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HE, SHE, THEY, OTHER: AN EXAMINATION OF GENDER ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE
CHATELAINE IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE

By

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Bachelors of Arts, University of Louisville, Kentucky, 2003

Thesis

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He, She, They, Other: An Examination of Gender Associations with the Chatelaine in the Anglo-Saxon Culture

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The purpose of this paper is to study the chatelaine as a marker of gender attribution and overall usage within the Anglo-Saxon culture. Chatelaines are artifacts used to suspend multiple items to be employed for such purposes as grooming, tools, or keys and have been used widely from the Roman occupation of England during which it was used by all genders, to the Ninth Century when it was primarily used by women. As such, it is asserted that a single artifact should not be solely relied upon to assign a gender identity to a burial, that these should be used with reservation and/or with additional, independent lines of evidence to avoid erroneous conclusions.

By examining the chatelaine's use as a diagnostic measure of identity within the culture or society and how that limited the possible interpretations it is expected to show that this artifact is not gendered in its overall usage and should not be further used to determine gender in Anglo-Saxon research. The overall goal of this research is to show the varied theories that are being used to explore the presence of chatelaine throughout the eras of the Anglo-Saxon culture and further to examine its presence regionally and its treatment by all persons within the cultural periods. Through this, it is hoped that an more inclusive view of Anglo-Saxon culture can be perceived and allow for unbiased and through research into gender, material culture, identity, and society.

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Summary

The purpose of this paper is to study the chatelaine as a marker of gender attribution and overall usage within the Anglo-Saxon culture. Chatelaines are artifacts used to suspend multiple items to be employed for such purposes as grooming, tools, or keys and have been used widely from the Roman occupation of England during which it was used by all genders, to the Ninth Century when it was primarily used by women. As such, it is asserted that a single artifact should not be solely relied upon to assign a gender identity to a burial, that these should be used with reservation and/or with additional, independent lines of evidence to avoid erroneous conclusions.

By examining the chatelaine's use as a diagnostic measure of identity within the culture or society and how that limited the possible interpretations it is expected to show that this artifact is not gendered in its overall usage and should not be further used to determine gender in Anglo-Saxon research. The overall goal of this research is to show the varied theories that are being used to explore the presence of chatelaine throughout the eras of the Anglo-Saxon culture and further to examine its presence regionally and its treatment by all persons within the cultural periods. Through this, it is hoped that an more inclusive view of Anglo-Saxon culture can be precieved and allow for unbiased and through research into gender, material culture, identity, and society.

This research will be beneficial to both the overall study of the Anglo-Saxon culture and the early Middle Ages. By examining gender politics and the use of diagnostic artifacts,

multiple long-held biases could be resolved. This will allow for a greater understanding of gender identities, societal norms, and overall culture. The implications of this could affect both Anglo-Saxon studies and long-held Dark Ages era cultural paradigms. Further, by examining the use of diagnostic artifacts to arbitrarily determine gender identities, this would allow for a more honest examination of identity when examining the material culture of burials. It is hoped that this paper will lead to research including data collection and the creation of a catalog and data tables, which can be used for future research to examine theories pertaining to the Anglo-Saxon culture. Such theories include Regional Identity, which purports that each kingdom, or region was a unique cultural landscape, which possessed some shared customs and material culture with the other regions.

Additionally the research into the chatelaine as a non-gendered artifact can have impacts on multiple levels ranging from feminist perspective within history, heritage tourism, and the overall public education about the Anglo-Saxon culture. Heritage tourism of sites like Sutton Hoo and Snape, would benefit from inclusive presentation of women in Anglo-Saxon culture. This is demonstrated at Sutton Hoo, whose museum presents a narrative to the public showing Mound 14 to be the burial of the “Queen” to the “King” of boat burial of Mound 2, due to the presence of a chatelaine within Mound 14’s material culture. In this narrative the “Queen”, is shown as a minor character that arranges the burial of her spouse and has little overall impact on the site.¹ This is an example of the canon perspective in the historical documentation that women were often secondary personages and limited in their overall contributions. Whether these restrictions on are due to a conscious decision by the overall male domination of documentation, both

¹ Figure 12

historic and current, or the hetro-normative presumptions of a two-gender system in society are both possibilities and should be redressed to a more inclusive discourse of gender presentation in Anglo-Saxon culture. Thus further allowing for female and LGBTQ+ warriors, community leaders, and spiritual authorities to be shown as a part of Early Anglo-Saxon culture and not as odd one off situations. This research would further feminist presence in both the Sutton Hoo narrative and overall presentation within Anglo-Saxon culture. Allowing for either the “Queen” to be a more important personage within the site history or for the possibility that the person in Mound 14 is of an undetermined gender presentation due to lake of data. Additionally showing that use of the chatelaine as a diagnostic artifact is inaccurate and limits the presence of the gender in Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

Introduction

Gender is a complicated and often perplexing subject in any context, but none more so than when we discuss perceived identities and material culture used by those of a certain gender role. The title of this research *He, She, Other, They* is an allusion to this. These terms indicate the commonly accepted gender identities used by most scholars – masculine, feminine, neutral or non-binary, and asexual. While it is acknowledged that these four are not the only gender norms with many more existing, this research will limit

itself to these due to the evidence indicating their presence in the Anglo-Saxon culture and Dark Age Europe during the timeframe focused upon here in.²

Merriam-Webster defines gender as being used in the same sense as sex to state whether an individual is male or female, this holding true throughout much of history until the last century.³

The words *sex* and *gender* have a long and intertwined history. In the 15th century *gender* expanded from its use as a term for a grammatical subclass to join *sex* in referring to either of the two primary biological forms of a species, a meaning *sex* has had since the 14th century; phrases like "the male sex" and "the female gender" are both grounded in uses established for more than five centuries. In the 20th century *sex* and *gender* each acquired new uses. *Sex* developed its "sexual intercourse" meaning in the early part of the century (now its more common meaning), and a few decades later *gender* gained a meaning referring to the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex, as in "gender roles." Later in the century, *gender* also came to have application in two closely related compound terms; gender identity refers to a person's internal sense of being male, female, some combination of male and female, or neither male nor female; gender expression refers to the physical and behavioral

² Crawford 2000, Lucy 2011, & Stoodley 2000

³ Merriam-Webster 2021

manifestations of one's gender identity. By the end of the century *gender* by itself was being used as a synonym of *gender identity*.

Merriam Webster ⁴

For archaeologists and historians, gender is often difficult to ascertain due to being only able to examine the artifacts and documents left by ancient cultures and then making educated guesses on how these items are used by those within those cultures. This is done by referencing any records and research of the culture, cross-comparison with similar groups that perhaps have more documentation pertaining to them, or even presumptions based on the individuals doing the research's own culture or beliefs. One of the many beauties of archaeology is that, like many sciences, we can go back and reexamine this research to find new explanations. This can be seen in the current findings of many so-called male warrior burials in the regions associated with Vikings, now being found to be female or gender neutral⁵. As the prior definition noted in recent years we have come to understand that gender roles are not the same as the physical sex of an individual and that gender roles in cultures other than our own are used in very different ways. Weapons are an example of this, long thought to be the preview of males only, this thought process is limited when examine time periods of increased chances for violence such as the Migration Era⁶. While not stating that this period is one of constant battle, it is easy to examine

⁴ Merriam-Webster 2021

⁵ Moilanen 2021 & Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017

⁶ Birka burial in Sweden was uncovered in 1878 and was assigned a male gender identify due to the nature of the grave goods including weapons. Recent research found through genomics that the burial's biological sexed was female. Similar research found the burial at

periods such as this and acknowledge that chances were that the common person would encounter violence in one form or another. To this end, it would not be unreasonable to think that all persons of a society would want to be ready to defend themselves, their family, their homes, and possessions. This can be seen in the cultural trend of carrying items such as the Seax, a knife carried by all Anglo-Saxons, be they male or female.⁷ This item would be very much like our pocket knives of today, used primarily for everyday chores but put into the range of weapon when presented with danger. When found associated with a male gender identity this tool is classified as a weapon and the burial becomes that of a warrior. But the presence of the Seax in graves where a feminine identity is present is not considered a weapon but a tool.⁸ In this fact we see more the archaeologists' thoughts on gender and material culture than the cultures "women gather or are domestic and men are hunters and warriors". Biases in research are not new to the field of archaeology, having been found in the discipline since its inception, but as seen with the examples of the now acknowledged female and gender neutral warrior burials, the discipline must reexamine its beliefs on material culture such as the chatelaine⁹. Long thought to be associated only with women, through the use of multiple archaeological theories the chatelaine will be reexamined and placed within the Anglo-Saxon culture as items that meaning has changed over time and region.

Suontaka Vesitorninmäki in Finland, uncovered in 1968, found that the individual was a possible nonbinary gender identity. The burial contained both male and female assigned material culture, but through current genomic testing found that the interred individual had Klinefelter syndrome and may have had position within the overall culture as a neutral nonbinary gender identity.

⁷ Davidson 1950

⁸ Härke 1990

⁹ Moilanen 2021 & Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017

The purpose of this paper will be to address this, to show that this item when examined with “eyes unclouded by presumptions” it will be found to be a item that hold multiple meanings and multiple uses by the living and deceased members of the Anglo-Saxon culture.

Overview

The following chapters will give a brief overview of the Anglo-Saxons, covering their overall history, culture, and their acknowledged gender representations from the Migration Era to the Norman Conquest of 1066 and their culture as it changes throughout those aforementioned time periods. This will be provided to allow any reader to have a basic knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons, and additional to allow for an understanding of this culture and its influences, both internal and external.

The Anglo-Saxon culture has been portrayed multiple times in media and literature as “proto”, “pseudo”, and the “English Cousin” to the Vikings. This is a limiting description and not at all accurate, with the Anglo-Saxon and Norse cultures having a common Germanic origin and as will be shown in the following chapters, the Anglo-Saxons were a conglomeration of multiple cultures, with shared cultural traits but each unique unto themselves.

Following the history and culture chapters, a discourse on gender within the Anglo-Saxons will provided for context on both literary and historical representations. Next will be a discussion on the chatelaine artifact, covering its beginning and usage. It will be shown its

origin on the European continent, its adoption and expanded use through out the Iron Age of the United Kingdom, then the Roman Empire, and finally the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms. The artifact's use will be explored through multiple archaeological theories; such as Processual, Feminist, Queer Archaeology, Mnemonic, and finally a Temporal theory created by the author. Each theory will be explored individually and will further be linked through any related research to the other theories provided. This is done to allow for a more complete examination of this artifact, from its use by the living to its placement and importance in burial rites.

Finally, in the conclusion all research will be summarized and further suggestions for extended research concerning this artifact and its place within the Anglo-Saxon culture. Pictures, diagrams, map, and all associated visual data will be following after the conclusion in the appendices.

Anglo-Saxon History

The Anglo-Saxon culture began in the mid-fifth century when a migration of Germanic peoples arrived in the area now known as England. Various tribes of peoples including the Angles from Germanic regions, Jutes from Denmark, Saxons from Germany and the Netherlands, and Frisians from Frisia; a region of northwestern Europe between the rivers Rhine and Em, colonized the already inhabited Briton held lands. These colonists arrived in

south and southwestern regions of England, often bringing whole families with them, before then moving north.¹⁰ This migration was completed by the start of the sixth century, when the migration appears to have been completed. During this time the melding of the Germanic cultures with the native Britons would have been overall complete, with the exception of Wales, Scotland, Ireland who maintained their own cultures. Britons, originally used by contemporary chroniclers such as Bede to represent all peoples of the British Isles from the Welsh to the Picts¹¹; here will be used only to represent the indigenous native population who had not fully accepted the Roman cultural paradigm. Romanized Briton will be acknowledge and here after noted as Romano-British verses those indigenous that did adapt the Roman culture.

Though the written histories of the monk Bede and the Christian king Alfred the Great note the invasion of the British Isles during this time, no archaeological evidence of a large-scale invasion by an army has currently been uncovered.¹² Multiple historians and archaeologists have put forth the possible explanation of this “invasion”, such as noted by Bede and Alfred, may very well simply have been a unique word choice. By casting the migration to the British Isles as an invasion this allowed for later Anglo-Saxons to recast their past in a light that would allow for the facts of their pagan origin to be acknowledged by the now Christian Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the British Isles.¹³ This further would have allowed for distancing from cultural concepts that no longer matched the current Christian ideals,

¹⁰ Hines 1997

¹¹ Bede 2009 & King Alfred 1823

¹² Pryor 2004

¹³ Pryor 2004

examples of this are the possible presence of feminine positions of authority or marital prowess, gender identities that did not conform to canon law, and cultural practices such as animal sacrifice or cremation.¹⁴

While the reason for their colonization is unknown, some hypothesize that after Roman rule of England ended in the early 5th century the Germanic tribes were invited for the purpose of defense and military power as mercenary forces. Others portray them as invaders who took advantage of the departing Roman armies or perhaps immigrants moving to new lands to escape the increasingly active Huns on the Continent. Still others show them as colonizers and merchants, having seen the vast lands while serving in the Roman army as constricts or mercenaries and returning to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the withdrawal of the Roman armies.¹⁵ Whatever the case maybe, it is seen that the Iron Age farming society of the native Britons melded with the incoming Anglo-Saxons quickly. There are indications that the mixing of the cultures was benefited by religious concepts that would have been found in both cultures such as female personages like Brigid, Freya, Morrigan, and the *wælcyrge* or more commonly known today Valkyries, having similar functions within both cultures as goddesses, matrons of the dead, caregivers, or warriors.¹⁶

While some migration of the Britons is recorded toward the interior of England and into Wales to escape the new incoming peoples, the material culture of the time shows that they cohabited and then merged with the invaders or colonizers with little evidence being

¹⁴ Pryor 2004

¹⁵ Carver 1992

¹⁶ Purser 2013

found to show a violent conquest.¹⁷

“From the end of the fifth century these carrying regional identities are partially visible in the archaeological record. In the south and east many burials contained distinctive jewelry, pottery and weapons. In the west such burials are lacking and it is in fact difficult to characterize the material culture of the region. This distinction has always been seen as indicating the divide between Britain and Anglo-Saxon.”¹⁸

The chronology of the Anglo-Saxon culture is commonly broken down into 3 phases.¹⁹ The Early Anglo-Saxon phase, taking place during the Migration Period which dates from the Mid Fourth Century to the mid Sixth century, when different immigrating ethnic groups came together with the native Britons to form the Anglo-Saxon culture. The Middle Anglo-Saxon phase dated from mid Sixth to Seventh centuries follows this. During this period, the well-formed pagan Iron-age culture was prominent, interacting with other ideological and cultural groups such as Frankia, a Northern French culture, and being introduced to Christianity from the continent with monks and missionaries coming to the British Isles. It is during this time that shows the introduction of new social roles for all genders such as monk, priest, nun, and

¹⁷ Carver 1992

¹⁸ Hills 2011

¹⁹ Hines 1997

abbess, replacing prior known positions like shaman.²⁰ Finally the Late Anglo-Saxon period, when Christianity becomes fully integrated and an early form of what many call Medieval society prevailed, spanned the Seventh through to the Eleventh centuries, enduring the invasion and installment of the Danelaw throughout most of the northern and eastern kingdom.²¹ Finally the Anglo-Saxon culture is found to have ended with the Norman conquest of England on 1066 BCE and the introduction of Norman culture.²²

Anglo-Saxon Culture from Migration Era to the Norman Conquest of 1066 BCE

The Anglo-Saxons were by and large farmers and herders, using a system of tracts of land surrounding enclosed settlements of round houses that most likely would have been held by family groups – a system that had already been in place from pre-Roman times.²³ Positions within the societies that dwelt at these settlements appear ascribed with children having no overall position or gender identity till they reach a later age. From birth till around age 8 to 10 the child, regardless of physical sex would have assisted with any and all work done by the parent – daughters assisting their fathers and sons likewise assisting their mothers. It is thought that this is some form of defense or refrain from creating identities during a time of

