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Expressions of Power – Luxury textiles from early medieval northern Europe

Sonja Marzinzik

This paper focuses on luxury textiles from archaeological and non-archaeological contexts in north-western Europe. Select case studies of the 6th to 10th centuries AD, with reference to earlier and later examples, are used to introduce the contexts in which such textiles are found and to illustrate in what manner they accentuated the status of those in power.

The period under discussion saw fundamental change in the transition from Late Antiquity to a number of Germanic successor states of the Roman Empire and in the firm establishment of Christianity north of the Alps. These socio-political transformations found their reflection in material culture, including the availability and use of fine textiles.

***Figure 1**: The back of a radiate-headed brooch from Howletts, Kent, with excellently preserved remains of a diamond twill. Max. width of brooch 6.4cm; British Museum, reg. no. 1918,0711.2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

The climate of north-western Europe is not conducive to the preservation of textiles. For archaeological finds from the earlier part of the period under discussion, we mostly have small

scraps which survived in the vicinity of metal objects (Fig. 1). Two different mechanisms may have been in operation, either metal preservation, or metal replacement of fibres. Both result in the preservation of the structure of the textile, while the fibres themselves are gone, i.e. a pseudomorph of the original cloth is formed by the corrosion products of the metal objects.[1]

Alternatively, textiles may survive in water-logged, anaerobe conditions, as the complete garments from north European peat bogs[2] or the substantial fragments from Sutton Hoo in England or from south-west German graves indicate (cf. below). Textiles that survived in non-archaeological ways include those found inside of reliquaries.

The first example of early medieval luxury textiles comes from the grave church of the Merovingian kings at St. Denis, today part of the city of Paris, but in the early middle ages at some distance.[3] Archaeological excavations inside the church were carried out in the mid-20th century and among the large number of sarcophagi discovered, number 49 produced outstanding finds.[4] A monogrammed gold finger-ring identified the female buried inside as queen Arnegundis, thought to have died around AD580.[5] As befitted a person of rank, she was laid to rest in full attire.[6] Her jewellery included a pair of garnet-inlaid brooches, a long silver-gilt dress pin, a large, ornate, belt buckle and garter fittings.[7] The micro-climate inside the stone coffin and the protected conditions under the church floor had contributed to the preservation of textile remains from her garments, both corroded to some of the grave goods and in form of complete fragments.

Although the exact nature of Arnegundis's dress is under discussion,[8] it is safe to say that she wore a purple silk garment and another, reddish garment. Fine gold-tread embroidery adorned the cuffs of her sleeves.

Silk at this time was a very exclusive material, obtained from and via the Byzantine empire[9] and it may have travelled along the main trade routes along the Rhône and Meuse valleys, or from

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[1] Cf. Bender Jørgensen L., *North European Textiles until AD 1000* (Aarhus 1992), 13; Vanhaeke L. and Verhecken-Lammens C., "Textile Pseudomorphs from a Merovingian Burial Ground at Harmignies, Belgium", in *Northern Archaeological Textiles NESAT VII*, eds. Pritchard F. and Wild J.P., 22-28 (Oxford 2005), 23.

[2] A good textile summary in Sanden, W. van der, *Through nature to eternity: The bog bodies of northwest Europe* (Amsterdam 1996), 120-34.

[3] Périn P., "Paris, merowingische Metropole", in *Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas*, eds. Wieczorek A. *et al.* Catalogue Mannheim, Paris, Berlin, vol. 1, 121-128 (Mayence 1996), map Abb. 87.

[4] Fleury M. and France-Lanord A., *Les Trésors Mérovingiens de la basilique de Saint-Denis* (Woippy 1998); Périn P. and Calligaro T., "La tombe d'Arégonde: Nouvelles analyses en laboratoire du mobilier métallique et des restes organiques de la défunte du sarcophage 49 de la basilique de Saint-Denis", *Antiquités nationales* 37 (2005): 181-206.

[5] Périn and Calligaro, 184-186, 203-204.

