4. Helmet plates
5. Jewellery
6. Tapestries
7. Clothing and costume
8. Conclusion

Bibliography

List of illustrations

- Fig. 1.1 Gold-foil figure find-spots from Scandinavia (Map: Sidsel Frisch, after Watt 1999b, 185).
- Fig. 1.2 Auroch bone from Ryemarksgård in Denmark with incision of five clothed human figures. The bone is dated to *c.* 8000 BC (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.3 Bronze female figure from Fårdal in Denmark wearing a corded skirt. The figure is dated to the Scandinavian Late Bronze Age (1100–500 BC) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.4 Wooden male figure from Rude Eskilstrup in Denmark. The figure is dated to *c.* AD 500 (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.5 Circus glass from Nordrup in Denmark. The glass is dated to the 3rd century AD (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.6 Silver cups from Hoby in Denmark. The cups are dated to the 1st century AD (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.7 Various bronze figures of Roman or Roman provincial origin (left) and local Danish origin (right). The figures are dated to the first half of the first millennium AD (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 1.8 Chronological overview of the five object categories: bracteates, gold-foil figures, helmet plates, jewellery and tapestries selected for this study.
- Fig. 1.9 Overview of the different outerwear groups and innerwear types for males and females.
- Fig. 1.10 Outerwear and innerwear recorded during the costume analysis of the selected object categories. For a full overview, see Fig. 2.44.
- Fig. 2.1 A selection of gold-foil animals in the shape of pigs or bears from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (photo: Martin Stoltze).
- Fig. 2.2 A selection of gold-foil figures from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (scale *c.* 1:1) (Bornholms Museum; photo: Lennart Larsen).
- Fig. 2.3 Gold-foil figures from Lundeborg, Funen, Denmark (Svendborg Museum; photo: Lennart Larsen).
- Fig. 2.4 Gold-foil figures from Hauge, Norway (University Museum of Bergen; photo: Svein Skare; Creative Commons license CC BY-NC-ND 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/deed.en>; HA1: drawing: Egil Bakka).
- Fig. 2.5 Gold-foil figures from Mære, Norway (NTNU University Museum).
- Fig. 2.6 Gold-foil figures from Borg, Lofoten, Norway (Tromsø Museum-Universitetsmuseet; photo: K. Kristensen).
- Fig. 2.7 Gold-foil figures from Bolmsö, Småland, Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum; <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> photo: Gunnel Jansson).
- Fig. 2.8 Gold-foil figures from Eketorp, Öland, Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum;

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> photo: Gunnel Jansson).

- Fig. 2.9 Gold-foil figures from Uppåkra, Skåne, Sweden (Lund University Historical Museum).
- Fig. 2.10 Drawings of gold-foil figures from the National Museum of Denmark (drawings: Bjørn Skaarup and Margrethe Watt).
- Fig. 2.11 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Gudme, Tørring, Rønne and Lundeberg in Denmark (drawing: Eva Koch; Tørring: after Fischer 1974, 29).
- Fig. 2.12 Photos and drawings of gold-foil figures from Toftegård, Zealand, Denmark (Museum Sydøstdanmark; photo: Jens Olsen).
- Fig. 2.13 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (drawing: Eva Koch).
- Fig. 2.14 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (drawing: Eva Koch).
- Fig. 2.15 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (drawing: Eva Koch).
- Fig. 2.16 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Husby, Ravlunda, Eskiltuna, Bolmsö, Brahekyrkan and Eketorp, Sweden (after Lamm 2004).
- Fig. 2.17 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Slöinge, Sweden (after Mannering 1998a, 20; drawing: Anders Andersson).
- Fig. 2.18 Photo and drawings of gold-foil figures from Slöinge, Sweden (after Mannering 1998a, 21; drawing: Anders Andersson).
- Fig. 2.19 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Slöinge, Sweden (after Mannering 1998a, 21; drawing: Anders Andersson).
- Fig. 2.20 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Helgö, Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum; after Lamm 2004).
- Fig. 2.21 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Helgö, Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum; after Lamm 2004).
- Fig. 2.22 Drawings of gold-foil figures from Ulltuna, Svintuna, Gullmarsberg and Hög-Edsten, Sweden (Statens Historiska Museum; after Lamm 2004).
- Fig. 2.23 Photos and drawings of Scandinavian gold-foil figure die stamps and bronze-foil figures (PAT1: after Ulriksen 2000, 6; PAT2-PAT4: after Watt 1999, 179, 182; PAT5: after Nielsen 1999, 80; PAT6: after Watt 2004, 175; PAT7: after Watt 1999, 180; PAT8: after Watt 2004, 188; PAT9: after Watt 1999, 180; PAT10: after Watt 2004, 189; PAT11: after Lamm 2004; BZG1: after Watt 1986, 70; BZG2-BZG3: after Stjernquist 1951; 1993).
- Fig. 2.24 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure outerwear groups in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.25 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure cloak and jacket types.
- Fig. 2.26 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure dress types in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.27 Distribution of the patterning of female gold-foil figure innerwear.
- Fig. 2.28 Percentage distribution of the female gold-foil figure dress types with or without trains.
- Fig. 2.29 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure innerwear combined with outerwear.
- Fig. 2.30 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure cloak and dress combinations in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.31 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure jacket and dress combinations in Denmark (DK) and Sweden (SW).
- Fig. 2.32 Distribution of the female gold-foil figure costume combinations and leg types.
- Fig. 2.33 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure outerwear groups in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.34 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure cloak and jacket types in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.35 Distribution of the patterning of male gold-foil figure outerwear.