²⁰ Homans 1957, Hodges 1984, Jellema 1955, & Lee 2009

²¹ Mcleod 2011

²² Hines 1996

²³ Carver 1992

the child's life where mortality is greatest.²⁴ Later in life the child, possibly adolescent to adult, would have a place within the household and society, creating a identity both public and most likely private allowing them to interact better with the community.²⁵ The rights provided to each gender would have been very similar from the Migration era to the Middle Anglo-Saxon era, with both genders have the ability to own property separate from their spouse or partner and being able to bequeath that land as they saw fit. Additionally, the practice of marriage payment, where a payment was made to the wife by the groom upon marriage was done with the intention of providing a woman financial independence from her spouse. These rights faded with time, whether due to religious or cultural pressure and appear to have faded out of use completely by 1066 with the introduction of Norman Culture.²⁶

Known male positions with the society ranged the known spectrum with many individuals fulfilling multiple roles daily to yearly, ranging from farming and herding to being called up for service by their lord in a army or war band. Additional positions such as blacksmith, spiritual leader, and artisans would have been present and possibly required some special training or skills to attain. The historical record shows women holding positions such as baker, weaver, and midwife though it should be noted that the aforementioned male positions could be filled on a temporary or semi-permanent bases if a male personage was not preset due to war, disease, or death.²⁷ While no clear evidence shows women holding the position of village leader or shaman it is clear based on overall documentation and research that this

²⁴ Stoodley 2000

²⁵ Sally 2000

²⁶ Lucy 2011

²⁷ Alfred 1823

would have occurred. This is indicated by both the calling of troops during battle, which would have limited a male presence, and the evidence of worship to feminine deities such as Frig, whose clergy would have had women among if not completely composed there of.²⁸

Their religion appears to have been similar to that of better-known Norse cultures, owing to their combined Germanic origins, worshipping such deities as Wotan (Odin), Donar (Thor), Freya or Frig, Loki, and the Esei (Aesir – Norse warrior gods). Ancestor and animal worship were common. Later, with the introduction and widespread acceptance of Christianity, the prior pagan beliefs drop off into a minority and were purportedly expunged.²⁹ It is noted that while during the Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon eras that feminine positions of authority within the culture faded, new ones arose – the nun and abbess. These positions would be used by woman either as signs of spiritual devotion, lack of social role options in the case of nobility with being third or fourth born daughters, and the occurrence of widowhood. An example of this would be St. Hilde, a noble woman who took up holy orders in the Seven Century and is mentioned in Bede's histories as the abbess of Whitby Abbey.³⁰ Abbeys, nunneries, and monasteries of the Sixth Century through till the Tenth were coed with monks fulfilling the roles of pastor, historian, and scribe working in the scriptorium creating and copying texts. The positions of nun and Abbess at these locations would have been very similar to that of the feminine roles already present within Anglo-Saxon culture such as caregiver and running of the household, though these roles still provided more opportunities to learn and possess an authority that would have been missing from most noble or lay lifestyles of the

²⁸ Bede 2009 & White 2014

²⁹ Crabstone 1992

³⁰ Bede 2009

time.³¹ Indications of the limitations placed upon women within monastic life can be found in works as Rudolph's Ninth century work *Life of Leoba*, which documented St. Leoba of Wessex with this statement in response to women preaching to the masses; "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence".³² While prior in this work it was noted that a great deal of influence and authority was provided to Anglo-Saxon women in the right of land ownership, by the Eight and Nine century these rights were limited, most noticeably seen in the right of property. Women who jointed nunneries became unable to leave land to their institutions due to the rights of land ownership being changed to any land owned by women now reverting back to the woman's family upon her death.³³

Existing trade routes left from Roman rule were expanded, influencing trade with regions of Frankia in Northern France, Frisia in western France and Germany, Sweden, which in turn allowed for access to goods from lands further afield like Egypt and the Middle East. These trade networks allowed Anglo-Saxons to access exotic goods and culture which made their way to the shores of England.³⁴

"The East Angles, a maritime people, also reached out across the North Sea towards their ancestral homelands, where close parallels for the combs, shield and animal art are found. Their ships were sea-going, and their crews

³¹ Yorke 1989

³² Hollis 1992

³³ Foot 2019

³⁴ Carver 2017, Homans 1957, Hodges 1984, & Jellema 1955

could navigate between Scandinavia and Britain at the time of Sutton Hoo".³⁵

Whether this trade was direct, via merchants from England going to other lands and bringing back goods directly to market, or if it was a byproduct of raiding ships on the southern English coast is unknown. As is the case with most theories, a mixture of both is likely, though historical documentation show Anglo-Saxon warriors taking up positions with the Varangian Guards of the Black Sea region after the Norman Conquest, indicating that access to this culture and landscape was a known fact prior to 1066 BCE.³⁶

Weapons and warrior culture were highly prevalent, identified in burial contexts: – swords, axes, the larger bladed seax knives, and spears were common weapons. These were used in combination with leather or chainmail armor and helmets that were both elaborate and functional, such as the one uncovered at Sutton Hoo. It should be noted that current research leads to the possible indication that weapon burials may have been a part of the burial ritual and not pertaining to the individual having any military prowess.³⁷ Items such as the shorter bladed seax knife which can be categorized as both weapon or tool, and is found in almost all Anglo-Saxon burials regardless of gender, is excluded from this overall ranking.³⁸ Burials of the time show rulers, chieftains, and high status persons being interred with local and exotic goods, weapons, and animals - i.e. horses, pigs, cattle, and possibly dogs.³⁹ Other

³⁵ Carver 2017

³⁶ Davidson 1950

³⁷ Härke 1990

³⁸ Härke 1990

³⁹ Carver 1992

burials include cremations interned in urns or bowls associated with them – a possible theory for this is potentially ruler vs. serf though no conclusive evidence has been proven and mixed rite cemeteries are found through out the Anglo-Saxon cultural eras and regions.⁴⁰ Raiding, regional conflicts, and tribal interactions prompted the creation of what would come to be known as the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* and Alfred's *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* note the rise and fall of many kingdoms, finally giving rise to those of North Umbria, Mercia, Essex, East Anglia, and Wessex by the time of the Danelaw in 865 BCE.⁴¹ The regions of Wales, northwestern England, and Scotland remained in the control of the native Britons, though material culture and excavations have made clear that these borders were often shifting between these groups.⁴²

Burials are the most common of archaeological sites that are found pertaining to Anglo-Saxon culture, with settlements being mainly constructed of a combination wood or thatch and leaving little evidence behind upon their abandonment or destruction.⁴³ These burials are sorted in two groups – inhumation, were as the interment of the entire body in the ground and cremation, the burning of the remains and intermittent in urns which then are placed in a burial site. Neither form is noted as being overall limited to a specific gender though regional variation is noted.⁴⁴ Both types of burials are commonly found in cemeteries, areas that appear to have been reserved for burials with a possible structure on site for

⁴⁰ Carver 1992

⁴¹ Bede 2009 & Alfred 1823

⁴² Carver 1992

⁴³ Carver 1992

⁴⁴ Carver 2017

worship being either semi-permanent or erected on as needed basis.⁴⁵ Often these cemeteries are located within the overall landscape related with existing natural monuments, Bronze Age burials, or Roman constructs such as roads and settlements.⁴⁶ Individual burials have been found but are often, like the cemeteries, associated with roads or monuments, lending to the creation of connections between the Anglo-Saxon culture and existing cultural paradigms already known to the populous such as Roman and Briton.⁴⁷ There are over 1,200 such cemeteries to be found in England with those in the south displaying burials closer together and more grid-like, a current theory for that this configuration is a potential hold over from Roman culture.⁴⁸ Cemeteries far looser and more organic in design can be found to the northeast and eastern regions of England, where Roman influence was not as prevalent.⁴⁹ Within these cemeteries, inhumation and cremations with the ashes being gathered in urns are laid out, with little to no pattern, perhaps leading from a central burial and the growing outward as needed, as can be seen at sites like Sutton Hoo.⁵⁰ Current research indicates that regional variation is present with some kingdoms and areas favoring one form of burial for a gender identity over others, an example of this would be Sutton Hoo with one possible female mound burial, though it should be noted that this burial has been severely disturbed by looting and the female identity designation is by no means certain.⁵¹ Grave goods are common to find with both types until the Late Saxon period when grave goods and cremation all but disappear

⁴⁵ Williams 2004 & Nugent 2012

⁴⁶ Semple 2010

⁴⁷ Salisbury Museum 2021

⁴⁸ Carver 2017

⁴⁹ Carver 1992

⁵⁰ Carver 2017

⁵¹ Carver 2017

from the archaeological record with the introduction and overall conformity to Christian burial rituals of the time by the Late Anglo-Saxon era.⁵²

In the late 6th century, Barrows or mounds were introduced as a burial method – in which a person was placed in a grave dug into the natural ground level, possibly walled in with wood creating a ‘bedroom’ of sorts with their grave goods.⁵³ A mound of earth is then constructed over the grave. This style of burial appears to have been reserved for elites, chieftains, warriors, or rulers. An additional unique subset of this burial is the ship burial, with this type of interment done exclusively in the kingdom of East Anglia, where Sutton Hoo and Snape are found. As seen with Mounds 1 and 2 at Sutton Hoo, the deceased is interred with an entire ship and associated grave goods. Ship burials were not unknown among the Germanic tribes of Europe, as seen with the contemporariness Vendel culture of Sweden, but were mostly burned or put out to sea.⁵⁴ In Anglo-Saxon England these ships were placed in burial mounds. At Sutton Hoo cemetery there are two ship burials, Mound 1 and Mound 2 with multiple high-level grave goods and exotics, and both appear to have been male gender identities. Cremains in urns were found placed around these burials, possibly for association, i.e. serfs or lower status individuals being buried with their lord for mnemonic association and possible connection in the afterlife.⁵⁵

Constructing mounds to inter the Dead within, the Anglo-Saxons changed the landscape of England. Mound building is not unfamiliar phenomenon across the globe, being

⁵² Carver 2017

⁵³ Carver 2017

⁵⁴ Carver 1992

⁵⁵ Carver 2017

used by many cultures, it marks a site where humanity has altered the landscape in such a way that it both blends into the landscape and stands out from it.⁵⁶ Sites across the globe, such as Monk's Mound with its associated burial mounds of Cahokia, the royal burials of the Vendels in Norway, the mound burials of Mesopotamia, and the Royal Burials of China are all examples of this. Each constructed to both elevate and contain the Dead while staying near to habitation sites for reverence to memory and as markers of ownership on the landscape.⁵⁷ In essence, to draw the eye of all in view and be a reminder "the Dead are never far from our lives".

Like many colonizing powers, the Anglo-Saxons had a simple problem to content with; they were small in number and those who are native to this land are many. How does one address this, how do you not only legitimize your presence as a foreign and invading culture but link yourself with the landscape? A simple answer would be to place your Dead among those of the indigenous.⁵⁸ Sutton Hoo is a unique site in that it suited only for the Dead, having highly acidic soil unsuitable for farming and being situated in a valley with no real strategic advantages.⁵⁹ Let it never be said that human beings leave anything to waste, the Britons were the first to try to farm the land in the early Bronze Age, but on finding it unusable created a landscape for the Dead. The Romans made a further attempt at cultivation but also acquiesced to nature and used the land as a byway to other points on the landscape. The Anglo-Saxons,

⁵⁶ The creation of physical markers on the landscape using the dead for agency and social purposes can be seen in all cultures. It has been theorized that the Dead have always been used in this manner (Torres-Rouff 2012)

⁵⁷ Carver 2017

⁵⁸ Crabstone 1995

⁵⁹ The site is located in an open field surrounded by hills making any approach difficult to keep under watch. No water or irrigation was present until work done in the 1800's by the Civil Engineer Core (Williams 2011)

wishing to not only show their connection with the land and it's native people but further to connect themselves with the great power of Rome, would have seen the sight as a perfect answer to their problem of legitimization. By placing their Dead with those already present and in sight of the greatest contribution the Romans gave to England; their roadways, the site fulfilled all requirements.

This use of the Dead to place connection and lordship of the land can be seen not just in Sutton Hoo, but further through out the English landscape. An example of this can be seen in the Wessex Warrior of Salisbury, discovered in 1964.⁶⁰ Sometimes called the Ford Warrior, this individual was interred next to a Bronze Age barrow mound and the Roman road leading from Old Sarum to Winchester. The fact that Sutton Hoo, the Wessex Warrior, and similar burials are associated with both the Romans and the Britons makes one view them through a light of association.⁶¹ Making the statement: "we are like you, one with this land, but further we are great like those who conqueror you". For anthropologists, it calls up questions of sovereignty, identity, and agency. By placing their Dead in close proximity to Roman roads connected them to the legacy of Roman rule, but further made the burial mounds of sites like Sutton Hoo a sight that any traveling by them would see and take note of in their travels. Showing their lordship and authority over the land with the construction of their burial mounds, the stories would have been spread as folk went from one destination to another,

⁶⁰ Housed at the Salisbury Museum, the find was uncovered during a road work projects (Salisbury Musuem)

⁶¹ Green 2018

increasing their right to rule with the diffusion of stories.⁶²

Sutton Hoo is located in the Manchester region of modern England.⁶³ During the time periods discussed in this paper, this area would have been the kingdom of East Anglia.