[6] Marzinzik S., "Grave goods in Conversion Period and later burials - a case of early medieval religious double standards?", in *Double Standards in the Ancient and Mediaeval World*, ed. Pollmann K. Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaften, Beihefte 1 (Göttingen 2000), 149-166.

[7] Fleury and France-Lanord, 109-110; II-137 - II-140.

[8] Périn and Calligaro, 195.

[9] Cf. recently Jacoby D., "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 198-240.

the Adriatic over the Alps and along the Rhine.[10] Both red and purple were rare colours at the time, due to the dye stuffs not being readily available in Germanic territory.[11] Beyond their rarity, they might have held additional significance. Byzantine goods and fashions were popular with the Franks and their neighbours[12] and they will have been aware of the Mediterranean symbolism of purple as an imperial colour. The preciousness of gold thread is evident, even more so when considered that it was made from silk threads wrapped in narrow gold sheet strips and possibly imported from the Mediterranean as well.[13] Luxurious textiles where therefore an integral part of the whole ensemble, as much a statement in their own right as the gold, silver and semi-precious stones in the grave, even though we tend to focus on those latter, fully preserved objects today. Her costume would, however, have been an immediate proclamation of her rank and importance to anyone who saw her, either during her lifetime, or during the funeral proceedings.

The next case study is from Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, in eastern England. Numerous burials, both cremations and inhumations, spanning the 6th to 7th centuries have been found here,[14] but the most famous is the princely boat burial discovered under a large mound.[15] A 27-metre vessel with a grave chamber erected in its middle formed the last resting place of a powerful individual at some point at the end of the 6th or probably in the earlier 7th century.[16] Some of the grave goods from the burial, such as the helmet[17], the garnet-inlaid shoulder clasps, and the gold belt buckle[18] have now achieved iconic status. Although published in detail,[19] the textile remains from Mound 1 have received less attention, despite the fact that some of them survive – unusually – as complete fragments.

This is due to the deposition inside a ship, which prevented rain water from draining freely and therefore created a humid milieu. In addition, the large number of iron objects found in the burial chamber yielded mineral-preserved and –replaced textiles. Together, these made for the 'largest and most varied collection' of textile remains from any one Anglo-Saxon burial.[20] On the other

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[10] Henning J., "Handel, Verkehrswege und Beförderungsmittel im Merowingerreich" in *Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas*, eds. Wieczorek A. *et al.* Catalogue Mannheim, Paris, Berlin, vol. 2, 789-801 (Mayence 1996), esp. 794-796 and fig. Abb. 648.

[11] Biggam C.P., "Knowledge of whelk dyes and pigments in Anglo-Saxon England", *Anglo-Saxon England* 35, 23-55 (2006): 41; Walton Rogers P., *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England AD 450-700*. CBA Research Report 145 (York 2007), 63.

[12] Schulze M., "Einflüsse byzantinischer Prunkgewänder auf die fränkische Frauentracht". *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 6 (1976):149-161; James E., *The Franks*. Peoples of Europe series (Oxford, Cambridge MA 1988), 226

[13] Crowfoot E. and Hawkes S.C., "Early Anglo-Saxon gold braids", *Medieval Archaeology* 11, 42-86 (1967): 55f; Fleury and France-Lanord, fig. 35-39.

[14] Carver M., *Sutton Hoo: A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries 69 (London 2005). The 6th-century finds are currently undergoing analysis for publication.

[15] Bruce-Mitford R., *The Sutton Hoo Ship burial*, vols. 1-3 (London 1975-1983).

[16] Williams G., "The circulation and function of gold coinage in conversion-period England, c. AD 580-680", in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World c. AD 500-1250: essays in honour of Marion Archibald*, eds. Cook B.J. and Williams G. The northern world 19, 146-192 (Leiden, Boston 2006), 179f.

[17] Marzinzik S., *The Sutton Hoo Helmet*. British Museum Object in Focus series (London 2007).

[18] Marzinzik, S., "'De Cingulis' - Of belts and buckles in the early medieval period", *Saxon* 44 (2006): 1-2.

[19] Crowfoot E., "The textiles", in Bruce-Mitford R., *The Sutton Hoo Ship burial* vol. 3, (London 1983), 409-457, catalogue nos. SH 1 to SH 27, p. 457-462.