- Fig. 2.36 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure tunic types in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.37 Distribution of the patterning of male gold-foil figure innerwear.
- Fig. 2.38 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure leg types in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.39 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure innerwear combined with outerwear.
- Fig. 2.40 Distribution of the male gold-foil figure costume combinations and leg types in Denmark (DK), Sweden (SW) and Norway (NO).
- Fig. 2.41 The first correspondence analysis with the completed seriation diagram of double gold-foil figures from the entire Scandinavian area. Based on 88 units and 24 types. The colour key indicating the geographical distribution is as follows: Southern Scandinavia (green), Sweden (pink), Norway (yellow), Unknown provenance (white).
- Fig. 2.42 The second correspondence analysis with the completed diagram of single and double gold-foil figures from the entire Scandinavian area. Based on 314 units and 88 types. The colour key is as follows: double gold-foil figures (green), males represented singly (blue) and females represented singly (red).
- Fig. 2.43 The third correspondence analysis with the completed diagram of single and double female gold-foil figures from the entire Scandinavian area. Based on 139 units and 25 types. The colour key is as follows: single gold-foil figures (red) and double gold-foil figures (green).
- Fig. 2.44 Shape and patterning of the various gold-foil figure costume types with the specification of the Costume Group to which they belong.
- Fig. 3.1 Drawing of the “Drei Götter” Bracteates (IK20, IK39, IK40, IK51.1, IK51.3 and IK66) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1989b).
- Fig. 3.2 Drawing of the “Drei Götter” Bracteates (IK165 and IK595) and bracteates depicting Costume Group 1.1 (IK59, IK160, IK183, IK101) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1989b; 2011).
- Fig. 3.3 Drawing of bracteates depicting Costume Group 1.2 (IK326, IK187, IK57.2) and those depicting Costume Group 1.3 (IK117, IK189, IK50) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1986b; 1989b).
- Fig. 3.4 Drawings of bracteates depicting Costume Group 1.3 (IK75 and IK300), Costume Group 1.4 (IK135), Costume Group 2.1 (IK195 and IK143) and Costume Group 2.2 (IK92) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1986b).
- Fig. 3.5 Drawings of bracteates depicting Costume Group 2.2 (IK149, IK337, IK105 and IK6) and those depicting Costume Group 2.3 (IK65 and IK166) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1986b).
- Fig. 3.6 Drawings of bracteates depicting Costume Group 2.3 (IK71, IK308 and IK167) and those depicting Costume Group 2.4 (IK148, IK341 and IK79) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1985a–c; 1986b; 1989b).
- Fig. 3.7 Drawings of bracteates depicting Costume Group 2.5 (IK350, IK389, IK391, IK311, IK259 and IK362) (after Hauck *et al.*, 1986b; 1989b).
- Fig. 3.8 A wool kilt and cloak found in the Early Bronze Age oak coffin (of a young man) from Borum Eshøj B in Denmark. The find is dated to 1345 BC (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 3.9 A skin kilt from Søgård in Denmark. The find is radiocarbon dated to AD 130–340 (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 4.1 Drawings of both sides of the Valsgärde 7 helmet from Sweden (after Arwidsson, 1977, Abb. 26; drawing: Per-Olof Bohlin).
- Fig. 4.2 Drawings of the Valsgärde 7A-D helmet motifs from Sweden (after Arwidsson 1977, Abb. 115, 120, 128 and 133; Drawing: Max Roosman and Per-Olof Bohlin).
- Fig. 4.3 Drawings of the Valsgärde 7E-F and 8A-B helmet motifs from Sweden (after Arwidsson, 1977, Abb. 115; drawing: Max Roosman and Per Olof Bohlin; and Hauck 1978, Abb. 20–1).
- Fig. 4.4 Drawings of the Vendel 1 helmet and the Vendel 1A-C helmet motifs from Sweden (after Stolpe and Arne 1912. pl. v, fig.1; drawing: Olof Sörling and Evald Hansen; and Hauck 1978, Abb. 26, 29 and 12; drawing: W. Hilpert).

- Fig. 4.5 Drawings of the Vendel 11A-B helmet motifs, the Vendel 12 helmet and the Vendel 12A helmet motif from Sweden (after Hauck 1978, Abb. 6a and Abb. 10a; drawings: I. Müller; after Stolpe and Arne 1912, xxxvi, fig. 4, Riksantikvarieämbetets arkiv ATA; drawing: Olof Sörling and Evand Hansen; and after Hauck 1978, 32, fig. 1; drawing: I. Müller).
- Fig. 4.6 Drawings of both sides of the Vendel 14 helmet, the helmet motifs from Vendel 14B and Vendel 14C from Sweden (after Hauck 1978, 34, fig. 2a and 35, fig. 2b; drawings: I. Müller; after Hauck 1978, 35, fig. 3; drawing: W. Hilpert; and after Hauck 1978, Tafel iv, Abb. 5a).
- Fig. 4.7 Drawings of the Sutton Hoo A-B helmet motifs from England (after Evans 1986, 48; drawings: Carey Miller; © Trustees of the British Museum).
- Fig. 4.8 Drawing of the bronze motif from Uppsala burial mound in Sweden (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Arwidsson 1977, Abb. 31).
- Fig. 4.9 Drawings of the Torslunda A-D bronze matrices from Sweden (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Hauck 1978).
- Fig. 4.10 Distribution of kaftan types on helmet plates.
- Fig. 4.11 Distribution of tunic types on helmet plates.
- Fig. 4.12 Distribution of costume combinations and leg types on helmet plates.
- Fig. 5.1 Depictions of males from relief fibulae from Tåstrup, Hol, Gummersmark in Denmark and Ekeby in Sweden, brooch from Vester Egesborg, and oval brooch from Lousgård in Denmark (drawings: Pernille Foss; after Haseloff 1986; Gärtner and Ulriksen 2000; Capelle 1968).
- Fig. 5.2 Depictions of females on pendants from Norsborg and Roskilde in Denmark, Valkyrie fibulae from Stentinget, Ribe and Tissø 1 in Denmark and Haithabu in North Germany, and pendant from Hagebyhöga in Sweden (drawings: Pernille Foss; after Holmqvist 1960; Axboe 1986; Petersen 1993b; Jørgensen *et al.*, 2004).
- Fig. 5.3 Depictions of females on pendants from Birka 825, Birka 968, Grödinge, Klinta, Tuna, Gamla Uppsala, Hjorthammar and Öland in Sweden; Nygård, Tissø 2, Tissø 3 and Tissø 4 in Denmark (drawings: Pernille Foss; after Arbman 1940; Bau 1981; Nordahl 2001; Holmqvist 1960; Watt 1994; Hildebrand 1880; Jørgensen 1997; Jørgensen *et al.*, 2004).
- Fig. 5.4 Depictions of males on pendants from Birka 571, Ekhammar and Uppåkra in Sweden (drawings: Pernille Foss; after Arbman 1940; Ringquist 1969; Larsson and Hårdh 1998a).
- Fig. 5.5 Distribution of female outerwear groups in the jewellery.
- Fig. 5.6 Distribution of female cloak and jacket types in the jewellery.
- Fig. 5.7 Distribution of female dress types in the jewellery.
- Fig. 5.8 Distribution of female costume combinations and leg types in the jewellery.
- Fig. 5.9 Distribution of male costume combinations and leg types in the jewellery.
- Fig. 6.1 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 1 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.2 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 2 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.3 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 3 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.4 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 4 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).