Historical records from the Late Anglo-Saxon period put the Wuffa family as the ruling group of the region.⁶⁴ The site was used by multiple cultures with varied purposes, from the native Britons who used the area as both a farming region and burial ground, to the Romans who further attempted to use the sandy acidic region for farming. The Anglo-Saxons used the site as a cemetery in the Middle Anglo-Saxon era, during the Wuffa rule. Multiple burials occurred here, from the cremations common of the Early Anglo-Saxon Era to the inhumations of the Late Anglo-Saxon Era. For the purposes of this paper and research problem we will concentrate on the mound burials of the Middle Anglo-Saxon period. The burials at mounds 1 and 2 contain the aforementioned ship burials, but each reveals a very different approach to burial – as seen in Mound 1 where the burial was placed and the ship was then moved to cover it, then still later ship and burial were interred within a mound. Comparatively in Mound 2 we find the ship was placed on the site, with remains laid out on board, then covered within the mound. In all cases the sandy acidic loam of the region has left no physical organic evidence within the burials with ship, textiles, and remains being consumed by the acidic nature of the

⁶² The construction of grand burials would have lead to pilgrimages from neighboring regions and upon returning to their homes the sharing of the experience through tales. Humankind would have anticipated this and monopolized on the behavior for the purposes of aggrandizing, agency, and sovereignty. The same behavior can be noted in current society with travel posts and blogs in social media (Scurlock 2016)

⁶³ Figure 1

⁶⁴ Hines 1997

soil.⁶⁵

Since its discovery in 1939, Sutton Hoo has been a fascinating and confusing example of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. It possesses typical aspects – barrow mound burials with associated grave goods, while also having elements that are abnormal for Anglo-Saxon culture. The most glaring examples of this are Mound 1 and 2; two examples of the three ships burials native to the British Isles, the third being the Snape Cemetery located 17 miles north. Anglo-Saxons, while a seafaring culture, when creating a burial have long focused on barrow mounds for the elites of the culture, with grave goods that focus on warfare and showing their high status as seen in exotic goods. Why would a group who has never shown this custom suddenly show this behavior for these three burials and no others? Current thoughts on the topic approach the question from two perspectives: interaction with another group, such as the Vendel culture of Sweden, who share a similar tradition or some form of territorial marker.⁶⁶

The Anglo-Saxons are seen as a warrior culture, with pride on martial prowess and skill, much like the Norse Vikings who later came with the Danelaw. But, like the Vikings or Dane invaders, warriors are not always the best rulers. A balance must be kept within a society. Trade would have been the counter balance, allowing for not just interactions between multiple cultures but also the trade of customs and ideas. The mounds of Sutton Hoo, Snape, and other cemeteries may have had a further purpose beyond connection with the land and bygone conquerors. The theory has been put forth by such as Martin Carver, that the mounds may have been constructed as boundary divisions between the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon

⁶⁵ Carver 2017

⁶⁶ Hines 1997 & Carver 1992

England.⁶⁷ The core of this theory is that of Regional Identity, each kingdom had an individual cultural expression built upon their founding cultures. North Umbria having a more Scottish and Pictish material culture, while Wessex to the south would have been built on the foundations of Roman England and Frankia across the English Channel. East Anglia, the kingdom that would have held Sutton Hoo would have been mostly composed of Frisian, Angle, and Saxon cultures with the indigenous Britons mixed in. This would have made them a kingdom of seafarers, traders, and possibly raiders.⁶⁸ Such people would have been connected to the sea, the trade routes that the water would have given them. These trade routes would have connected the East Anglian Anglo-Saxons to lands far from the shores of England. The evidence of this theory can again be found in Sutton Hoo, in its ship burials, the grave goods from the Middle East regions, and over all the wealth that those items show.⁶⁹ Those items be placed with the Dead, would beg the questions; why bury a ship? Why bury all this wealth from far off lands? The answer to be – they could. Two ships are found at Sutton Hoo, both appear to have been fine vessels in good working order. The effort to place not one but two such vessels lead to be conclusion of importance. That those burials are of the highest personages. Mound 1, which was built with the ship placed a top the burial and, based on weathering for the metal pins recovered, reburied after being exposed to the elements for a number of years begs many questions. To leave the boat exposed indicates that either it's

⁶⁷ Mound Burials that have been roughly mapped throughout England do create a set of sections. This theory is under scrutiny due to the practice of Mound Burial was used for a limited timeframe, closely associated with Roman building projects and Bronze Age barrow mounds which would not always have matched the borders of kingdoms, and the practice of grave theft which would have destroyed many such sites making the creation of an accurate dated map difficult. (Semple 2010)

⁶⁸ Carver 1997

⁶⁹ Carver 2017

presence or its reburial was critical to the East Anglian Anglo-Saxons. Could it have been used for a ceremonial site? Could it have been a sight to behold for travelers and those who the high status within the East Anglian kingdom needed to impress?⁷⁰

Ship burials are unique to the East Anglian kingdom, not constructed again on English soil until the Norse invaded with the Danelaw in Ninth Century. Most would see them as a Norse tradition and would point to the Vendel as a contemporary of the Anglo-Saxons of Sutton Hoo, who through trade may have shared this unique burial tradition.⁷¹ The truth of that theory may never be completely proven to anthropologies satisfaction, but one can never doubt the influence of Nordic and Germanic traditions on England and it's Dead. The very term ghost is itself a derivation of the Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, *gāst* but is related to many other such words in Germanic and Nordic languages – *geest* in Dutch, *gheest* in Flemish, and *geist* in modern German. All coming from a Germanic origin that spread from the Continental Europe and was either forced north by the spread of Roman rule of the age or by cultural interactions such as trade.⁷²

⁷⁰ The concept of building both monuments and mythology supporting the “god given” divine right to rule is a theory purported by many cultural/historical anthropologists and archaeologists. Whether one believes in the divinity of any given culture or not, the support of that cultures religion is critical for the population to back the ruling elites. This best noted in the kingdom of Northumbria whose rulers have linked them selves with both gods Odin and Seaxnēat.(King 2004)

⁷¹ Folkloric traditions hold that the Vendel cultures would place the lord's throne on top of a newly constructed burial mound. This may have been done to create symbolic and mnemonic connections between the deceased ruler and preceding one. This tradition is noted as a possible explanation for mound burials within the Vendel culture and by extension and interaction with the Anglo-Saxon culture. (Davidson 1950)

⁷² Homans 1957, Hodges 1984, & Jellema 1955

Gender as seen in Anglo-Saxon Culture

From the Migration era to the Late Anglo-Saxon era, gender is both a mystery and a known factor. Affected by both status within the culture and forces outside of it. It is well known that the rights and responsibilities of a free individual verses one that has been forced into slavery are vastly different, both states of being existing in the various eras of the Anglo-Saxons.⁷³ The venerable Bede and King Alfred with his record-keepers wrote much on law and events of both ecclesiastical and managerial as it pertains to their domains. But, in these texts gender is rarely discussed. It is brought up only irregularly in their combined works, for legal matters only to discuss the wergild or cost of a woman's life from the chronicles of Alfred, and only in brief mentions of high status women in association with marriages and church matters with Bede's histories.⁷⁴ Women and LGBTQ+ gender identities in Anglo-Saxon culture was unfortunately not often saved in the written documents. The reasons are both obvious for current researchers and obfuscated; all documents are either written by men for men on matters of law, rule, and religion or they didn't write about it due to ignoring it or not being knowledgeable of it. All current modes of thought show that one can research any subject but to be able to speak with authority one must have a foothold in that subject. Bede lived and died in the Seventh and Eighth century as a Christian priest. As such his interaction with women of all classes within the Anglo-Saxon culture was limited to religious matters, such as confession or sacral rites. His work as a historian and chronicler shows this as he notes women only as

⁷³ Alfred 1823

⁷⁴ Bede 2009 & Alfred 1823

they pertain to his work be it writing his histories or religious responsibilities.⁷⁵ King Alfred's work at creating a compendium of legal and managerial documents pertaining to the rule of his kingdom states even less; documenting marriages, laws where they pertained to women, and birth records.⁷⁶ Some things can be gleaned from these documents, such as:

“West Saxons do not allow a queen to sit beside the king, nor to be called a queen, but only the king's wife [because of] a certain obstinate and malevolent queen [from Mercia], who did everything she could against her lord and whole people.”⁷⁷

Neither document would be a good source for an examination of gender within the culture; it would be much like if future research were done to understand gender and identity in modern society by examining tax records or the diary of a hermit. To truly examine gender within the Anglo-Saxon culture, one must look to sources beyond documentation, such as literature as this would not only be available to all levels of the culture but was composed by individuals from those levels.

During the Middle to Late Anglo-Saxon eras Latin was the language used for most documentation, being present in both law and religious realms. It is due to King Alfred that many texts from these eras were recorded in Old English, the language of the Anglo-Saxons themselves. Done with the intention to allow all persons to have the ability to read

⁷⁵ Bede 2009

⁷⁶ Alfred 1823

⁷⁷ Asser 2021

and understand all documentation, it additionally allowed for the preservation of multiple resources that could have been lost if they had stayed as oral traditions. Moreover, this allows for an understanding of the Old English language as it pertains to gender. Within Old English, three personal pronouns are present, similarly to most current languages in use, these being masculine, feminine, and neutral. When examining documents of the eras, it can be found that the masculine and neutral pronouns are almost exclusively used in texts addressing legal or religious subjects, with the feminine present in poetry and verse. Whether this is done consciously to exclude feminine gender for the purpose of obscuring and therefor depreciating them within the society or simply a overall cultural and temporal pattern is still debated in current research.⁷⁸

“Writers actively interested in women tend to overlook this confusion in linguistic theory of biological sex, grammatical gender, and social gender. Analysis of the social roles of women *and* men needs to be more sensitive to the nature of linguistic evidence and the value of grammatical gender for assessing terms of kinship, sex, or class.”⁷⁹

Anglo-Saxon literature can be broken into many forms but for the purposes of this research three forms will be examined – poetry, religious texts, and legal documentation. This limitation is done to allow the research to examine gender in the three arenas of life, with documentation such as that done by King Alfred examining gender rights and privileges, religious texts or histories such as those done by Bede examining how gender

⁷⁸ Lees 1999

⁷⁹ Overing 1990

was placed within the spiritual realms of the Anglo-Saxon paradigm, and poetry exploring the societal views of this culture.

Poetry such as *Beowulf* is an interesting example of this, possessing female characters such as Helideburgh, who shows us that women in this time were often perceived as “peace-weavers”.⁸⁰ Peace-weaving, is a concept shown within the poem as that a woman could marry anyone they chose to but that they were often asked, which can be read as more often being ordered, to marry a son from a rival clan or tribe to create peace between them. As can be seen in the *Beowulf*, when Helideburgh marries a lord from the Finns to create peace with them and her Danish people.⁸¹

Besides peace weaving through marriage, other acknowledged positions and responsibilities shown in literature are management of the household or estate, teacher, wife, mother, and hostess. An example of such roles can be seen in the verses pertaining to Beowulf visiting the mead hall and Heorot’s wife Wealhtheow presenting mead to him and his men, fulfilling her role as hostess.⁸² Within the text she is shown filling drinking vessels and entertaining men with a word here and there. But within this text we see women only as providers, be it either of peace, children, production from the estates, or good cheer through libation. All of this is shown as responsibilities of marriage with the culture with no mentions are made to single or unattached status women. It is stated the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* that a woman can divorce, and as found in the passages pertaining to Helideburgh, a marriage contract would be written up and if unhappy the woman could leave with all or part of the property, whether it was brought to the marriage by the

⁸⁰ Porter 2001

⁸¹ Porter 2001

⁸² Porter 2001 & Singh 2015

woman or not.⁸³ The Norse *Eddas*, though pertaining to another culture, make mention of this as well indicating a prevailing legal or cultural trend throughout these similar Germanic groups. The *Eddas* show wives leaving their husbands and taking the wealth and weapons, in many it is shown the weapons are of far more importance than the wealth as one can gain more wealth but the loss of good weapons would have been devastating loss.⁸⁴

Contrary to these portrayals of women as wives, the poem *Judith* written in the Tenth Century gives a different view of women, showing the power and authority of the feminine gender role. The poem is a reinterpretation of the biblical story of Judith, which was associated with *Beowulf*. This part of the work shows a deliberate role reversal, with the original Vulgate version showing Judith in a docile subjected person who suffers the trauma of rape and igniting her people to war, instead portrays her as a critical and un-emotional. This version of Judith waits for the right moment to take advantage of her enemy's weakness and then rising to be a leader and conquering her people's enemies.⁸⁵ By reinterpreting the tale for a scene of rape to one of tactile decision and conquest, it can be seen that the feminine roles of Anglo-Saxon society were not static roles as wife, mother, and peace maker through marriage, but could be changed warrior or leader.⁸⁶ Women in Anglo-Saxon poetry such as *Beowulf* have been shown as only in passive roles such as wives and mothers, but here we see the titular character as leader and general, a corollary that can be seen in history with Queen Aethelflaed. A Merican queen who was daughter to Alfred the Great who commissioned the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and sister to

⁸³ Alfred 1823 & Porter 2001

⁸⁴ Hallakarva 2021

⁸⁵ Litton 1993

⁸⁶ Litton 1993

King Edward the Elder, Alfred's future successor. Aethelflaed not only went to war with the Danes during the Danelaw but also ruled Mercia as queen after her husband's death.⁸⁷

Aethelflead's status as ruler and military leader would have been bolstered by two factors of Anglo-Saxon culture and politics. First, she never remarried, and therefore never had to relinquish her decisions on state and military to a new husband. This allowed her to have authority in a society that placed wives as secondary citizens and lesser members of court, as seen in previously mentioned texts *Beowulf*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, and Bede's histories.⁸⁸ Second, by not remarrying, in the eyes of her fellow Anglo-Saxon citizens she was retaining her virtue and "virginity". Religious thought of the time, placed chaste and virginal women as seen as more masculine and capable having not given in to the weaknesses of the flesh.⁸⁹ While a limited viewpoint by current standards, this did allow to Aethelflead hold a position of power, authority, and almost reverence within Mercia and associated regions of Anglo-Saxon held England. Her exploits were not noted in King Alfred's *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* as this focused almost entirely on England and the kingdom of Wessex, though her achievements are given note in the *Merican Register*, a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* including documents and events pertaining to Mercia which was added later. The Register covers events from the years 902 to 924 BCE and contain multiple references to the life and achievements of Aethelflead.⁹⁰

((A.D. 911 . Then the next year after this died Ethelred, lord of the Mercians.))

⁸⁷ Klimek 2013

⁸⁸ Bede 2009 & Alfred 1823

⁸⁹ Litton 1993

⁹⁰ Fordham University 2021

A.D. 912 . This year died Ethered, alderman of Mercia; and King Edward took to London, and to Oxford, and to all the lands that thereunto belonged. This year also came Ethelfleda, lady of the Mercians, on the holy eve called the invention of the holy cross, to Shergate, and built the fortress there, and the same year that at Bridgenorth.

A.D. 913 . This year, about Martinmas, King Edward had the northern fortress built at Hertford, betwixt the Memer, and the Benwic, and the Lea. After this, in the summer, betwixt gang – days and midsummer, went King Edward with some of his force into Essex, to Maldon; and encamped there the while that men built and fortified the town of Witham. And many of the people submitted to him, who were before under the power of the Danes. And some of his force, meanwhile, built the fortress at Hertford on the south side of the Lea. This year by the permission of God went Ethelfleda, lady of Mercia, with all the Mercians to Tamworth; and built the fort there in the fore-part of the summer; and before Lammas that at Stafford: in the next year that at Eddesbury, in the beginning of the summer; and the same year, late in the autumn, that at Warwick. Then in the following year was built, after midwinter, that at Chirbury and that at Warburton; and the same year before mid-winter that at Runkorn.