[20] Crowfoot, 411. This claim still holds today, cf. Walton Rogers, 237.

hand, emissions from the timbers which formed the ship and burial chamber had contaminated the textile fragments and interfered with dye analyses.[21]

It was possible to identify 27 different textiles in a wide variety of weaves and techniques. While some represented clothing, others belonged to furnishings, such has hangings, or accessories, such as remains of a binding tape wound around the upper part of the sword scabbard[22] to provide a better grip.

Two textiles shall be used to illustrate the range found in Sutton Hoo Mound 1.

***Figure 2**: The exceptionally fine Z-S diamond twill from Sutton Hoo Mound 1. Approximate width of detail shown 8.3cm; British Museum, reg. no. 1939,1010.176.o. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

The highest-quality twill from the burial and indeed to date from Anglo-Saxon England[23] is a four-shed, 2/2 broken diamond twill (Fig. 2). It was catalogued as SH 1 and is distinguished by the fineness of the cloth with a thread count of 35 to 38 in the weft and 20 to 26 in the warp. Moreover, the 'beautifully regular' weave and quality of the worsted cloth set it apart.[24] To achieve this level of quality, the wool had been prepared through prolonged combing, which aligns the fibres and allows for the production of a fine, lustrous yarn.[25] The competence of the weave leaves no doubt that this was not housework, but carried out by a professional.[26]

[21] Crowfoot, 414.
[22] SH 16. Crowfoot, 450 and fig. 320.
[23] Walton Rogers, 237.
[24] Crowfoot, 419.
[25] Crowfoot, 412.
[26] Crowfoot, 424.

Many of the textile remains did not belong to clothes, but were related to furnishings, demonstrating that the grave chamber, like a small number of other very rich early medieval burials, had been made comfortable and equipped in a way we imagine the deceased's surroundings were like in life.

Figure 3: *Detail of a linen fragment, which probably came from a pillow. Approximate height of detail shown 2.7cm. British Museum, reg. no. 1939,1010.187.a. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

For instance, undyed linen twill (SH 12; Fig. 3) found close to some down seems to have come from a pillow.[27] There was also an ornate, multi-coloured hanging or coverlet, SH 14, which had a pattern that was executed in a combination of soumak and tapestry technique[28].

At first glance, the cloths in the Sutton Hoo burial appear to come from a more home-grown Germanic textile tradition than the St. Denis finds. There are diverse wool and linen fabrics in tabby and twill weaves and tablet-woven braids, but no traces of gold thread or silk. The former would certainly have been recovered by the very careful excavations, whereas the latter survives well in similar conditions to wool; therefore, it is highly unlikely that either had been deposited at Sutton Hoo, but escaped notice.

Any impression of an exclusively native tradition is, however, deceptive, as red dye, made from imported dyer's madder, was used for one of the hangings or covers.[29] In addition, several, but not all, of the high-quality twill fabrics may not have been made in England, even though the

[27] Crowfoot, 422, 460.
[28] Crowfoot, 427-430, 460; Walton Rogers, 83.
[29] SH 5. Crowfoot, 458; Walton Rogers, 63, 235, 238.

weaving pattern was well known to the Anglo-Saxons.[30] Instead, they may have come from the Continent and in the case of SH 1 even the near East, while hanging or coverlet SH 14 mentioned above is likely to be Scandinavian.[31] The metalwork from this burial represents Frankish, Celtic, Mediterranean and Scandinavian influences and the textiles may equally reflect and express long-distance connections.
But there is also another luxurious aspect in the fineness of many of the textiles. It was observed that some of the fabrics were made from the fine-wooled sheep breeds introduced to England by the Romans and in the Anglo-Saxon period apparently restricted to high-status graves.[32] With some of the textiles, extra time had been spent on the preparation of the wool and they are of a complexity that suggests professional weavers rather than housework.[33] Like at St. Denis, the textiles in Sutton Hoo Mound 1 were therefore immediately recognisable as special in their fineness, lustre and intricacy, reflecting the power and influence of their owner. The inclusion of these sumptuous costume and furnishing fabrics was hence an act of conspicuous consumption just as much as the gold, weaponry and feasting equipment buried in the ship.