- Fig. 6.5 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 5 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.6 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 6 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.7 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 7 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.8 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 8a with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.9 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 8b with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.10 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 9 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: male (blue) (Drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.11 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 10 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.12 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 11 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.13 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 12 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Krafft 1955).
- Fig. 6.14 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 13 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Hougen 1940).
- Fig. 6.15 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 14 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Hougen 1940).
- Fig. 6.16 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from the Oseberg grave in Norway, fragment 15 with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: neutral (green) (Drawing: Pernille Foss; after Hougen 1940).
- Fig. 6.17 Drawing of a tapestry fragment from Rolvsøy in Norway with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Christensen *et al.*, 1992).
- Fig. 6.18 Drawing of the tapestry from Rolvsøy in Norway in its original colours (drawing: Tone Strenger 1986; photo: Eirik Irgens Johnsen; Creative Commons licence CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/bync-nd/3.0/>).
- Fig. 6.19 Picture of the tapestry from Overhögdal in Sweden, strip IA and IB with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue), rider (yellow) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Nockert and Franzén 1992).
- Fig. 6.20 Picture of the tapestry from Overhögdal in Sweden, strip II with the figure numbers and gender

signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue) and rider (yellow) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Nockert and Franzén 1992).

- Fig. 6.21 Picture of the tapestry from Overhögdal in Sweden, strip III with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red), male (blue), rider (yellow) and neutral (green) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Nockert and Franzén 1992).
- Fig. 6.22 Picture of the tapestry fragment from Rennebu in Norway with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the analysis: female (red) and male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Nockert and Franzén 1992).
- Fig. 6.23 Picture of the tapestry fragment from Skog in Sweden with the figure numbers and gender signature used in the costume analysis: female (red) and male (blue) (drawing: Pernille Foss; after Nockert and Franzén 1992).
- Fig. 6.24 Distribution of female costume combinations and leg types in the tapestries.
- Fig. 6.25 Distribution of male costume combinations and leg types in the tapestries.
- Fig. 7.1 Two examples of Early Iron Age sheepskin cloaks found in Danish bogs. The top one was found in True and has a symmetrical pattern. The lower cloak belonged to the Huldremose Woman and has an asymmetrical pattern. The schematic patterns of the two skin cloak types are shown to the right (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.2 The reconstructed male cloak from the Mammen chamber grave in Denmark dated to AD 971. The embroidered wool fabric is lined with marmot fur (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.3 Schematic drawings of different textile cloaks dated to the Roman Iron Age found in Germany (drawing: Courtesy of John Peter Wild).
- Fig. 7.4 The Gerum cloak from Sweden. The oval wool cloak is woven in 2/2 twill and measures 250 × 199 cm. The find is radiocarbon dated to 360–100 BC (scale = 10 cm) (Swedish History Museum; photo: G. Hildebrand).
- Fig. 7.5 The wool tabby cloak found in the Early Bronze Age oak coffin from Muldbjerg in Denmark. The find is dated to 1365 BC (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.6 The wool cloak from Thorsberg in Germany. The greenish parts are what remain of the cloak. The brown part is a modern support fabric. The find is dated to the 3rd century AD (scale = 60 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.7 The cloak from Skærsø in Denmark. The wool cloak is woven in 2/2 diamond twill and measures 206 × 150 cm. It is radiocarbon dated to 350 BC–AD 90. The middle part of the cloak is bleached due to its exposure to sunlight during exhibition (scale = 10 cm) (Museet på Koldinghus).
- Fig. 7.8 Reconstruction drawing of the Enebø/Eide male clothing items found in Norway showing the cloak, tunic and trousers. The grave is dated to the Early Germanic Iron Age, *c.* AD 475 (drawing: Courtesy of Søsna Magnus, Oslo).
- Fig. 7.9 Reconstruction of the Högum male clothing items found in Sweden consisting of a cloak, tunic and trousers. The grave is dated to the Early Germanic Iron Age, *c.* AD 500 (Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo; photo: Eirik Irgens Johnsen; licence: CC BY-NC-ND 3.0: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>).
- Fig. 7.10 Reconstruction drawings of the various Viking Age female clothing items found in the Birka graves in Sweden. The drawings are based on Inga Hägg's interpretations (drawing: Flemming Bau).
- Fig. 7.11 Reconstruction drawings of the various Viking Age male clothing items found in Haithabu in Germany (redrawn by Sidsel Frisch; after Hägg 1984; 1991a; and Inga Hägg's reconstruction drawings in Elsner 1989).
- Fig. 7.12 Copy of a Greek relief of Medea and the Peliades dated to 410/20 BC now in the Antikensammlung Berlin, in Germany. In the course of this study it was discovered that the figure to the left is wearing a

sleeved jacket. This feature had not been observed earlier (photo: Marcus Cyron;

<http://commons.wikimedia.org>

/wiki/File:Relief_of_Medea_and_the_Peliades_Antikensammlung_Berlin.jpg).

