

ANGLO-SAXON COSTUME:

A STUDY OF SECULAR, CIVILIAN

CLOTHING AND JEWELLERY FASHIONS

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Gale R. Owen  
1976

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PART THREE: REPRESENTATIONS IN ART

## A. INTRODUCTION: SOURCES AND ORGANIZATION

1. Illuminated manuscripts

The earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts, which are Gospel Books and a Bible from seventh-century Northumbria, offer no information about contemporary costume, since their ornamental repertoire consists of decorative patterns inherited from Irish Christian and pagan Anglo-Saxon traditions, and/or figures derived from Mediterranean models. The earliest illuminations which may possibly show contemporary clothing occur in eighth-century works: the Vespasian Psalter (BM MS Cotton Vespasian A1), a product of the Canterbury School, and the Book of Kells (Codex Cenannensis) a Gospel Book possibly produced in Pictland, under Northumbrian and Irish influence.<sup>1</sup> The potential evidence in the former lies not in the well-known full-page miniature of King David and his musicians, which is the product of iconographical traditions, but in a historiated initial depicting David and Jonathan. The figures in the initial have no known source<sup>2</sup> and their costume may therefore have been influenced from life. Similarly, evidence from Kells depends not on the elaborate miniatures, but on figures in minor decorations, including an initial.

These early examples are isolated cases, however. Much more evidence is to be derived from the many manuscripts illuminated in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Artists of this period continued to depict Christ and the Evangelists in sub-classical, draped garments; observers and minor characters in the same scenes were, however, sometimes depicted in different costumes. For example, in BM MS Cotton Titus Dxxvii (fol. 65v),<sup>3</sup> a representation of the crucifixion includes the Virgin and John



wearing traditional draped garments, while above, Sol and Luna appear in short tunics. Such "non-classical" costumes may reflect the fashions of contemporary seculars. There is a clear distinction between the Mediterranean drapes worn by some male figures and the presumably medieval costumes worn by others. The distinction is less clear in relation to women's costume, where the position is complicated by the fact that many depictions of women represent the Virgin and other characters who appear in biblical narrative. The Virgin, and sometimes others, may have been clothed traditionally.

The costume portrayed in any Anglo-Saxon drawing, even if "non-classical", must be treated with reservation since it may not necessarily represent contemporary English fashion; the iconography of some illustrations showing such figures may be traced to older continental models. For example, BM MS Harley 603, which is lavishly illustrated and provides some representations of garments unique among English drawings (Plates XIII-XVIII) is a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, which itself probably derived from a Greek original through a Latin intermediary.<sup>4</sup> Similarly the English illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius, (Plates XIX-XXI), which contain many drawings of costumed figures, derive from a continental antecedent.<sup>5</sup> The style of English artists of this period was strongly influenced by continental work, chiefly by Carolingian art and the School of Rheims.<sup>6</sup> Even the less formal figures in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts betray this influence in their stylized posture and swirling clothing.

Despite these reservations, however, the modern student is justified in drawing conclusions about Anglo-Saxon clothing from some of the illustrated figures. Dodwell<sup>7</sup> has shown that the artist who illustrated Ælfric's version of the Old Testament



(BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv; Plates XXII-XXV) probably did not derive his drawings from a model, but created directly from the text. Dodwell suggested that the tools and other equipment seen in use in these pictures are types which were in use in Anglo-Saxon times. It is likely therefore, that the artist depicted characters in the costume of his own day. The clothing illustrated in this manuscript is similar to the "non-classical" costume in English versions of continental manuscripts, such as Harley 603.

Manuscript illuminators of the late Saxon period were not so restricted to biblical subjects as their predecessors had been. There survive from the later centuries several representations of English kings, commemorating ceremonial occasions (Plates XXVI-XXVIII). The royal figures wear garments unlike Mediterranean drapery, and their appearance contrasts with that of contemporary ecclesiastics. Calendars<sup>8</sup> (Plates XXIX, XXX) contain illustrations of the occupations appropriate for the various months of the year, where figures are dressed in costumes basically similar to those shown in MS Claudius Biv. The details of their clothing (footwear, cloak, tunic) vary according to their activity..

The artists of the Harley 603 Psalter, the Prudentius manuscripts, Claudius Biv and the Calendars were concerned to illustrate the subject matter of their texts, producing lively scenes containing active medieval figures, contrasting with the formal portraits to be found in the contemporary, or near-contemporary Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (BM MS Additional 49598). The manuscripts which are copies of continental originals show, at least, the general features of medieval costume in Western Europe, while Claudius Biv makes it possible to specifically

distinguish details of English costume in the late Saxon period.

Thus, illustrations survive in sufficient quantity and with enough clarity to make possible some deductions about women's costume at this time. It is possible to establish with a greater degree of certainty the garments commonly worn by men, as well as to observe what may have been some less common variations in the clothing of both sexes.

## 2. The Bayeux Tapestry

The Bayeux Tapestry is probably the best-known secular testament to Anglo-Saxon art.<sup>9</sup> In it may be found a fusion of the talents of the English artist with those of the Anglo-Saxon needlewoman, the latter prefigured in the skilful weaving of the pagan period, proved in the Cuthbert embroideries, and later to become internationally famous.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the designer of the Cuthbert embroideries, the artist of the Tapestry seems to have presented his figures in the attitudes and costumes of everyday life, more comparable with the Claudius Biv and Calendar illustrations than with the Benedictional.

The Tapestry depicts the events preceding and culminating in the Norman Conquest. It shows men of various ranks engaged in a wide range of activities, enabling the modern student to contrast the appearance of the Saxon with the Norman as they were seen by contemporaries. Though worked after 1066, the Tapestry has been included in the present study because it reflects the artistic techniques of the years preceding the Norman Conquest, and because it portrays Anglo-Saxons at the time of their defeat when that event was within living memory.



### 3. Sculptures

Most Anglo-Saxon sculpture can, for convenience, be divided into three groups: eighth- to ninth-century Northumbrian, and tenth- to eleventh-century Southern, which in general are artistically superior to the third group; and work of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries from Northern England, an area of Scandinavian culture at that time. (More precise dates are often difficult to establish.) Not all sculptures have figure carving, and not all carved figures are relevant for the present purpose. The earliest Northumbrian sculptures are ornamented with abstract insular motifs and figures derived from Mediterranean models. They therefore offer no evidence of contemporary Anglo-Saxon costume. Many of the figures on later Southern carvings are also foreign-derived. Evidence therefore is to be drawn mostly from artistically inferior works of the Viking Age.

There survive a small number of detailed figure sculptures which may depict native secular costume, all unique in some detail (Plate XXXVII, Figs. 15, 16); and many crudely executed carvings which may depict contemporary costumes, but which mostly lack detail.

Since many of the surviving Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Viking figure sculptures represent biblical subjects the influence of continental iconography is inevitable. Moreover, the Viking settlement resulted in the incorporation of Scandinavian mythology into the repertoire of the Anglian sculptor. The degree of freedom allowed to the sculptor in portraying such subjects is uncertain. There existed some iconographical tradition in the presentation of heathen figures in Scandinavian art<sup>11</sup> but there is little evidence that this extended to sculpture carried out in England, or, specifically, to the clothing on that sculpture



Sculpture offers little evidence of women's costume, but provides a number of examples which confirm and add to the information on male costume derived from the manuscripts. Since many of the works are northern, any variations from the costume depicted in drawings may reflect regional fashions; in particular, the costume of the Scandinavian settlers may be represented.

#### 4. Ivories

Craftsmen in the Christian Saxon period applied their talents to the decoration of many articles associated with religion, such as elaborate coverings for holy books and containers for relics, and to personal objects such as seals. Ivory was a popular medium for such works, and a small number of ivory carvings of this kind may provide evidence of costume.<sup>12</sup>

The earliest example, and, for the present purpose, the most important, is the Franks Casket,<sup>13</sup> (Plates XL, XLI), a whalebone object identifiable by its runic inscription as Northumbrian work of the eighth century. The Casket is carved with scenes from biblical narrative, Roman history and Northern mythology, themes presumably derived from a universal history. No exact model has been found, and since the figures in the scenes are not dressed in sub-classical, draped garments, and the clothing of the men bears some resemblance to that of secular figures in later art, it seems likely that the artist intended to depict contemporary costume. The Casket is so much earlier than the manuscripts under consideration that the unusual features of the costume on the Casket could reflect earlier fashions. Furthermore, the peculiarities of costume in eighth-century Northumbria were commented upon by a contemporary (Part Four, B, 5, p. 538, below). The costume on the Casket could reflect regional variation.

Most other surviving ivories attributed to the Saxon period belong to the last centuries of that era, and like other art, reflect foreign iconography. A small number of them may, however, depict costume as worn in England, and are therefore considered below.

## 5. Metalwork

Human figures appear only rarely on the metalwork of the pagan and conversion periods, and most are irrelevant for the present purpose since they are either armed, naked or so stylized as to reveal no costume. One possible exception is a gold pendant found in Grave 56 at Riseley, K, which was probably made in Kent, although iconographically it reflects Scandinavian influence.<sup>14</sup> Another is a bronze object found close to tumuli at Breach Downs, K,<sup>15</sup> which, it was suggested above (Part Two, XIII, 14, pp. 139-40), might have been a textile implement. A human head probably once formed the head of a pin, which was sheathed in a human torso.

During the Christian period the art of the metalworker reflected some of the stylistic influences to be found in other media. The Fuller Brooch, one of several surviving ninth-century brooches<sup>16</sup> (discussed in Part Two, C, 2, pp. 409-11, above), is the only one of the corpus to be decorated with human figures (Plate XII). The figures, which are arranged in the form of a quincunx surrounded by a border of roundels, represent the five Senses. The stylized depiction of the figures corresponds in some respects to earlier manuscript illuminations including the figures in the Vespasian Psalter (which have not here been considered reflections of English fashion). Yet no model has been found for the conception of the Senses as they appear on



the Brooch and one feature of the costume worn by the figures is not paralleled elsewhere. This could reflect contemporary clothing and must be considered.

A figure similar in some respects to those on the Brooch appears as one of a number of motifs engraved in silver as ornament to the pommel of a sword from Abingdon, Bek.<sup>17</sup> The ornament is ninth- or early-tenth-century.

A clothed human figure also appears on the Alfred Jewel<sup>18</sup> (Plate XLII). This object, associated by its inscription with King Alfred (who died in 899) is designed to hold a rod, and may have been an 'æstel', a pointer to aid reading. The object is gold. The figure upon it is enamelled, and, although several different suggestions have been made as to its identification, probably represents the Sense of Sight.

## 6. Organization

In the discussion which follows, manuscript illuminations and the Bayeux Tapestry have been considered together, since both give one-dimensional representations of figures and the evidence they offer is complementary. The manuscripts provide more evidence than other art. The conclusions presented in Section B are based upon an examination of all the drawings and paintings of human figures in manuscripts which have been considered Anglo-Saxon. The distinguishing features of medieval costume are chiefly to be deduced by comparison of figures in traditional drapery with others in different (presumably contemporary) costume. These conclusions, drawn from illuminations, are applied to other art, and in subsequent sections evidence from stone and ivory carvings and from metalwork partly confirms, and partly adds to, the evidence from manuscripts.



## B. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS AND THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

1. Female Costume

Almost all illustrations of women, whether or not they represent biblical characters, depict them in wimple-like hoods covering the head and neck, ankle-length garments beneath which are visible the close-fitting sleeves of inner garments, and shoes.

The distinctive head coverings of women clearly distinguish them from men in crowd scenes. Very few illustrations show women bare-headed. There are examples in the illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius, where personified Vices are represented by female figures. Avaritia, for example, depicted in BM MS Cotton Cleopatra Cviii (fol. 23v), has her head uncovered and her hair loose. Since the iconography of the Prudentius manuscripts is demonstrably derived from a continental model,<sup>1</sup> this may not be considered an example of an English fashion, but the association of loose, uncovered hair with a Vice suggests that such an appearance was undesirable in England and her continental neighbours in the early medieval period.

Laver stated that in the Anglo-Saxon period "young girls wore their hair long and loose over their shoulders, with a band to keep it from being too unruly. In the privacy of their homes women of all classes wore their hair the same way".<sup>2</sup> There appears to be no English evidence to support either of these statements. Women, except the personified Vices mentioned above, are depicted with covered heads indoors and out. There appears to have been no distinction in the matter of costume between single and married women. Artists saw nothing ludicrous in depicting Virgo by means of a head-and-shoulders painting

of a woman wearing the usual hood, as in BM MSS Arundel 60 (fol. 5) and Cotton Tiberius Bv (fol. 7).

Laver considered the wimple type of hood to have been an innovation of the ninth century. "[Previously] the head was covered by a square veil of semi-transparent material... In the ninth century a new kind of veil was introduced. It consisted of a circle of material with a circular hole cut, not in the centre but about a third of the way across. The veil was draped over the head in such a way that the face and throat appeared through the hole."<sup>3</sup> Laver's description and reconstruction of the (later) veil accurately define the headdresses of late Anglo-Saxon illuminations, but there are no illustrations of appropriate date to confirm that this was a ninth-century innovation.

This type of headdress is worn by almost all the women depicted in Anglo-Saxon art, although the details and elaboration vary. Considerations of style may account for the differences between the loose hood with many folds which appears on some female figures (often biblical) and the closer-fitting version on others. The hood may reach to the shoulders (Plates XXI, XXIV, centre, XXV, XXVI, XXXI), sometimes hanging lower at the back than at the front; or, more rarely, it may combine the roles of cloak and hood, hanging to the knees, lifted by the raised arms. (Such a garment is worn by the Virgin as portrayed in BM MS Harley 2904, fol. 3v, though the colouring of the picture suggests that there may have been two separate garments.<sup>4</sup>) The hood is always sufficiently long to cover the shoulders of the garment beneath it.

Other ornaments may have been worn at the head in addition to the hood. Female figures representing the daughters of a



priest in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv wear headbands outside the hood, which pass across the forehead (Plate XXV). Though the paint is daubed the bands were clearly part of the original drawing. Alfgifu (Emma), wife of King Cnut, illustrated in BM MS Stowe 944 on the ceremonial occasion of the presentation of a cross to the New Minster at Winchester (Plate XXVI), wears a decorated band across her forehead, which is concealed at the side by her hood. It is possible that this article was a royal diadem, but it seems likely that it was an embroidered band, since two streamers, decorated and ending in tags, appear from under the hood at the back. These probably belong to the piece of material visible at the forehead. There is no parallel among English illustrations for the wearing of a band under the hood in this way, but as the queen was of Norman birth, and her husband Scandinavian, it is possible that her dress reflects foreign taste. It may be significant, however, that bands of similar width to that worn by Alfgifu are draped over the shoulders of the allegorical figures representing Pompa in the BM Prudentius MSS, Cotton Cleopatra Cviii (fol. 22v) and Additional 24199 (Plate XXI). It may be that the Prudentius artists adopted, as an indication of fleshly indulgence, a decoration which was actually worn by high-ranking ladies such as Alfgifu.

Women sometimes appear to wear another head covering under the hood, particularly when the latter is of the loose-fitting kind. Some of the women illustrated in BM MS Harley 603 appear to have projections under the front of their hoods, which suggest the wearing of head bands, caps or underhoods (Plate XV, centre bottom, Plate XVI). It is possible, however, that the projections are stylized depictions of hair. Enoch's child, pictured in his mother's arms in the Cædmon Manuscript (Bodleian Library MS Junius XI),<sup>5</sup> wears an enveloping hood, of the kind worn by women, from the front of which projects a fringe, clearly representing hair.



The foremost figure in a group of women addressed by Aldhelm in an illustrated version of his poems in Bodleian Library MS 577 (27645) (fol. lv), wears a scarf or veil under the hood. The two loose ends pass, together, from under the hood at the front, before separating and extending under the outstretched arms. The dancing figure of Luxuria in the BM MS Additional 24199 Prudentius (Plate XIX), wears a similar scarf without the outer hood. The scarf covers the head, before crossing on the breast, passing under the armpits and hanging forward over the arms.

A veil is held suspended over the head of Cnut's queen in the Stowe 944 illustration (Plate XXVI). The device provides a symmetrical balance with the crown suspended over the head of the king on the right of the picture, but need not carry equal symbolism. If the veil were worn over the hood and ornamental headband, the headdress of this queen would be the most elaborate illustrated.

A small figure drawn in the Paris Psalter, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds Latin 8824 (fol. 3) carries a scarf, and wears what appears to be a round hat. Wormald described both this figure and its companion in the illustration as male,<sup>6</sup> but although the figure on the left is bearded and wears a tunic, the right-hand figure (with the hat) wears a long gown and has no obvious beard. It is therefore probably female. The costume as it appears in the Paris Psalter is apparently unique, but it is possible that the scarf could have been worn wrapped round the hat, in a fashion paralleled in a Carolingian manuscript, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2687.<sup>7</sup> There, the Virgin Mary is depicted in a veil wrapped round the head and passing under the chin, covering a hat or cap which projects over the forehead. The projections appearing from under the hoods of women in BM MS Harley 603 (Plate XVI) may indicate similar caps.

An alternative form of head covering may be found in the hooded cloak worn by a female figure personifying the Moon in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (Plate XXXIII), a figure in Harley 603 (fol. 9) and by Superbia in BM MS Additional 24199 (Plate XK). In BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv a woman wears a hooded cloak which is rather different in that it is draped loosely over the head and not fastened or shaped in any way at the neck (Plate XKIV, left-hand figure).

The hooded cloak offers a combination of head covering and outer garment. In other representations the outer garment of women takes one of two forms. It may be ankle-length, with wide sleeves (which sometimes turn back into cuffs) reaching to the forearm, often revealing the longer, close-fitting sleeves of an inner garment (Plate XXVI). The alternative garment does not have fitted sleeves, but hangs from the shoulders to cover the arms, being raised when the hands are lifted, as they always are in illustrations. At least one longer garment is visible below this robe (Plate XVI, left-hand figure), and the tight inner sleeves are usually revealed at the wrist (Plate XXXI), where, unusually, the garment is worn over a wide-sleeved coat as well as an inner robe with tight sleeves.

The hood conceals the shoulders of both types of robe in illustrations, but it seems likely that the sleeved robe was tailored, like a coat, and that the draped garment was circular, or oval, with an aperture for the head, like a poncho or chasuble. The draping of the garment would depend on the position of the aperture. If it were central, the garment would hang equally, back and front; if it were not central, the garment might hang lower at the back, as it seems often to have done. (It is this

type of garment which artists seem occasionally to have amalgamated with the usual hood, depicting a garment which hung from the head to the knees, p. 468, above).

The sleeved outer garment and the draped are accompanied by similar hoods, shoes and inner sleeves. The marked dichotomy between imported, Eastern Mediterranean costume and medieval costume which can be found in pictures of men, is absent in depictions of women. The costume of Anglo-Saxon queens is very similar to that of the Virgin. Clearly the draped garment was widely exploited by biblical illustrators. The Virgin is mostly pictured in a garment of this form, so are some allegorical figures, such as Philosophy. Possibly this type of garment was worn by contemporary nuns, since St. Etheldreda is attired this way in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold.<sup>8</sup> Yet the draped garment might also be worn by Anglo-Saxon seculars, since it appears in Claudius Biv (fol. 9v, for example).

The sleeved outer garment was probably worn by Anglo-Saxon secular women, since Queen Edith, in the Tapestry<sup>9</sup> and Alfgifu in the Stowe manuscript (Plate XXVI) appear in it; but artists might also depict biblical characters in this costume, such as Eve in the Cædmon Manuscript<sup>10</sup> (Adam in the same manuscript wears medieval costume), and the Virgin in the Stowe manuscript (Plate XXVI).

Holy and allegorical figures, then, are more regularly portrayed in the draped, and seculars in the sleeved costume, but there is some overlap. Artists may have felt confusion over these alternative garments. There are several instances in which an artist has drawn a female figure with one arm covered by a wide sleeve, the other holding up material hanging from the shoulder -- an impossible hybrid. (For example the Virgin



in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.23, fol. 88v.<sup>11</sup> A possible example is the Prudentius illustration Plate XXI.)