The third case study comes from the 6th to early 7th-century, Alamannic cemetery at Oberflacht, in south western Germany, where waterlogged conditions led to extraordinary preservation of organics. The individuals buried here did not belong to the very top tiers of society, but as finds of silk, gold thread, weaponry and intricate wooden grave furniture imply, some of them still had a certain, presumably aristocratic, status.[34]

Grave 62 contained a cross made from two stripes of an originally colourful, probably Byzantine, silk which were sewn together, hemmed and then applied to another textile, which had decomposed completely, perhaps a shroud.[35]

The silk pattern had been carefully chosen, so that the centre of the appliqué was taken up by a St. Andrews cross.[36] The preciousness of the textile cannot be overestimated and becomes especially clear when the usual material for such funerary cross appliqués, i.e. embossed sheet gold, is considered.[37] Clearly, the precious textile was seen as a fit medium to express the faith of the deceased in an aristocratic milieu.

This cross provides a link to the last complex to be discussed here, namely the sphere of Christianity, precious textiles and power negotiations.

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[30] Cf. Walton Rogers, 229.
[31] Crowfoot, 424, 442, 456; Walton Rogers, 83-85.
[32] Walton Rogers, 13f.
[33] Crowfoot, 412, 419, 423f.
[34] Schieck S., *Das Gräberfeld der Merowingerzeit bei Oberflacht*. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 41 (Stuttgart 1992).
[35] Hundt H.J., "Die Textilreste von Oberflacht" in: Schieck, Oberflacht, 105f, 119.
[36] Hundt, fig. Abb. 27.
[37] Knaut M., "Goldblattkreuze und andere Kreuzzeichen", in *Festschrift für Otto-Herman Frey*, ed. Dobiat C. Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 16 (Marburg 1994), 317-330.

In addition to archaeological textiles, large numbers of early fabrics were preserved above ground, in ecclesiastical contexts from across northern Europe.[38] Usually, these textiles present larger or smaller remains of patterned silks found inside reliquaries, but exceptionally, a full garment length, the so-called chemise of St. Bathildis, another Frankish queen, survived at the northern French monastery of Chelles.[39] Dated to the 7th century, its linen was finely embroidered with coloured silks. This front part of a shift or tunic[40] imitates Byzantino-Mediterranean fashions and illustrates their reception north of the Alps. A direct comparison can be drawn, for instance, to the mosaics in San Vitale, Ravenna, showing the empress Theodora and her ladies in colourful, layered garments, with gem-studded cuffs and collars or necklaces adorned with pearls and pendants.[41] The embroidered cross on the chemise is astonishingly close to objects such as the so-called cross of King Agilulf in Monza Kathedral, Italy,[42] or the Cross of Guarrazar from Spain.[43]

Returning to the textiles found in reliquaries, we know that they were a by-product of the cult of relics which was firmly established by the end of the 8th century. Whole bodies of saints and martyrs or fragments thereof were elevated from their resting places, such as the catacombs of Rome, translated to churches and there encased in precious receptacles the faithful subsequently flocked to.[44] Consequently, relics, both bodily ones, or venerable objects, such as fragments from the True Cross, became important components in the promotion of the new religion and their presence in a city might be the foundation of a major economic ascent, such as in the case of Cologne after the arrival of the Shrine of the Three Magi.[45]

While the sight of reliquaries made from precious metals and studded with pearls and gemstones is still familiar to us, their interiors had been forgotten by the late 18th and 19th centuries. Political upheavals and the secularisation movements sweeping Europe, in conjunction with a rising academic interest in the past, led to the opening of many a shrine.[46]

Inside, relics, whether bone fragments or, for instance, wood remains thought to stem from the holy cross, were discovered, often wrapped in silk textiles of Byzantine, near Eastern, central