- Fig. 7.13 The semi-circular cloak of Queen Bathilde from France. The find is dated to AD 680 (Museo Municipal de Alfred Bonno).
- Fig. 7.14 Reconstruction drawing of the Danish Early Bronze Age tubular dress and a suggestion of how this clothing may have been worn. The reconstruction is based on the wool tabby textile found in the female oak coffin from Skrydstrup in Denmark which measures 395 × 145 cm. The find is dated to *c.* 1300 BC (National Museum of Denmark; Drawing: Marie-Louise Andersson).
- Fig. 7.15 The tubular dress from Huldremose in Denmark. The wool textile is woven in 2/2 twill and measures 256 × 173 cm. The find is radiocarbon dated to 350–30 BC (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.16 The tubular dress from Hammerum in Denmark during excavation with the outline and different characteristics highlighted. The find is dated to the 3rd century AD (National Museum of Denmark/Museum Midtjylland; graphics: Lise Ræder Knudsen).
- Fig. 7.17 Reconstruction drawings of various Viking Age female clothing items found in the Birka graves in Sweden. The drawings are based on Agnes Geijer's interpretations (after Almgren 1967, 200; drawing: Åke Gustavsson).
- Fig. 7.18 Reconstruction drawings of various Viking Age female clothing items found in Haithabu in Germany (redrawn by Sidsel Frisch; after Hägg 1984; 1991a; and Inga Hägg's reconstruction drawings in Elsner 1989).
- Fig. 7.19 Blouse, belt and corded skirt found in the Early Bronze Age female oak coffin from Egtved in Denmark. The find is dated to 1370 BC (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.20 The outer skin cape, scarf and skirt found together with the bog body of the Huldremose Woman in Denmark in 1879. The find is radiocarbon dated to 350–41 BC (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.21 The wool skirt from Krogens Mølle in Denmark as it looks today (top) and as it may have looked when it was made (below). The skirt is woven in 2/2 twill in a white or greyish wool, and measures 80 × 350 cm. The three blue stripes are placed slightly off centre. The find is radiocarbon dated to 399–181 BC (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.22 Some of the textiles and jewellery found in the Lønne Hede female grave excavated in 1969. The grave is dated to the 1st century AD (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.23 Reconstruction of the Lønne Hede 1969 clothing made and modelled by Anna Nørgård (after Bonniers Store Håndarbejdsleksikon; photo: Mikael Müller).
- Fig. 7.24 Reconstruction drawings of various Iron Age tunics found in Germany: a) Marx-Etzel, b) Obenaltendorf, c) Reepsholt and d) Bernuthsfeld (after Schlabow 1976).
- Fig. 7.25 Reconstruction drawings of the Thorsberg tunic found in Germany. The find is dated to the 3rd century AD (after Engelhardt 1863 and Schlabow 1976).
- Fig. 7.26 The tunic from Lendbreen in Norway. The find is radiocarbon dated to AD 230–390 (Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo; photo: Courtesy of Marianne Vedeler).
- Fig. 7.27 The linen tabby tunic found in Viborg as it is preserved today. The tunic is dated to *c.* AD 1050 (Viborg Museum; photo: Courtesy of Margit Petersen).
- Fig. 7.28 Reconstruction drawings of various tunics found in Denmark and Norway: a) Kragelund, b) Moselund, c) Viborg and d) Skjoldehamn (after Hald 1980; Gjessing 1938).
- Fig. 7.29 The wool tunic from Kragelund in Denmark. The find is radiocarbon dated to AD 1045–1155 (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.30 The wool tunic from Moselund in Denmark. The find is radiocarbon dated to AD 1050–1155 (National Museum of Denmark).

- Fig. 7.31 Reconstruction drawings of various Iron Age trousers found in Germany: a) Marx-Etzel, b) Dätgen, c) Thorsberg (back) and d) Thorsberg (front) (after Schlabow 1976).
- Fig. 7.32 The wool trousers from Thorsberg in Germany as they are preserved today. The darker brown part is a modern support fabric. The find is dated to the 3rd century AD (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.33 Reconstruction drawings of various Iron Age leg wrappings found in Germany: a) Damendorf, b) Thorsberg, c) Bernuthsfeld and d) Obenaltendorf (after Schlabow 1976).
- Fig. 7.34 The wool leg wrappers from Søgård in Denmark with the leg and foot of a man still preserved. The find is radiocarbon dated to AD 130–340 (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.35 The wool leg wrappers from Thorup in Denmark. The find is radiocarbon dated to 360–50 BC (scale = 10 cm) (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.36 The long wool stocking from Herjolfsnæs in South Greenland. The stocking measures 88 cm in length, and is dated to the 13th–15th century AD (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.37 Textile reconstructions of three of the most characteristic textile types produced in the Scandinavian Late Iron Age, tabby (left), 2/2 twill (middle) and 2/2 diamond twill (right). The surface structures are so different that they are very easy to distinguish from one another (photo: Sidsel Frisch).
- Fig. 7.38 The piled wool hat found in the Early Bronze Age male oak coffin from Muldbjerg in Denmark. The find is dated to 1365 BC (National Museum of Denmark).
- Fig. 7.39 Wool textile fragment 56A from Haithabu harbour in Germany with a brushed textile surface possibly imitating fur (Schloss Gottorf; photo: Charlotte Rimstad).
- Fig. 8.1 The various costumes ensembles occurring in the selected object categories seen in relation to their individual dating, male costume ensembles (Y) and female ensembles (X). The numbering of the costume ensembles refers to the definitions given in Tables 8.2 and 8.3.
- Fig. 8.2 Revised chronological overview of the five object categories, bracteates, gold-foil figures, helmet plates, jewellery and tapestries, selected for this study, with the gender distribution and total number of the analysed figures.

List of tables

- Table 1.1 Overview of the Scandinavian chronological periods relevant to this study.
- Table 1.2 Different iconographic and material characteristics of the five object categories selected for this study.
- Table 2.1 Gold-foil figure finds in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Early Germanic Iron Age (EGIA), Late Germanic Iron Age (LGIA) and Viking Age (VIK).
- Table 2.2 Locations in Denmark of gold-foil figures, their total number, and the actual number used in the costume analysis.
- Table 2.3 Locations in Sweden of gold-foil figures, their total number, and the actual number used in the costume analysis.
- Table 2.4 Locations in Norway of gold-foil figures, their total number, and the actual number used in the costume analysis.
- Table 2.5 Scandinavian gold-foil figure die stamps, their total number and the actual number used in the costume analysis.
- Table 2.6 Scandinavian bronze-foil figures, their total number and the actual number used in the costume analysis.
- Table 2.7 Costume analysis of the gold-foil figures selected for this study from the National Museum of Denmark and the rest of Denmark, except for Lundeberg and Sorte Muld, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.8 Costume analysis of the gold-foil figures selected for this study from Lundeberg in Denmark, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.9 Costume analysis of the gold-foil figures selected for this study from Sorte Muld in Denmark, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.10 Costume analysis of the gold-foil figures selected for this study from Sweden, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.11 Costume analysis of the gold-foil figures selected for this study from Norway, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.12 Costume analysis of the die stamps and bronze-foil figures selected for this study from Scandinavia, male (M), female (F), not dressed (ND).
- Table 2.13 Female costume combinations on the gold-foil figures, die stamps and bronze-foil figures from Denmark (DK), Sweden (S) and Norway (N) in absolute and percentage terms.
- Table 2.14 Female costume combinations on the gold-foil figures, die stamps and bronze-foil figures from Denmark in absolute and percentage terms with a subdivision of the finds from Sorte Muld (SM), Lundeberg (LU) and the rest of Denmark (DK).
- Table 2.15 Male costume combinations on the gold-foil figures, die stamps and bronze-foil figures from Denmark

(DK), Sweden (S) and Norway (N) in absolute and percentage terms.