The resemblance of the draped outer garment to the chasuble and to costume of Byzantine tradition suggests that it might have been introduced through Christianity. The poncho-shaped cloak is worn by Germanic men on Roman sculptures (Plate XI) but there is no known continuity between this and the similar garment worn by women in late Anglo-Saxon drawings. It is possible that the style was popularised by Christian art. It is uncertain whether such a garment formed part of the Anglo-Saxon woman's wardrobe, or whether the artists simply copied the costume from imported manuscripts.

The sleeve had been part of Germanic costume since before the migration to Britain. The garment of a female figure representing Germania capta on a Roman sculpture has close-fitting sleeves (Plate V) and pagan Anglo-Saxon women, at least in Anglian areas, wore sleeves, as demonstrated by the occurrence of wrist claps (Part Two, B, XXI, 1a, pp.367-8, above and Fig. 10). Although probably in neither case were the sleeves attached to the outer robe, these examples show that the technique of making sleeves was well-established in Germanic civilization. The sleeved robe of late Saxon art was probably a development of a native tradition.

In later medieval times the sleeves of women's garments were to become more elaborate. Outer sleeves in Anglo-Saxon illustrations are normally simple, but there is an exception in the long, hanging sleeves of one of the three women depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry.<sup>12</sup> Sleeves in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv are occasionally shown overlapping the arm. (Plate XXIV, centre. The woman depicted is a member of Jacob's family,

travelling.) Fairholt maintained that this was a winter fashion.<sup>13</sup>

Planché claimed that mittens formed part of the costume of women, citing an illustration in BM MS Harley 2908 (fol. 123v).<sup>14</sup> The probable continental origin of this manuscript (discussed in the Introduction, Part One, pp. 6-7) makes this unsuitable evidence for English costume, but since evidence of medieval gloves is to be considered below (Part Four, C, VII, 3, pp. 614-8), it should be noted that, although Planché's interpretation is understandable, examination of the manuscript suggests that the painter made an error, rather than that he intended to depict a single mitten.<sup>15</sup>

Women's inner garments are largely concealed by the hood and outer robe. Their clothing always extends to the ankles, so that if the outer robe is of the short, draped type, the inner gown is longer. There may be an additional garment, reaching to the knee, worn between the outer robe and the inner, ankle-length gown (Plate XXXI). The close-fitting inner sleeves may be attached to the long robe or to a garment otherwise invisible. In painted manuscripts the inner sleeves are often coloured white, contrasting with the darker outer garment. They have a wrinkled or pleated appearance, like the sleeves of men, discussed below (p. 481). (The inner sleeves may be seen clearly in Plates XXI and XXVI.) Women's arms are usually concealed to the wrist. (Plate XXXIII shows a rare exception. This depicts a mythological figure.)

Women's clothing may have been decorated with embroidery. The bands at the wrists of the inner sleeves are often ornamented



with dots; more rarely, a wide sleeve may be decorated (Plate XXIV). The long gowns often have marked hems. Bands of decoration occur on some skirts, but it is not clear whether the artist's intent was to represent ornament on the costume, or merely to elaborate his drawing. There is, for example, an ornamented strip on the skirt of the Virgin in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.23 (fol. 88v)<sup>16</sup> at each thigh and at the hem.<sup>3</sup> Nevinson considered that a similar ornament on the garment of King Edward the Confessor in the Tapestry, marked the hem of a short outer tunic,<sup>17</sup> but since the band is not continuous either in this illustration or in the depictions of women, the theory cannot be proved.

The long skirts normally cover the legs, but a female figure representing the Vice Superbia in BM MS Additional 24199 (Plate XX) is shown barefoot, and enough leg is visible to reveal that garters are wound round and tied at the ankles. It is possible, therefore, that women wore close-fitting leg coverings which were bound to the leg, in addition to the layers of skirts. There are depictions of pre-Anglo-Saxon Germanic women apparently wearing trousers (Plate VIII)<sup>18</sup> but there is no evidence that this was ever a widespread fashion, or that it continued into Anglo-Saxon times.

Women wear the flat-soled, close-fitting ankle shoes which are also worn by men. They are usually painted black. (Plates XXIV, XXVI), and have<sup>a</sup> white or unpainted strip running down the front of the foot, marking the fastening or decorated area (visible on Plate XXXI, a line drawing where the body of the shoe has not been coloured). There are no variations on this style.

The jewellery which formed so characteristic a part of women's costume in the pagan period rarely appears in the illustrations of the late Saxon era, though Christian period archaeological finds and literary evidence imply that such objects were still treasured. If any brooches had been worn at the shoulder they would be concealed by the hood; but the outer garments of the illustrations are not normally such as to require brooches or pins as fasteners. The Prudentius illustrations offer exceptions to this (Plate XX) following the descriptions in the text. The brooch worn by Superbia in BM MS Additional 24199 is of the simple circular type which was current in late Anglo-Saxon England. The arrangement of the drapery suggests that the woman's gown was girdled, but there are no depictions of buckles, or of objects suspended from the girdle.

## 2. Male costume

The distinctive garment of the Anglo-Saxon man in secular life appears to have been the girdled tunic, usually worn short enough to reveal the knees. Such tunics are represented earliest in the Vespasian Psalter, not only in the Greek-derived David miniature,<sup>19</sup> but also worn by one of the figures in the David and Jonathan initial. (The other figure wears a longer garment.)<sup>20</sup> The tunic is the common garment in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv. (Plates XXII, XXIV), for the illustration of which the artist apparently drew upon contemporary material, and in many other late Anglo-Saxon illustrations (Plates XIII, XV, XVII, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV).

The girdle is sometimes not visible (Plates XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, centre and right, XXX, left, XXXII), being concealed by



pouching of the tunic, but the waisted shape of the garment suggests its presence, and in some representations a bulge at the side or back of the tunic may indicate the position of the girdle knot. In other illuminations, a loose girdle, not a rigid belt, worn low on the hips, is suggested, though painted the same colour as the tunic (Plate XXX, centre). In the Bayeux Tapestry, however, girdles are regularly indicated by the use of contrasting colours. No buckles or pendant girdle-ends are indicated in the Tapestry or the manuscripts. The ubiquitous knives of the pagan period are absent, and appendages of any kind are rare. An unusual example may be found in the figure of Ishmael in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv (fol. 36v) where an object appears to be tucked into the girdle.

Tunics are usually round-necked, and were probably tightened by means of a draw-string, as clearly indicated on a figure in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (Plate XXX, left). In other cases there is a small slit at the front of the head opening, and the neck and this slit are bordered by a band which forms a V-shape at the front (Plate XXX, centre). In two instances, BM MSS Arundel 155 (fol. 93) and Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXIV) Goliath is pictured in a tunic with this type of neckline, with the additional feature, not found elsewhere, of two strings, ending in tags, with which the front slit was laced or drawn together. A human figure among the illustrated "Wonders of the East" in BM MS Cotton Vespasian Axv (fol. 101),<sup>21</sup> wears an unusual square-necked tunic, to which a hood is apparently attached.

Tunics were full-skirted, as clearly indicated by an over-balancing figure in the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter, Vatican Library MS Regin. Lat. 12.<sup>22</sup> The skirt of the tunic cascades

in a circular swirl. Norris<sup>23</sup> claimed the full skirt to be a development of the tenth century, but secular costumes are represented so rarely in English manuscripts before this period that the statement is difficult to substantiate. Most tunics, from the Vespasian Psalter to the Bayeux Tapestry are depicted in stylized folds which indicate fullness in the skirt.

It appears that men engaged in manual labour, or other activities in which the skirt would be an encumbrance, either wore an alternative garment, like a loin cloth, or arranged the usual tunic in such a way as to leave the legs free and the thighs exposed at the sides. Men dressed in this way are almost always barefoot and barefoot men almost always wear this costume (Plates XVII, upper group, XXIX, centre). Some illustrations suggest that the tunic is slit at the sides. A figure in the November scene of the Cotton Julius Avi calendar wears a garment which is drawn with a double outline, suggesting that the front of the skirt is divided from the back, although in this case the thighs are not exposed (Plate XXIX, centre left). It is possible that these figures wear distinctive garments. It may be, however, that the apparently slit tunic or loin cloth is the result of the artist's misunderstanding or careless reproduction of a method of arranging the ordinary tunic; for in several instances the ordinary tunic-skirt has been caught up at the sides and fastened by the girdle, so that the thighs are exposed, and the skirt falls in a V-shape back and front. In a calendar in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv. (Plate XXX), a barefoot man sowing seed wears such a tunic, while his two companions wear the more usual tunic and shoes. Like a man similarly clad engaged in the same task, which represents the occupation for the month of March, in BM MS Cotton Julius Avi, he uses the



pouch formed by the front of the skirt to hold the seed which he sows. Men viewed from the rear in BM MS Harley 603 (Plates XIII, top left, XIV), wear tunics similarly arranged, which can be seen to cling round the buttocks and loop up to the girdle at the sides. A tunic arranged in this way is worn by a barefoot figure representing the letter L in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.23, in this case the skirt falling into a V at the front and a deeper V at the back.<sup>24</sup>

It is possible that the slit tunic and the tucked-up tunic were both undergarments, normally worn under the full-skirted tunic, and revealed when the outer tunic was removed for labour; but there is no direct evidence to confirm this. On the contrary, in the Tapestry, Harold and other Englishmen are depicted wading ashore barefoot, with tunics tucked up,<sup>25</sup> but they are never shown removing or replacing over-tunics. The tucking up of the tunic, therefore, appears to be a matter of convenience; the slit tunic may be a different garment, but could be artist's variation.

Strutt, citing the occupations of the months, assumed the slit tunic to be a "badge of slavery or servitude".<sup>26</sup> This is a plausible explanation, especially taken in conjunction with the fact that men who wear such tunics are without shoes, but it is weakened by: the recognition that the ordinary tunic could be tucked up during similar occupations; the fact that Harold, a man of rank, is depicted wearing his garment this way; and the fact that the garment of the biblical Joseph, known to be elaborate, is shown with slits in MS Claudius Biv (Plate XXII). Practicality, rather than status, appears to be the reason for this fashion.

Some tunics appear to have been decorated. Red dots ornament the neck and wrist bands of Goliath's costume in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXIV) and King Athelstan's in CCCC 183 (Plate XXVIII). The skirts of figures representing the constellation Gemini in BM MS Arundel 60 (fol. 4), are ornamented, and figures in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv wear tunics of more than one colour, the skirt either having a border, or an inner layer (Plate XXIV, right). The figure of Longinus in a crucifixion scene in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXV) has a decorated band round the hem of the tunic, which forms an inverted V-shape. (The costume of this figure is unusual in several respects, however, and may be an attempt to represent Roman military costume.) Some of the tunics in the Tapestry have hems or borders stitched in contrasting colours. Bodices do not usually contrast in colour with skirts, either in manuscripts or the Tapestry, though an unusual variation may be found in the costume of Harold, depicted in the Tapestry at the scene of his capture.<sup>27</sup> Nevinson described the costume as "a sort of green kilt with vertical pleats and a contrasting red jacket".<sup>28</sup> The Anglo-Saxons' conception of an elaborate tunic may be deduced from the depiction of Joseph's garment in Claudius Biv (Plate XXII). It is a wide-sleeved, V-necked, short garment, painted blue with a pattern of circles and apparently with slit sides. This garment is called 'tunece' in the text. (Lines 4 and 6 on the Plate. C.f. Part Four, C, III, 5, pp 574-5, below.)

Some tunics, such as the one worn by King Athelstan (who died in A.D. 925) as portrayed in CCCC MS 183, (Plate XXVIII) and the ones worn by men in the Tapestry, have smooth, close-



fitting sleeves, which extend to the wrist. Male figures in manuscripts more often, however, have sleeves which are marked from wrist to elbow in a series of parallel lines (running round the arm) usually terminating in a broader or more distinct band at the wrist (Plates XXII, XXIV, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV). The wrist band is sometimes ornamented with dots. (This type of sleeve is similar to the inner sleeve of women's costume.)

Both Strutt<sup>29</sup> and Planché,<sup>30</sup> in discussing such sleeves, cited the statement of William of Malmesbury that the English were accustomed to load their arms with bracelets.<sup>31</sup> Strutt concluded that the "appearance of borders" at the wrist represented bracelets; Planché considered, but rejected for most instances, the possibility that the parallel markings might indicate bracelets. (The identification is unlikely since the lines are regular, unornamented and not usually coloured to resemble metal.) Planché finally posited a single bracelet at the wrist to confine a sleeve which was longer than the arm and gathered into folds. Both Planché and Truman<sup>32</sup> suggested that the wrinkled appearance of the sleeves reflects the provision of extra material which could be rolled down to cover the hands in cold weather; but costume historians have disagreed about assigning the wrist-length sleeve to the outer or to an inner garment. Planché considered that the outer tunic was short-sleeved, and that the wrinkled sleeves were attached to an inner garment. Yarwood stated that the sleeves of the tunic were long.<sup>33</sup>

This question may be partially resolved by the fact that a number of male figures have a decorative band round the upper arm. This might be merely ornament, but it is more likely that the band marks the extent of the short sleeve of an outer tunic,

and that the wrinkled sleeve extending to the wrist belongs to another garment worn underneath the tunic. Such decorative bands or sleeve borders are found, for example, on the garment of King Edgar (who died in A.D. 975) as portrayed in BM MS Cotton Vespasian A viii (fol. 2v), King David in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.23.,<sup>34</sup> and a figure representing the constellation Orion in BM MS Harley 2506 (fol. 41).<sup>35</sup> One of the men stoning St. Stephen in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, BM MS Additional 49598 (fol. 17v) though lacking the decorative band, has close-fitting tunic sleeves which seem to reach only to the elbow, while the pleated sleeves which stretch from elbow to wrist appear to emerge from under the tunic sleeves, and to belong to an undergarment.

Enlart, considering Carolingian costume, believed that the exposure of the undergarment sleeve was an innovation of the second half of the ninth century.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that this was also true of English costume, but it is noticeable that the long, smooth sleeve also continued to be used in the tenth century in England, as attested by the Tapestry and the Athelstan picture (pp. 480-1, above).

The explanations by Planché and Truman of the wrinkled appearance of the inner sleeves are not entirely satisfactory, since these are never depicted on male figures in the extended state which the writers postulate. A more firmly based explanation may be found in the traces of pleated material which was found on the backs of Viking women's brooches at Birka, Sweden, and which was believed to have derived from blouses.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that a similar material was worn in England at about the same time, and that the wrinkling of the sleeves in manuscript illustrations represents, not loose material gathered up, but deliberate pleating.



The undergarment indicated by the sleeves was probably a form of shirt. Bands of contrasting colour at the necks of men in tunics pictured in the Tapestry were considered by Nevinson to be collars of shirts worn under tunics.<sup>38</sup> It is possible, though, that these colours mark the decorative neck band of the tunic, mentioned above (p.477). Illustrations rarely indicate undergarments at the hem of the tunic. A figure representing Perseus in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (Plate XXXII) provides a rare example. Undergarments are occasionally shown below ankle-length garments: there is for example a frill of white below the long robe of a king in BM MS Royal 13 Ai (fol. 1v).

Anglo-Saxon men might also wear long gowns, but these appear less frequently than short tunics. They seem to have been mostly confined to the upper classes, although a shepherd (?) in BM MS Cotton Julius Avi (fol. 5) appears in a long robe. (He does not handle the sheep.) Harold, in the Tapestry, appears in a long robe after he has been elevated to the position of king,<sup>39</sup> although earlier he wore a short tunic. Kings might wear the short garment as well as the long. Crowned figures appear in garments of both lengths in BM MS Harley 603. It is possible that the custom of wearing short garments on ceremonial occasions declined among English royalty by the end of the tenth century. Athelstan wears a short tunic in CCCC MS 183 (Plate XXVIII), as does Edgar in BM MS Cotton Vespasian Aviii (fol. 2v), but the latter king wears a long gown in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Aiii (Plate XXVII). Edward the Confessor (who reigned 1042-66), as portrayed in the Tapestry, like King Harold, wears long robes.<sup>40</sup> Cnut, however, (who reigned 1016-35,) is depicted in

a short tunic in BM MS Stowe 944 (Plate XXVI). This might mark the persistence of the short tunic, or might reflect the Scandinavian taste of the Viking king.

The long gown of King Edgar, in the Tiberius manuscript (Plate XXVII), is a long, patterned garment, with a decorated hem and a wide sash. It is short enough to reveal the feet, encased in shoes with decorated front strips, and the lower legs in either striped stockings or unusual garters. A long cloak, fastened by a round brooch at the centre of the chest, is worn over the gown.

King Edward's gown, in the Tapestry, is also surmounted by a centrally-fastened cloak, and is worn over close-fitting trousers or stockings and shoes. The gown itself has smooth, close-fitting sleeves, and a band of embroidery or other decoration on the skirt in the area of the left thigh. Nevinson, as stated above (p. 475), considered this to be part of a continuous band of embroidery marking the edge of a short upper tunic, the same colour as the ankle-length one worn below. The depiction of Harold at his coronation supports rather better Nevinson's view that the royal costume consisted of a short upper gown and an ankle-length one below it. Harold wears, on this occasion, a sleeved gown which extends to mid-calf, revealing an ankle-length robe of a different colour below. Like the other kings, Harold wears a centrally-fastened cloak over the long robes. Immediately after, Harold is portrayed without the short, outer gown, in a single, long gown, not quite reaching to the ankles.<sup>41</sup>

Cloaks accompany short tunics and long gowns. Unlike the cloak of earlier Mediterranean tradition, the Anglo-Saxon garment is not supported by the bent arm. It is rectangular, and varies

in size, although only long cloaks accompany long gowns. When associated with the short tunic, the cloak may be suspended in such a way as to be short at the front, but long enough at the back to reach the calf. Examples of this fashion include the cloaks of King Cnut in BM MS Stowe 944 (Plate XXVI), Orion in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (fol. 39)<sup>42</sup> and Harold, depicted several times before his coronation, in the Tapestry. In other cases the cloak might fall only to the level of the waist at the back, for example those worn by figures engaged in agricultural occupations in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv and the man stoning the martyr Stephen in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (fol. 17v). The latter uses the front of his cloak as a container for the stones he is about to throw. Often the cloak is the same length as the tunic (Plates XIX, XX, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII).

The cloak is usually fastened by a brooch at the right shoulder. The function of the brooch appears to have been to clasp together the two sides of the cloak, not to attach it to the garment worn below, as shown in an illustration in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (fol. 8). There, a cloak has been thrown off, over the head of the wearer (David, killing a lion). It falls, the two sides still clasped together, leaving a circular opening for the head. This function of the brooch is confirmed in CCCC MS 183 where there is an illustration of King Athelstan, with bowed head. His cloak is clasped high on the shoulder, while the neckband of his tunic is visible lower down the shoulder (Plate XXVIII).

When the cloak is fastened on the right, or more rarely, on the left shoulder, the loose material may be allowed to hang down at the front, covering the opposite arm, or it might be pushed back leaving the arm free. An illustration in BM MS



Cotton Tiberius Bv (fol. 7) shows a man working, or hunting, with the surplus material of his cloak turned back, its upper edge tucked into the neck of the tunic.

Centrally-fastened cloaks occur often in association with long gowns (Plates XXIII, XXVII), though with short tunics cloaks are more often fastened at one shoulder. A rare example of a centrally-clasped cloak worn over a short tunic may be found in the illustration of a man hawking, the occupation for the month of October, in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (fol. 7v). Cloaks fastened at the centre of the chest are usually arranged symmetrically, often being pushed back over the shoulders.

Brooches fastening the cloaks are usually represented by a circle with a dot in the middle, though elaborate variations and different shapes do occur, usually associated with persons in elaborate costume, such as kings. No shape, apart from the circular, appears consistently, and the shapes are unlike those of the pagan period.