((A.D. 915 . This year was Warwick built.))⁹¹

Scholars of medieval history note the lack of documentation on Mercian military actions and events from this time period as a “conspiracy of silence” undertaken by King Edward the Elder to remove Mercia from documentation pertaining to Anglo-Saxon conflicts with the Danes.⁹² Often seen as being done to stop Mercian uprisings and claims to the throne, this would have also strengthened the current socio-political religious views of women as wives, mothers, and peace-weavers only within the Anglo-Saxon culture.⁹³ It should further be noted that this pattern of a woman taking the throne in England as ruler and military leader and not taking a husband to keep that power can be seen in Aethelflead’s daughter who succeeded her and later periods of English history with Queen

⁹¹ Fordham University 2021

⁹² Klimek 2013

⁹³ Klimek 2013

Elizabeth the First, also known as the Virgin Queen, who ruled England from 1558 to 1603 BCE.⁹⁴

The Chatelaine

Known by various names such as toilet sets, toilet instruments, and toilet technologies; the chatelaine has had many names and all leading one to imagine an association with hygiene and maintaining physical appearance.⁹⁵ The term is often misleading – in its essence the chatelaine is a ring or brooch that allows for the suspension of multiple tools ranging from tweezers, spoons, tools, razors, and keys. The term chatelaine has origins in *chatelain*, which is derived from the Latin term *castellum*, meaning home or domicile. The term transitioned to the Medieval Latin *castellanus* and then the Old French *chastelain*, finally to the more familiar English castle. Chatelaine can roughly be translated to “lady of the house”, or more accurately to its use “the keepers of the house keys” as it was used in late Medieval and Renaissance documents and language.⁹⁶ This transition from its original use as a way to carry items used for hygiene and everyday carry tools to keys and embroidery tools by the Later Middle Ages through to the late Nineteenth Century, further confuses this artifacts origins and usage by all

⁹⁴ Black 1959

⁹⁵ Figure 6 & 11

⁹⁶ Merriam-Webster 2021

gender presentations. The original usage of the term would have been gender neutral but over time changed to a feminine usage.⁹⁷

First found with Halstatt and early La Tene periods of continental Europe, roughly 800 to 1 BC with an artifact range including Italy, Switzerland, and southwest Germany. A high prestige item found often associated with male burials, its presence seems to have indicated a visual display of wealth and beauty as status. As will be shown this interpretation of the chatelaine as a status item not only for the wealth it displays but also as a symbol of hygiene and beauty with position within society is ongoing through out its usage till the Late Anglo-Saxon era, when it fully transitions to a tool set for more domestic endeavors.⁹⁸

The status portion of the artifact can be seen in that a high frequency were composed of copper-alloys with other precious metals such as silver and gold having increasingly decreasing frequencies, an example of this would a silver set with gold leaf from recovered at Rebbio.⁹⁹ Roman and Anglo-Saxon chatelaines were often made of copper alloy, with iron following with the next greatest frequency. Silver sets have been recovered, but appear to have gained increased use as they are often recovered from Seventh century burials.¹⁰⁰

During their use by the La Tene, the sets often included tweezers, nail cleaners, and ears scoops; also called spatula, or as they are more commonly known today - spoons. Use of these items for hygiene and maintaining appearance are easy to understand though it should be noted that all items may have multiple purposes for each user, similar to a

⁹⁷ Rothstein 2010 & Lees 1999

⁹⁸ Eckardt 2008

⁹⁹ Eckardt 2008

¹⁰⁰ Williams 2007

modern multi-tool or toiletry bag. Tweezers would have been used to pluck hair, be it facial, nasal, or body; as well as the removal of lice or other pests, further tweezers could have been used for daily activities such as sewing and leather working. This possibility is supported by the presence of sewing needles and tweezers found within burials, an example of this would burials at Sewerby in East Yorkshire.¹⁰¹ Nail cleaners would have been used as the name implies, indicating status in the ability to cleans ones hands pre and post meals as well as clean up from any tasks that might be undertaken throughout the day. Ear-scoops, or spoons, could have been used for the use of remove of debris from the ears and nose, as well as measures for the use with powders for beauty and display, but further may have been used to measure and apply medicines.¹⁰²

Often the chatelaine was found in one of three locations when recovered from burials from all cultures, leading to presumed display or use patterns. These locations are the waist, the neckline, and adjacent to the head such as in one case in the mouth of the deceased. Occasional instances of the chatelaine placement in the burial with other grave goods, at the feet, or indications of reburial could indicate grave offerings, reuse, or regional and temporal differences in burial ritual. During the nineteenth century usage, the chatelaine was attached to belts, often on the right, and to bodices with a fastener for easy access, it is not unreasonable to presume this use pattern would have ancient origins.¹⁰³ The neckline placement during burial, would further indicate either an attachment to shirt or suspension from a necklace, which would connect to both displaying the item for purposes of symbolic or social status and allowing it's use

¹⁰¹ Williams 2007

¹⁰² Williams 2007

¹⁰³ Williams 2007

throughout the day for both grooming and daily tasks. The chatelaine recovered next to or associated with the head indicates a placement with the burial as a grave good versus as item placed on the deceased as part of a burial costume or mourning ritual. This can be seen in the aforementioned case of the chatelaine recovered from Barrington, where the artifact was found in the mouth.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps this item was placed on the head or under it, locations that while not impossible, are highly unlikely for carry during daily life as they would make use or display difficult. This placement imparts a connection between the chatelaine, physical appearance, and social or cultural traits.

“While status may have been expressed through the display of elaborate chatelaine brooches, most toilet instruments are small and often poorly made, suggesting that the presentation of a well-groomed body, that is the result of *use* of the object may have been as important as the objects themselves. Both in the Iron Age and the Roman period, toilet instruments appear to have been used by men and women.”¹⁰⁵

Later introduced to the Roman Empire upon their arrival at the British Isles, who continued the tool usage through out the northern ranges of the Empire. Whether brought by earlier interactions with La Tene and Halstatt or by the Roman conquest, the chatelaine was brought to England and continued its usage for hygiene and beauty through the Roman Occupation and withdrawal.¹⁰⁶ During this timeframe new items and tools were

¹⁰⁴ Williams 2007

¹⁰⁵ Eckardt 2008

¹⁰⁶ Hella 2006

introduced to the set such as picks, razors or blades, rods or scrapers, brushes, and individualized special tools.¹⁰⁷ Picks are a simple metal needle or probe, use for which could be as diverse as a means to remove blisters and boils, as a toothpick, or to remove debris from wounds. Razors and blades, would have been attractive as an addition to a toilet set for Roman users who seem to have preferred a more clean shaven appearance, allowing for hair remove as well as remove of calluses and other unsightly skin imperfections. Additionally the blunt scapers, like a blade or razor but with no edge, would have had a similar use by Roman, Romanized Britons, and Anglo-Saxons to clean skin through scraping, perhaps in association with a fluid such as oil or water. Supplementary uses could have been application of cosmetics and medicines in association with the ear scoops.¹⁰⁸

The inclusion of tools not meant for personal appearance maintenance was not common and seems to have been unique to the Roman, and to lesser degree Anglo-Saxon presentations of the tool set. Surgical tools, writing implements, and the first time presence of keys are all examples of this trend. An example of this found with both cultures would be shears, which as noted above could have been used both for maintaining appearance and daily work tasks.¹⁰⁹ This would be the first time of a clear tool usage beyond hygiene or beauty and would indicate a change in usage that would not reappear till the Late Anglo-Saxon era.

These time periods see the first use of the chatelaine as jewelry, with chatelaine earrings being found with female gender presentations in Roman England. This unusual

¹⁰⁷ Thomas 1963 & Allison 2015

¹⁰⁸ Williams 2007

¹⁰⁹ Rogers 2006

display pattern does not seem to have caught on with native Britons and has not been found with Anglo-Saxon burials, indicating it to be a singular Roman fashion trend.¹¹⁰

Transitioning from the Roman Occupation to the Migration Era and creation of the Anglo-Saxon culture, it should be noted that chatelaines of this period show similar make and design to those used by the Romans. Whether this is a reuse through inheriting items or acquisition through trade and conquest, is unknown. Possibly chatelaine creation may have just followed a existing familiar patterns during this transition, as the chatelaine presence in the south and eastern regions of England would have be already familiar from Roman designs.¹¹¹ It should also be noted that with the exception of added artistic design or embellishment, that the overall simplistic and utilitarian design of the chatelain and it's tools, from this time period, might have just given rise to a pattern that carried from culture to culture and through it's usage over time.¹¹² Contrary to this overall finding it should be noted that regional variance has been noted and indicates either a local manufacturer who is marking their particular style or an ethnic indicator. Both are possible explains and further research is required to gain a better understanding of the chatelaine manufactory and distribution within the United Kingdom.

Finally during this timeframe of Anglo-Saxon usage, when it comes to over all condition upon recovery from burials, commonly the chatelaine is found intact with few indications of ritual "killing" prior to, during, or post burial. This fact is supported by a indications that some items such as combs, weapon, pottery, and personal items such as the chatelaine may have held a relic level of importance, with items being reproduced for

¹¹⁰ Eckardt 2008

¹¹¹ Williams 2007

¹¹² Williams 2007

the purpose of the burial only, either as miniatures which could not have been used for practical use or entirely new sets created or procured prior to the burial for the purpose of intermittent. The few instances that indicate breakage show further evidence of the relic status the chatelaine may have held, such as examples recovered from sites in Norton and Lincolnshire, showing breakage prior to burial during the chatelaines active use but being carried onwards till interment.¹¹³

Miniature chatelaine are found associated with burials during the Anglo-Saxon eras, which while often too small to have been used for any applicable purpose further connects to the there possible symbolic or amuletic status with that culture.¹¹⁴ The creation of these miniatures and their singular burial disposition leads to further associations during the Migration Era and the Middle Anglo-Saxon Era of the chatelaine with concepts of society such as funerary requirements and costumes; the connection between hygiene, beauty, and pollution of the self; and the status of living or the dead within the culture. Overall, the artifact's usage within the Anglo-Saxon culture indicates that it was more than a set of tools for hygiene, appearance, or everyday use and could have had far reaching aspects within the overall culture.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Williams 2007 & Squires 2014

¹¹⁴ Williams 2015

¹¹⁵ Williams 2015, Williams 2008, Williams 2007, Williams 2006, & Williams 2004

Theoretical Frameworks:

Processual

As noted in the prior section, the chatelaine has evolved over time to be used uniquely by all who interacted with it within the United Kingdom. It's associations with hygiene and physical appearance with higher status individuals within its usage by cultures ranging from the La Tene and later the Romans, to the Anglo-Saxons and further to Medieval Britons.¹¹⁶ Becoming available to more social strata during the Middle Anglo-Saxon era and gaining importance as a grave good and part of burial costume.¹¹⁷ Finally, transitioning to a tool for feminine pastimes such as embroidery, during the Middle to Late Medieval periods after the introduction Norman culture, and fading in usage after the Eighteenth to Nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ The usage history and evolution of the chatelaine shows its rise as a prestige item used by elites or higher status persons within the culture, then the assignment of socio-religious status and usage in identity assignment for the dead, to completed in its eventual use as a tool or convenience to fade out as the cultural paradigm changes in the Medieval and later eras. By examining this trend and its many

¹¹⁶ Williams 2008

¹¹⁷ Williams 2015

¹¹⁸ Rothstein 2010

factors of the chatelaine can be gleaned as an example of artifact evolution and its trajectory of socio-cultural religious status.¹¹⁹

A similar trajectory of item evolution can be found in the sword within the Anglo-Saxon culture. Examples of this can be seen in the swords associated with burials such as Mound 2 at Sutton Hoo, being recovered in limited numbers and only recovered within the context of high status members of the society.¹²⁰ The use of the sword by warlords, kings, or nobles indicates one had to rise to a certain level of power with the culture prior to gain acquisition of such a weapon, perhaps through being taken from a fallen foe or singular construction for the individual in question as an outward symbol of status for all to see.¹²¹ This limiting of access coupled with usage by higher status individuals who, as records such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, or *Ecclisistical History of Anglo-Saxon England* indicate claimed a connection with the gods through bloodline or possessing of divine blessings, would lead to the assignment of mystical properties to the sword used by these persons.¹²² One needs only look to literature and myth for this, as seen in such renown weapons as King Arthur's Excalibur or Durendal, the sword of Roland.¹²³ After the full integration of Christianity the mythical properties and the social status inferred by the sword faded giving rise to or being associated with lower status individuals gaining access. This can be seen with the sword becoming standard issue weapon provided to professional soldiers during the wars and

¹¹⁹ Figure 2 & 3

¹²⁰ Davidson 1962

¹²¹ Davidson 1962

¹²² Härke 1990, Bede 2009, & Alfred 1823

¹²³ Davidson 1962

military actions of the later eras of the Middle Ages.¹²⁴ This example of usage evolution can be seen in multiple artifacts through out English and overall Medieval history, the sword and the chatelaine being just two instances.

The evolution and use history of such items, when examined shows not just the aforementioned trend of prestige to mythical assignment to common tool, but further allows for an examination of societal and culture qualities. The Anglo-Saxons having been shown to be tribal and regional, using such material culture as the chatelaine to visually indicate status and possibly ethnic connection. The overall construction of such items is of a higher grade than items accessible by those of a lower status with the society, requiring either an ability to produce or acquire them. While, there is little indication of large scale production areas or factories, as were commonly used by Romans throughout their empire, it can be seen that items such as chatelaine were either produced locally by metal smiths on a case-by-case basis or procured by trade from the Continent.¹²⁵ The indication of similar styles to prior Roman designs and introduction of regional designs, indicate that both methods of procurement were in place at least by the Middle Anglo-Saxon period.¹²⁶ Since most chatelaine are of a composite alloy of bronze with a few examples of iron or silver, it can be inferred this is either by design or by access, as bronze would be available in the region but silver being of higher cost and limited access.¹²⁷ This dissemination of materials and access further indicates a cost verses access component to any examination of the chatelaine. Coupling this with the rarity of chatelaine finds overall indicates that the

¹²⁴ Davidson 1963

¹²⁵ Crummy 2003

¹²⁶ Williams 2007

¹²⁷ Crummy 2003 & Williams 2007

availability for any gender identity during the Migration to Middle Anglo-Saxon era was costly but drifting to a greater accessibility.

The overall rarity of the chatelaine should be tempered with one simple fact, during the late Migration to Middle Anglo-Saxon era saw increase in cremation as the preferred burial method, during with the chatelaine could have been placed in the pyre leading it's lose.¹²⁸ This would lead to either it's overall destruction or coupled with the fact that some of the cemeteries possessing acid soil, examples of this can be found at site such Sutton Hoo and Snape, would lead to the chatelaine being unrecoverable. Indications of this can be seen in multiple instances of metal refuse and residue recovered from Anglo-Saxon burials of all types.¹²⁹

Overall the access and use of the chatelaine indicates a trend of the Anglo-Saxon usage following an evolution from prestige item as seen with the La Tene and Roman usage. Changing to a quasi-magical item conferring some form of status within the culture, as seen in the chatelaines presence with so many burials of all types and possible relic or generational usage. Finally transitioning into a commonly accessible tool used by all social stratum, as seen in the Late Medieval to Eighteenth century usage across the United Kingdom and it's colonies. This use history and evolution of item meaning leads to examinations of the chatelaine's place in regional usage, where the use can be found to show not just social positioning and status but further regional status and possible ethnicity.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Williams 2004 & Crawford 2000

¹²⁹ Carver 1992

¹³⁰ Figures 3, 4, and 5

Regional Identity

The idea of uniformity in all technology to one of current tool patterns is a contemporary theme, we as modern citizens of the world expect all tools to be roughly the same no matter the region of the world we happen to find ourselves in. A hammer in Germany should look the same as a hammer from the United States, or the United Kingdom, or China – more or less. But, it is also expected that a minor difference would be seen from region to region. Examples of this in the modern world can be seen in any country; southern regions of the United States are vastly different from the northern, though the citizens of either will most likely not appear any different in overall appearance. Each country has within regions, which are culturally different from each other, no greater example of this can be found in the United Kingdom during the Migration Era and into the Middle Anglo-Saxon era. As previously discussed in the Anglo-Saxon Cultural section, the Anglo-Saxons are formed of multiple cultural groups who came together with the indigenous populations of the United Kingdom.¹³¹ Regional Identity theory puts forth that until the Danelaw and forced rise of singular Anglo-Saxon kingdom for all England under Alfred the Great in 886 BCE, that each kingdom was unique in its expression of culture, religion, and gender dynamics.¹³² Examples of this have been shown in prior sections, such as the Gender section with the discussion of Aethelflead of Mercia. This can be seen as a unique regional cultural trait concerning gender of the Mercian kingdom, as her daughter followed a similar pattern of being a ruler and warrior till her

¹³¹ Hines 1997

¹³² Carver 1992

demise.¹³³ Further this can be seen as well in East Anglia where pagan culture and religion was held onto for far longer than other kingdoms, possibly due to interaction with the Vendel culture or trade associations with pagan cultures via trade.¹³⁴ It should be noted that while the Danes invaded most of the kingdoms, in East Anglia, they were welcomed kindred.¹³⁵

“It is interesting to note that nail-cleaners in the Roman period occur predominantly in the south of the province but are rare on military sites in the north and west. Through such a distribution is very similar to that of imported goods and might be seen as emphasizing the more ‘Empire-integrated’ area of Britain, it is in fact the opposite, being instead a reflection of the continued use in Britain of a La Tene object that was going out of fashion on the ‘Roman’ Continent and was moreover, never manufactured in large quantities.”¹³⁶

For the purposes of this paper we would look at regional differences between chateleine in the acknowledged kingdoms of East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex noted in Bede’s histories.¹³⁷ It should be noted that by the writing of Bede’s text,

¹³³ Klimek 2013

¹³⁴ Carver 1993

¹³⁵ Carver 2017

¹³⁶ Crummy 2003

¹³⁷ Bede 2009

multiple kingdoms had risen and fallen resulting in smaller cultural groups being absorbed into the larger acknowledged kingdoms.¹³⁸

When examining the chatelaine regionally in the United Kingdom, nail-cleaners stand out as having multiple regional designs that are unique. These designs are the Baldock, Bone Disc, and Grooved Collar types are most numerous, other types exist but are limited in number and debated as being unique sets.¹³⁹ A complete data set needs to be created for a better understanding of these variances, to examine their overall distribution and production.