- Table 2.16 Male costume combinations on the gold-foil figures, die stamps and bronze-foil figures from Denmark in absolute and percentage terms with a subdivision of the finds from Sorte Muld (SM), Lundeborg (LU) and the rest of Denmark (DK).
- Table 3.1 Costume analysis of the bracteates selected for this study, male (M), female (F).
- Table 4.1 The helmet plates selected for this study, male (M), female (F).
- Table 4.2 The various types of helmet plates and the total number recorded.
- Table 4.3 The helmet plates divided into six image groups based on the content of the images.
- Table 4.4 Costume analysis of the helmet plates selected for this study.
- Table 4.5 Male costume combinations on the helmet plates.
- Table 5.1 The jewellery material selected for this study, Early Germanic Iron Age (EGIA), Late Germanic Iron Age (LGIA) and Viking Age (VIK), male (M), female (F).
- Table 5.2 Costume analysis of the jewellery material selected for this study.
- Table 5.3 Costume combinations in the jewellery material selected for this study.
- Table 6.1 Scandinavian tapestries found in Sweden and Norway dated to the Viking Age and Middle Ages.
- Table 6.2 Costume analysis of the Oseberg tapestry from Norway.
- Table 6.3 Costume analysis of the Rolvsøy tapestry from Norway.
- Table 6.4 Costume analysis of the Överhogdal tapestry from Sweden.
- Table 6.5 Costume analysis of the Rennebu tapestry from Norway.
- Table 6.6 Costume analysis of the Skog tapestry from Sweden.
- Table 6.7 Summary of the recorded figures on the tapestries selected for this study.
- Table 6.8 The costume combinations on the tapestries selected for this study, Oseberg (OB), Rolvsøy (RO), Överhogdal (OH); Rennebu (RB); Skog (SK).
- Table 7.1 Different Scandinavian textile types and their characteristics as defined by Bender Jørgensen (1986).
- Table 7.2 Different Scandinavian textile types as defined by Bender Jørgensen (1986) and their chronological distribution.
- Table 8.1 Male and female figures with a recorded costume, and their distribution among the object categories selected for this study.
- Table 8.2 Distribution of male costume ensembles in the five object categories.
- Table 8.3 Distribution of female costume ensembles in the five object categories.

Acknowledgements

The publisher and I gratefully acknowledge the permission granted to reproduce the copyright material in this book. Every effort has been made to trace copyright holders and to obtain their permission for the use of copyright material. The publisher apologises for any errors or omissions and would be grateful if notified of any corrections that should be incorporated in future reprints or editions of this book.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Danish Research Council for the Humanities (FKK) that funded my PhD research and Dronning Margrethe II's Arkæologiske Fond for financial support for the translation of my PhD dissertation, *Billeder af dragt: En analyse af påklædte figurer fra yngre jernalder i Skandinavien* (University of Copenhagen, 2006). I would also like to thank Ulla Lund Hansen my PhD supervisor, Bente Magnus and Torsten Capelle† my PhD opponents, and Lise Bender Jørgensen my academic mentor.

My heartfelt thanks to John Peter Wild and Margrethe Watt who kindly read and reviewed the entire manuscript, and Morten Axboe who reviewed the chapter on bracteates, and who all offered invaluable suggestions for improvement. All mistakes are now my own.

I also thank all the museums and universities in Scandinavia who helped provide study material and images, and the following: Anders Andersen for making the drawings of the gold-foil figures from Slöinge, Bjørn Skaarup for making the drawings of some of the gold-foil figures belonging to the National Museum of Denmark; Pernille Foss for helping redraw already published drawings and also making new drawings; Margrethe Watt for kindly providing drawings of the Danish gold-foil figures along with the late Eva Koch, and Peter Andreas Toft for helping with the correspondence analysis. For this publication, I would like to thank Morten Axboe, Jan Peder Lamm, Bente Magnus, Charlotte Rimstad, Marianne Vedeler, Martin Stoltze and John Peter Wild for use of images; and Anna Nørgård, Susanne Lervad and Lise Ræder Knudsen for help in obtaining images. A special thanks goes to Roberto Fortuna at the National Museum of Denmark for the wonderful photographs of the many archaeological textiles.

At the Centre for Textile Research (DNRF64) I would like to thank: my wonderful colleagues Marie-Louise Nosch and Eva Andersson Strand who over the years repeatedly encouraged me to rework the text, for their persistent encouragement and support to publish in English, Cherine Munkholt for translating the original PhD text and her fantastic work editing and coordinating the publication; Sidsel Frisch for her immense help with the picture editing and for insightful suggestions in terms of content editing the revised text, and Louise Ludvigsen, Line Lerke, Stine Bøttern, Ziff Jonker, Philip Dons Madsen, Manon Leroy, Elina Stamatatou, Jane Malcolm-Davies, Mikkel Nørtoft, Egzona Haxha and Camilla Ebert for editorial assistance.

I would also like to thank the Danish National Research Foundation (DNRF64) and the National Museum of Denmark for their support and Farumgaard-Fonden for their financial support for the printing of this book.

Above all, I would like to thank my family for their infinite patience and support.

Introduction

This is a revised edition of my PhD dissertation which was successfully defended at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark in June 2006. Taking its point of departure in an archaeological textile and clothing perspective, this book presents a selection of the rich and varied iconographic material from Scandinavia depicting clothed human figures.

The source material consists of five object categories: gold foils, gold bracteates, helmet plaques, jewellery and textile tapestries, which complement each other with regard to choice of material, content and function. The objects selected for the study are, with a few exceptions, produced and found in Scandinavia, *i.e.* present-day Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and only in a few cases is material found outside Scandinavia included in the analysis. The majority of finds are dated to the Scandinavian Late Iron Age (AD 400–1050) while a few finds are dated to the Scandinavian Middle Ages (AD 1050–1536).

Through a recording system developed for the present analysis of iconographically recorded costumes, the content of the object categories selected for this study is described and compared, and the results are compared with the existing knowledge of archaeological textiles and clothing finds. Here, I have primarily focused on finds from contemporary Scandinavia and the northern part of Germany, which in this period belonged to the Scandinavian cultural area. To include the European continental clothing tradition would be a next step, but it was not feasible within the scope of the PhD project.

In 2005 I began working at the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research (CTR) at the University of Copenhagen, and since 2010 I have been employed at the National Museum of Denmark monitoring the collaborative research programme working with the Danish collections of textiles and skin objects from the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Knowing that my dissertation, due to its Danish language, was not available to the majority of my overseas colleagues, I have, in this period, published a few articles in English about Scandinavian costume iconography (Mannering 2008; 2013; Mannering and Andersson Strand 2009), but it is a great pleasure to finally be able to present the entire work in English.