There may have existed other methods of fastening the cloak. Longinus, in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXV), wears a round brooch transfixed by a long pin. In several instances, for example in OCCC MS 41, the cloak is caught up in a small loop which projects behind the brooch. Cnut, as pictured in BM MS Stowe 944 (Plate XXVI) has two ribbons or bands, finished with squarish tags, hanging from the cloak at the point it is fastened. A similar arrangement is worn by Duke William in the Tapestry.<sup>43</sup> A king in BM MS Harley 603 (fol. 56v) has, attached to the brooch, a trailing ornament.

Cloaks may have been embroidered, or decorated with braided bands. There is a band of ornament on the falling cloak in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (above, p. 485), and the blue cloak worn

by King Edgar in BM MS Cotton Vespasian A viii (pp. 482/483, above) is bordered with gold.

The manuscripts and Tapestry do not generally suggest that trousers were worn by the Anglo-Saxons without a covering tunic. Knee-breeches worn without an over-skirt may have been the fashion in eighth-century Northumbria, nearby Pictland or Ireland, for small figures dressed in them appear in the Book of Kells, but not elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon context. One Kells example occurs as the decoration of an initial letter. Hanging out of the initial is a pair of legs clad in dark blue knee-breeches, red and white striped stockings and pale shoes.<sup>44</sup>

Loose-fitting, knee-length trousers seem to be worn by some Normans in the Tapestry.<sup>45</sup> (The divided coats of mail worn during the Battle of Hastings are not included in the present discussion.) The loose-fitting trousers are not worn by the English except by Harold when on horseback during and after his visit to Normandy,<sup>46</sup> by one Englishman during the battle<sup>47</sup> and possibly by two other figures, one preparing the body of King Edward for burial,<sup>48</sup> the other gazing at a comet.<sup>49</sup> The thighs of the former are concealed by the corpse, and the other is seen in half-profile, so these examples are not unambiguous.

Fairholt<sup>50</sup> claimed that a horseman, drawn in BM MS Harley 603, wore long trousers, but, as in a similar case in the Tapestry,<sup>51</sup> the rider might equally well be wearing, and sitting on, a skirt.

In BM MS Harley 603 (Plate XVII bottom, left, XVIII), there is an unusual illustration revealing trousers being worn under a long garment, which would normally cover any undergarments. In this example, the skirts are raised, as the wearer, with two companions, prepares to undergo a foot-washing ceremony. The



other figures are bare-legged, but the third wears trousers which extend to the ankles, the feet being bare. All three wear cowled garments, and might possibly be men in holy orders. (The relevance of this part of the illustration to the Psalm is not obvious.) The illustration proves the existence of long under-trousers, however, which might have been worn by seculars.

The presence of trousers, or long stockings, under the short tunic, is suggested by the fact that in the Tapestry and the painted manuscripts the legs of male figures are often coloured, and coloured differently from the bare hands and faces (Plate XXVIII). Yet the leg coverings must have been very close-fitting as the limbs retain their natural shape. They are not so loose as the leg coverings worn by the cowled figures in the Harley manuscript (above) nor the characteristic German trousers as they appear on Roman sculptures (Plates IX-XI). The leg coverings meet the shoe at the ankle. It is possible that they extended to cover the foot.

Many male figures in manuscripts wear gartering on the lower legs, possibly to support close-fitting leg coverings which are not often indicated in any other way, but also probably as a garment in their own right.

Cross-gartering, although part of the modern popular conception of early English costume, rarely appears in illustrations of the Saxon period. The few occurrences may reflect iconographical tradition rather than current fashion, since cross-gartering most often appears on representations of the biblical King David, or characters associated with him. (For example, David in CCC MS 391;<sup>52</sup> David and Saul in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (fols. 8v, 9v, 30v); Goliath in BM MS Arundel 155 (fol. 93).)



The garters are more often represented by a series of parallel lines, with a diagonal band at the top, either crossing the horizontal bands or lying further up the leg. This type of gartering appears in the costume of men of all ranks. It is worn, for example, by agricultural workers in the calendar in BM MS Julius Avi (Plate XXIX), and by King Edgar as he appears in BM MS Cotton Vespasian Aviii.

A figure representing the constellation Perseus in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Bv (Plate XXII) wears garters decorated with a line of dots along the diagonal band. A figure in BM MS Harley 603 (fol. 72v) wears garters of which the top two strands cross. King Edgar, in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Aiii (if not wearing striped stockings) may wear leg coverings which are wound round the leg without overlapping, so that the leg is visible between the strips (Plate XXVII). The fastening of garters is rarely shown. There is an example in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (fol. 24v), where the foremost of the three kings wears garters fastened in an elaborate knot, the ends of which dangle and are finished off with squarish tags. Tradition may, however, have dictated a more-than-usually exotic costume for these characters.<sup>53</sup>

The wrappings which covered the leg, may, in some cases, have been extended to cover the foot. A seated figure in BM MS Harley 603 (fol. lv) appears without shoes, but his feet, revealed below the hem of a long garment, are bound by parallel strips.

The similarity of the technique by which the arm and leg coverings are usually represented -- both executed in a series of parallel horizontal lines -- led Truman to suppose that the leg coverings were "rather full, and wrinkled in much the same way as the sleeves, but on a lesser scale".<sup>54</sup> In some illustra-

tions the lower legs appear to be clad in loose, wrinkled socks, rather than in the commoner, separately wound strands. Many of the figures in the Cadmon Manuscript and BM MS Harley 603 wear leg coverings resembling loose socks, and there are examples in other manuscripts, such as the figure of Orion in BM MS Harley 2506<sup>55</sup> and in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXV, right-hand figure). These leg coverings have a pronounced band, or turnover, at the top. Yet it is likely that this variation of leg covering is artistic stylization rather than evidence of a different garment. Socks fitting as loosely as these, without visible means of suspension, would not remain in position. The lines which mark the "wrinkles" of such "socks" are parallel, like those marking the strands of the garters. An unusual variation of the "wrinkled" leg covering, which could support the view that this was not a sock, is worn by Longinus in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Cvi (Plate XXXV, left-hand figure). There is, in this case, a gap between the shoe, which reaches to the ankle, and the baggy coverings worn round the calf. Decorated bands mark the upper and lower extremities of the leg covering.

Even though the above cases may be stylized representation of garters, rather than of socks, there is some evidence of the wearing of knee-socks. Smooth, close-fitting socks, reaching to just below the knee, and decorated at the top with a band, are worn by Cnut as portrayed in the Stowe illustration (Plate XXVI). Similar socks are worn in association with a tunic, by a figure in BM MS Cotton Cleopatra Cviii (fol. 13v).

Flat, black-painted ankle shoes, with a white front strip, are the usual footwear for men, as for women. Occasionally there are more elaborate shoes. The footwear of King David, for example,



is often ornamented; for instance in CCCC MS 391 (fol. 24v) the shoes are decorated at the side and toe, and appear associated with elaborate cross-gartering.<sup>56</sup> The shoes worn by David in the Vespasian Psalter are of ecclesiastical significance<sup>57</sup> and not representative of Anglo-Saxon fashion.

The long-toed shoes which were to become popular in the later medieval period are only rarely represented in Anglo-Saxon drawings. They are worn, for example, by the figures of Jubal and Cainan in the Cædmon Manuscript,<sup>58</sup> though long, slender feet are characteristic of this artist, and the shoes may not be realistic. In the same manuscript, Jubal's shoes have side seams as has one shoe of a king in BM MS Royal 13 A1 (fol. lv. .The other has a decorated front strip). This form of seaming corresponds to the ninth-century archaeological finds of shoes from York. (Part Two, D, 18, p.456, above.)

Ornamentation of shoes almost always takes the form of decoration of the front strip. King Edgar's shoes are elaborated in this way in BM MS Cotton Tiberius Aiii (Plate XXVII) and a similar ornament may be seen on the shoes of Gemini in BM MS Arundel 60 (fol. 4). It is uncertain how far this represents the practice of the day, for there is no independent evidence that the Anglo-Saxons decorated leather in this way. The artists may simply have filled the blank space on the shoe with decoration, in order to elaborate the costume. The upper edges of the shoes worn by King Cnut in the Stowe MS drawing (Plate XXVI), are marked by a series of dots which might be merely decorative, but could represent thonging.

Many men appear bare-headed, or, when armed, in helmets. Kings wear crowns, of various shapes, the King's retainers,



as they appear in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv (Plate XIII) pointed hats.

Men are depicted with short hair, and are more often clean-shaven than bearded. Beards, when worn, are sometimes forked. The Englishmen in the Tapestry are distinguished from the Normans by their moustaches.

### 3. Children's Costume

Children are rarely pictured except in illustration of biblical history. The Cædmon Manuscript depicts infants in long gowns and either in the type of hoods worn by women,<sup>59</sup> or bare-headed.<sup>60</sup> These children are pictured on their mothers' knees, and are presumably very young.

A child depicted in a scene showing a battle for souls in BM MS Stowe 944 (fols. 6v-7) wears a long, sleeved gown, but the infants Enoch and Isaac, illustrated in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv, (fols. 9, 35v,) wear short tunics. A child holding its mother's hand, in BM MS Harley 603, wears a short tunic (Plate XIII, bottom left).

### 4. Summary

Women of the late Anglo-Saxon period were dressed in a gown or gowns, one of which reached to the ankles, and one of which had tight, pleated sleeves. They wore shoes, and may have had leg-coverings, secured by garters, which were normally concealed. The tight-sleeved garment was always covered by an outer robe, either sleeveless or wide-sleeved. The shoulders of this were concealed by the wimple-like hood, which may sometimes have been worn over a scarf or cap, covering the long hair. The hooded cloak may have been an uncommon alternative to the usual

hood and outer robe, and the square veil a feature of royal ladies' costumes. Ornament appears to have consisted of embroidered bands at the wrist, hem or skirt of the garment, or as a rare luxury, pendant ribbons, rather than jewellery or girdle adjuncts.

The costume was clearly different from that of the pagan period. The similarity between the hood and outer garment worn by some secular women, and that worn by biblical, suggests that late Saxon women's costume may have been influenced by Christian art, or directly by fashions from southern Europe. (Alternatively, it is possible that some artists — monks, perhaps — were less free in their drawings of secular women's costume than of men's, and relied upon models of biblical origin.) The usual absence of jewellery from women's costume, though archaeology and literature suggest that it was still being manufactured, suggests some discrepancy between the costume of women in life and in art.

The distinction between medieval and biblical male costume in art is clearer. In the late Anglo-Saxon period men were mostly dressed in short, girdled tunics, with V-shaped or rounded necks. The tunic might be tucked up, or replaced by a garment with slit sides for physical activities. The tunic may have had long sleeves, or short sleeves which revealed the pleated, wrist-length sleeves of an undergarment. The two styles probably co-existed. Shoes were normally worn, and garters, wound in parallel strips which may have functioned as a garment in their own right, and/or covered close-fitting trousers, or stockings. Short socks were rarer. A cloak could be worn over the tunic. This might be arranged in various ways, but was usually clasped at the right shoulder by a circular brooch.

A long gown might be worn by men of high rank, a fashion which may have increased in popularity towards the end of the Christian Anglo-Saxon period. The gown was probably worn over trousers or garters, and was sometimes covered by a long cloak, often fastened at the centre of the chest.

It is possible that trousers could be worn without tunics, but this fashion is depicted rarely, once early and once late in the Christian Saxon period.

Men, who might be bearded, clean-shaven or moustached, sometimes wore tall caps on their short hair.

Infants were probably dressed like women, in long gowns and hoods, but older male children, like men, could wear either long or short garments.



## C. SCULPTURE

1. Female costume

Sculpture reveals very little about women's clothing. The evidence is from Viking Age, Northern carvings.

The figure of the Madonna on the fragment of a sculpture from Sutton-on-Derwent,<sup>1</sup> bears the remains of a row of tassels which may have ornamented the cloak. This feature is not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon art but may be descended from the tasselled cloak shown on some Germanic figures on Roman sculptures,<sup>2</sup> and the fringed garments suggested by some textile finds from the pagan Saxon period (Part 2, D, 11, p. 441, above.) The Sutton-on-Derwent sculpture has many peculiarities which make dating uncertain, but its style, identified by Collingwood as late Jellinge-early Ringerike, suggests that it is tenth-century.<sup>3</sup>

Carvings representing Sigyn, wife of the Northern god Loki on the tenth-century cross at Gosforth, Cumb, the woman in the crucifixion scene on the same cross<sup>4</sup> (Plate XXVI) and a female on a Viking Age hogback at Sockburn, Du,<sup>5</sup> resemble female figures on Scandinavian stones<sup>6</sup> and metal amulets.<sup>7</sup> All have long, unbelated, trailing gowns, and plaits of hair are evident on the Gosforth figures. The hair style is not confined to women, for it is shared by Loki. Heads with single plaits, or pairs of plaits, appear on two Viking Age hogbacks at Lowther, Cumb.<sup>8</sup>

A Viking Age cross shaft at Sockburn<sup>9</sup> shows a figure which is probably female, since it holds a horn from which another figure drinks, a scene from Norse mythology commonly found on Scandinavian sculptures.<sup>10</sup> The Sockburn figure has been described as wearing "a flowing cloak held on the left shoulder by a round

brooch", and the hair "appears to fit the head closely as though pulled back."<sup>11</sup> perhaps a full-face view of the plaited hair style.

The figure of the Virgin Mary on a probably tenth-century cross fragment from Kirkby Wharfe, Y,<sup>12</sup> wears a long gown with close-fitting sleeves, but the carving is crude and there are no visible details. There are figures in long gowns on other sculptures, for example, a gowned figure appears with one in a short tunic on a tenth-century stone from Stavely, Y,<sup>13</sup> but there is no indication of their sex, and no detail of clothing can be deduced from them.

## 2. Male costume

A small number of surviving sculptures, mostly ninth-century, depict male figures in tunics and other garments which are shown in some detail. These will be considered individually before a discussion of the evidence to be drawn from them, and from cruder, or less well-preserved, pieces.

A male figure sculpted on a stone slab at Codford St. Peter, Wilt. (Plate XXXVII), offers a rare example of possible native costume on a West Saxon carving. The sculpture has been called "completely English"<sup>14</sup> though the verdict is not unanimous and a Frankish model has been suggested.<sup>15</sup> The figure is ninth-century, although the exact date has been disputed.<sup>16</sup> The hair of the figure is bound with a fillet, and he is dressed in a knee-length tunic, cloak and shoes. A wide sleeve covers the upper arm, and tight-fitting folds cover the lower arm and wrist. It may be that the sleeves of the tunic are short and loose, and that the longer, tighter sleeves of a shirt protrude, but there is no clear demarcation line between the two, and the whole area



of the cloak and tunic is carved in similar folds, so one cannot be sure to what degree the effect is realistic and how much the product of the sculptor's style. The cloak, which is the same length as the tunic, is fastened in the middle of the chest by a T-shaped clasp, and appears to be confined at the waist by the girdle. This would be a convenient arrangement for a man engaged in physical activity, but it is not paralleled in the manuscripts where cloaks swing loose, outside the girdles. The shoes, cut low over the instep, but with projections up the backs of the heels, and possible side seams (shown on the outer side of the left shoe) may derive from a model or may be an "early type known to the carver".<sup>17</sup> It is clear that the figure is engaged in some activity, but the nature of this is disputed. Cramp considered him to be dancing.<sup>18</sup> He holds an object in his left hand, interpreted by Kendrick as a musical instrument,<sup>19</sup> and by Forbes (who thought the figure was engaged in cutting alders as part of a ceremony confirming fishing, trapping and cutting rights) as a knife.<sup>20</sup> A personal opinion is that the object resembles a mallet, and that the figure, who reaches up to the carved vegetation, could represent the sculptor. (A sculptor is depicted on an early Norman font at Bridekirk, Cumb.)<sup>21</sup>

The numerous folds carved into the Codford figure's costume also appear on the garments of a small, probably early-ninth-century, figure from Jarrow, Du. The figure stands amidst vine scroll, attacking a beast. He has been described as "a hunter"<sup>22</sup> and "of juvenile appearance".<sup>23</sup> A knee-length tunic, long pleated or wrinkled sleeves and a short cloak or cape are worn by the figure.



Several surviving sculptures bear figures of archers. These may reflect the Northern legends of Egil, or, as Raw has argued, may have some Christian significance.<sup>24</sup> The costume of an archer depicted at the base of a ninth-century cross shaft from Sheffield,<sup>25</sup> is clearly carved (Fig. 15). The figure wears a round-necked tunic which does not reach to the knees. The sleeve of this garment is close-fitting but smooth, flaring slightly at the wrist below a decorative band. The sleeve is unique, although a sleeve of similar shape is worn by an archer depicted on an ivory, (D, 2, p. 512, below). The legs of the Sheffield figure appear to be clad in tight-fitting trousers indicated by lines sculpted at the back of the knee and the calf. He may wear close-fitting shoes reaching to the ankle, and is bare-headed. The carving is mid-ninth-century.

Routh was able to describe the costume of another archer, placed in a corresponding position at the base of a cross shaft at Bradbourne, Db.<sup>26</sup> The garments included a conical cap, short "kirtle" and "breeches".

Two ninth-century figures from the church of St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, York, wear garments differing from those shown in manuscripts<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 16). The left-hand figure wears a girdled tunic which falls well below the knee. The second figure also wears a fairly long garment. It has been suggested that the figures wear the voluminous lay habit, shorter than the habit which superseded it in the late ninth century<sup>28</sup> (a substitution mentioned among literary evidence, Part 4, B, 4, p. 534, below). From the girdle of the left-hand figure, which Collingwood described as being "in three plies", a horn is suspended, and from the girdle of the right, a dagger. The left-

hand figure wears a hood secured by a round brooch at the right shoulder; the other, who has been interpreted as a falconer, has a "frilled or furred collar" similar to one worn by a falconer on the late-seventh- or eighth-century cross at Bewcastle, Cumb.<sup>29</sup> Collingwood considered that the second York figure was bareheaded.

Another variant on the tunic is worn by a figure on an eleventh-century (possibly post-conquest) sculpture from Ingleby, Db.<sup>30</sup> The carving was originally executed in detail, but is badly preserved. The figure may be engaged in fruit picking. He wears a tunic which appears to be tucked up at the front confirming the evidence of manuscript illustrations (B, 2, pp. 478 - 9, above) that the tunic could be tucked out of the way during physical activity. The figure wears a tall, conical hat, and according to Routh, has a satchel suspended from a girdle.

Many of the cruder sculptures depict figures in knee-length skirts, which probably correspond to the tunics usually worn by men in manuscript illuminations. In several cases the skirts are longer at the sides than in the middle, having curving hems, for example on the figures of Christ and Longinus on the cross at Gosforth, Cumb (Plate XXXVI),<sup>31</sup> armed figures on ninth- or tenth-century stones at Norbury, Db<sup>32</sup> and Alstonfield, St,<sup>33</sup> and possibly the central member of a group on a Southern sculpture at Burford, O.<sup>34</sup> This stylized representation may derive from the fullness of skirt which is represented in drawings and other carvings by bunching and folds. Many of the bunched tunics in drawings appear to hang lower at the sides than in the middle. Some of these sculpted skirts, for example, the Norbury carving, are patterned in horizontal and vertical lines dividing the area



into two panels, though as these are worn by armed figures they may represent protective clothing, perhaps divided mail skirts. Parallel lines are normally used to depict armour on Pictish sculpture.<sup>35</sup>

Several skirts of this concave shape, for example the Norbury and Alstonfield examples, and the skirts of three figures on a tenth-century carving from Gainford, Du.,<sup>36</sup> are depicted with a double outline. This may not be a realistic feature, perhaps resulting from the influence of the Jellinge Style, but it is possible that it reflects some variation of costume. Two variations as depicted in drawings might explain the double outline. There is a patterned border round the hem and up the sides of a tunic depicted in BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv. (Plate XXIV), but it is not an exact parallel as the tunic is straight-edged. Another possible parallel from the drawings is the type of tunic which is slit up the sides. The skirt of one such tunic in BM MS Cotton Julius Avi has a double outline (Plate XXIX, centre).