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[38] Cf. Schieffer R., "Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen" in *799 - Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Beiträge zum Katalog*, eds. Stiegemann C. and Wemhoff M., 484-97 (Mayence 1999), map Abb. 1.
[39] Charamond C., "The Chasuble of Bathilde (France)", in *Rome and the Barbarians*. Catalogue Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Venice, Milan 2008), 438-439 and 629.
[40] Vierck H., "Das Ba(l)thildenhemd", in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* vol. 4, *s.v.* Chelles, II Archäologisches, §6, ed. Beck H. et *al.*, 425-430 (Berlin, New York, 2nd completely revised edition 1981), 425-7 and drawing Abb. 130.
[41] Pranzini V. and Mazza D. (eds.), *Immagine e messagio nei mosaici ravennati* (Ravenna 1995), colour plate F11.
[42] Dannheimer H., "Goldschmiedearbeiten aus dem Besitz der Königin Theodelinde", in *Die Bajuwaren*, Catalogue Rosenheim, Mattsee, 342-347 (Munich, Salzburg 1988), fig. Abb. 238.
[43] Bardiès-Fronty I., "The Cross of Guarrazar (Spain)", in *Rome and the Barbarians*. Catalogue Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Venice, Milan 2008), 368-369 and 625.
[44] Thunø E., *Image and Relic: Mediating the sacred in early medieval Rome*. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum 32 (Rome 2002) 13f.
[45] Williamson P.1986, "Introduction", in *The Medieval Treasury: The art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria & Albert Museum*, ed. Williamson P., 5-14 (London 1986), 5; Schieffer, 484, 490.
[46] Cf., e.g., Williamson, Introduction, 13; Husband T., "Dormant, then divided, dispersed and reunited", in *The Treasury of Basle Cathedral*, ed. Husband T. Catalogue Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York 2001), 126-134; Williamson P., "Like Phoenix from the Ashes: The survival of medieval and renaissance works of art", in *Medieval & Renaissance Treasures from the V&A,* eds. Williamson P. and Motture P., 4-13 (London 2007), 5.

Asian or Spanish provenance. More than 2000 fragments are known from the middle ages,[47] but determining the exact origin and date of these fabrics is frequently difficult[48] and dependent on analysis and interpretation of the motifs depicted, their iconography, the layout of patterns, the colours, dyes and techniques employed.[49]

While there are only few textiles displaying explicitly Christian imagery, such as the annunciation silk now in the Vatican,[50] many of the silks show fantastical, realistic or allegorical motifs, such as griffins[51] and senmurvs,[52] charioteers,[53] hunters,[54] all kinds of animals[55] or even clearly non-Christian representations. One of the silk textiles found inside the coffin of St. Cuthbert (d. AD 687) at Durham, northern England, is a point in case for the latter. The seated female figure shown has been identified as the Nature Goddess, an originally pagan deity of abundance.[56] This silk was added when the coffin was opened, very likely in the 940s, when King Edmund visited Durham and, according to a written source, placed, two 'Graecian robes' on the saint with his own hands.[57]

What was important was obviously the preciousness of the Byzantine textile, not so much what it depicted. It is likely that patterned silks were extremely rare not only because of their prohibitive cost, but also because at least some types belonged among the *kekolymena* (κεκωλυμένα), i.e. among the 'forbidden goods' which could not be freely exported. They might have gotten abroad by smuggling, as tributes or as diplomatic gifts,[58] but this shows how exceptional such finely made fabrics in lustrous colours must have been.

Consequently, these luxury silks preserved in reliquaries reflect the geography of power, intimately linked to the spread of Christianity and to ecclesiastical as well as worldly elites. The textiles epitomise the close interplay between the new religion and the negotiation of power

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[47] Muthesius A., "Silk and Saints: The Rider and Peacock Silks from the Relics of St. Cuthbert", in *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, eds. Bonner G., Rollason D. and Stancliffe C., 343-366 (Woodbridge 1989), 343.

[48] Brubaker L., "The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58, 175-195, 2004, 192f; Jacoby 212f.

[49] Paredis-Vroon M., "Textilien zur Zeit Karls des Großen", in *Ex Oriente, vol. 3: Aachen, Der Westen*, eds. Dreßen W. *et al.* Catalogue Aachen, 36-51 (Mayence 2003), 42-45; Brubaker, 191.