The Baldock type has a leaf-shaped blade with prominent shoulders, a suspension loop that is set at right angles to the blade. A simple marginal groove along the edge is the only identified decoration common to this type. Four variations have been noted for this type, Variant 1 lacks the marginal groove, but otherwise is identical to the base type. Variant 2, has the groove but additional decoration around the neck with some examples having straight or diagonal grooves. Variant 3 is similar to Variant 2, with the difference being instead of groove work done around the neck, mouldings are found indicating decoration present at the time of creation verses added after the item produced as seen in Variant 2. Finally Variant 4 processes a simple geometric design on the blade, with the design ranging from zigzags and feathering on the edges or down the center of the blade.¹⁴⁰

Bone Disc type is found to be bead of bone fitted onto the tope of the copper-alloy shaft that composes the nail-cleaner. It should be noted that glass beads recovered instead

¹³⁸ Carver 1992

¹³⁹ Crummy 2003 & Hella 2006

¹⁴⁰ Crummy 2003

of bone in this type and in one case a copper bead was found affixed to a bone shaft. The shaft is often decorated with a lattice or hatch work pattern on the upper sections of the shaft under the bead. Again, variations of the main type are found, being Variant 1 and Variant 2. Variant 1 of the Bone Disc type lacks the design on the nail-cleaner while Variant 2 lacks a bead of any sort but instead has a knob. The possibility that Variant 2 of the Bone Disc type is a custom individual creation with only two of these variants having been recovered, has been noted in current research.¹⁴¹

The third type to be discussed here is the Grooved Collar type, which as the name suggest has a collar or band circling the upper section of the artifact. The band is decorated with diagonal grooves, which can be found to go in one direction or in a lattice design. Examples have been found with a single band, two bands, and in one case three bands. Only one variant of this style is currently recognized Variant 1 which has a crosshatch pattern on its bands but additionally has a undecorated space or groove between it's bands with the bands widening to larger proportions than the rest of the shaft.¹⁴²

These three types and their subsequent variants are each uniquely found in slightly overlapping regions of the United Kingdom, Roman and Anglo-Saxon held England but with examples recovered from Wales and Scotland.¹⁴³ These outlier artifacts could be the result of trade, carried by travelers to these regions who died and were interned there, or cultural exchange with the indigenous Welsh or Scottish populations. Baldock nail-cleaners are found with their associated chatelaines in an eastern England, with spatial

¹⁴¹ Crummy 2003

¹⁴² Crummy 2003

¹⁴³ Crummy 2003

pattern indicating a possible origin from Hertfordshire, placing them strongly in East Anglia and northern Mercia.¹⁴⁴ Bone Disc and Grooved Collar are found within western regions and have a more overlapping distribution, in areas around Oxfordshire, which could indicate overlapping areas between cultural groups.¹⁴⁵ While both types are recovered within the kingdom Wessex, outliers of the Bone Disc type have been excavated in Scotland and northern England, these unique sets which are singular as of the writing of this paper are possible indications of trade or gift giving as they are recovered from high status burials in Northumbria.¹⁴⁶ The spatial distribution should not be taken to indicate only local manufactory as the distribution also shows trade and gift giving as seen with the farther flung outlier examples recovered in Wales and Scotland. The overall number of regional unique styles show the availability of multiple types and should it be limited to proximity with manufacturing centers then trade or fashion would also be factors with new styles coming into being to replace older ones, though this is not found to be the case.¹⁴⁷ Overall, the unique styles show that each region or kingdom has it's own overall decorations and distributions of the chatelaine, combined with other studies in a data set it would undoubtedly show that the placement of the artifact with burials would be singular as well.

The use of other tools with the chatelaine give further credence to this theory's importance in understanding gender and the toilet implements. In her appraisal of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Cleatham and Elsham, Kirsty Squires noted a sex bias for combs, finding that combs were more often associated with male burials at Cleatham

¹⁴⁴ Crummy 2003 & Figure 10

¹⁴⁵ Crummy 2003 & Figures 8 & 9

¹⁴⁶ Figure 8 & 9

¹⁴⁷ Crummy 2003

verses the increased frequency of combs with female burials at Elsham.¹⁴⁸ Additionally, Squires notes a male gender bias toward chatelaines at the Cleatham site, further indicating that at this site's males had a greater association with hygiene and toilet implements than females.¹⁴⁹ Both sites are located in North Lincolnshire, which would have been the northern most border of the Mercian kingdom, but the difference of use and gender designation between the sites further exemplifies the differences in cultural representation even in the same overall kingdom or region.¹⁵⁰

This regional difference indicating a variable use for chatelaine can be seen in other kingdoms such as East Anglia, where mixed rite cemeteries using both inhumation and cremation. At sites like Abingdon near Oxfordshire and Worthy Park in Hampshire, examinations of the funerary urns used to collect the cremains show the increased presence of miniature chatelaine and combs with male designated remains, as well as the increased use of iron for the toilet implements. The male designation comes from the presence of blades and spears, possibly picks, which have an increased presence with male gender identity in the Anglo-Saxon culture.¹⁵¹

“Grave-goods in cremation burials had an enduring but variable significance. Where they were added to cinerary urns, it is argued that toilet implements and combs were elements of varied embodied beliefs in early Anglo-Saxon England. They were deployed to reconstitute social memories and create ancestors from ashes. If so, then the different treatments of the

¹⁴⁸ Squires 2014

¹⁴⁹ Squires 2014

¹⁵⁰ Williams 2015

¹⁵¹ Williams 2015

body identified within the cremation practices should not only underline the local and regional diversity of early Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices but perhaps also differences in the kinds of personhood being remembered and/or how ritual practices extended to the mortuary arena via the medium of corporeal transformations and hair symbolism”¹⁵²

Regional Identity shows that the chatelaine and other tools, such as the combs, had a varied and diverse use from kingdom to kingdom within Anglo-Saxon England, and within those kingdoms. With each region being a melting pot of different cultures and with the addition of multiple cultures being added to the melting pot as kingdoms rose and fell, it would be short sighted to imagine all Anglo-Saxons being a homogenized group with shared ideals of gender and society. Only by examining each, possibly through the construction a data set, could a complete picture of each regions use of the chatelaine and related material culture be done.

Post-Processual

The use of the chatelaine and it’s components by the Anglo-Saxons as more than just a set of tools for maintenance of health and outward appearance is evident, the placement of the item with both inhumation and cremations combined with it’s indications of social and religious usage show a greater place with the overall society. With

¹⁵² Williams 2015

both forms of burial having visual and community components, the chatelaine can be seen to transition from an overall status indicator to part of the burial ritual, either as a mnemonic social catalyst or as an amuletic component of the mortuary costume.

“Many communities in early Anglo-Saxon England had a choice between at least two contrasting mortuary technologies, cremation and inhumation, and in most regions the two disposal methods were used in varying proportions. Isolating a single explanation and meaning for each rite remains elusive. Cremation was certainly the older rite and became increasingly less common during the sixth century. However, regarding cremation as more Germanic, more pagan, or simply a holdover of older traditions, is inadequate and simplistic approach to its survival alongside inhumation for well over a century.

A more satisfactory approach is to regard them as neither identical nor complete opposites but a relational technologies. Rather than each disposal method having an inherent singular cultural or religious meaning, they were employed to define coherent group mnemonic traditions as well as to simultaneously create social and religious distinctions between groups, both within and between burying communities. In other words, context seems to have defined the significance of the two technologies. Just as there is no single motivation to cremate or inhume in modern Britain, there was probably many factors influencing the disposal method selected in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. In some instances the disposal method offered a

long-repeated shared rite that may have defined a sense of community and identity in death (as with the communities using large cremation cemeteries). In other instances, the two methods may have been employed to visually distinguish between two families or households using the same burial rite (as when employed in 'mixed-rite' cemeteries. In further instances, both cremation and inhumation could equally have served as 'deviant rites', reserved for only certain individuals."¹⁵³

With both cremation and inhumation being a communal rite with visual components overseen by a ritual expert that would have lead to the creation of ancestors or mnemonic identities for the deceased, the placement of the toilet set as a part of this rite is indicated in it's presence and production of miniature versions. The interaction of the chatelaine with both the living and the dead, as both a part of their burial costuming and personal tool, shows the continued artifact history and evolution from communal status indicator to now ritualistic component.¹⁵⁴ Further, the presence of the chatelaine with both male and female gender identities in both forms of burial indicate that the item's lack of gender association and use by all parties. In essence, regardless of gender all persons can be "polluted" and needing of cleaning in this life and the next.¹⁵⁵

"It is possible the post-cremation practices may have been concerned with the rebuilding of the deceased's identity by placing the dead in a

¹⁵³ Williams 2011

¹⁵⁴ Figure 5

¹⁵⁵ Williams 2007

distinctive urn with selected artifacts. This ‘journey’ from corpse to ashes may even have been linked to shamanistic concepts of the person, and pagan afterlife beliefs.”¹⁵⁶

Queer Archaeology and Feminist Archaeology

The theories of Feminist and Queer Archaeology are both unique approaches to understanding archaeology and culture, with one focusing overall on feminine contributions to the discipline and cultures it studies and the other focusing on sexual orientation and gender attributes of the discipline and culture. In these theoretical frameworks an examination of gender within cultures and how we as scholars do our research is the primary focus, as can be seen here:

“By critically applying the theoretical and methodological frameworks developed in sexuality studies, archaeologists can challenge deeply held assumptions that limit our understanding of social organizations and cultural change in past societies.”¹⁵⁷

“The feminist conceptualization of gender – and more recently, sexuality – as separate from biological sex reveals the foundational critique as the first step in the development of feminist concepts, frameworks,

¹⁵⁶ Williams 2011

¹⁵⁷ Blackmore 2016

methods, and research. If the process of feminist critique of androcentrism is not first undertaken, then gender is uncritically explained using received male-biased theoretical perspectives, frameworks, concepts and methods”¹⁵⁸

It is here after acknowledged that heteronormativity is both present in much of the prior research done on Anglo-Saxon culture and gender. The use of Queer Archaeological theory and Feminist Archaeological theory, with their acknowledgement that gender is “fluid, complex, and performative” allows research such as that upon the chatelaine and similar material culture to proceed without a preconceived bias.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, a critique of prior research and how it has been gender biased, whether knowingly or not, can allow for new ways of examining cultural interactions with artifacts.

The lack of documentation or material culture that outright pertaining to gender or sexual orientation forces this research to use a combined approach to examine the research through the lens of both theories. This is further illuminated in the later section on Mnemonic theory, where in a social memory is constructed to place the individual within the desired identity of the community. This theory when combined with both Feminist and Queer Archaeology can be used to see that the society would reconstruct the individual identity to match the desired one by the person’s family or community. An Example of this would be making an Anglo-Saxon LGBT+ person who perhaps has an asexual identity conform within the terms of their burial to an accepted identity, such as daughter or son.

¹⁵⁸ Nelson 2007

¹⁵⁹ Blackmore 2016

The presence of women and their overall lives, contributions, and the items they interact with within the Anglo-Saxon culture are woefully limited in representation in both the historical documentation and the current interpretations of the material culture. This is seen even more so with the genders identities and sexual orientations other than the perceived hetero-normative masculine and feminine. The use of Queer Archaeology to examine this is crucial within examinations of this culture and timeframe to better understand it. It is felt that only through the use of reinterpretation of historical documents, cross-cultural analysis with associated cultures, and examinations of such cultural factors as religion and mythology can this lack of representation be amended.

It is apparent to any doing an in depth examination of Anglo-Saxon history that the written documentation from the time period is not only recorded by men, but almost exclusively about men. Bede's history and King Alfred with his scribes, while providing us these precious glimpses of their time period, also must be acknowledged to write only about their perspective spheres of influence in the world; with women and homosexual perspectives having no mention in either document.¹⁶⁰ The first mentioning of LGBTQ+ is first seen in the later canon laws introduced when Christianity began to supplant the polytheist pagan practices around the Sixth Century.¹⁶¹ It should be noted that the canon laws do not become common law until later in the Eleventh Century making these religious rulings limited in overall scope. Before this, the laws of Anglo-Saxon England neither acknowledged nor had any provisions for homosexuality. While these religious laws later would be added to standard law and be recorded in the *Domesday Book*; a record of laws, and events similar to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* but pertaining to events

¹⁶⁰ Bede 2009 & Alfred 1823

¹⁶¹ Domesday Book 2021

after the Norman Conquest of 1066, which was commissioned by William I also known as William the Conqueror.¹⁶²

The fact that the majority of material culture recovered in burials and the few settlements that have been discovered is domestic and gender neutral indicate that over all tools and items of the Anglo-Saxons were used by all persons.¹⁶³ Swords, spears, and other weapons constitute a small number of burial goods, with current research like that done by Heinrich Härke indicating their presence in burials as more mnemonic and societal symbols than actual personal items. The fact that weapons have been used to indicate maleness and warrior status within the Anglo-Saxon culture has been well documented and supported by the documentation of the era, with it's overall focus on high status persons and battles.¹⁶⁴

Other kinds of skeletal data confirm that the ability to fight was not a factor that differentiated individuals with weapons from those buried without weapons. Weak and strong build, severe osteo-arthritis, malunited fractures of long bones, and even inherited disabilities were even spread between both groups. Perhaps the most convincing case to prove this point is a man with spina bifida who may never had been able to use the shield and spear buried with him¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Domesday Book 2021

¹⁶³ Hamerow 2016

¹⁶⁴ Härke 1990

¹⁶⁵ Härke 1990

The indications that like the chatelaine, the sword and artifacts of this ilk could be placed in burials to construct a social identity memory for the community would mean that all burials from these eras must be evaluated as monuments and not burials of an individual and their possessions.

With neither clear historical records nor archaeological evidence, we must look to cross cultural comparisons of similar groups for any understanding of these perspectives. While Norse cultures are unique to themselves, their shared Germanic origins with the Anglo-Saxons allow for this comparison. While this comparison will be done between the Anglo-Saxons and Norse cultures, it should be noted the lingering cultural influences of the native Britons and the adoption of cultural trends from the Romans, also would have placed regional if not overall societal influences upon the culture. Roman attitudes toward same sex relationships are well documented and Diodorus Siculus, a historian of the First Century BCE is noted have said “although Celtic women were beautiful, their men preferred to sleep with each other”.¹⁶⁶ While this can hardly be taken as certifiable evidence as Roman historians are renown for embellishment and out right inventing stories when reporting on other cultures, it does indicate a possible cultural acknowledgement and potential acceptance of same sex relationships in Iron Age Britain.