The concave shape and the double outlines (and also the panelling) may therefore be characteristics of the sculptors' style, but they may owe their origins to existing clothing.

There exist many examples of the straight-edged tunic, though on some fragmentary sculptures this may be represented by as little as the legs of a figure and the hem of a garment. One of two figures "picking grapes" on a late-eighth-century frieze at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Le,<sup>37</sup> wears a tunic. There are eighth- or ninth-century examples from Bakewell,<sup>38</sup> Bradbourne<sup>39</sup> and Hope, Db,<sup>40</sup> Late-eighth- or early-ninth-century figures illustrating Christian subjects on two crosses at Sandbach, Chesh,<sup>41</sup> wear tunics. There are tenth-century examples on fragments from the church at Bakewell, Db,<sup>42</sup> and on the Gosforth, Cumb, cross.

A horseman figure on the latter cross wears such a tunic with what may be a vertical slit at the neck.<sup>43</sup> A tenth-century fragment of Anglo-Viking sculpture from Otley, Y,<sup>44</sup> bears the remains of a skirt panelled in the same way as the concave skirts discussed above. A procession of warriors from an earlier, probably mid-ninth-century, grave slab at Lindisfarne, Nb,<sup>45</sup> possibly a commemoration of the Viking raid on the island in A.D. 793, appear to be dressed in tunics of which the skirts are marked in horizontal bands, although Brøndsted considered their costume to consist of "thick jerkins and narrow trousers."<sup>46</sup> These figures might of course represent Scandinavian Vikings rather than native men.

Christ and two soldiers portrayed in a late Saxon crucifixion scene from Daglingworth, Gl,<sup>47</sup> wear tunics of which the skirts are patterned with vertical markings, possibly indicating pleats. There is a vertical slit at the neck of the tunic as portrayed by this sculptor, and one of the soldiers wears a girdle, the end of which spreads out into a fan-shape. The indication of fullness in the skirt and the opening at the neck correspond to other evidence from drawings and carvings, but the detail of the girdle is unusual.

There survive a number of figures which, even allowing for the poor proportions of many of these carvings, appear to be wearing tunics longer than the norm. A figure in a "long, loose kirtle" accompanies another wearing a shorter tunic on a tenth-century stone from Stavely, Y.<sup>48</sup> The figure in the longer garment has a horn, and may represent a hunter. The longer garment may have been associated with the hunt, since a figure with a horn, accompanied by another figure with a hound, is dressed this way



on a tenth-century cross shaft from Ovingham, Nb,<sup>49</sup> and since one of the figures in such tunics from St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, York (p.498, above) also carries a horn (Fig. 16). The longer tunic may not have been exclusively worn for the hunt, however. A headless figure from the "smith scene" on a tenth-century sculpture from Halton, L,<sup>50</sup> wears a longish tunic with tight sleeves.

Other crudely-sculpted figures wear long, straight gowns, sometimes appearing in scenes where other figures are differently dressed. Some have been interpreted as male characters from biblical narrative, but it is uncertain whether the sculptors have been influenced by the long garments traditionally worn by figures such as Christ and the apostles, or by the long gowns of their own day, sometimes worn by high-ranking men in manuscript illustrations (B; 2, p.483). A pair of Viking Age figures on a stone from Bilton, Y,<sup>51</sup> provide an example: the figures, which have been interpreted as Abraham and Isaac, are differently clad, one in trousers or naked (discussed below), the other in a long, straight garment, clasped or ornamented by a long object at the centre of the chest. A similar garment, unadorned, is worn by a figure perhaps representing John the Baptist on a stone of similar date from Sherburn, Y.<sup>52</sup> Probably the most that may be deduced from these figures is that the sculptors intended to differentiate them by their costume, and that as the figures accompanying them probably wear contemporary clothing, these may also. (The St. Peter and Christ figures on the Daglingworth, Gl, sculptures wear long, straight gowns with vertical slits at the neck, and girdles fastened with ornamental knots.<sup>53</sup> Neither the shape of the garments nor the knot are typical of known Anglo-Saxon work, however. Although the figures

do not wear traditional Mediterranean drapery the nature of the characters suggests that the sculptor would not create freely. This together with the doubtful date of the sculptures, minimises their use as evidence of costume.)

A number of figures appear to be clad in belted garments which are noticeably short in the skirt and leave the upper part of the body naked. Possibly loin cloths are intended.<sup>54</sup> The activities of some of the figures dressed this way support this interpretation. Wrestling figures on a fragmentary stone of uncertain date from Monkwearmouth, Du,<sup>55</sup> and one figure in a wrestling scene on a Viking Age fragment from Lythe, Y,<sup>56</sup> wear this dress. Apparently bare-chested figures with skirts, but without belts, possibly representing Adam and Eve, appear on a fragment of similar date from Pickhill, Y,<sup>57</sup> (Collingwood's fragment d) and in association with a vine or tree on a late-ninth-century cross shaft at Urswick, La.<sup>58</sup>

Leg coverings are rarely distinguishable on sculptures. Two figures on a Southern carving of uncertain date at Barking, Ex,<sup>59</sup> possibly representing Peter and Paul, wear, below tunics and long cloaks, leg coverings resembling the wrappings often found in manuscript illustrations. A figure on the reverse of the same shaft may wear anklets, or other ornaments round the leg, which show below the hem of the long tunic. A crudely-carved angel on a Viking Age sculpture at Slaidburn, Y,<sup>60</sup> (Plate XXXVIII), wears boots, the uppers of which extend into flaps, projecting on either side of the ankle. Similar flaps depicted at the front and back of the foot, rather than at either side



appear on the ankle shoes or slippers on the Codford cross and the Abingdon sword (E, 1, p. 516, below) and on ecclesiastical figures on a Pictish slab at St. Vigean.<sup>61</sup>

It is sometimes possible to distinguish trousers below tunics as for example on the Sheffield (Fig. 15) and Bradbourne, Y, stones. (p. 498, above). Brøndsted assumed that trousers were worn by the figures on the Lindisfarne, Nb, stone (p. 501, above).

Where figures are without tunics, the lack of detail in the crude sculptures makes it impossible in many cases to distinguish between naked figures and trousered ones. Some unsophisticated figures do, however, appear to wear belts, and it is possible that a contemporary fashion of wearing belted trousers without a covering tunic was represented in this way.<sup>62</sup> Two tenth-century cross shafts from Middleton, Y,<sup>63</sup> depict Vikings (Plate XXXIX). Figures on both stones wear pointed caps or helmets, and each has a belt or girdle knotted at the left side to which a scramasax in a sheath is attached by a thong. The headgear suggests that the figures are clothed; the girdles may support trousers. Belts are worn by all the male figures on the Gosforth, Cumb, cross (Plate XXXVI) though one lacks a tunic. The central boss of a Viking Age cross shaft from Bilton, Y,<sup>64</sup> is surrounded by bearded figures without tunics, but with belts. On the shaft of the same cross are two figures, mentioned above (p. 502) interpreted as Abraham and Isaac. The left-hand figure (Abraham; he holds a knife) wears no tunic or gown, nor, in this case, is there a belt. A round ornament at the centre of the chest and an ornament on the top of the head, however, would suggest that the figure was intended to be clothed, perhaps in a shirt and trousers.

These examples of "trouserred" figures all derive from the area of Viking settlement. It cannot be proved that the Anglian population wore belted trousers without tunics, but it seems probable that the Vikings did so. Barbarians depicted on Roman sculptures are sometimes dressed this way (Plates X, XI) though the absence of the tunic may have been a sign of captivity, rather than regular custom. In view of the possible cases of trousers, already discussed, Anglo-Viking sculpted figures without tunics or gowns, may be interpreted as wearing close-fitting trousers, rather than being naked. Examples include one of the Viking Age wrestling figures from Lythe, Y,<sup>65</sup> two torturing (?), another, on a tenth-century sculpture from Winwick, La,<sup>66</sup> and the figure of St. John on a fragment from Kirkby Wharfe, Y.<sup>67</sup>

Few sculpted figures wear garments over the tunic. The Codford St. Peter figure (Plate XXXVII) wears a cloak which is both clasped by a pin of unusual shape, and secured by the girdle in an unparalleled manner. There are apparently no other depictions of cloaks.

A wide-sleeved overshirt is worn by a figure on a Viking Age fragment from Kirklevington, Y.<sup>68</sup> The garment has a front neck opening, and ends at the waist in a scalloped edge. A skirt shows beneath it. Collingwood considered that the sculpture was the portrait of a warrior, wearing a helmet and a coat of mail. Mailcoats with similar scalloped edging, but with short sleeves, are depicted in BM MSS Cotton Cleopatra Cviii (fol. 18v) and Harley 603 (fols. 13v, 56v), therefore the assumption that the sculpted garment is armour is justified. There are no depictions of such overshirts in peaceful circumstances. Lang, however, has called the costume on the Kirklevington stone "civi-



lian dress consisting of a broad sleeved smock and a conical cap".<sup>69</sup>

Headgear is occasionally shown. The Codford man (Plate XXXVII) wears a fillet, a feature normally associated, in manuscripts and sculptures, with religious subjects such as angels. Conical hats are worn by the Ingleby, Db, figure, and the archer from Bradbourne, Db, while several figures, including the Middleton, Y, Viking (Plate XXXIX) wear helmets or caps. Collingwood considered that a close-fitting cap was worn by a figure on a cross from Brailsford, Db,<sup>70</sup> which he considered a possible portrait. A (probably Anglian) figure from Warden, Nb, as drawn by Fyson,<sup>71</sup> wears a brimmed hat with trailing fastenings hanging from under the chin almost to the waist. The figure also wears a belted tunic with a band at the neck so is apparently male. The only parallel to this unusual headgear is possibly to be found in the round hat of the Paris Psalter (B, 1, p.470 , above).

Other unusual headgear includes the hood on one figure at York, and possibly the garment worn by the companion figure, of which the collar is observable (Fig. 16). A tenth-century figure from Nunburnholme,<sup>72</sup> identified as Viking by the shape of his helmet, also wears a wide collar or scarf at the neck.

Three sculpted figures, two at York and one at Ingleby, Db, carry objects attached to their belts. The objects are a knife, a horn and, apparently, a satchel. What appears to be a pouch appears at the waist of the girdled tunic of a man standing beside a cross from West Witton, Y.<sup>73</sup> (A similar oval pouch is worn by a warrior figure illustrated in BM MS Harley 2886, which Clinch<sup>74</sup> considered representative of Anglo-Saxon clothing,

although the date of the drawing is too doubtful for it to be included in the manuscript illuminations mentioned in the previous section of the present work.)

### 3. Summary

The crudeness of most of the sculptures under discussion, and their possible debt to inherited iconography limits the evidence to be derived from them; but certain points emerge. The tasselled cloak of the Sutton-on-Derwent Madonna, though unique in Christian Saxon art, may reflect a long-established Germanic fashion of decorating the garments. The trailing garment and plaited hair depicted on Scandinavian works appear on Viking Age sculptures in England.

The depictions of men confirm that the normal garb was the tunic, but suggest variations on this costume in the Viking North. The variations include the longer tunic found in ninth-century work, the full-length gown, the shorter tunic or loin cloth and in one possible case, a smock. Other representations suggest that Vikings, if not Anglians, wore trousers without tunics, a fashion attested in Roman sculptures of Germanic men, but not in Anglo-Saxon drawings.

The Codford sculpture shows an unusual way of wearing the cloak, the Codford and Slaidburn carvings, footwear. Sculptures depict various types of headdress, the conical cap attested from BM MS Cotton Claudius Biv. and less common styles. The articles carried at the belts of several male figures testify to a practice which is rarely shown in drawings. They confirm that the many objects found in the waist areas of pagan period skeletons had probably been attached to the belt, and that the custom of carrying objects this way continued in the Christian centuries.



## D. THE FRANKS CASKET AND OTHER IVORIES

1. Female costume

A group of three female figures, perhaps Valkyries, and an isolated female figure appear on the panel which originally formed the right side of the Franks Casket.<sup>1</sup> The figures of Princess Beaduhild and her female attendant appear on the front of the Casket in the panel depicting the legend of Wayland (Plate XL) and the head and shoulders of Egil's wife are visible inside the beseiged house on the Casket lid.

The group of three wear hooded cloaks over pleated or gathered skirts which are apparently longer than the skirts of male figures on the Casket. The women's skirts cover the knees but reveal the feet. The left-hand figure is angled so as to expose the straight bodice of the gown and a demarcation in the area of the waist, indicating a girdle. Two of the figures in this group are shown in profile, revealing that the hoods are pointed at the back. These two, though not the third, may wear bands across the foreheads, below the hoods. The hoods of the isolated figure and Egil's wife, also depicted in profile, are not pointed.

The females on the front of the Casket are positioned full face. Their heads are covered by hoods which are clearly attached to their cloaks, and which do not pass under the chin as wimples would have done. Similar hoods appear on a Pictish sculpture, Abernethy No. 4, which Allen tentatively identified as "the Three Maries", adding that the figures were dressed like nuns.<sup>2</sup>

The cloaks on the Casket are voluminous, and apart from what could be a circular brooch at the centre chest of one of the Valkyries, without visible fasteners. The cloak of the right-hand female in the Wayland scene hangs in folds over the arm

and between the arm and body. Under the cloak the arm is covered by a sleeve marked in folds, probably the sleeve of the ankle-length gown worn below the cloak. This figure carries a small bag in her hand.

Shoes are not clearly depicted on the Casket, but neither is there any suggestion that the figures are barefoot. Heels are flat, so the carver probably conceived footwear similarly to later artists.

The costumes of female figures on most other ivories, both those of the eighth century from Northumbria and later examples, are derived from continental models. There may, however, be evidence of an alternative form of headdress on an eighth-century English ivory now in Munich<sup>3</sup> and on two later carvings. The figure of the Virgin on a tenth-century book-cover<sup>4</sup> wears a headdress similar to the scarf of Luxuria in Prudentius manuscripts (Plate XIX). The Virgin wears the garment turban-fashion round the head, over a plait of hair arranged across the crown. One end of the garment encircles the neck, falling onto the shoulder. The headgear of another Virgin figure, on an early-eleventh-century carving<sup>5</sup> is also wrapped round the head. A female figure, possibly representing the Virgin, on the eighth-century ivory, wears a garment similarly wrapped round the head, but more voluminous, hanging down the back like a cloak.

Details of headdress and hair may be observed from Princess Gunhild's Cross,<sup>6</sup> possibly of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, dated by Beckwith to c. 1075. The figure of a queen wears her crown over a veil which does not pass under the chin, reminiscent of the veil suspended over the head of Cnut's queen in the Stowe MS drawing (Plate XXVI). The figures of the blessed laity on



this cross, depicted in head-and-shoulders only, are distinguishable by the fact that men have short hair and women long hair worn down their backs. This supports the evidence of the Prudentius illuminations (B, 1, p.46-7, above), that although early medieval women normally covered their hair, they wore it long.

## 2. Male costume

Male figures appear in all the scenes on the Franks Casket. They wear sleeved garments which hang straight from neck to waist, and below the waist, skirts. Only one figure (one of the armed men attacking Egil in the scene on the top of the Casket) has a clearly-defined belt. In other cases the bodice appears to be pouched over the narrower top of the skirt. It is likely that the artist intended to portray the tunic as commonly found in later drawings, in which the bodice is pouched over the belt. Two of the male figures have bands at the wrist, one at the neck. The tunic sleeves of two huntsmen in the Romulus and Remus scene on the left side of the Casket (Plate XLI) are marked by horizontal lines into a series of folds, like the sleeve of the woman in the Wayland scene, and resembling the sleeves shown in many manuscript illustrations. Other sleeves on the Casket are plain.

The skirts of most male figures on the Casket are incised with vertical lines dividing the material into pleats or folds, numbering from three to six. The proportions of the figures are unrealistic and variable, but the skirt generally appears to end above the knee.

The figures of the Magi on the front of the Casket (Plate XL) and one of the attackers of Egil's house on the lid, have

clearly defined leg coverings. On two of the Magi figures these are depicted as a series of pouches (two or three) decreasing in width towards the ankles. The artist may have intended to portray baggy trousers, tied at intervals down the leg. Loose trousers are depicted on continental sculptures (Plates IX-XI) but do not appear in other Anglo-Saxon art. The leg coverings of the third king and the armed man are depicted by a larger number of parallel lines bearing some resemblance to the parallel gartering of figures in manuscripts, but since the marks on the separate legs of the armed warrior unite just below the skirt, it is possible that these also represent trousers. The legs of other male figures are narrow, some being marked with horizontal lines, but none so systematically as these three.

The Magi and the huntsmen wear waist-length cloaks clasped by circular brooches at the right shoulder, the Magi's brooches having a central incision indicating a stud or other ornament. Figures on the back of the Casket, in the scene depicting the capture of Jerusalem, wear longer cloaks which hang below the bottom of their tunics. These seem to be more voluminous than other cloaks, since most are marked in heavy vertical folds; one man covers his face with his cloak. In this panel brooches clasp the cloaks centrally or at the right shoulder. Possibly the artist used the larger cloaks to distinguish captives from captors, or this variation may be the result of inherited iconography.

Later ivories add little information about male costume. The male figure depicted on Godwine's seal<sup>7</sup> wears the usual brooch at the right shoulder to secure a cloak, under which a close-fitting sleeve, with folds at the wrist, is visible. The



figure of an archer on a reliquary which Raw considered eleventh-century<sup>8</sup> could be wearing secular costume although the fillet binding the hair and tied in a knot at the back of the head is not typical. Since the figure is distorted to fill its allotted space the length of the skirt is indeterminate, though it hangs in the folds usually associated with the tunic. The close-fitting sleeves of the archer's garment flare at the wrist like those of the archer on the Sheffield sculpture (Fig. 15).

### 3. Summary

The ivories bring additional evidence of costume to that offered by other art. The unusual features of costume on the Franks Casket may reflect regional variation and/or chronological development in clothing. The depictions of men provide important early evidence for the appearance of the Anglo-Saxon male. They confirm that he wore a cloak fastened by a circular brooch, over tunic and trousers, as did his continental ancestors. This suggests that men's costume had retained these features throughout the pagan period for which the archaeological evidence is inconclusive, and it must provoke further surprise at the absence of circular brooches from male graves. The leg coverings of the men on the Casket supply a link between the baggy trousers of Germanic men on Roman sculptures, and the narrow leg coverings, covered by parallel gartering, of the late drawings. Possibly the Casket shows both stages.

The handbag carried by a female figure on the Casket recalls the many adjuncts to the costume carried by the pagan/conversion period woman, absent in later Christian art. The hooded cloaks of the women on the Casket are unique, being unlike the outer garments, which, it has been suggested, were worn in the pagan

period, and unlike the later headdresses and gowns of most manuscript illuminations. The closest parallels are the hooded cloaks depicted in BM MSS Cotton Claudius Biv, Cotton Tiberius Bv and Harley 603 (B, 1, p. 471, above) and on the Pictish sculpture.<sup>9</sup> Possibly this hooded cloak was a feature of the innovation in women's costume noticeable in the archaeology of the seventh century. Cloaks of this kind could perhaps have been fastened by linked pins.

The headdresses of the queen and the Virgin on ivory carvings similarly offer evidence of variety in costume, in these cases corresponding to some of the more unusual styles to be found in drawings. The slight variations in the depiction of tunics, particularly with regard to sleeves, also confirms the evidence of other art.