To revise a PhD dissertation is not a straightforward task as formalities and the target group are suddenly different, and with time, one's knowledge and the archaeological record, too, are subject to change. Since 2005, many new finds pertinent to this study have appeared, but I soon realised that it would be too complicated a task to incorporate all of them in the comparative material, and instead chose to focus on updating the archaeological textile and clothing chapter, and include many new photos. I hope the readers will appreciate this.

Margrethe Watt, the prime researcher of gold-foil figures, which is the largest object category included, will publish her long-awaited book on the Scandinavian gold-foil figures in 2016 (Watt forthcoming), and no doubt, with its full overview, descriptions and drawings of all Scandinavian gold-foil figures, it will create renewed debate and interpretations of the gold-foil figures themselves, and Scandinavian iconography in general. This may affect the present study, but also make it easier to see and evaluate the material that I did not include here.

Throughout the years, I have heard from many Scandinavian researchers that they have found my methodology useful, and I hope it will now acquire a second life in a wider context. I am also aware that, for instance my gender definitions have been criticised (Danielsson 2007), but my priority has been primarily to disseminate knowledge of prehistoric clothing. As the present work lies in the cross-disciplinary fields of textile and costume history, art history, and traditional archaeological methodology, I welcome debate and hope others will feel inspired to continue the work started. The primary objective of this book is, thus, not to find an interpretation of the depictions themselves, but through them to shed light on the clothing tradition within which they are produced.

The analytical tool presented in the book is developed to ease comparisons of large bodies of material in detail, and, in general, regardless of what they are composed of, their function, chronology, interpretation and context. The tool is used to record and analyse the numerous details of iconographic costumes, and to facilitate a clear and easy description. In most object categories, the clothed figures are characterised by a few, simple and visually clear details. This very conscious and intentional use of explicit costume shapes enables us to understand and interpret the Late Iron Age clothing tradition.

The analysis of the almost 1000 selected clothed human figures employs an internal numbering system referring to the different figures encountered in the various object groups. The numbering consists of an abbreviation of the location as well as a running number. Together with published photos and drawings, my own examination of most Scandinavian gold-foil figures and new drawings created for this purpose form the basis of the documentation and analysis presented. Margrethe Watt and Eva Kock[†] kindly permitted me to use their unpublished drawings, but only the most necessary drawings are published here. Please note that not all photos are accompanied by a scale.

If there are textile terms in the text that are unfamiliar to some readers, which cannot be satisfied by recourse to the dictionary or Wikipedia, I recommend the glossary presented by Möller-Wiering (2011) or the introduction in Gleba and Mannering (2012).

Clothing and iconography

Knowledge of prehistoric clothing in Scandinavia is primarily derived from various archaeological textile sources. However, the number and quality of sources that can be used for clothing studies are highly variable, and based on these textile sources alone, it is difficult to create a clear and detailed picture of the clothing customs in prehistory which can meet the increasing demand both in academic research and among the general public to visualise the past and bring it to life. In order to compensate for the lacuna in the archaeological textile record and to obtain a deeper insight into Scandinavian prehistoric clothing, it is necessary to try new approaches, as for instance combining knowledge from the textile finds with the study of contemporary iconographical sources.

Iconography is not a new source in clothing research, but it is most often used as a single source to prove and underline a known aspect. The study of Scandinavian Late Iron Age costume iconography in a broader perspective and as a source in parallel with the archaeological textiles has not been undertaken until now. Thus, with the present study, the statement made by Scandinavian Late Iron Age costume iconography is brought into this discussion.

This study is chronologically focused on the Scandinavian Late Iron Age (AD 400–1050), which consists of three sub-periods termed the Early Germanic Iron Age (AD 400–520/40), Late Germanic Iron Age (AD 520/40–AD 800) and Viking Age (AD 800–1050) (Lund Hansen *et al.*, 1995, 18 and Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997a, 38) (Table 1.1), and is primarily based on finds from present-day Denmark, Sweden and Norway (Fig. 1.1). As Late Iron Age Scandinavia is considered a cohesive unit in a cultural historical and textile technological perspective, the aim of this study is to demonstrate how a group of selected depictions of costumed anthropomorphic (humanlike) figures complement already existing sources of archaeological textiles, and to what extent this provides new information on chronological, regional and social differences in clothing customs in this period. In this context, the term *costume* denotes both the various individual garments as well as the outfit in its entirety identified in the iconography, while the term *clothing* is reserved for archaeological textile finds.

Scandinavia is renowned for its wealth of archaeological artefacts, of both organic and inorganic origin that can provide information on textile technology, production and various clothing customs. The earliest depiction of costumed humanlike figures dates to the Mesolithic (Fig. 1.2). The Scandinavian Bronze Age is characterised by a rich and varied iconography depicting anthropomorphic figures (Fig 1.3) and images, and especially petroglyphs (rock carvings) have long been seen as a significant source of information on Bronze Age society. For instance the comprehensive study of ships on bronze objects has demonstrated that systematic research methods can provide new knowledge on prehistoric society, religion and cosmology (Kaul 1998 and 2004; Milstreu and Prøhl 2004). For reasons still unknown, the Scandinavian tradition of depicting anthropomorphic figures disappears with the Bronze Age culture, and it is not before the onset of the Late Iron Age, after a period of almost 1000 years, that humanlike figures and more complex depictions are reintroduced into the Scandinavian prehistoric material culture, and a local

production of more intricate images with anthropomorphic figures manifests itself.

Table 1.1 Overview of the Scandinavian chronological periods relevant to this study.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>
Early Stone Age	–4000 BC
Late Stone Age	4000–1700 BC
Early Bronze Age	1700–1100 BC
Late Bronze Age	1100–500 BC
Pre-Roman Iron Age	500–1 BC
Early Roman Iron Age	AD 1–200
Late Roman Iron Age	AD 200–400
Early Germanic Iron Age	AD 400–520/40
Late Germanic Iron Age	AD 520/40–800
Viking Age	AD 800–1050
Middle Ages	AD 1050–1536



Fig. 1.2 Auroch bone from Ryemarksgård in Denmark with incision of five clothed human figures. The bone is dated to c. 8000 BC (National Museum of Denmark).