When examining the Norse perspective on homosexuality or sexuality in general, one must be aware of a cultural trend preferential to being in control and self-reliant. To be perceived as weak or lesser was unacceptable, known to the Norse as *ergi*. Commonly translated to feminine, unmanly, or cowardly; it can also mean to be passive. To allow ones self to be used, directed, or taken over – these are abhorrent concepts to the Norse

¹⁶⁶ Eckardt 2008

mindset. Uniquely this quality was true of male and female gender identities, with no shame being the dominant person or aggressor in any relationship be that same-sex or not.¹⁶⁷

There are no recorded instances of homosexual or lesbian couples in the Viking Age: moreover, the idea of living as an exclusively homosexual person did not exist in most cultures until present day Western civilization appeared. One's sexual partners mattered little so long as one married, had children, and conformed at least on the surface to societal norms so as not to disturb the community. Those Scandinavians who attempted to avoid marriage because of their sexuality were penalized in law: a man who shunned marriage was termed *fudflogi* (man who flees the female sex organ) while a woman who tried to avoid marriage was *flannfluga* (she who flees the male sex organ). The evidence of the sagas and laws show that male homosexuality was regarded in two lights: there was nothing strange or shameful about a man having intercourse with another man if he was the active or "manly" role, however the passive partner in homosexual intercourse was regarded with derision.¹⁶⁸

While there is no current research or evidence showing that this concept of *ergi* existed in Anglo-Saxon England, it can be acknowledged that similar concepts would have

¹⁶⁷ Hallakarva 2021

¹⁶⁸ Hallakarva 2021

been present. With Roman cultural trends being applied to Romano-British, any preferred sexual preferences being allowed as long as the concept of having a family and societal responsibilities were maintained.¹⁶⁹

When examining the shared mythology of the two regions. Loki, Donar or Thor, and Odin or Wodan, are all present in both Anglo-Saxon and Norse myths with all in some way taking part in homosexual or perceived feminine activities. Loki, not only takes part in same sex relationships but also can be interpreted as bisexual or pan sexual due to wooing of multiple partners and through his dealings with stallions resulting in his giving birth to Odin's steed Sleipnir. Elsewhere in the Eddas, the tale of Thor and Loki dressing as bride and bride's maid so as to regain Thor's lost hammer Mjolnir when it was lost. This myth shows that even great warriors such as Thor can dress and act as a feminine identify as long as they were in control and the active participant. Finally, Odin is shown to be master of *seidr*, a form of shamanistic magic centered on foresight and fate manipulation. Seidr is shown in the Eddas to be almost exclusively used by woman with the few men practicing it being immediately subject to beingergi. The overall reasons for seidr to be assigned as feminine is unclear; possibly stemming from proposed passive sexual rites being associated or equally likely from the Norse view of using magic to effect a battle or strike an enemy from a far as cowardly. Though it can be noted that while all of the aforementioned derision toward seidr and it's earthly male users never is stated in the Eddas as applying to Odin himself, be this simply wishing to avoid angering a god or an acceptance of a male being using perceived feminine tools remains to be seen.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Eckardt 2008

¹⁷⁰ Hallakarva 2021

When these perspectives are applied to the chatelaine it becomes clear that, the use of tool and possible amuletic presence upon ones person would not have been a gendered perspective within the Anglo-Saxon world. As discussed in prior sections, see Chatelaine and Anglo-Saxon Culture sections, the use of toilet sets by the Romans and Britons would have created an amuletic or status related trend with the new arrived Anglo-Saxons, as seen in the placement of cemeteries in association with Roman roads and structure. Coupling this with myths and attitudes to active and not passive status, the toilet sets would have been perceived as gender neutral, with no sexual connotation attributed.

The chatelaine's lack of gender and sexual connection is supported by archaeological evidence when we examine the position of children within the Anglo-Saxon culture. With most burials from the discussed eras possessing a lack of physical remains due to soil or other conditions, current methods of recovery involve the determination of age and biological sex via osteological evaluation if possible upon recovery. For the vast majority of burials this is limited, often providing little beyond rough age, but it has lead to an increased understanding of the position of children and associated burials.¹⁷¹ With biological male and female children interred with both gendered and gender neutral material culture, this leads to the supposition that as seen with weapon burials¹⁷², at some point in a child's development a societal identity would have been constructed either in life or in disposition of the individual's remains.¹⁷³ Kirsty Squires notes in research on children with Anglo-Saxon culture that cremations may have been the overall reason for so few burials associated with children or juveniles, with that being the preferred method

¹⁷¹ Williams 2011

¹⁷² Härke 1990

¹⁷³ Crawford 2000

of body disposition for that age set.¹⁷⁴ With the supposition that a number of cremains are children, it would be evident also that the chatelaine and combs held symbolic, mnemonic, and social status due to it's presence with cremation urns as an often undamaged grave good. If the chatelaine and items such as combs or weapons were personal items than placement on the funerary pyre with the remains would be seen, an item sent with it's own to the next world, but instead with a majority of cases these items are instead found in miniature interred with the remains in a urn. This indicated that the items are added after the cremations are completed and as a ritualistic or social component to the burial. Further, it can be noted that since cremations comprise a larger number of burials than inhumations, with inhumations possessing material culture indicating a higher status, the chatelaine had transitioned from a singular status-indicating item to an amuletic and ritualistic one.¹⁷⁵

Mnemonic

As shown in prior chapters, the chatelaine is almost exclusively found associated with burials during the 4th through to the 7th centuries. Through the use of Mnemonic theory it's presence can be examined, not just a tool or accessory to be left with the recently deceased but as a social and culture identity marker. The creation of memory through stories, shared belief, and custom are the corner stone of all cultures the world

¹⁷⁴ Squires 2014

¹⁷⁵ Figure 5

over. Memory shapes our responses and interactions with each other and the world around us, allowing us to navigate the world and our place in it. This framework allows us to examine the chatelaine and either its presence or absence in the archaeological record, for meaning beyond its use for grooming, status, gender, or identity presentation. As any of us is aware, we can create memories for each other through our interactions, be those interactions intended or not. Further those memories can change over time through reexamination or reinterpretation, within cultures this can be best seen in burial. Where the act of body disposition changes a person from a known quantity through to multiple statuses – from remains, to memory, to ancestor.

The rite of burial, be it cremation or any of the previously discussed variations of inhumation practices throughout the history of the Anglo-Saxon culture, was a group affair. As seen the construction of the rite; including material culture placed with the deceased, presentation, and finally disposition of the remains, a group of persons would be required. As discussed by Williams in his work *Death Warmed Up*:

“The disposal of the dead can be seen as a ‘technology of remembrance in which the dead have agency in affecting the constitution of their new identities and the manner of their remembrance. For instance, a corpse may be displayed to the living for a short time, impacting on their memory in a direct and powerful way. Soon after, the corpse may be hidden from view within coffin and then buried beneath a tombstone. Yet the body’s presence (or presumed presence) continues to assert a mnemonic agency on the interaction of the living via the objects and places that it is

associated with, even through, or perhaps through either the experience of the corpse or its avoidance, the materiality and transformation of the dead body can provide a focus around which memories and identities are constituted”¹⁷⁶

The creation of such memories would have been a strong sensory experience, having visual, auditory, and olfactory components – all of which current research link to strong memory creation. Adding the pageantry and ritual connections, the creation of such a rite would have had a long lasting effect on all participants.¹⁷⁷ The use of the chatelaine would possibly have been seen in both cremations and inhumations, in the treatment of the deceased’s hair or symbolic “cleaning” of the remains, the artifact’s main purpose being grooming and body maintenance, it has been put forth by Williams:

“Toilet implements and combs were both associated with hair management during rituals of mourning and commemoration. These items mediated the parallel transformations of mourners, cadaver, and the soul of the deceased during the cremation and burial of the ashes”¹⁷⁸

The importance of the hair and grooming of the deceased would have been paramount to those present at such rites. Not only for a simply “we want them to look their best” as we do in current burial rituals in Western Society, but further as a divider of

¹⁷⁶ Williams 2004

¹⁷⁷ Williams 2004, Williams 2015, & Nugent 2012

¹⁷⁸ Williams 2015

status – living to dead. As previously discussed in the creation of a burial identity, the visual changes to the deceased would have had great importance as a transition from one status to next.

Creating an identity for the deceased is one the author would examine further, the notion that no matter the instructions or wishes left by the deceased for the disposition of their remains and burial, it is the community that creates the new identity of memory.

“Certain artifacts selected for incorporation in cremation burials were not intended primarily as citations of specific identities held in life or projected onto the dead but instead to facility the refashioning of memories through corporeal transformation”¹⁷⁹

One only has to look to results from a simple thought experiment preformed recently on social media, to see how this could be changed from ones personal identity: here representing both how one presents themselves, their beliefs, and gender presentation; to a communal personality: here seen as a role that the community requires filled. The historical re-enactment group RegiaAnglorum, undertook a experiment on social media during the years 2020 to 2021, asking it’s members and followers to submit pictures of themselves in the “kit”, or historical costume, displayed for burial. This experiment expanded to include modern costume and material culture, with persons sending in pictures of mock burials showing persons laying out in their preferred clothing

¹⁷⁹ Williams 2015

and items to take with them into “the next world”.¹⁸⁰ This was interesting not only in showing a variety of possible Anglo-Saxon burial examples of all parts with the culture and all gender representations but further was found to illustrate a very simple fact – you do not bury yourself. In the end, it is the community that will choose how your remains are finally displayed and remembered. It is not hard to imagine as times changed and transitions in culture were done in the Anglo-Saxon culture, from a Germanic group who would have seen nothing strange about women roles as spiritual experts within the community or carrying weapons, to a transition of roles more commonly seen Medieval Eras, such as wives and nuns.¹⁸¹ The presence of the chatelaine in burials after the Seventh century in mainly female gender presentation burials would be an example of this, the transition from male oriented items to a more balanced gender usage to a mainly feminine one, could be seen as a communal choice influenced by religion and cultural influence from the Continent. Using burial to alter the identity and memory of its members who do not conform to the accepted roles within the current culture.¹⁸²

A further possible explanation for the decreasing frequency of the finding chatelaine, could point to the creation of relics through the creation of ancestor memory. The placement of grave goods for a burial and then later removal as keepsakes or relics is found in multiple cultures, the keeping of a item that connects one to both the deceased and through them the spiritual world would match with cultural idea from the Migration ear and through to the Christian conversation in later centuries. This item acquisition could have been an accepted practice done during burial or by means of grave robbery, as

¹⁸⁰ RegiaAnglorum 2021

¹⁸¹ Lees 2009

¹⁸² Williams 2007

many burials show signs of such an activity as seen in Mound 14 at Sutton Hoo Cemetery. These items would have passed from person to person within the community or family until either destroyed or reused in some other fashion.¹⁸³

Deviant Burial

The Deviant Burial theory proposes to examine the changes in Anglo-Saxon burials, with the overall view being that instances of individuals found with material culture and burial rites differing from the overall trends indicate outsiders from the culture and society. These outsiders are usually seen as alternative genders and sexualities, as well criminals and those who were thought connected to supernatural forces such as witches or shamans.¹⁸⁴ When examining the treatment of these outlier burials, one must acknowledge that while the burial may have been done to respect a person who served the society but was outside it, it also could be indications of appeasement.¹⁸⁵ Ritualized appeasement could have been done for varying reasons from fear of reprisal from the individual's spirit or the remains itself in the form of a Revenant or Draugr, to fear that the individual's life style would bring some form of divine or other worldly harm to the community.¹⁸⁶ It is with this view, that the chatelaine can be seen instead of a singular part of a mnemonic ritual to remember the departed and instead as items left to ritually

¹⁸³ Williams 2011

¹⁸⁴ Kaznakov 2013

¹⁸⁵ Scutlock 2016

¹⁸⁶ Kaznakov 2013

contain or cleanse those who were different. With the chatelaine's associations with cleaning oneself and hygiene, it would be feasible that it could also be used as an amuletic or ritualistic lock to contain the pollution of these "deviant" burials or even as a ritual cleansing to purge them of any perceived sin.

The social significance of "special" burials is hard to address, because, as we will see, we can find in these groups both burials with rich funerary attire and also funerals without any grave goods. The constant factor in their evaluation is the longevity of these burial practices and the "special" or "unusual" way of corpse deposition, which is often the prime mover in the decision to label the individuals buried inside them "deviant" or "criminals".¹⁸⁷

While, it can be stated that the chatelaine is not a common artifact and is limited in its overall recovery not only in that it is found primarily in the United Kingdom but to burials within that land, the limited nature of the artifact can be seen as a form of "deviant" burial. It can be stated that possible explanations for the limited recovery can be destruction of the toilet set either at the time of deposition through ritual "killing", soil and environmental wear, or through cremation pyre.¹⁸⁸ Further, a case can be made for relic association and generational passage through communities, with the toilet set being passed from the deceased to another individual possibly through familial lines. The lack of overall recovery leads to the possible placement of the toilet set as a component to

¹⁸⁷ Kaznakov 2013

¹⁸⁸ Tomaini 2018 & Williams 2004

“special” burials either as a mnemonic trigger for creating or possibly re-creating the deceased’s personal identity to a communally acknowledged ancestor. This contrasts somewhat with current religious ethos:

The fate of the Christian soul after death depends on moral conduct during the individual’s life. To simplify this, we can say that the “good Christians” go to Heaven, the “bad ones” to Hell. By contrast, the afterlife in other religions “...may be relatively lightly conceptualized and is often virtually an extension of the present life...” The free soul released from the body at the time of the death must be guided on the way to the afterlife, otherwise it may stay in the world of living, roam around astray and as a consequence of this begin to molest the living.

We can see, that although the afterlife is visualized as “an extension of the present life”, the journey into it is far more complicated and dangerous than in Christianity and this fact needs to be taken into account in the evaluation of these burial practices. The extraordinary character of “special graves” enables us to assume that the individual buried inside them were deemed as “special” too, in either a positive or a negative way, and different from the rest of the community; the way of their deposition represents the rituals performed to safeguard their journey into the afterlife.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Kaznakov 2013

If the chatelaine is an amuletic component of burial attire and with it's perceived associations with purity and pollution removal as a hygiene and beauty tool, it is possible the presence of such an item with these special burials could be associated with removal of a purported stain about the deceased. Contrary wise, the presence of the toilet set could also be a "ticket" or "passport" past some afterlife corruption that the soul or spirit must bypass through it's journey. This may be linked with the chatelaine's use as a status indicator, a "get out of jail free card" for the afterlife allowing those who possess it to pass through dangerous or sickness related spiritual regions.

Temporal

The final theoretical prospective that will be discussed within this paper will be an overall analysis of the chatelaine use history within the United Kingdom. In essence the theory is a combination of the previously discussed theory into an overall working method of analysis of the chatelaine usage over time. By using all prior theoretical perspectives temporal analysis can be used to construct a working model of use for the chatelaine within the United Kingdom and individual regions.

As noted in prior sections, the chatelaine began as a social status symbol with the La Tene, reserved for higher status personages of a male gender identity. In essence, making the chatelaine an outward projection of placement in the culture and society with connections to hygiene and outward appearance. This usage was then adopted by the invading Romans and expanded through specialized tool usage as high status artisans and

professions, such as doctors gained access to the artifact and added the tools of their perspective trades to the already existing toilet sets. During the Roman occupation the toilet set changes from a male only tool set to a gender neutral status, with the item being found with both Noble, Military, and Specialist classes with the overall cultural paradigm.¹⁹⁰ Additionally during this era of use we see the introduction of clear regional differentiation as local production and ethnic variance is added but further expanded during the Migration era with the introduction of the soon to be formed Anglo-Saxons. Following this the chatelaine appears to transition to an amuletic and ritual purpose while appearing to keep its overall connections to status, hygiene, and beauty. This status is then found to fade with the introduction of Christianity in the Seventh and Eightieth centuries, where it is supplanted with a more gendered purpose of tool use by female gender identities. The toilet set would continue in this societal usage throughout the invasion and occupation of the Danelaw and the Norman conquest of 1066 BCE when a new cultural, societal, and gender pattern was forcibly introduced.¹⁹¹ It should be noted that overall the now gendered tool status of the chatelaine was kept from the existing Anglo-Saxon and continued to the Eighteenth century when the tool is finally faded to overall obscurity and eventual discard from use.