1. Male costume

The Senses of Taste, Smell, Hearing and Touch are depicted on the Fuller Brooch (Plate XII) as four full-length, male figures, surrounding a central bust representing Sight. The four surrounding figures wear tunics, the skirts of which are depicted in the stylized manner of the Canterbury School, each having a central pleat and fullness at the sides. The skirts reach to just above the knee. The tunics of the upper pair, and of the left of the lower pair of figures are confined at the waist by girdles marked in each case by a double line. The tunics of these three are round-necked, and appear to be worn under long-sleeved, close-fitting jackets. The bolero-like jackets are shorter than the bodices of the tunics, and without visible fastening. The left hand of the figure representing Hearing is turned palm outward, revealing the inner side of the arm, down which a line runs. This may represent a seam of the jacket.

The costume of the fourth figure differs, though the variation is slight enough to have been the result of error by the engraver. The neck of this figure's costume is marked by a double line, there is no bolero, and a wide collar or cowl lies over the shoulders. (The costume is, however, partly obscured by the left arm of the figure.)

Possibly this, and some of the other figures on the brooch are not secular. (Clerics appear in short garments on the Bayeux Tapestry.) The central bust representing Sight and the four busts in roundels which form part of the border to the brooch could be wearing vestments. There is a small cross near the centre of the brooch on what could be part of the robes of Sight.

It seems possible that this figure could be wearing the archiepiscopal pallium.<sup>1</sup>

The small figure on the Abingdon sword hilt<sup>2</sup> wears a garment resembling a loin cloth. The artist may have intended the upper part of the body to be naked, since nipples are visible, but lines at the neck and upper arms suggest a short-sleeved shirt or bodice. The lines at the arms could, possibly, belong to the plant in which the figure is entwined.

The Breach Downs figure wears a short skirt or loin cloth, the chest being apparently naked.<sup>3</sup>

A V-necked, short-sleeved garment covers the upper body of the figure on the Alfred Jewel (Plate XLII). The yellow line which outlines this garment crosses the waist of the figure, and the small area below is enamelled in a different colour, suggesting that a different garment covered the lower limbs.

None of the figures considered so far has visible leg coverings. The figure on the Riseley pendant,<sup>4</sup> however, which is without a tunic, has lines at the ankle which could mark the bottom of trousers. Alternatively, the figure could be wearing anklets, a custom apparently rare in Anglo-Saxon England, but found in Kent (at Lyminge; Part Two, B, XIII, 16, p. 148, above).

The four full-length figures on the Fuller brooch wear flat-soled shoes, indicated by the double lines at the ankles. The shoes appear flexible since the shape of the foot is visible. The shoes of the upper pair and the left of the lower have side-gussets of a kind rare in manuscript illustrations but paralleled



by the ankle shoes found at York (Fig. 13). The Abingdon figure wears similar shoes with a projection at the back of each, resembling the footwear on the Codford sculpture (Plate XXXVII) and the slippers found at York (Fig. 12).

## 2. Summary

The figures on the brooch confirm the evidence of sculpture and the Vespasian Psalter for the wearing of the tunic between the eighth-century depictions on the Franks Casket and the tenth-century drawings. The brooch shows a type of jacket not attested elsewhere, perhaps a fashion of the ninth century. The Riseley pendant may show trousers, the Abingdon and Breach Downs figures both suggest the wearing of loin cloths though of dissimilar kinds. The Breach Downs example is loose, like a skirt, the Abingdon one close-fitting. The Alfred Jewel also suggests a variation on the one-piece tunic of the manuscripts. The side-seamed shoes of the Fuller Brooch and the shoes with heel projections on the Abingdon sword resemble archaeological finds, and the Abingdon shoes resemble those on a sculpture.

PART FOUR: LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE



## A. INTRODUCTION: SOURCES AND ORGANIZATION

1. Literary evidence

The appearance of some of the Germanic peoples before, and at the time of the settlement of England is described by continental writers,<sup>1</sup> but references to the costume of the Anglo-Saxons themselves are more allusive than descriptive. Although the available evidence covers the period extending from the seventh century to the Norman Conquest, it gives an uneven coverage which cannot offer a full picture of clothing at any given time, or indicate chronological developments.

The earliest information is to be derived from the observation of a continental scholar, Paulus Diaconus;<sup>2</sup> and from literary works and letters of early Anglo-Saxon churchmen,<sup>3</sup> whose concern about the physical needs and physical indulgences of their fellows sometimes yields evidence of fabrics or clothing which may reflect contemporary, secular ways of dressing. Some information about costume towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period is to be deduced from: records of trade;<sup>4</sup> post-conquest Chronicles;<sup>5</sup> an Old English letter;<sup>6</sup> Elfric's Colloquy;<sup>7</sup> and a later Icelandic saga.<sup>8</sup> Contemporary Welsh<sup>9</sup> and Frankish<sup>10</sup> texts offer comparative evidence.

2. Linguistic evidence

A vocabulary of Old English garment terms and related words is to be derived from: texts composed in OE; OE translations, paraphrases and glosses of Latin texts;

and Latin/OE word-lists (glossaries). In the present work the term "text" is applied to passages of continuous writing, as opposed to word-lists and occasional glosses.

The OE texts yielding linguistic evidence include wills,<sup>11</sup> laws,<sup>12</sup> various sermons and lives of Saints,<sup>13</sup> and the Indicia Monasterialia, a catalogue of signs by which silent monks might indicate their needs.<sup>14</sup> Translations from Latin and glossed Latin texts include: biblical material -- Ælfric's Old Testament,<sup>15</sup> the Gospels<sup>16</sup> and versions of the Psalms;<sup>17</sup> Alfredian translations;<sup>18</sup> the OE versions of monastic Rules;<sup>19</sup> Ælfric's Colloquy; medical treatises;<sup>20</sup> and the romance Appolonius of Tyre.<sup>21</sup> In the discussion, terms found in texts designed for monastic communities have been selectively accepted as evidence. It is likely that monks and seculars had some articles of clothing in common, particularly footwear and the body garments which seem to have been worn under the habit. The sign language of the Indicia Monasterialia supplies unique information about the shapes of garments, and upon which part of the body they were worn. (In the Indicia signs indicating mass vestments are treated separately from the signs for other clothing. It is chiefly the latter group which is cited in the present work.)

Many OE words are known from glossaries. These Latin /OE vocabularies are variously arranged, according to subject, or to sources, or to alphabetical principles; in some, the arrangement of the items is miscellaneous. The purpose of making such lists was the collection and interpretation of Latin terms (ultimately from glossed Latin



texts) and they cannot be regarded in any way as exhaustive lists of Anglo-Saxon terms. Vocabularies arranged according to subject are particularly useful for the present purpose since the arrangement helps to establish the semantic range of the OE terms. The grouping must be used as evidence with reservation, however, for the practice of glossators was not always consistent. A group of terms would sometimes be inserted into another group relating to a different subject; or a glossator, having begun to list related words under an appropriate heading, could stray into another topic without giving another title.<sup>22</sup>

There are several groups of terms in subject-order glossaries which give information about costume. Bodleian Library MS Junius 71,<sup>23</sup> a seventeenth-century copy of an OE glossary, contains a group of entries under the heading Vestium Nomina,<sup>24</sup> a group of clothing and jewellery terms<sup>25</sup> and another group of clothing terms in which there occur a few words associated with related subjects, such as spinning.<sup>26</sup> In BM MS Cotton Julius Aii there is a group of terms relating to headgear and jewellery.<sup>27</sup> One of three word-lists in BM MS Cotton Cleopatra Aiii<sup>28</sup> is a subject-order glossary. This contains a group of terms relating to bedding under the heading Incipit de Lectulo, in which there are also some clothing terms.<sup>29</sup> The glossary also contains a group of words relating to textile production, under the heading Incipit de Textrinalibus.<sup>30</sup> There is another textile group in Brussels Bib. Roy. MS 1829.<sup>31</sup> BM MS Additional 32246 contains similar material to MS Junius 71.<sup>32</sup>

The sources of many glosses have been traced. (This includes miscellaneous glosses as well as those arranged according to source.) Many are derived from the various manuscripts of the Latin works of Aldhelm,<sup>33</sup> the majority of those cited in the present work occurring in Bodleian Library MS Digby 146. Many of the Aldhelm glosses relate to the description of women's clothing in De Laudibus Virginitatis which is quoted below (B, 5, pp. 536-7). Many other terms cited may be traced back to the Etymologiae of Isidor.<sup>34</sup>

Among vocabularies arranged according to alphabetical principles is the Corpus glossary,<sup>35</sup> an eighth-century word-list, and the earliest of the sources to be cited. This is an AB-order glossary (arranged alphabetically according to the first two letters of each lemma). Cleopatra contains an A-order glossary<sup>36</sup> (one in which the lemmata are grouped according to their initial letter) which is dependent to a large extent on Corpus. There is also an AB-order glossary in BM MS Harley 3376.<sup>37</sup>

### 3. Organization

The material has been divided into Literary Evidence (B) and Linguistic Evidence (C). B contains information about Anglo-Saxon costume from OE, Latin and Old Icelandic texts, and comparative evidence about the costume of other countries.

In C, OE garment terms are listed and discussed. The material is considered in sections. I examines the stuffs from which clothes were made; II to VII contain words



grouped according to the possible function of the garments they represent: II outer garments; III body garments; IV loin and leg coverings; V shoes; VI headgear; VII accessories. Section VIII deals with general terms and IX with clasps. X is a discussion.

Each section begins with an alphabetical list of the terms under consideration. The initial selection of each item and its assignment to a category is dependent upon the definition of that term in the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary and/or Supplements.<sup>39</sup> Obvious battle garments and ecclesiastical vestments have been excluded, except for comparative purposes, but terms with ambiguous definitions have been included, sometimes to be dismissed or re-categorised after discussion.

Within the sections I to IX the terms have been variously grouped in subsections according to the semantic or other problems they present, or in clusters of terms having similar meaning. In the absence of obvious relationship, alphabetical order has been used.

Citations have been considered in such a way as to supply maximum information about the meaning and use of each term. The prime concern has been to establish semantic range. Where an OE term is used to gloss or translate a recognised Latin word, at least some of the meaning of the OE term may be gauged. The glossary evidence, however, may not be straightforward. A single OE term may be found glossing more than one Latin word, and the Latin terms may have different meanings; it may gloss a Latin term which has more than one accepted meaning; or it may occur in one of the ambiguous glossary entries which probably result

from a glossator's ignorance, or misunderstanding of the Latin. Several of the OE terms considered do not fit neatly into the categories which have been suggested, which may be as much a reflection of the nature of OE as of the problems in interpreting the glosses.

Since in most of the sections the listed items are numerous, the discussion will attempt to establish whether any terms are synonymous. In glossed texts and word-lists Latin terms are frequently glossed by more than one OE word or phrase, the items often being separated by the OE word 'oððe' or by an abbreviation of the Latin vel. In some cases such multiple glosses may offer alternative interpretations of imperfectly-understood lemmata, in others they may be genuine synonyms included for the sake of fullness. Occasionally two clothing terms in the same text may have been used in such a way as to show they were, or were not synonymous.

The discussion also aims to consider if individual terms were well-established in the language, or rarities. There is no record of OE earlier than the earliest surviving written texts, which are, of course, post-conversion, and may contain words which were only borrowed into the English language from Latin, through Christianity. Those garment terms which have cognates in other Germanic languages,<sup>39</sup> however, are likely to have existed in spoken OE before the conversion, and the garments they originally indicated are likely to have been characteristically Germanic, rather than influenced from the Mediterranean. Several of the OE terms listed in C will be shown to be Latin loans. Those loan-words of which the form suggests post-conversion borrowing, are discussed with the aim of establishing whether they



are likely to have been used of secular clothing by seculars. Some Latin garment terms, originally applied to Roman secular garments but ultimately having the specialized meaning of ecclesiastical vestments, when borrowed into OE may only have been used in this latter, restricted sense; but others may have passed into general use. Only the occurrence of a Latin loan in an OE text designed to be understood by laymen could prove that the loan-word was absorbed into secular English, but as such information is lacking in most cases, the occurrence of a term in a religious text (but in non-specialized context) must sometimes be considered as evidence.

The cloister-composition of glossaries, and the practice of copying older material, may have perpetuated scholarly terms and probably preserved archaisms. Discrimination in this matter is difficult for the modern reader, who can only note that terms which are attested only from glossaries, especially from related versions, should be treated with reserve.

The occurrence of a clothing term in a vernacular text may yield detailed information about the garment thus named. For example, the documentation of a term in the will of a secular person, can establish that a garment of this name was worn by a layman, or a laywoman, the precise date at which it was in use, and that it was considered of sufficient value to be bequeathed. Unless, however, the context illustrates how the garment was worn, or unless the word occurs elsewhere glossing a Latin term of known meaning, the precise function of the word, and the garment

represented by it, may remain ambiguous.

The majority of surviving OE is written in the West Saxon dialect. However, some Anglian glosses are included in the citations: the early, Corpus glossary has been considered Mercian,<sup>40</sup> and the Gospels are glossed in Northumbrian and Mercian versions.<sup>41</sup> Thus it will sometimes be relevant to consider the possibility of regional variation in the naming of garments.

In the discussions which follow, foreign words are underlined, Old and Middle English enclosed in single inverted commas. Modern English definitions are enclosed in normal inverted commas. Definitions of Latin words are enclosed in square brackets.<sup>42</sup> The OE and Latin words mentioned in C are listed alphabetically in Appendices 2 and 3.



## B. LITERARY EVIDENCE

1. The costume of other Germanic peoples

Descriptions of the appearance of continental Germanic peoples before the time of the settlement of England are worthy of consideration, since there may have been common, traditional features in the costume of the different tribes. Caesar, writing of the Rhine Germans in the first century B.C. recorded only that skins and scanty upper garments were worn:

Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimus neque vestitus praeter pelles haberent quicquam, quarum propter exiguam magnam est corporis pars aperta, et lavarentur in fluminibus.<sup>1</sup>

[both sexes] in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur magna corporis parte nuda.<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus, describing Germanic peoples in the second century A.D., also mentioned skins, but emphasised that the cloak, fastened by a brooch or thorn, was the chief garment of Germanic men, though the rich wore close-fitting garments under the cloak:

Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. gerunt et ferarum pelles...<sup>3</sup>

He claimed that women wore the same garment as men (this, presumably being the cloak, but possibly the undergarment), often having in addition trailing linen garments, striped with purple, which were sleeveless, exposing the arms and shoulders:

nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudaë brachia et lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.<sup>4</sup>

The information that skins were worn may be taken in conjunction with literary and linguistic evidence from the Christian Anglo-Saxon period (subsection 3, pp 532-3, C, II, 4, pp. 557-60, below). Though there was little archaeological evidence to show that furs were worn during the pagan era, this seems probable in the light of earlier and later evidence. The apparent importance of the cloak corresponds to the evidence of provincial Roman sculptures (Part Two, B, XXXI, 2, p. 396, above) and late Anglo-Saxon art (Part Three, B, C, D, pp. 484-7, 505, 511, above). The close-fitting male garment may correspond to the tunic (Part Three, B, C, D, E, pp. 476-8, 499-501, 510, 514, above) and the woman's garment to the gown supported by "paired" brooches (Part Two, B, XXXI, 1a, pp. 339-41, above) if worn without an under-blouse.

Sidonius (c. A.D. 430-479) mentioned the appearance of Germanic peoples at about the time that others of their race were settling in England. His remarks about the Saxons were confined to their physical characteristics, not to their costume -- he mentioned that Saxon seamen were blue-eyed and shaved their hair round the hairline.<sup>5</sup> He noted that the Franks also wore their hair in this way, and were clean-shaven apart from thin moustaches.<sup>6</sup> Many of the Anglo-Saxons depicted in art are clean-shaven, and the English in the Bayeux Tapestry wear thin moustaches



(Part Three, B, 2p. 492, above), but there is no other evidence that the Saxons shaved their heads (though the Normans appear in the Tapestry with the backs of their heads shaved).

Sidonius also mentioned a garment worn by the male Franks. This belted, close-fitting garment, reaching to the knees, corresponds to Tacitus's description, and to the tunic of Anglo-Saxon art:

strictius assutae vestes procera cohercent  
membra virum, patet his altato tegmine poples  
latus et angustam suspendit balteus alvum.<sup>7</sup>

Later descriptions of the national dress of the Franks are provided by two biographers of Charlemagne, Einhard and the Monk of St. Gall. The inclusion of these in a discussion of Anglo-Saxon clothing is justified not only by the long contact between the two peoples and the demonstrable Frankish influence on Anglo-Saxon culture, but also by the fact that cloaks were exported to the Carolingian Empire during the reign of Offa of Mercia. An extant letter from Charlemagne to Offa requests that cloaks sent from England should be of their former length:

[ita et] nostri de prolixitate sagorum  
deposcunt, ut tales jubeatis fieri, quales  
antiquis temporibus ad nos venire solebant.<sup>8</sup>

The allusion to the different length of cloak suggests that there had been a change of fashion in England, unless, of course, the English were giving the Franks short measure. (The Monk of St. Gall recorded that a trick of this kind was employed by merchants he described as Frisian. The shorter cloaks in this instance were said to be striped articles, of Gaulish fashion).<sup>9</sup>

The evidence that the Anglo-Saxons and Frisians had at least one garment in common at the time of Charlemagne, suggests that there may have been other resemblances between the costumes of the two peoples. Einhard stressed Charlemagne's detestation of any dress other than his native costume, and went on to describe the latter:

Vestitu patrio, id est francisco utebatur. Ad corpus camisam lineam et feminalibus lineis induebatur; deinde tunicam quae limbo serico ampiebatur, et tibialia; tum fasciolis crura, et pedes calciamentis constringebat, et ex pellibus lutrinis et murinis thorace confecto humeros ac pectus hyeme muniebat; sago veneto amictus, et gladio semper accinctus... 10

The description of the tunic and leg coverings corresponds to the illustrations of Anglo-Saxon men's costume considered in Part Three, B - E, pp. 476-8, 488-9, 499-501, 503-4, 510-4, <sup>above</sup>). The information that linen undergarments were worn under this attire usefully supplements the evidence of the illustrations. It is likely that the Anglo-Saxons wore similar undergarments. The choice of linen corresponds to English evidence that this was the preferred fabric (subsection 3, p. 530, below). The fur garment worn to protect the chest and shoulders is not paralleled by any English illustrations, but suggests a use for the furs which are known to have been worn in England (subsection 3, pp. 532-3, below).

The tunica favoured by Charlemagne seems to have been short, since a costume which Pope Hadrian persuaded him to wear on one occasion in Rome, was characterized as including a long tunic (longa tunica et clamide amictus).<sup>11</sup>



The Monk of St. Gall gave a description of Charlemagne's costume similar to Einhard's but which mentioned three distinct leg coverings, including cross garters:

Erat antiquorum ornatus vel paratura Francorum calciamenta forinsecus aurata, corrigiis tricubitalibus insignita, fasciolae cruales vermiculatae, et subtus eas tibialia vel coxalia linea, quamvis ex eodem colore, tamen opere artificiosissimo variata. super quae et fasciolas in crucis modum, intrinsecus et extrinsecus, ante et retro, longissimae illae corrigiae tendebantur. Deinde camisa clizana; post haec balteus spate colligatus...ultimum habitus eorum erat pallium canum vel saphirinum quadrangulum duplex, sic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro pedes tangeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. William of Malmesbury

William's chronicle was composed in the twelfth century, but he is known to have drawn upon earlier traditions.<sup>13</sup> He gave a brief description of the appearance of the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the Norman Conquest:

Ad summam, tunc erant Angli vestibus ad medium genu expediti, crines tonsi, barbas rasi, armillis aureis brachia onerati, picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti.<sup>14</sup>

The short tunic, shaven face and cropped hair correspond to late Saxon illustrations of male costume. Some costume historians have claimed that bracelets are visible at the wrists in these illustrations (Part Three, B, 2p. 48/ , above) though this is subjective opinion. The quantity of bracelets suggested by William is nowhere apparent.