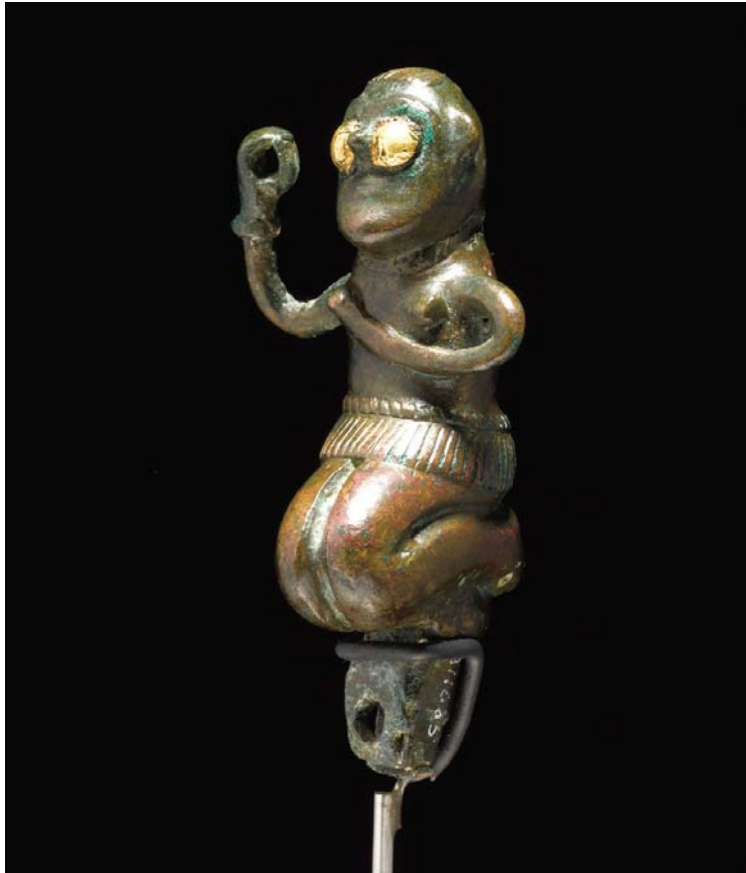


Fig. 1.3 Bronze female figure from Fårdal in Denmark wearing a corded skirt. The figure is dated to the Scandinavian Late Bronze Age (1100–500 BC) (National Museum of Denmark).

Wooden anthropomorphic idols are certainly an exception, and these are found throughout Northern Europe from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages, although in Scandinavia, they reach their apogee at the turn of the 1st millennium, *i.e.* in the Pre-Roman and Early Roman Iron Ages (Sanden and Capelle 2001, 11). From a clothing perspective, the wooden figures have regrettably not much to offer, as they are either naked or the costume details are difficult to discern (Fig. 1.4). The wooden figures, however, demonstrate a continuity and experience in depicting the human body that cannot be documented in any other object group. It is still unclear as to what caused the stagnation of the image production in the Early Iron Age (500 BC–AD 400), but it is most likely the influence of the Roman Empire that again gave impetus to the production of anthropomorphic figures in Scandinavia. Sources of inspiration could have been, for instance circus glass (Fig. 1.5), metal drinking cups (Fig. 1.6), small bronze statuettes (Fig. 1.7), coins and bejewelled weaponry which occur in quite large numbers in Scandinavia in the first centuries AD (Werner 1966). Scandinavian copies of Roman bronze figures demonstrate that copying took place, but an independent Scandinavian production of anthropomorphic figures had not yet materialised (Kjærsum and Olsen 1990). It is first with the production of bracteates that Scandinavian iconography starts flourishing again, and thereby the study of Scandinavian costume from an iconographical perspective becomes possible. This is probably also the reason why iconography in Scandinavian Iron Age research has long played a secondary role, and is

primarily used as individual examples to illustrate or underline a specific issue. Another explanation for this situation could be that a large part of the Scandinavian Late Iron Age iconography is found on high-status metal objects, where the economic and aesthetic values rather than the iconographic statement have been in focus. This fact has transformed most iconography into objects of art (see, for example Holmqvist 1955; 1977; Kolstrup 1995) rather than a coded message loaded with social, religious and cultural meanings (for exceptions see, for example Hedeager 1999; Højlund Nielsen 1998; 2002c; Göransson 1999; Pesch 2005; Danielsson 2007; and Helmbrecht 2011).

The object categories selected for the study

Depictions of costumed anthropomorphic figures are found on many object categories, such as bracteates, gold-foil figures (*guldgubber*), jewellery, weaponry, helmet plates, tapestries, picture stones, rune-stones as well as a large number of single objects of various provenance and function. Five of the above-mentioned sources: gold-foil figures, bracteates, decorative bronze helmet plates, jewellery and tapestries, were selected for further analysis, as they supplement one another in terms of the choice of material, composition, function and chronology (Fig. 1.8).



Fig. 1.4 Wooden male figure from Rude Eskilstrup in Denmark. The figure is dated to c. AD 500 (National Museum of Denmark).

Gold-foil figures constitute the primary and the largest of the five selected object categories. These are small depictions of anthropomorphic figures, and, in rare cases, also zoomorphic figures. Despite this object category containing the smallest (in physical size) pictorial representations, it is surprising how much information the gold-foil figures contain. Undoubtedly they are the most detail-rich object category in this study. Gold-foil figures contain depictions of clothed, unclothed and clearly naked anthropomorphic figures, of which the first group is the most pertinent here. Geographically, gold-foil figures are found throughout most of Scandinavia, primarily in settlements or central places with settlement continuity. For the same reason, gold-foil figures also have a wide chronological frame ranging from the middle of the Early Germanic Iron Age to the Viking Age (Fig. 1.8).



Fig. 1.5 Circus glass from Nordrup in Denmark. The glass is dated to the 3rd century AD (National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 1.6 Silver cups from Hoby in Denmark. The cups are dated to the 1st century AD (National Museum of Denmark).

Bracteates are primarily found as stray finds or as votive deposits, and, to a lesser extent, as burial finds. Within bracteate research, a great deal of effort has been devoted to developing an accurate chronological classification, which is, however, hampered by the often large differences in production and deposition dates (Fig. 1.8). Although bracteates constitute the second largest group of selected objects, only a small part of the material can be used for costume studies. However, they are included in the analysis, as they constitute the earliest

independent Scandinavian iconography in the period under study. Bracteates are generally dated to a production period from AD 450 to 540, and are primarily found within the Scandinavian area.



Fig. 1.7 Various bronze figures of Roman or Roman provincial origin (left) and local Danish origin (right). The figures are dated to the first half of the first millennium AD (National Museum of Denmark).

A considerably smaller, but no less informative object category is the decorative bronze plates from helmets; an object category which can be dated to the period AD 500–680, *i.e.* the end of the Early Germanic Iron Age to the middle of the Late Germanic Iron Age. The bronze helmet plates are all found in Sweden, and are primarily derived from well-dated graves. In addition, an English find with close iconographical connections to the Swedish bronze helmet plates is included in the analysis (Fig. 1.8).