By examining the overall use history of the chatelaine, coupled with the construction of a data set, it is possible that this artifact can be examined not just in the singular theoretical frameworks discussed in prior sections of this paper but in a larger perspective. Examining not just the individual item that might be uncovered in a singular burial but its associations and interactions with the overall cultural landscape through

¹⁹⁰ Figure 3

¹⁹¹ Figure 5

time. This merging of perspectives would allow for toilet sets to be viewed in combination with other artifacts and paradigms, allowing for a “complete” view of its place within history.¹⁹²

Conclusion

Over the course of this paper, the chatelaine has been examined using multiple archaeological theoretical analysis to examine it’s usage, gendered status or lack there of, and it’s overall placement in the Anglo-Saxon cultural and English history. With this examination, it is hoped that a greater understanding of this item and its place within archaeology and history as an indicator of gender can be seen, as well as usage for gender assignment by current researchers be reexamined.

By using multiple prospective such as acknowledgement of regional usage and design, social status indications, mnemonic creation, and gender; one can see that the chatelaine has not just filled multiple roles with the Anglo-Saxon culture but changed in purpose over its use history. Simply put, such an artifact has received little overall study; with luminaries as Howard Williams and Nina Crummy proposing the creation of a data set would allow for such research.¹⁹³ Such a data set could be used to examine for trends, such as noted in this paper of the use history of the chatelaine for such qualities as:

¹⁹² Green 2018

¹⁹³ Crummy 2003 & Williams 2007

- **Materials/Design** – allowing for material changes over time from the La Tene and Romans to the Migration Era and Middle Anglo-Saxon Era usage of bronze. With the particular metals being examined for regional isotopic signatures, which would indicate their origin allowing for an examination of local procurement verses trade procurement.
- **Region** – allowing for overall mapping of regional design coupled with burial type and associated material culture. This would enable the chatelaine to be viewed not just in it's place as status symbol and ritual component but further to allow it's context to be examined within ethnic locality and differentially between other regions in the United Kingdom.
- **Placement** – location of recovery within overall archaeology site, such as was it located in a burial and if so where in the burial was it positioned. Was it placed on the left hip or on chest or neck indicating it's placed on the personage as part of the burial costume or by the head, feet, or other location within the burial indicating placement as a grave gift or offered indicating a mnemonic tool for creation of social identity. The notation of this would allow for an examination of both regional and overall usage by the culture within the context of gender and personhood.
- **Usage/Context** – allowing an examination of location of recovery and extrapolation of usage. I.E. if the chatelaine is recovered in grave goods or recovered with assemblages from a settlement.

The above are simply examples of the ways such a data set could be compiled and such information examined to create a better image of the chatelaine and it's overall usage over time from it's Iron Age creation to Roman adoption to Anglo-Saxon usage and final disposition of a fading tool set in the Eighteenth Century. Such information would allow for not only a better understanding of this artifact but also allow for the chatelaine to be used as a more effective diagnostic tool when recovered. Currently, the location of toilet sets with burials is subjective to the preconceived beliefs of the recoverer, an example of this would Mound 14 at Sutton Hoo. Often called the Queen or the Dowager, this burial was disturbed twice, once by grave robbers in the Sixteenth Century and again more recently in the Eighteenth Century.¹⁹⁴ With no physical remains and little material culture recovered from the burial with most being either damaged or lost to thieves, one item that was recovered was a fractured part of a chatelaine leading to the burial being assigned a female gender persona. This has in turn lead to a story being created and accepted that this person was wife or female relative to one of the grander burials of the site such as the ship burials of Mound 1 or 2.¹⁹⁵ The lack of diagnostic data from the burial is not an unknown situation with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the United Kingdom and has lead in part to the research presented in this paper, all in the hopes that the chatelaine may be reassessed as an artifact with which gender can be assigned. With the creation of a data set and analysis, in the future such sites can be re-examined and interpreted within context and new site location or recoveries can be assessed using a set of analytics that might better allow for burial and assemblage investigation with clear and unbiased eyes.

¹⁹⁴ Carver 2017

¹⁹⁵ Carver 2017

Appendix



Figure 1: Map of Anglo-Saxon England, Middle to Late Anglo-Saxon Era

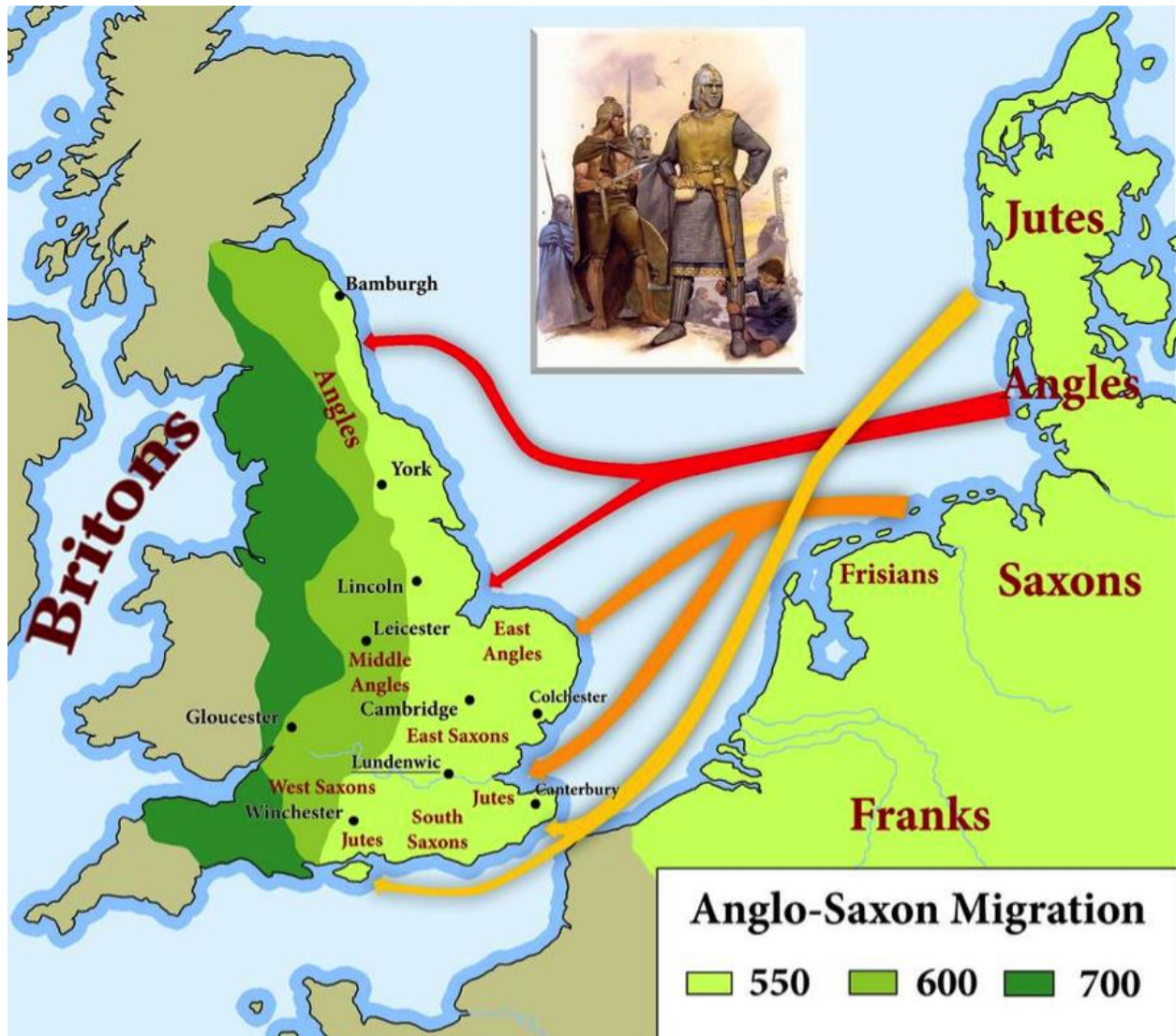


Figure 2: Migration of Germanic peoples to England during the Migration Era

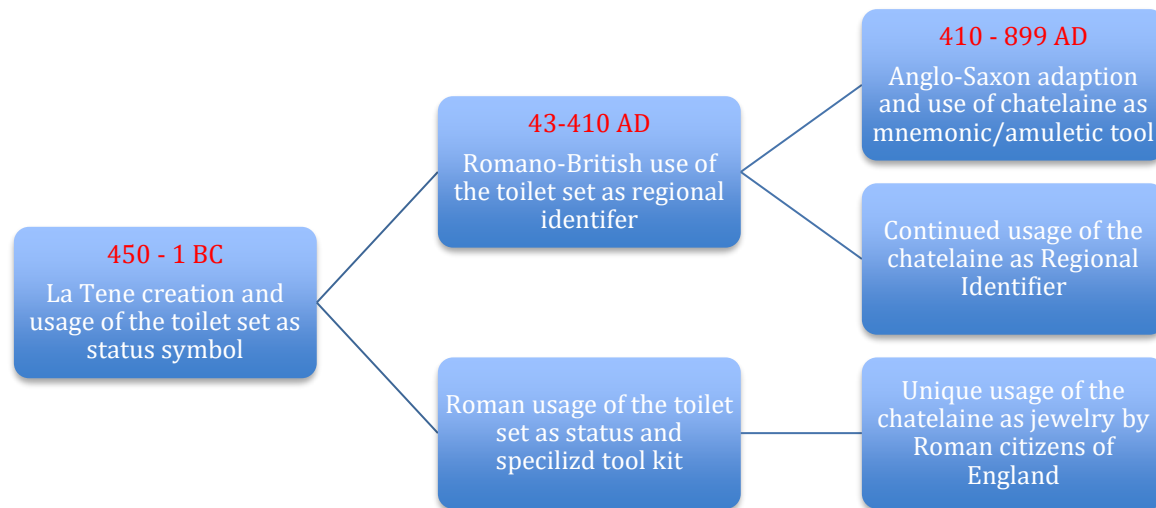


Figure 3: Timeline of Chatelaine use history

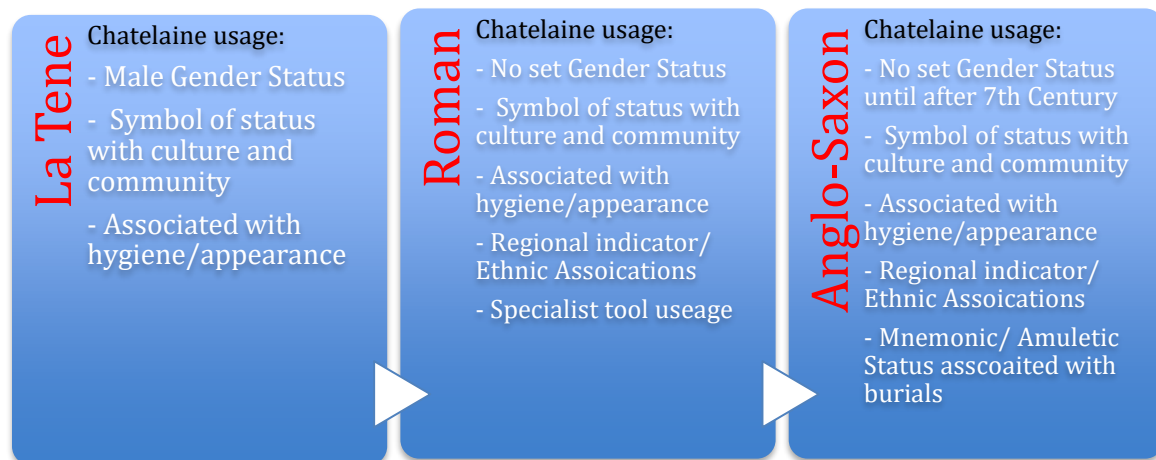


Figure 4: Chatelaine evolution of usage from La Tene to Anglo-Saxon cultures.