William's reliability is questionable. He was concerned to stress the laxity of the Anglo-Saxons in contrast to the Normans. Stevenson has suggested that he drew upon accounts of the Ancient Britons for this

description, noting particularly an account by Herodian which mentioned the Britons' practice of tattooing their bodies with animals, a custom not otherwise associated with the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>15</sup>

### 3. Fabrics and colour

Garments might be made of linen, wool or imported silk, or of fur. Paulus Diaconus, describing the garments of the Langobards as depicted in seventh-century pictures ornamenting the palace of Queen Theudelinde at Monza, mentioned, in comparison, the clothing of the Anglo-Saxons:

vestimenta vero eis erant laxa et maxime  
linea, qualia Anglisaxones habere solent,  
ornata institis latioribus vario colore  
contextis.<sup>16</sup>

The preference for linen garments over wool mentioned by Paulus, is confirmed by Bede's assumption that linen was the more luxurious material. The pious abbess Ælþryð was commended for wearing woollen garments in preference to linen, one of several mortifications of the flesh welcomed by her, which contrasted with her luxurious upbringing as a woman of royal birth: nunquam lineis sed solum laneis vestimenti uti volaverit.<sup>17</sup>

The penitential associations of wool are further suggested by the exhortation to wear wool at times of national disaster, in a piece attributed to Wulfstan: 'nime man [hæran oððon] wyllen to lice and fæste swyðe georne'.<sup>18</sup> A woollen garment was sufficiently prized, however, to be bequeathed in the will of an eleventh-century woman: 'ic yan Seynte Epeldrithe ane wellene kertel',<sup>19</sup> though the fact that the garment was apparently



being willed to a religious establishment confuses the issue. (It may have been a precious gift, or a utilitarian item.)

The evidence of textiles from the pagan period (Part Two, D, 4, p. 428, above), though very much earlier, corresponds in some respects with these references. Wool remains are more common than linen, which may reflect the fact that most people wore wool. Nevertheless, this could be woven with skill into fine and luxurious textiles.

Valuable garments, often described as silk, were exchanged as gifts between ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries in England, and between England and the Continent, throughout the Christian Saxon period. The king and queen of Northumbria sent twelve cloaks to Lul, Bishop of the continental Saxons, in A.D. 773,<sup>20</sup> and the Bishop himself sent fine textiles to the monastic foundation at Monkwearmouth<sup>21</sup> and to York<sup>22</sup> for personal use and to honour holy relics.

Despite the anxiety of early Anglo-Saxon churchmen about those in holy orders wearing over-elaborate clothing (subsection 5, pp. 535-7, below), luxury textiles were enthusiastically collected to enhance holy relics, like Lul's gift to Monkwearmouth, or to add to the magnificence of the celebrant. The tenth-century will of Bishop Theodred included bequests of several chasubles, two of which were specifically described as having been purchased abroad: '...ic an Peodred min wite massehakele þe ic on Pauie bouhte... And ic an Odgar þere gewele

massehakele þe ic on Pauie bouhte'.<sup>23</sup>

No doubt equally elaborate fabrics were worn by wealthy seculars, although there is less evidence about this. Silk was given to Kenneth, King of the Scots, by the English King Edgar, in A.D. 975, according to the thirteenth-century record of Roger of Wendover (cum multis sericis ornamentis),<sup>24</sup> and William of Malmesbury recorded the gift of a silk robe and expensive garments to Cnut from the Emperor Conrad II during Cnut's visit to Rome in A.D. 1027.<sup>25</sup>

Silk cloth and silken garments were not only imported as personal gifts. Ælfric's Mercator in the Colloquy testifies to the regular import of: Purpurum et sericum, pretiosas gemmas et aurum, uarias uestes et pigmenta...<sup>26</sup> This implies organized commercial trade. The luxurious imports were no doubt available to wealthy seculars as well as ecclesiastics. The textiles preserved among the relics of St. Cuthbert, some as ancient as the seventh century, testify the magnificence of imported silk cloth.<sup>27</sup>

The preacher might urge the wearing of hair garments for penitential reasons, and St. Guthlac eschewed both linen and wool for garments of skin,<sup>28</sup> probably with penitential motive, but it seems that the Anglo-Saxons also wore fur for reasons of comfort, as Charlemagne did, and as a luxury. Fur garments, like silk, were exchanged as gifts, and commercially. Goat-hair bed clothes and a cloak of silk and goats' hair were among gifts sent to England by Boniface,<sup>29</sup> eighth-century missionary to the continental Saxons, and an otter-skin



robe was among presents sent to Lul from the Northumbrians in the same century.<sup>30</sup> This robe was called in Latin gunna, the term used by Cuthbert of Wearmouth<sup>31</sup> and Boniface.<sup>32</sup> Garments, probably fur (duas cottas de vario minuto), were given by Cnut to a customs officer during his trade negotiations in Rome.<sup>33</sup> Jellema has suggested that English furs were regularly traded to the Continent in the eighth and ninth centuries, through Frisian merchants.<sup>34</sup> Domesday Book recorded that marten skins were the chief imports into Chester.<sup>35</sup> They apparently came from Ireland.<sup>36</sup> The wearing of marten skins in the west of the British Isles is attested earlier in the Welsh poem Gododdin. An interpolated lullaby mentions that the father of the baby wore a marten-skin coat.<sup>37</sup>

Aldhelm mentioned fur-trimmed gowns in the late seventh or early eighth century.<sup>38</sup> One of the bequests in the tenth-century will of a woman, Wynflæd, concerned a garment which may have been fur. The item was identified as 'hyre twilibrocenan cyrtel',<sup>39</sup> tentatively translated by Whitelock as "her double badger-skin gown".<sup>40</sup> (Discussed in C, III, 5, pp. 576-7, below.)

The bright colours mentioned by Paulus Diaconus appear to have been a feature of Anglo-Saxon costume throughout the era. Coloured garments were probably worn by all except the poorest and most pious. Bede thought it worthy of record that the brethren of Lindisfarne, in his time, wore garments of undyed wool as their predecessor St. Cuthbert had done.<sup>41</sup>

There is some evidence of the colours worn. Bede mentioned a scarlet dye made from shellfish, which he

called coccineum,<sup>42</sup> and Aldhelm described garments of scarlet or violet (coccinea sive iacintina).<sup>43</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the medieval conception of these particular colours was very different from the modern; textiles of scarlet and violet have been found in a sixth-century Frankish woman's grave.<sup>44</sup>

Even late in the Saxon period, bright colours seem to have been a feature of English cloth. The Old Icelandic Egilssaga mentioned that a suit of English cloth given to Egil as a Yule gift, was of many colours: Arinbjorn gaf Agli alklæðnað, nyskorinn, at jolum; varu þar skörin i ensk klæði með morqum litum.<sup>45</sup> Egil was a contemporary of the English King Athelstan (who died in 939). Although the saga may have been composed up to three centuries later, it may preserve genuine traditions about English clothing from Anglo-Saxon times: that English cloth was prized and the colouring noticeable. This may have been because artificial colouring was less necessary in Iceland because of the variety of natural wool colours.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Ecclesiastical and secular clothing

The clothing of persons in religious orders in England probably differed little from that of seculars, at least until the abandonment of the lay habit in A.D. 873, as recorded in a letter from the Pope to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.<sup>47</sup> William of Malmesbury recorded Alcuin's warning to English churchmen visiting Charlemagne, that they should refrain from wearing brightly-coloured garments, since continental churchmen wore only ecclesiastical habits.<sup>48</sup>



Apart from outer garments of ritual or traditional importance, the English religious may therefore have worn similar clothes to seculars, particularly undergarments and practical clothes. Thus, when Bede mentioned that St. Cuthbert was accustomed to wear tibracis of hide, he probably referred to leg coverings of a type also worn by seculars in Cuthbert's time and his own, the seventh and early eighth centuries. (The anecdote reveals Cuthbert's extreme piety not through his choice of garment, but by his self-neglect. He removed the tibracis only once a year, at Easter, when constant friction was found to have caused calluses on his feet.)<sup>49</sup>

Aldhelm's description of the clothing worn by worldly nuns in the late seventh century (discussed subsection 5, pp. 536-7, below) probably reflects the fashions of secular women. The manuscript illustrations of several centuries later make little or no distinction between the costume of English nuns and women in secular life.

##### 5. Extravagant and unsuitable clothing

It is clear that though the extremely pious, such as Saints Cuthbert and Ælprið, were as unworldly in their choice of costume as in other physical desires, more worldly members of early English religious foundations wore more elaborate clothes. St. Boniface wrote to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, at about the time of the Council of Cloveshoe, describing reforms which had been made in the continental Church, and recommending that similar measures be taken regarding the English Church: Interdiximus servis Dei, ut pompato habitu vel sago vel armis utantur.<sup>50</sup>

The English Church did include measures concerning clothing among the decisions taken at the Council of Cloveshoe in A.D. 747:

nec pompaticis, et quae ad inanem gloriam more saecularium pertineant, utantur indumentis, sed simplici, propositoque congruenti eorum vestiantur habitu.<sup>51</sup>

It was also declared that nuns should undertake more suitable occupations than making fine garments, a practice equated with fleshly indulgence:

Unde [non] sint sanctimonialium domicilia, turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia; sed continentium sobrieque viventium, ac legentium, psallentiumque habitacula, magisque legendis libris, vel canendis psalmis, quam texendis et plectendis vario colore inanis gloriae vestibis studeant operam dare.<sup>52</sup>

A criticism of a specific group of nuns for this fault was made by Adamnan. His observations on the nuns of Coldingham, who made and wore elaborate garments, were recorded by Bede:

uerqines...texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dant, quibus aut se ipsas ad uicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent.<sup>53</sup>

These two criticisms of nuns testify to an interest in elaborate clothing, and an ability to make it, unconfined to professionals. The interest and ability of seculars, outside the restrictions of religious life, though undocumented, are likely to have been of at least equal proportions.

The Church's desire to stamp out sinful extravagance provoked the only description of women's costume to survive from the Anglo-Saxon period. Aldhelm criticised the elaborate appearance of some women vowed to the religious life:

subucula bissina, tonica coccinea sive iacintina, capitium et manicae sericis clavatae; galliculae



rubricatis pellibus ambiuntur; antiae frontis  
et temporum cincinni calamistro crispantur;  
pulla capitis velamina candidis et coloratis  
mafortibus cedunt, quae vittarum nexibus assutae  
talotenus prolixius dependunt.<sup>54</sup>

The striped, silken sleeves, furs and curling hair are not to be found in any later Saxon illustrations of women. The headdress described by Aldhelm is not found in the illustrations, but it is apparent that elaborate headdresses were worn at various times in the Anglo-Saxon period. Examples include the gold ribbons found in seventh-century graves (Part Two, D, 16, pp. 452-4, above), the decorated headband worn by Cnut's queen in a manuscript illumination and the scarf-like drapes of Luxuria in Prudentius illuminations (Plates XXVI, XIX, discussed in Part Three, B, 1, pp. 469, 470). The headdresses described by Aldhelm might have been similar to any of these, or to none of them. The women whose costume is described were nuns, but there is no reason to suppose that the specific details mentioned by Aldhelm were not to be found in the costume of contemporary seculars.

Men, as well as women, in religious houses, were warned against excess in dress. Alcuin wrote to Ethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 798, urging simplicity of costume among the clergy:

Vanissimum vero vestimentorum cultum...  
expellere a te tuisque consacerdotibus,  
vel magis omni clero et ecclesiasticae  
dignitatis gradibus diligentissime studeas.<sup>55</sup>

The details of men's extravagances have not been recorded with the attention Aldhelm gave to women's.

In the same decade as his letter to Ethelheard Alcuin wrote to the Northumbrian king and court, criticising the

clothing and hairstyles of the Northumbrians. (Alcuin considered that the Viking raid on Lindisfarne had been provoked by excessive worldliness.)

Considerate habitum, tonsuram, et mores principum et populi luxuriosos. Ecce tonsura quam in barbīs et in capillis paganis adsimilari voluistis.<sup>56</sup>

Since literary evidence is generally too rare and lacking in detail to reveal variations in fashion during the Anglo-Saxon period, this accusation of paganism in the appearance of the early Christian Northumbrians is particularly interesting. The resemblance had been noted previously, by the papal legate who visited Northumbria in A.D. 787. A section of the legate's report entitled Ut reliquias paganorum rituum quisque abjiciat included the statement: Vestimenta etiam vestra, more gentilium, quos, Deo opitulante patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, induitis.<sup>57</sup>

The pagan people whom the Northumbrians were accused of imitating cannot have been the Vikings, since their first raid, that on Lindisfarne, occurred four years after the visit of the papal legate, and was considered by Alcuin to have been the result of such faults as this.

The people expelled by force from Northumbria, would, presumably, have been British. It is quite likely that the Anglian people of the remote kingdom of Northumbria would have dressed in a similar manner to their neighbours the Britons. There is other evidence that Celtic and Anglo-Saxon culture blended in Northumbria apart from the artistic fusion which produced Hiberno-Saxon art; for example the earliest of the royal residences of Northumbrian kings at Yeavering (an early-seventh-century



structure), incorporated Celtic techniques,<sup>58</sup> and Northumbria preserved into later medieval times characteristics of social organization which suggest the persistence of Celtic culture.<sup>59</sup> The Britons, however, would not have been pagans.

The legate's accusation continued, however, by mentioning other pagan practices adopted by the Northumbrians, including the casting of lots. This practice was mentioned by Tacitus as a custom of the Germanic peoples.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that the pagan dress and practices condemned by the papal legate were not adoptions from enemy peoples, but relics of the pagan past of the Anglian settlers, preserved in the Northumbrian community further from continental influence than some other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Possibly the legate had experience of continental Germanic peoples, and based the comparisons upon this.

Changes in women's costume about the time of the conversion, have already been noted (Part Two, B, XXXI, 16, pp. 380-94, above). The Church's criticism of dress in Northumbria suggests that such changes were not spontaneous, but strongly encouraged by the Roman Church. Northumbria, influenced by the Celtic Church, may have been conservative in such matters.

There is another accusation about the adoption of pagan dress in a letter written in OE from one brother to another. The text belongs to the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period -- Kluge compared the style and sentiments to Wulfstan's writings -- and in this case, the heathen people imitated were the Danes:

Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu  
 me byses bæde, þæt ge doð unrihtlice, þæt  
 ge ða engliscan þeawas forlætað þe eowre  
 fæderas heoldon and hæðenra manna þeawas  
 lufiað þe eow þæs lifes ne-unnon and mid  
 ðam geswuteliam þæt ge forseoð eower cynn  
 and eowre yldran mid ðam unþeawum þonne ge  
 him on teonan tylsiað eow on denisc ableredum  
 hneccan and ablendum eagum.<sup>61</sup>

The details of the fault are obscure. Possibly the Danes bared their necks by shaving the backs of their heads as the Normans did according to the Bayeux Tapestry, and as the continental Saxons may have done according to Sidonius.

## 6. Summary

Literary evidence reveals that the Anglo-Saxons wore colourful clothes woven of wool, linen or silk, and garments of fur. Linen was considered more luxurious than wool; silk and fur garments were precious enough to be given as gifts. England imported both silk and furs, but textiles, and probably furs too, were also exported commercially.

The Germanic women's clothing described by Tacitus may possibly correspond to the costume of Anglo-Saxon pagans. Aldhelm's description provides evidence of women's costume in a period otherwise obscure, and offers the details of furs, sleeves and curled hair which could not be inferred from other sources.

The cloak appears to have been the oldest-established male garment, but the short, girdled tunic was an early addition to men's costume, and one which persisted throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The descriptions of Frankish costume by Charlemagne's biographers add to the limited



information available from English art and literature evidence about undergarments, leg coverings and the uses of fur; any of these Frankish features could also have been known in England. The information that St. Cuthbert wore tibracis of hide gives a detail of costume which could not be deduced from art or archaeology. The information is especially valuable since linguistic evidence implies the existence of several types of shoe and legging (C, IV-V, pp. 580-96 , below).

The attitude that clothing reflected moral values is frequently to be found, in the Church's urging of simplicity in dress, and the condemnation of appearance resembling the pagan's. Through these strictures it is possible to perceive an enthusiasm for brightly-coloured and finely-textured fabrics; a taste shared by some churchmen who acquired precious textiles to enhance their holy relics and their religious services.

## C. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

## I

Materials

Linguistic evidence confirms that garments were made of fur, wool, linen and silk.<sup>1</sup> Garments made of fur appear to have been individually named, and in the present work are categorised according to function, below. The following words describe the other stuffs:

Wool:	Linen:	Silk:
flæp	fleax	seoluc
flis, flys	lin	side
wull	linen	
	twin	

1. Wool

'WULL', BTD "wool" (the modern word derives from the OE), is well-documented, together with the related adjective 'wyllen'. The word has cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages.<sup>2</sup> 'Wull' appears as gloss to lana [wool] in lists among items concerned with textile production: under the heading Incipit de Textrinalibus in Cleopatra;<sup>3</sup> under De Arte Textoria in Brussels MS Bib. Roy. 1829;<sup>4</sup> and among weaving terms in the Julius MS vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> 'Wyllen' is applied to weaving thread in Junius/BM: linostema [normally meaning a garment of linen and wool, mixed], 'linen wearp' uel 'wyllen ab',<sup>6</sup> and occurs several times in conjunction with general garment terms to signify articles of clothing made of wool, for example 'wyllenes hrægles',<sup>7</sup> 'willenum reafe'.<sup>8</sup>

'FLIS', BTD "a fleece" or 'flys', BTD "a fleece, wool", is a name applied to unwoven wool. Glossing uellus and uellum [fleece] 'flis' appears in lists of textile terms in the Brussels and Tiberius vocabularies<sup>9</sup> and the compound 'uulan



'fliusum' or 'wulle flysum' renders lanugo [woolly substance] in the Northumbrian and West Saxon versions of Aldhelm's riddle De Lorica.<sup>10</sup> This occurrence is also associated with weaving, since in the riddle the lorica [mail-coat], through the device of prosopopoeia, denies first that it was made of textile and continues by denying that it was woven on a loom.

'FLÆp' is a more doubtful inclusion. BTS tentatively interprets the term "a fleece, wool". The term would appear to be related to the first element of the compound 'flæpcomb, flepecamb', which occurs twice in lists of textile equipment glossing pectica.<sup>11</sup> The meaning of the lemma is uncertain, but it is likely to be related to pecten [comb]. The compound might mean "woolcomb" and 'flæp' "uncombed wool". The word also appears against nimbus [headband] in a glossed Aldhelm Aenigmata MS,<sup>12</sup> but its relevance there has been disputed. Napier suggested that the term was intended to translate vellera the preceding word in the Latin text (dum ningit vellera nimbus), and Meritt that 'flæp' was a scribal error for 'fælp', glossing ningit.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Linen

'LIN', BTD "flax, linen, something made of linen" is a well-documented term with cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages.<sup>14</sup> The term is used of articles made of linen, such as grave clothes<sup>15</sup> and the cloth with which Christ girded himself before washing the feet of the disciples,<sup>16</sup> but there is no documented evidence of the word meaning a garment (as modern "linen" is used of underwear, for example), except in the compound 'heafod-lin'.<sup>17</sup>

'LINEN', BTD "made of flax, linen" occurs as a substantive glossing lineum [lineus, of linen, lineum, a linen garment] in a group of words relating to weaving in Junius/BM,<sup>18</sup> but an attributive use is documented more commonly.