The jewellery category constitutes a heterogeneous group of fibulae and pendants. Finds were collected from the entire period in question, although finds from the latest part of the period predominate. These objects are primarily found in Sweden and Denmark, while Norway is only represented by a single find. The context within which these objects are found is quite varied, and they occur in burials, settlements, in hoards and as stray finds. The selected jewellery corpus is considered representative, but not fully comprehensive, as this is an object group where new finds constantly appear, and only clothed figures are included (Fig. 1.8).

The final category to be analysed is tapestries. This small, but impressive, find group of textiles is dated to the Viking Age, with a few to the Scandinavian Middle Ages, and thus have a slightly different chronological distribution than the other categories. Tapestries are found in Sweden and Norway, and include both grave finds and stray finds¹ (Fig. 1.8).

Altogether, the selected iconographical material represents figures that may look quite different and represent different grades of detail: anthropomorphic figures in clearly identifiable costumes and those without an easily identifiable costume or no clothing at all. Although the clothed figures are the focus of this analysis, in some cases, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between partly clothed or unclothed figures, which is why some of these are included in the analysis in a few instances. In the course of the analysis, each object category is dealt with separately.

Another way of grouping the selected material is according to the function of the depictions, and whether the

figures constitute the complete object or part of a larger decorative scheme on an object (Table 1.2). Gold-foil figures and pendants from the jewellery category constitute the first kind. In these cases, the figure is, more or less, synonymous with the object. Bracteates, decorative bronze plates on helmets, tapestries and some of the objects within the jewellery category constitute the other type. Here, the figures are part of the decoration and do not interfere with the function of the object. The images may also display one or two figures, or sometimes more intricate narrative scenes. The gold-foil figures and pendants constitute the simplest depictions, with one to two figures, while bracteates, decorative bronze plates, tapestries and some of the fibulae from the jewellery category display more intricate images with many figures. It is primarily in the latter categories that humans appear together with animals, something which does not occur among the gold-foil figures. The majority of the selected study material constitutes objects crafted in metal, such as gold, silver and bronze or a combination of these. The metalwork is characterised by a fascinating sense for detail, and there is no doubt that the choice of material was significant and influenced the construction of the images. Tapestries, however, are textiles made of organic material, such as wool or plant fibres, and belong to a complete different production mode. Nevertheless, the tapestries, too, are highly detailed and supplement with aspects that cannot be found in the metal group. For instance depictions made of metal are monochrome, whereas textiles are polychrome. As this is the only category that contains colours, the polychrome aspect is not included in the analysis, although, in many cases, this has helped the identification of the figures. Thus, the selected object categories supplement each other from an iconographical and chronological perspective.

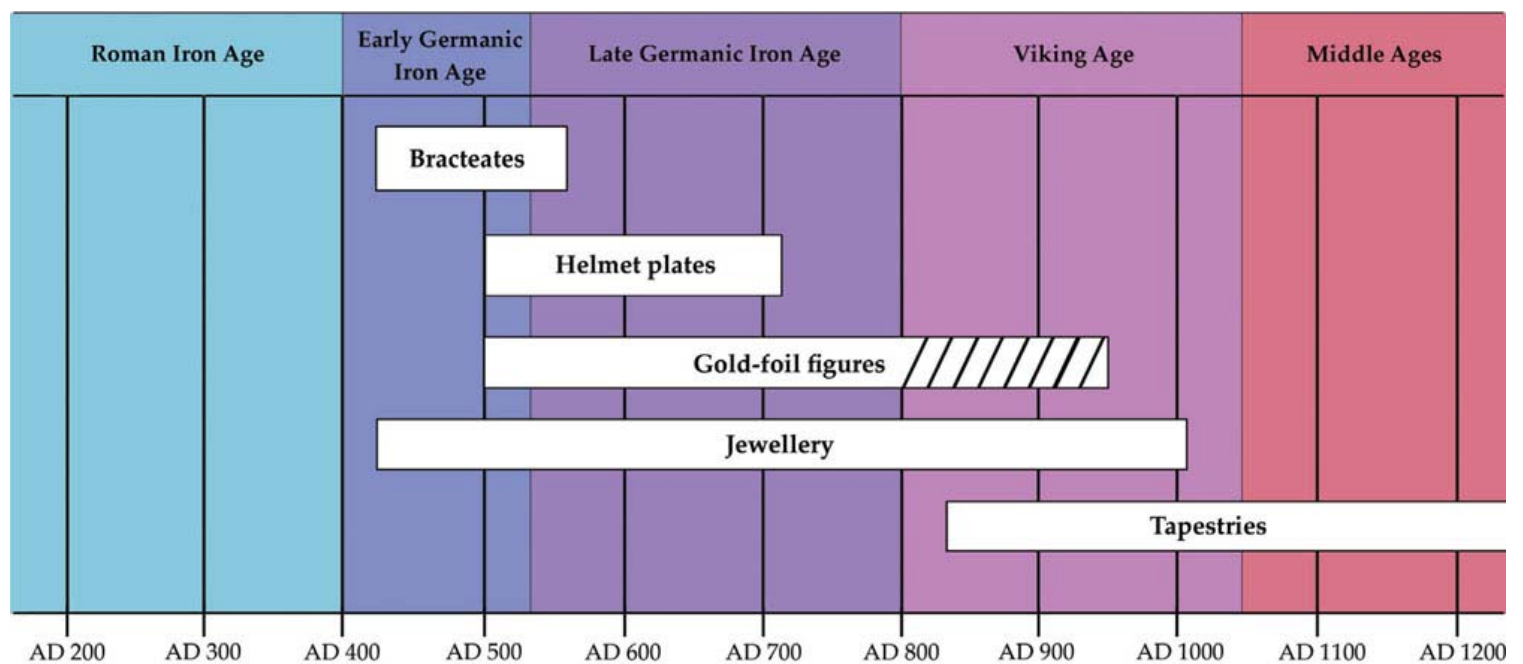


Fig. 1.8 Chronological overview of the five object categories: bracteates, gold-foil figures, helmet plates, jewellery and tapestries selected for this study.

Table 1.2 Different iconographic and material characteristics of the five object categories selected for this study.

<i>Depictions comprising the entire object</i>	<i>Depictions considered as decorations on the object</i>
Gold-foil figures, part of the jewellery category	Bracteates, helmet plates, part of the jewellery category, tapestries
1–2 figures	Many figures
Monochrome depictions	Polychrome and monochrome depictions
No animals	Animals occurring