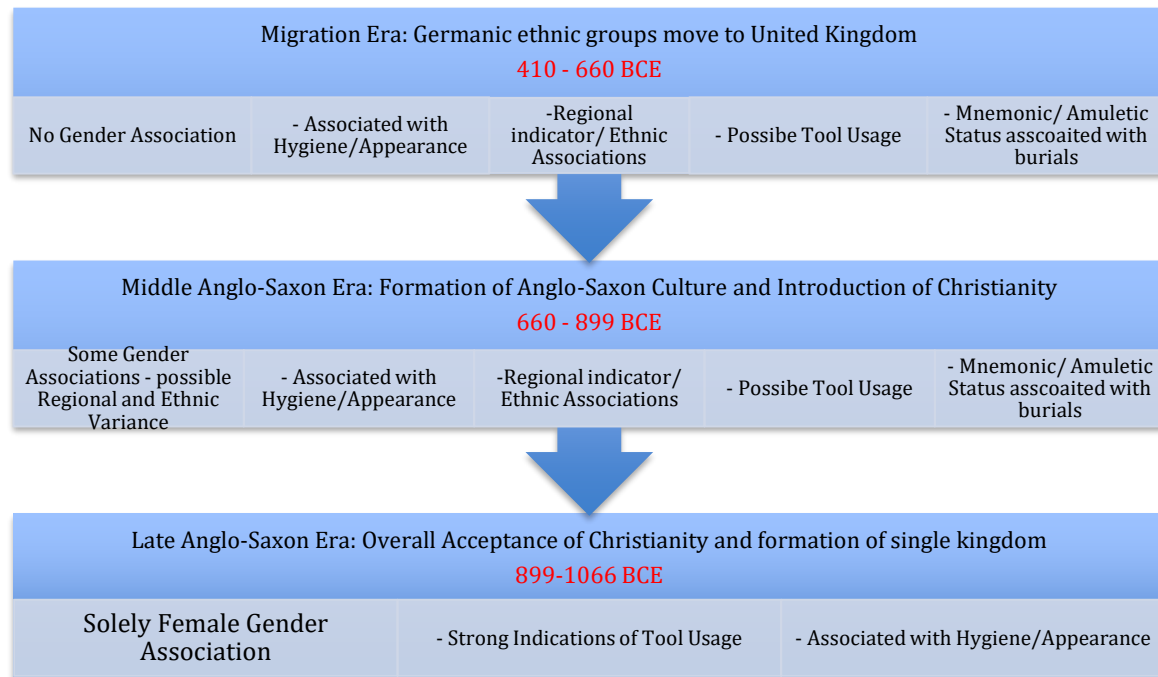


Figure 5: Chatelaine usage evolution within the Anglo-Saxon Culture

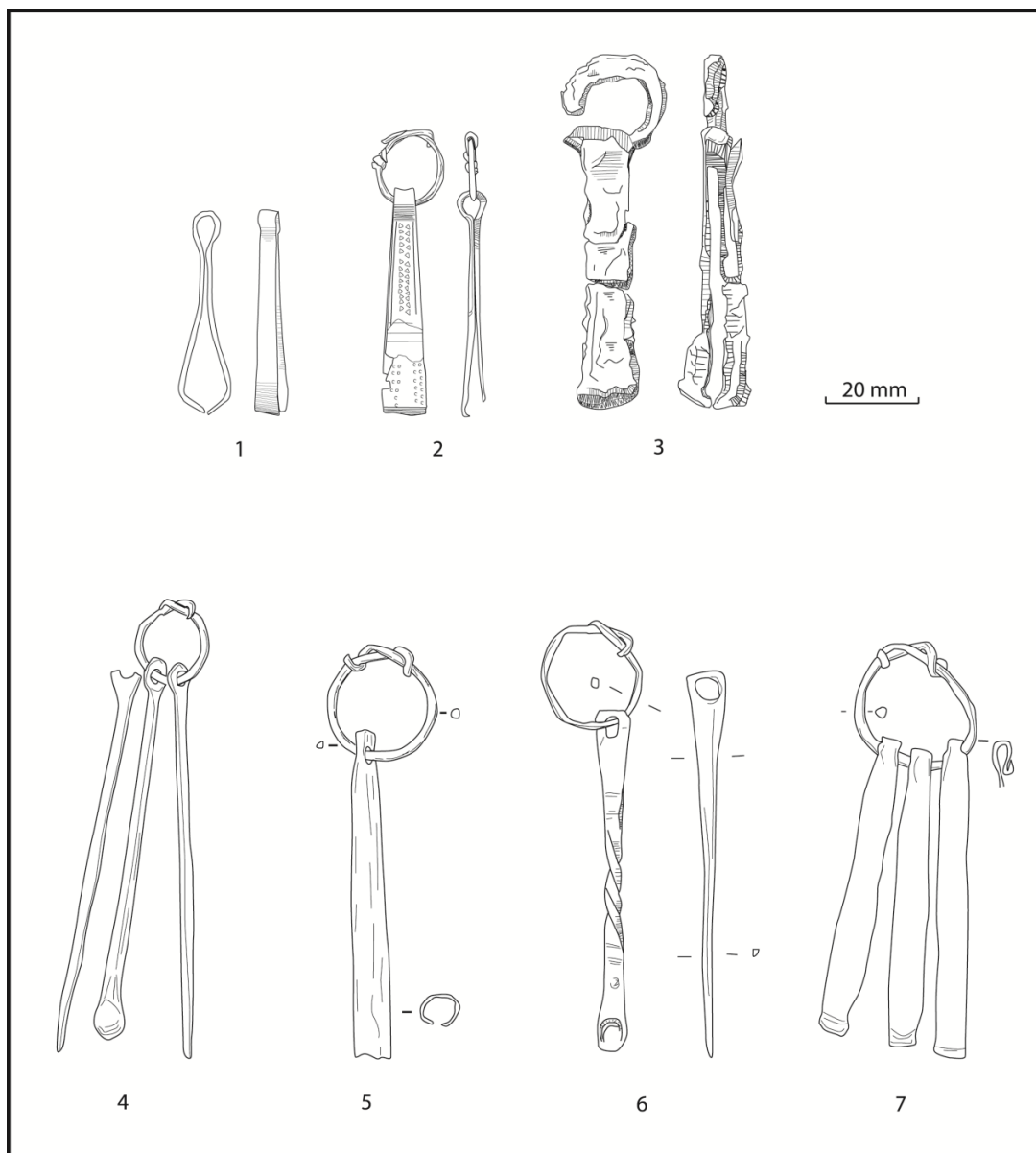


Figure 6: Chatelaine/Toilet set examples

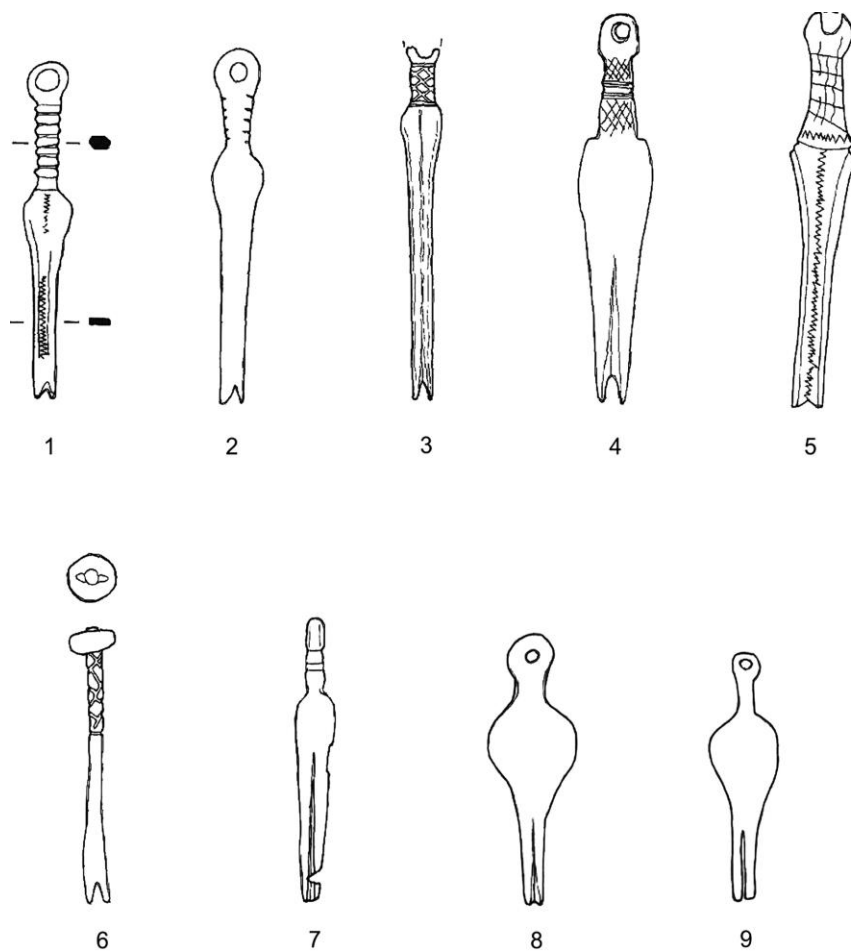


Figure 7: Nail-Cleaner types

- 1. Grooved Collar**
- 2. Baldock Variant 3**
- 3. Possible Baldock Variant 2**
- 4. Baldock Variant 2**
- 5. Baldock Variant 4**
- 6. Bone Disc**
- 7. Baldock Variant 2**
- 8. Baldock**
- 9. Baldock**

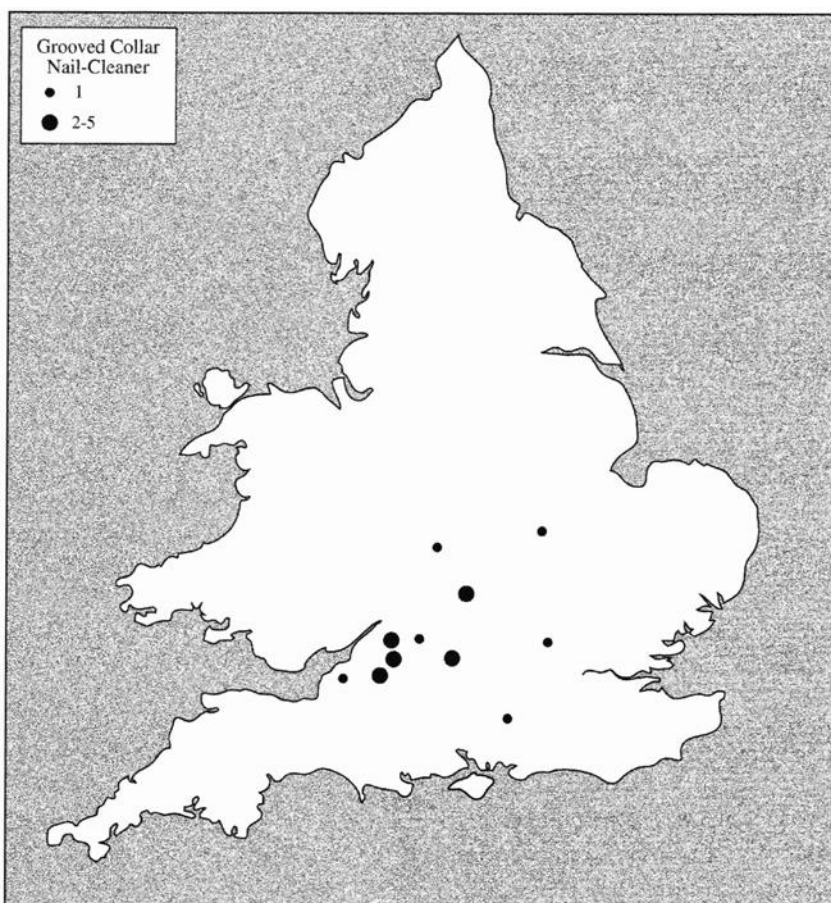


Figure 8: Grooved Collar Type nail-cleaners within the United Kingdom

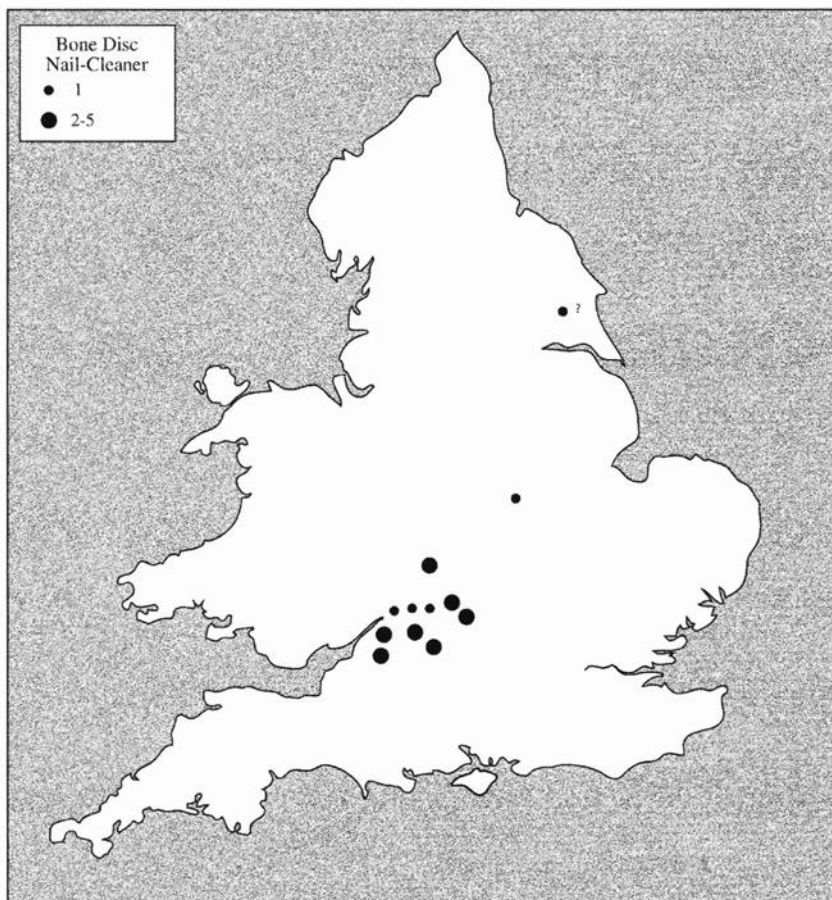


Figure 9: Bone Disc Type nail-cleaners within the United Kingdom

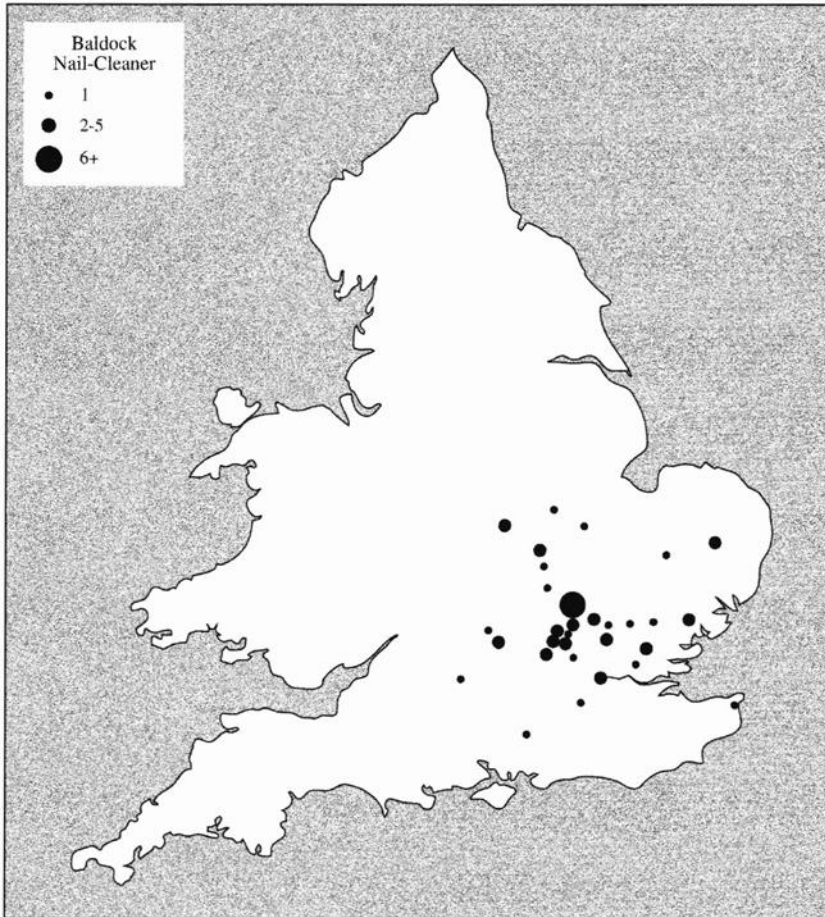
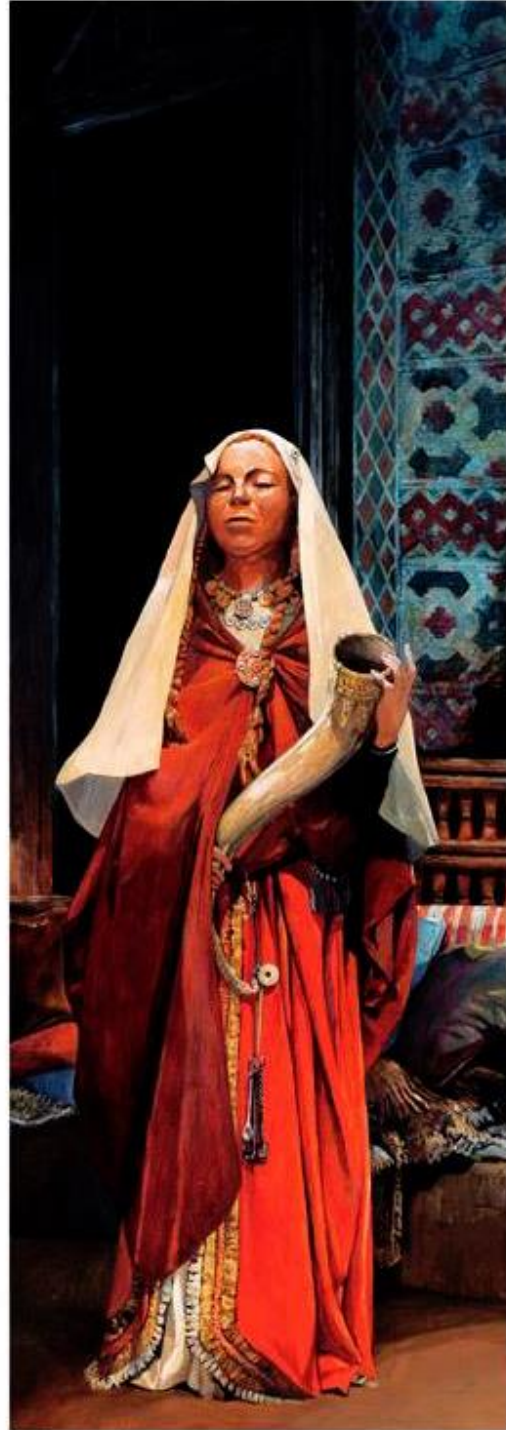


Figure 10: Baldock Type nail-cleaners within the United Kingdom



Figure 11: Chatelaine/Toilet set example



**Figure 12: Depiction of “King” and “Queen/Dowager”
that is on display at Sutton Hoo Musuem**

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