'Linen wearp' is among the list of weaving articles in Junius/BM<sup>19</sup> and the adjective is associated with garments in glossaries and texts. For example, 'linen heafodes wrigels' glosses anaboladium uel sindo [linen mantle, fine cotton or muslin, respectively] in Junius/BM.<sup>20</sup> In Ælfric's Old Testament translation 'linenum reaf' renders subucula linea<sup>21</sup> [subucula, a man's undergarment or shirt] and, proof that linen garments were worn by women in England in early Christian times, Bede's reference to Æpelpryð's penitential choice of woollen garments rather than linen,<sup>22</sup> rendered in the Alfredian Bede by: 'heo næfre linenum hræglum brucan wolde, ac wyllenum'.<sup>22</sup>

'TWIN', BTD "linen", which has Germanic cognates, and from which modern English "twine" is derived<sup>23</sup> is used of garments of a specific material in the West Saxon Gospels, where a rich man is said to be: 'gescrydd mid... twine'.<sup>24</sup> The term here translates bysso [flax, linen], and since the Northumbrian version of the Gospels translates bysso with 'linnenom' at this point,<sup>25</sup> 'linen' (adjective, here) and 'twin' would seem to be synonymous. An adjective 'twinen', BTD "made of flax, linen" is applied to clothing, for example in a glossed manuscript of Aldhelm's De Laude Virginitatis where 'bam (for 'ham') twinen' glosses subucula bissina.<sup>26</sup>

'FLEAX', BTD "flax", which has cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages, and from which the modern English



word is derived,<sup>27</sup> was evidently the name given to the raw material to be spun and woven into linen fabric. It glosses linum in a group of terms relating to spinning in the Julius MS<sup>28</sup> and in a group relating to textile manufacture in Junius/BM: 'swiðe hwit fleax' glossing bissum, q., papagen.<sup>29</sup>

### 3. Silk

'SEOLUC', BTD "silk" and 'SIDE', BTD "silk" were evidently synonymous.<sup>30</sup> 'Side', a term with cognates in Germanic languages, but deriving from Vulgar Latin,<sup>31</sup> is applied to the merchandise of the Mercator in Ælfric's Colloquy<sup>32</sup> (Part B, 3, p.532, above). Literary and archaeological evidence that silk was a luxury in Anglo-Saxon times is confirmed by the equation of a silken garment with 'godweb': 'Gyf man mæte þæt he seoluc oððe godweb hæbbe...' <sup>33</sup> and by the choice of 'gegyrla' as part of the gloss to bombicinum [silk] in the Harley MS: bombicinum, 'seolcen gegerla', <sup>34</sup> (c.f. Section VIII, pp.624-5, below). 'Sidan' renders sericum [silk], <sup>35</sup> the adjectives 'siden' (in the form 'sinden') and 'seolcen' appear glossing bombicinum, <sup>36</sup> 'cal-seolcen' glosses olosericum <sup>37</sup> [silk mantle, ninth century] and the term is used of a weaving thread when 'seolcan ab' glosses tramasericum <sup>38</sup> [trama, weft]. It is possible that silk was normally used in its undyed state since yellow was considered its typical colour: a medical treatise states '...þæt him se lichama...swo god seoluc'. <sup>39</sup>

## II

Outer garments

basing	hop-pada	pad
bratt	hreða	pilece
casul	hrycg-hmæg	reowe
crusene	hwitel	rift
fel	loða	rocc
frence	mentel	sciccels
godweb-cynn	ofer-hacele	sciccing
hacele	ofer-læg	stole
hed-clað	ofer-slop	ufre scrud
heden	ofer-slype	wæfels

1. Terms of doubtful validity

The form and meaning of two of the words listed above has recently been questioned by Meritt. 'FRENCE', BTS "rough cloak", is found in the Harley MS glossary, glossing coculus<sup>1</sup> [cucullus cap, hood, cowl, (Isidor) small cloak]. Meritt suggested that 'frence' was in fact a metathesized form of 'frecne', "perilous", and that an older glossary in which coculus was followed on the same line by egre, difficile may have caused the confusion.<sup>2</sup>

'HREDA', BTD "garment made of goat's skin", BTS "mantle", is found three times ('hreðan') glossing melote<sup>3</sup> [animal skin, especially sheepskin, (Isidor) man's garment made of goatskin]. Meritt surmised that the "mantle" interpretation was unnecessary. He suggested that 'hreðan' was a metathesized form of 'herðan', "goat skin".<sup>4</sup>

While Meritt's suggestions are plausible, there is no reason to suppose that Anglo-Saxon glossators were unfamiliar with the range of meanings of melote, (since apart from the Aldhelm text from which these glosses derive, the word is defined by Isidor, also a much glossed author, among De Pallis Virorum<sup>5</sup>) and of coculus.



## 2. Ecclesiastical or secular garments

Some of the garment names listed above appear to refer to clothes which may have been worn by ecclesiastics. This need not exclude the possibility that garments of the same names, and indeed, of the same type, may also have been worn by seculars.

'CASUL', BTD "a cassock, short cloak", renders byrrum [birrus a cloak (to keep off the rain)] in the Harley glossary.<sup>6</sup> The word derives from Latin casula [a cloak, chasuble] and its form suggests that it was borrowed from medieval Latin,<sup>7</sup> and was introduced into English through scholarship.<sup>8</sup> Since there is no evidence that the term was employed in secular OE texts, and since the modern English derivatives "casule" and "chasuble" have only been used of vestments, it is possible that the OE word applied only to ecclesiastical garments. The specialized development of the Latin word's meaning from "cloak" to "a type of vestment", however, is believed to have occurred in the eighth or ninth century.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore possible that the word was borrowed into English before this development and that it may have been used in English in a non-specialized, and secular, sense.

'FEL', TCS "garment of skin", must be mentioned here since it occurs in a monastic text,<sup>10</sup> but it will be considered further among fur garments (subsection 4, pp. 557-8, below).

'GODWEB-CYNN', BTD "a kind of cloak or pall", occurs only in the Dialogue of Salomon and Saturn, where it refers to the garment of St. Michael.<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence about the form of the garment, or that the word was in general use. It may have been a nonce-word compounded from the familiar 'god-web' (Section VIII, 2, p. 626, below), which was used of fine or purple material, but which was not confined to ecclesiastical use.

'HACELE', BTD "a cloak, mantle, upper garment, cassock", could be used of ecclesiastical vestments, but occurs more often without this specialized application. The Icelandic cognate hökull signifies "a priest's cope",<sup>12</sup> but the Gothic hakuls does not appear to have had an ecclesiastical significance.<sup>13</sup> The application of the OE and Icelandic terms to vestments may therefore have been an adaptation of words already existing in Germanic languages. There exist in Old English the compounds 'massehakele'<sup>14</sup> and 'preostes hakele',<sup>15</sup> but the necessity for the prefixes suggests that 'hacele' did not always have ecclesiastical significance. (Cf. 'haliġ-rift', Section VI, 3b, p. 602, below.)

'Hacele' glosses lacerna [a cloak worn by Romans over the toga in cold or wet weather] in association with 'loða' ('hmcile') in the Corpus glossary<sup>16</sup> and in the related A-order glossary in Cleopatra.<sup>17</sup> In the Corpus glossary it also renders paludamentum: genus vestimenti bellici<sup>18</sup> [paludamentum military cloak], in Cleopatra it glosses ependiten<sup>19</sup> [? for ependytes an outer garment] and, with 'lachen, oððe loðan' it glosses clamidem<sup>20</sup> [chlamys cloak]. 'Hacele geflenod', uel 'gecorded' glosses lacerna in the Junius/BM MS glossary<sup>21</sup> and 'hacel', uel 'fotsið (fotsid) sciccel' glosses the same lemma in a group listed under the heading Vestium Nomina in the same glossary.<sup>22</sup> The entry suggests that the 'hacele' resembled the 'sciccels' when the latter was worn reaching to the feet. In the Lindisfarne Gospels 'hæcla' renders pallium [Greek cloak, thus upper garment; vestment, archbishop's insignia], the entry suggesting that it was equivalent to the rare word 'bratt'.<sup>23</sup> The word 'hacele' is also used to translate pallium



in an OE version of the Benedictine Rule where the context distinguishes between the functions of 'hacele' and 'tunece': 'He læt þa hacelan to þæm, þe hine tunecan benæmbe'.<sup>24</sup> In the interlinear version of this text, 'hacele' is replaced by 'wæfæls'<sup>25</sup> which suggests that the two words were synonymous.

Literary texts confirm that the 'hacele' was worn by seculars, and by both sexes. In the OE version of Orosius 'ane blace hacelan' ('hacelan' rendering sagum) is sent to Caesar.<sup>26</sup> [Sagum coarse wollen bláñket or mantle.] The term is used of the garment of those who stoned the martyr Stephen<sup>27</sup> and of the 'gerefa' in the story of St. Margaret.<sup>28</sup> In the account of the martyrdom of St. Pelagia, it appears to be a penitential garment and is worn by a woman.<sup>29</sup>

It is possible that the 'hacele' was hooded, since there is an Icelandic cognate heckla "a hooded garment",<sup>30</sup> and since 'hakel' appears in the Middle English poem Sir Gawain and the Green Knight in a context which suggests that the word might signify a head covering: 'Vch hille hade a hatte, a myst-hakel huge'.<sup>31</sup> The passage is ambiguous, however. 'Hakel' is not necessarily an extension of 'hatte' and could mean "a cloak of mist", or, with a different interpretation of 'hakel',<sup>32</sup> "a conical cover".

Since 'hacele' twice glosses subucula<sup>33</sup> [a man's undergarment, shirt] it is also considered among body garments (Section III, 3, p.568, below).

The compound 'OFER-HACELE' is listed individually in BTD and defined "a cope, hood". It occurs in an ecclesiastical text,<sup>34</sup> where it seems synonymous with 'cæppa' a word which may sometimes have been used of vestments (c.f. Section VI,

3, pp. 599-600, below). The Icelandic cognate yfir-hökull signifies "surplice"<sup>35</sup> and it is possible that the OE compound of the same form had specialized, ecclesiastical significance.

'HED-CLAP', BTD "a thick upper garment of coarse material", (CHM 'hedeclap',) is only documented once ('hed clape'), in a medical treatise which gives no information about the nature of the garment.<sup>36</sup> BTD's definition derives from Cockayne's footnote which cites an unpublished (and unidentified) gloss and claims the OE word translated uentrem for ventrale [normally meaning belly-band] in the medical treatise. There appears to be no evidence that the word signified an ecclesiastical vestment, though the coarseness of the material is suggested by the relationship of the word to 'heden' (below). 'Hed-clap' is one of many compounds based upon the general garment term 'clap' (Section VIII, 1, p. 620, below).

'HEDEN', BTD "hood, chasuble", BTS "an overcoat, a mantle, cloak", glosses casla (casula) in the A-order Cleopatra glossary.<sup>37</sup> It translates cucullum<sup>38</sup> and in the Harley glossary renders cocula (cucullus) in two entries, once with 'crusne', once with 'aalfatu'.<sup>39</sup> Each of these lemmata may have signified an ecclesiastical vestment, but the Latin words had a range of meanings, some apparently secular. An instruction in the Confessionale of Ecgbert confirms that the 'heden' could be worn by men in holy orders, since the garment was to be removed for singing mass and for gospel readings,<sup>40</sup> but the rule suggests that the 'heden' was not an ecclesiastical vestment. Since the chief characteristic of the garment appears to have been that it was made of fur or sheepskin, 'heden' will be discussed further below (subsection 4, p. 558).



'HOP-PADA' is defined in BTD "an upper tunic, cope", in BTS "an upper garment" and in TCS (with alteration of the editorial length marks over the vowels) "a circular cope". The ecclesiastical associations of the earliest and latest definitions are justified by the occurrence of the word in Junius/BM, preceding a group of terms relating to the episcopate, and almost certainly associated with them: ependeton 'cop', uel 'hoppada', uel 'ufrescrud'.<sup>41</sup> 'Pad' is a well-documented OE word meaning "outer garment" (subsection 5, p.562, below) and 'hop', related to modern English "hoop",<sup>42</sup> may have been used elsewhere in OE as a compound element relating to clothing.<sup>43</sup> The combination of the outer garment 'pad' and the circular shape implicit in 'hop' justify the TCS definition in suggesting an outer garment of wide cut.

'OFER-SLOP' and 'OFER-SLYPE' may conveniently be discussed together. BTD defines both "an overgarment, surplice", BTS adding "an alb" to 'ofer-slype'. The words appear to have been compounded according to the pattern of adding the prefix 'ofer-' to a garment name (c.f. 'ofer-hacele', above) though 'slop' and 'slype' alone are not documented from the OE period (Section III, 5, pp.573-4, below).

'Ofer-slipas' is applied to ecclesiastical garments in the Rule of Chrodegang, where it translates camsiles<sup>44</sup> [similar to camisia shirt, undergarment, vestment (from the twelfth century)]. In Middle English, Chaucer's Canon's Yeoman refers to the Canon's 'overslope'<sup>45</sup> which confirms that a garment of this name was worn by churchmen. The Icelandic cognate yfir-sloppr signifies "an outer gown" which could be worn by a priest.<sup>46</sup> Icelandic sloppr can, but need not, have ecclesiastical

connotation. Other uses of OE 'oferslop' and 'ofer-slype' are unlikely to refer specifically to vestments. In homiletic context St. Bartholemew is said to be 'ymbescryd mid hwitum oferslype',<sup>47</sup> and an interpretation of dreams includes the information: 'oferslop hwit habban blisse getacnaþ. Oferslop bleofah habban ærende fullic getacnaþ'.<sup>48</sup> In the Lindisfarne Gospels 'in stolum '1' on oferslopum' glosses in stolis [stola a long upper garment; in late Latin a woman's garment; ecclesiastical vestment, stole]. The West Saxon versions have 'gegyrlum' at this point and the Mercian only 'stollum'.<sup>49</sup>

'OFER-BREDELS', BTD "a covering, veil, garment", is used of an ecclesiastical vestment in the OE Pastoral Care, where it renders superhumerales<sup>50</sup> [vestment, pall] and is synonymous with 'mæsse-hacele'.<sup>51</sup> With 'cyrtel' the word glosses palla in Junius/BM<sup>52</sup> [wide upper garment of Roman ladies; an undergarment, man's garment; vestment, archbishop's pall] and with 'wæfels' it glosses opertorium<sup>53</sup> [cover]. The word apparently had various uses (it is also applied to a veil, for instance<sup>54</sup>) but was sometimes used of an outer garment, including that worn by a cleric.

'ROCC', BTD "an upper garment", is defined by HEW Rock, Tunika des Subdiacons.<sup>55</sup> The word is used of vestments in compound, for example 'biscop-roc',<sup>56</sup> and is never found in context proving it to have been used of secular garments, though 'rocc' alone is not documented with an obvious meaning of "vestment". Since the word may have signified a fur garment, it will be considered further below (subsection 4, pp.559-60).

'STOLE', BTD "a stole, long outer garment", is a loan from late Latin borrowed through the written medium.<sup>57</sup> The



term was evidently used of the ecclesiastical stole, since the entry stola 'stole' appears among a list of vestments in a glossary in BM MS Julius Aii.<sup>58</sup> The use of the word in biblical translations suggests that its meaning, and that of stola, were not considered limited to clerical garments. There is no indication, however, that the term was in general, secular use. It is only documented translating the Latin word from which it derives. 'Stol' and 'stole' occur in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth texts of the Gospels, where the West Saxon versions have 'gegyrla', and with the addition of 'oferslop' in Lindisfarne at Luke 20, 46.<sup>59</sup> This latter case might represent the coupling of a familiar, vernacular compound with a Latin loan word which was not yet so familiar.

'UFRE SCRUD' is not listed individually in BTD, but appears under 'ufer' with the definition "an upper garment". The word is included here as a possible vestment name because it ('ufrescrud') appears in association with 'cop'. Together with 'hop-pada' the words gloss ependeten.<sup>60</sup>

### 3. Cloaks or blankets/curtains

Several words appear to have semantic range including "blanket" or "curtain" as well as "cloak". The words may appear in glossary lists of bedding as well as of clothing, they may gloss a range of Latin terms or words such as sagum which themselves have a range of meanings. The clearest example of this breadth of function is 'HWITEL', BTD "whittle, cloak, mantle,<sup>61</sup> blanket". Several glossary entries suggest the meaning "cloak". In an Aldhelm MS 'ruhne hwitel' glosses amphiballum<sup>62</sup> [garment, cloak]. In Junius/BM under the heading

Vestium Nomina 'hynsce hwitel' glosses linna<sup>63</sup> [? for laena a lined upper garment, cloak or lena mantle]. In a group of clothing terms in the same glossary the word glosses sagum.<sup>64</sup> 'Hwitel oððe ryft' glosses sagum in a group of clothing terms in Cleopatra,<sup>65</sup> though the group occurs under the heading Incipit de Lectulo [lectulus bed, couch] so sagum could have been included as bedding rather than a cloak.

'Hwitel' was certainly used with the meaning "bed-cover" in other glosses. In the Digby Aldhelm MS 'stræla, hwitla, wæstlinga' glosses stragularum<sup>66</sup> [stragula a pall; stragulum a covering, rug, carpet]. The entry sagum 'hwytel' occurs among items of bedding in MS Julius Aii.<sup>67</sup> Literary texts appear to confirm that the word was used of bedding. It probably signifies a rug or blanket in the OE account of Jael's reception of Sisera in her tent: 'seo wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine'.<sup>68</sup> In Genesis, 'Sem 7 Jafeth dydon anne hwitel on heora sculdrum' in an attempt to cover their father's nakedness.<sup>69</sup> The covering they used could have been a cloak, but was more likely to be a blanket, though in both these quotations the OE word translates pallium. 'Hwitel' refers to bedding in the OE version of an anecdote related by Bede. The incident involves a monk as he washes 'his reowan 7 his hwitlas' which had been in use in the monastery guest house, presumably as bedding.<sup>70</sup> The Latin Bede has lenas siue saga.<sup>71</sup> In an OE homily the word is used of a blanket on which an injured child is carried.<sup>72</sup>

The word seems to have signified both cloak and blanket in Middle and modern English. It is used of bedding in the description of Gluttony in Piers Plowman:



he gob to a cold beddyng...  
 For when he streyneþ hym to streche þe straw is hus whitel.<sup>73</sup>

The term survived until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in English dialects, mostly southern,<sup>74</sup> where it signified a woman's shawl, fringed, and coloured scarlet or white.

In Anglo-Saxon times the 'hwitel' may have been of fixed size or weight, since it could be used as legal tender. Ine's Laws include the definition of 'gafohlhwitel' as the rent of a hide of land.<sup>75</sup>

It is probable that the 'hwitel' was originally made of white, undyed fabric, and that this appearance gave rise to the name (OE 'hwit', "white"). This view is supported by the existence of an Icelandic cognate, hvitill, "a white bedcover",<sup>76</sup> and by the fact that the shawl called "whittle" was traditionally often white.

It is possible that 'hwitel' and the other words discussed below could have been the names of garments, and, independently, of domestic soft furnishings, but it seems more likely that the words' ranges of function stemmed from the fact that the strong, sometimes voluminous piece of material worn as a cloak out of doors was put to use as a blanket or curtain indoors. There is evidence that the cloak was used as a bed covering in the ninth century, in the Monk of St. Gall's account of Charlemagne's impatience with short cloaks. Their inadequacy as bed coverings was one of his reasons.<sup>77</sup> A cloak used in such a way would probably be a simple rectangle.

'LODA', BTD "a cloak, upper garment" may be mentioned briefly in this connection, since it glosses lodix<sup>78</sup> [a coverlet,

blanket]. Several other citations, however, confirm that the word referred to a garment, though the exact nature of the article is unclear. The word is discussed below (subsections 4,5, pp. 558-9, 560-1 ).

'REOWE', BTD "rug, mantle", presents similar semantic problems to 'hwitel' though there is less evidence that 'reowe' was used of a garment. In the Cleopatra A-order glossary the word glosses lena, and 'linen reowe' glosses lena linea.<sup>79</sup> The lemma is ambiguous and the context unhelpful. In an alphabetically-arranged group of words in the same glossary, 'reowu' glosses tapeta<sup>80</sup> [carpet, coverlet], and the use of the word in OE prose writing confirms that the word could be used of bedding. It occurs with 'hwitel' in the anecdote told by Bede<sup>81</sup> and is clearly a bedcover in the Laws of Alfred: permitted grounds for a man to feud include 'gif he gemeteð oðerne æt his æwum wife...under anre reon'.<sup>82</sup>

'Reowe' is related to OE 'ruwa', "rug, covering, tapestry", and to 'ryhe', "rug, rough covering, blanket". It is possible that the word was also related to the adjective 'ruh', "rough, shaggy, hairy", and that the object was named from its shaggy or rough texture.