[50] Stiegemann C. and Wemhoff M., eds., *799 - Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, vols. 1 and 2. Catalogue Diözesanmuseum, Paderborn (Mayence 1999), cat. no. IX.38a.

[51] Williamson, Introduction, 85 and colour plate 4.

[52] Williamson, Phoenix, fig. 6.

[53] Stiegemann and Wemhoff, Catalogue, cat. no. II.17; Paredis-Vroon, fig. p. 38-39 bottom.

[54] Paredis-Vroon, fig. p. 38 top.

[55] Stiegemann and Wemhoff, Catalogue, cat. nos IX.36 and .37; Paredis-Vroon figs. p. 39 top, 43 and 44.

[56] Flanagan J.F., "The Figured Silks" in *The relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. Battiscomb C.F., 484-525 (Oxford 1956), 505-13 and note 1.

[57] Higgins C., "Some new thoughts on the Nature Goddess Silk", in *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, eds. Bonner G., Rollason D. and Stancliffe C., 329-337 (Woodbridge 1989), 336f; Granger-Taylor H., "The inscription on the Nature Goddess Silk", in *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, eds. Bonner G., Rollason D. and Stancliffe C., 339-341 (Woodbridge 1989), 341.

[58] Lopez, R.S., "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire", *Speculum* 20.1, 1-42 (1945): 15, 21f, 28; Granger-Taylor, 341; Muthesius, 366; cf. Weidemann M., Kulturgeschichte der Merowingerzeit nach den Werken Gregors von Tours. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Monographien 3 (Mayence 1982), 333.

through gifts of both relics and cloth. Both travelled from the long-Christianised East, South and West to the recently-converted North and were actively deployed to strengthen the new religion and enhance the prestige of its churches and monasteries.[59]

The importance of luxurious textiles is confirmed by early medieval written sources, as in the case cited above. Luxury goods, including textiles, were circulated through gift exchange, often in formal situations. Gregory of Tours, one major 6th-century author, for instance, reports that clothes were part of the dowry of a Frankish princes marrying into the Visigothic dynasty and on another occasion were exchanged as a sign of reconciliation between two estranged royal brothers.[60] Even direct gifts of silk from Byzantine emperors to Frankish kings are recorded.[61]

It is outside the scope of this paper to consider what may have travelled south in exchange for precious textiles which were traded, rather than gifted. Goods and raw materials, from fur or hides to honey and from hunting dogs to slaves are mentioned in early medieval written accounts as imports from the north and may well have featured.[62]

A number of threads cross-cutting regional and ethnic boundaries and thus unifying the early medieval North between the 5th and 8th centuries become visible: Luxury textiles both in form of elaborate costume and lavish furnishings were one device of conspicuous consumption and status display and also integral to the visual displays staged in burial. Elite identity found its material expression in the quality and fineness of cloths, their sometimes exotic provenance and the preciousness of gold thread and dye stuffs. But not just textiles found their way north, Mediterranean fashions were also copied and developed in the Germanic world. All this bears witness to extensive trade networks, but even more to interpersonal relationships.
Status in the early middle ages was intimately linked to familial and inter-personal relationships. Economic prowess generally went hand in hand with it. Textiles whose ownership required supreme connections and/or economic expenditure were therefore an overt visual expression of the powerful networks the wearer was part of and of the resources at his/her disposal or that of their kin group.

The careful analysis of often minute textile remains from northern European contexts, supplemented by examination of historical sources, underlines their importance both in form of clothing and accoutrements. Hence, textiles are not only a source of knowledge for early medieval social and economic relations but they are also markers of long-distance exchange between the North and the Mediterranean and even beyond.

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[59] Schieffer, *passim* and esp. 484.
[60] Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum VI.45 and III.24, quoted by Weidemann, 314 and 334.
[61] Brubacker, 191f.
[62] Summary and further references in Marzinzik S., *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles (late 5th to early 8th centuries A.D.): Their classification and context*. BAR British Series 357 (Oxford 2003), 82f.