'RIFT', BTD "a veil, curtain, cloak", may have signified a hanging as well as a garment. The uses of the word as gloss to cicla<sup>83</sup> and biuligo, niger uelamen<sup>84</sup> and translating uelum ('wahrift')<sup>85</sup> support BTD's definition of "veil" and are discussed below (Section VI, 3b, p. 602 ). In association with 'hwitel' the word glosses sagum among clothing terms in Cleopatra,<sup>86</sup> and in the Corpus glossary renders laena<sup>87</sup> and palla.<sup>88</sup> In biblical translations the word renders pallium<sup>89</sup>



and chlamyde.<sup>90</sup> The Icelandic cognate ript also signifies a garment.<sup>91</sup>

The evidence for 'rift' signifying "a curtain" is a gloss in the Digby MS, where 'rif' glosses conopeo<sup>92</sup> [gauze net, especially used on a bed; canopy]. Although 'rift' could obviously be used of a cloak, the word may have applied to lengths of material which could be used in other ways, as veiling or curtaining.

The term appears to have been favoured by Anglian scholars, although it also occurs in West Saxon texts. The Mercian translator of St. Matthew's Gospel uses 'hryft'<sup>93</sup> where the West Saxon versions have 'wæfels' and the Northumbrian 'hragl' ± 'hæcla' (for 'hacele') ± 'bratt'.<sup>94</sup> The Northumbrian and Mercian versions use 'ryfte' where the West Saxon have 'scycclse'.<sup>95</sup> It appears, therefore, that 'bratt', 'hacele', 'hrægel', 'rift', 'sciccells' and 'wæfels' had some semantic overlap.

#### 4. Fur garments

The 'CRUSENE', BTD "a robe made of skins", may have had some similarity to the garment called 'heden' since the words are found together ('crusne') glossing cocula.<sup>96</sup> The term clearly signifies a fur or skin garment since it glosses mastruga [garment made of skins, a sheepskin] in the Julius MS, in conjunction with 'deorfellen roc'.<sup>97</sup> The word has cognates in Germanic languages and in Latin crusina.<sup>98</sup>

It seems that the word 'FEL', normally signifying the hide or fell of an animal (sometimes of a human) could also be used of a skin garment. TCS adds to other uses of the term the definition "garment of skin", on the evidence of an

occurrence in the Rule of Chrodegang, where the word translates pelle [pellis skin, leather garment] and applies to a garment reaching to the feet: 'Sume preostas syn þe eallinga gýmað... þæt heora fell swa side hangion þæt se fot ne ætywe.'<sup>99</sup> This shows that monks were accustomed to wear garments of skin and that these were referred to by their material; but it does not prove that the word 'fel' came to be used of a particular garment. There is no evidence that seculars wore a 'fel', though, as the monks did not wear it as a mass vestment, it is possible that the garment was worn by laymen, too.

'HEDEN', considered briefly above (subsection 2, p.550), is cognate with Icelandic heðinn, "fur coat".<sup>100</sup> In the Corpus glossary the word renders gunna<sup>101</sup> [in late Latin a leather garment; Anglo-Saxon writers used the word of a fur garment worn by monks (B, 2, p.533, above)]. 'Hedene' also renders melote in the Digby MS with 'basincge' and 'scicelse'<sup>102</sup> which suggests semantic overlap with these two words, which are discussed below (subsection 6, pp.563-4). Taking into account the meanings of cucullus, which 'heden' glosses elsewhere,<sup>103</sup> it seems possible that the OE word signified an outer garment of fur which may have been hooded.

'HREDA', the validity of which has already been discussed (subsection 1, p.546), in glossing melote<sup>104</sup> might also have signified a garment of skin.

'LOÐA', considered above and below (subsections 3, 5, pp. 555-6, 560-1), is only included in the present group because among the cognates of the word in Germanic languages is Icelandic loði, which is used in the Elder Edda of the shaggy, pile-woven mantles (more



commonly called feldur) which were produced in and exported from Iceland until c.1200.<sup>105</sup>

'PILECE', BTD "a robe of skin, a pelisse", also has Icelandic cognates piliza and pilla, "fur coat".<sup>106</sup> The word is also related to modern English "pilch", which is documented up to the beginning of the present century with the meaning "a skin, leather or coarse woollen outer garment".<sup>107</sup> The word is derived from medieval Latin pellicia<sup>108</sup> [documented from ninth to fifteenth centuries and defined "pelisse", "pilch", "leather garment"] which it glosses in Julius (pellicie 'pylece').<sup>109</sup> Adam and Eve are said to have worn fur garments of this name: 'Hwi worhte God pylcan Adame 7 Euan æfter ðam gylte? Ðæt he geswutelode mid ðam deaðum fellum. ðæt hi wæron ða deaðlice for þære forgægednysse'.<sup>110</sup> An article of this name was in use in the eleventh century: 'se cyngc Malcolm 7 his sweoster Margareta geafon him myccla geofa 7 manega gærsama 7 eallon his mannan on scynnan mid pælle betogen 7 on merðerne pyleceon'.<sup>111</sup>

'ROCC', which has already been mentioned as a possible clerical garment (subsection 2, p. 552, above), has cognates in Old Irish as well as in Germanic languages.<sup>112</sup> Since 'rocce' renders Latin clamide in the OE version of a text on the interpretation of dreams<sup>113</sup> the 'rocc' was probably a cloak. Among a group of clothing terms in Junius/BM the word glosses callicula<sup>114</sup> [possibly for gallicula a garment, rather than caligula a boot, or an error for 'socc'; c.f. IV, 3, p. 586, below]. That the 'rocc' could be made of skin or fur is suggested by the gloss 'gæten', uel 'broccen rooc' among the Vestium Nomina group in Junius/BM, where the phrase

glosses melotes, uel pera<sup>115</sup> [Isidor gives pera as an alternative to melote]. 'Crusene, oððe deorfellen roc' glosses mastruga among clothing terms in Cleopatra.<sup>116</sup> This gloss follows toral 'roc',<sup>117</sup> an entry which is also to be found in Junius/BM ('rooc') again among clothing terms.<sup>118</sup> [Toral normally means the valance of a couch, but the contexts suggest that the glossators understood something else by the lemma.] Stroebe mentioned 'deorfellen roc' in conjunction with fur outer garments<sup>119</sup> but categorized 'rocc' with body garments such as 'scyрте' and 'smocc'.<sup>120</sup> She claimed, however, that the 'rocc' was worn "über dem Hemd".<sup>121</sup> The only evidence that 'rocc' could signify a body garment is the compound 'breost-rocc' which occurs as part of the gloss to renones in the Junius/BM Vestium Nomina group: 'stiðe and ruge breost-rocces',<sup>122</sup> and this does not, in view of the meaning of reno [reindeer skin, fur pelisse worn by ancient Germans], prove that the garment was not outermost. 'Rocc' was evidently a loose term which was often used of a fur or skin garment, but which had to be qualified in such cases, thus 'broccen rooc', 'deorfellen roc'.

##### 5. Outer or inner garments

'LODA', BTD "a cloak, upper garment", has already been discussed as a possible blanket and as a fur garment (subsections 3,4, pp. 555-6, 558-9, above). It is possible that the word could be applied to a body garment, since more than once it glosses colobium<sup>123</sup> [a word which often signifies "shirt", although it has other meanings, including "cloak"]. The implications of this use are discussed



below (Section III, 3, pp. 568-9). The majority of documented occurrences of 'loða', however, show that the word could signify "cloak". In the Corpus glossary the word glosses lacerna (with 'haecile')<sup>124</sup> and a similar entry (with 'hacele') appears in the A-order glossary in Cleopatra.<sup>125</sup> With 'hacelan, oððe lachen' the word glosses clamidem in the same manuscript.<sup>126</sup> The gloss 'scete, loða' to sandalium in the Corpus glossary<sup>127</sup> is obviously an error [sandalium slipper, sandal], perhaps associated with the subsequent entry: sagulum 'loða'.<sup>128</sup> [sagulum a small military cloak]. The word is used in the OE version of the Pastoral Care where it translates liniamento [garment] and refers to the apparel of King Saul, from which David cuts 'ænne læppan'.<sup>129</sup>

'MENTEL' is also found glossing the ambiguous colobium<sup>130</sup> and is therefore discussed below (Section III, 3, pp. 568-9). The word translates chlamys in the Pastoral Care<sup>131</sup> fulfilling the same function as 'loða' in the Saul episode. 'Mid twifealdum mentel' renders diploide in the Stowe Psalter<sup>132</sup> [diplois double garment to be wrapped round the body, cloak]. The word is borrowed from Latin mantellum [a cloak] but its form testifies that it was an early loan<sup>133</sup> and its use in OE texts suggests that it became integrated into the vernacular at an early stage and remained in use. The word is antecedent to modern English "mantle".<sup>134</sup> The use of the word in the Pastoral Care shows that a garment of this name might be worn by a man, while a bequest in a tenth-century will shows that in late Anglo-Saxon England the word was used of a woman's garment. The bequest suggests that a 'mentel' might be of some value, though since the testatrix makes reference to

'hyre beteran mentel'<sup>135</sup> she obviously owned more than one. The bequest of a 'mentel-preon' in the same will<sup>136</sup> suggests that the garment was fastened by means of a clasp, pin or brooch. ('Mentel-preon' is discussed below, Section IX, p. 630).

'PAD', although defined by BTD "an outer garment, coat, cloak", was considered by Wülcker to signify "a smock-frock or shirt"<sup>137</sup> and was grouped by Stroebe, with some doubt, among body garments ('scyrte', 'smócc').<sup>138</sup> The Old High German cognate pfeit signifies "shirt".<sup>139</sup> As 'paad' the term glosses praetersorium in the Corpus glossary.<sup>140</sup>

[Praetersorium means "a stray animal"; ? an error for praetextorium,<sup>141</sup> the name of a garment which may take the form of a tunic.] WW read 'waad' against pretersorim in the (related) Cleopatra glossary,<sup>142</sup> but Stryker read 'paad'.<sup>143</sup> Whatever the shape of the garment suggested by the glosses (if the glossator really intended the word to gloss praetexta), the occurrence of 'pad' in several compounds shows that it signified an outer garment. Examples include 'herepad', "a coat of mail",<sup>144</sup> and 'hasu-pada', "one having a grey garment", thus "eagle".<sup>145</sup> 'Hop-pada' (subsection 2, p.55/ , above) is another compound of 'pad'.

'ROCC' was considered a body garment by Stroebe<sup>146</sup> but as suggested above (subsection 4, pp.559-60) there is little justification for this.

## 6. Other terms

'BRATT', BTD "a cloak", probably derives from Old British, ultimately from Old Irish.<sup>147</sup> A post-settlement loan into OE



from Celtic, it is the only garment term among the known words of this origin. The word only occurs in OE in a Northumbrian text, having perhaps been adopted from the Northern native population. It is even possible that the term refers to a distinctive garment borrowed from the Celts. If so, this may partially explain why, earlier, the Christian Northumbrians were considered unusual in matters of dress (B, 5, pp. 537-9, above). The word glosses pallium in the Lindisfarne Gospels together with 'hrægil' and 'hæcla', where the Mercian text has 'hryft' and the West Saxon 'wæfels'.<sup>148</sup> The word survived into later English, a garment of this name being mentioned in contemptuous terms in The Canterbury Tales:

... for nadde they but a sheete,  
Which that they myghte wrappe hem inne a-nyte,  
And a brat to walken inne by daylyght,  
They wolde hem selle...<sup>149</sup>

The word also survived in Welsh, where it came to mean "a rag" and in Gaelic, where the meaning "mantle" persisted.<sup>150</sup> The later evidence suggests that the 'bratt' was, or came to be, a humble garment.

'BASING', BTD "a short cloak, a cloak", BTS "a mantle", is twice linked with 'wæfels', glossing chlamide (i. sagum) ('uæfel[se], basincge'),<sup>151</sup> and clamidem i. vestem ('basincge, wæfel').<sup>152</sup> In biblical context 'basincge' renders pallium<sup>153</sup> and 'mid twifealdum basinge' renders diploide in one version of the Psalms.<sup>154</sup> This suggests some semantic similarity to 'mentel'. The term is used by Ælfric of the cloak which St. Martin shared with a beggar.<sup>155</sup> This suggests that the garment was rectangular, rather than tailored. The word might be used of a fur garment, since, linked with 'hedene' and 'scicelse' 'basincge' glosses melote.<sup>156</sup>

'HRYCG-HRÆGEL', BTD "a dorsal, mantle", occurs in two wills. Wulfwaru bequeaths an object of this name to a church<sup>157</sup> and Bishop Alfwold bequeaths to his sister 'i.hrigchrægl and i.sethrægl',<sup>158</sup> a combination which suggests that the 'hricghrægl' might have been designed to cover the back of a piece of furniture rather than the human back. 'Hrycg' is not documented in relation to furniture, however, though it can mean the human, or animal back.<sup>159</sup> Since 'hrægel' is a common garment term (Section VIII, 1, pp. 41-24 below) the compound may signify a garment.

'OFER-LÆG', BTD "a cloak", (CHM 'oferlagu',) is deduced from an entry in the Leiden glossary, where 'oberlagu' renders anfibula<sup>160</sup> [amphibalum].

'SCICCELS', BTD "a cloak, mantle", is a word of unknown origin, though it has cognates in Germanic languages which suggests that the OE term may have been well-established. 'Scyccelse' renders clamyde in the West Saxon Gospels where 'ryfte' is found in the Anglian versions.<sup>161</sup> 'Fotsið (fotsid) sciccel', with 'hacele', glosses clamis among clothing terms in Junius/BM.<sup>162</sup> With 'basincge' and 'hedene' it glosses melote<sup>163</sup> which suggests that a 'sciccells' of fur or skin was not unknown. The word ('sicilse') is also associated with mantile [mantle, overall] and veste<sup>164</sup> [as vestimentum clothing, garment, vestment, bedclothes]. The word is used more than once (including the form 'scyccel') of the cloak which St. Martin divided with a poor man<sup>165</sup> which suggests that it was similar to the 'basing'. The word ('scicilse') is also used of the cloak of a poor man, divided the same way, in Appolonius of Tyre.<sup>166</sup> The word translates tribunario [small cloak]. Elsewhere in the text the garment is called 'wæfels'. The evidence shows that the 'sciccells' was worn by



Related to 'sciccels' is 'SCICcing', BTd "a cloak, cape". The word has cognates in Scandinavian languages, but is only known in OE from glosses. It renders cappa [cap, hood, cloak] in the Corpus ('scicging'),<sup>167</sup> Cleopatra A-order<sup>168</sup> and Cleopatra subject-order<sup>169</sup> glossaries.

'WÆFELS', BTd "covering, wrap, cloak, veil", glosses chlamide (i. sagum) ('uæfel') with 'basincge',<sup>170</sup> and clamidem i. vestem ('wæfel') with the same word.<sup>171</sup> Several times the word renders pallium: in Kentish glosses ('wefels')<sup>172</sup> in the interlinear version of the Benedictine Rule ('wæfæls')<sup>173</sup> and in the West Saxon version of St. Matthew's Gospel.<sup>174</sup> The other version of the Rule has 'hacelan' in this context<sup>175</sup> and the Anglian versions of the Gospel also use other terms: 'hrægl', 'hæcla' and 'bratt' in Lindisfarne, 'hryft' in Rushworth.<sup>176</sup> The context differentiates between 'wæfels' and 'tunecce': '7 þam ðe wylle...niman þine tunecan. læt him to þinne wæfels'. In an Aldhelm MS 'linnenne wæuels' glosses anaboladia, (amictorium lineum)<sup>177</sup> [anaboladium linen mantle or wrap; amictus cloak]. In another, 'wæulse' glosses theristro.<sup>178</sup> The word does appear to have been used with the loose meaning "covering", since it translates opertorium (with 'overbraedels')<sup>179</sup> and tegmen<sup>180</sup> [covering]. It glosses armenum (uelum)<sup>181</sup> [covering, curtain, veil] and is used of the cloth with which Christ was blindfolded.<sup>182</sup> 'Wæfels' then, might signify various types of covering, but the word could certainly be used of a cloak.

## III

Body garments

The following group of terms refers to garments which covered all or part of the trunk. They might in some instances extend to cover the legs, but if so, in the form of a skirt rather than trousers which are considered elsewhere (Section IV, below). The body garments might in practice be the outermost garment, for example in summer, but it might be covered by the cloak or other outer garments discussed above (Section II). Similarly a body garment might be worn next to the skin, or might be worn with an undergarment.

Bearm-clap	Eaxl-clap	Slop
Bearm-rægl	Ham	Slype
Breost-lin	Hemeþe	Smoc
Breost-rocc	Sculdor-hrægl	Tunece
Cemes	Scyrte	Underserc
Cyrtel	Serc	Wealca

'Hacele', 'lopa' and 'mentel', considered above as Outer garments are also discussed as Body garments.

1. Terms probably confined to ecclesiastical use

'EAX(L)-CLAP' and 'SCULDOR-HREGL' may be dismissed from the discussion as both appear to refer to ecclesiastical vestments, although the definitions in BTD do not make this clear. Both are hapax legomena, formed after a common pattern of compounding: part-of-the-body plus general garment term. 'Eax(l)-clap', BTD "shoulder-cloth, scapular", is used in biblical context of a garment of religious significance (an ephod).<sup>1</sup> The compound renders humerales [umerales, covering for the shoulders, cape]. 'Sculdor-hrægl', BTD "a garment to cover the shoulders", occurs in a list of vestments in the Julius MS, glossing superhumerales.<sup>2</sup> This near-translation



may be contrasted with the adoption of the Latin loan 'superumerale' in another OE text, a catalogue of sign language for monks.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Breast cloths, aprons

'BREOST-LIN', BTD "a breast linen or bandage, breast cloth", occurs in the Cleopatra A-order glossary, where 'breostlines' glosses fasciae<sup>4</sup> [fascia, band]. In the absence of further evidence the function of the article named is impossible to determine. It could have been a garment, but might equally plausibly have been, for example, a wrapping for a corpse.

'BREOST-ROCC', BTD "a breast-cloth", occurs in Junius/BM under the heading Vestium Nomina: renones 'stiðe and ruge breostrocces'.<sup>5</sup> The compound is formed after a common pattern, but despite its single documented occurrence in OE, it may have been a well-established term since there exists an Old High German cognate brust-roch, noted by BTD and said to gloss thorax [breast armour, doublet].

'BEARM-CLAP' occurs in Junius/BM as gloss to mappula<sup>6</sup> [c.f. mappa, napkin or ecclesiastical mantle] following mantile 'hand hrægl' and a group of words relating to cookery. [Mantile normally means mantle, overall; possibly there is some confusion with manus, hand]. The context suggests that the glossator intended 'bearm-clap' and 'hand hrægl' to mean "apron" and "napkin", respectively. In Middle English a 'barmcloth' signified an apron (thus MED) as indicated in the Promptorium Parvulorum where 'Barym cloth or naprym' glosses limas<sup>7</sup> [limus a girdle or apron trimmed with purple] and in one of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales where the young wife of a carpenter wears what appears to be an elaborate apron:

...she werede  
 A barmclooth eek as whit as morne milk  
 Upon hir lendes, ful of many a gore.<sup>8</sup>

OE 'bearm', often translated "bosom", may mean "lap" rather than "breast".

'BEARM-RÆGL', BTD "a bosom garment", is a compound deduced from the glossary entry against mappula cited above. The lemma is glossed 'bearmclap' uel 'rægl'. The term is not documented elsewhere and it is perhaps an unnecessary suggestion since the use of 'hrægl' is extensive (Section VIII, 1, pp. 619, 20, below).

### 3. Shirts or cloaks

'HACELE', 'LOÐA' and 'MENTEL' primarily gloss and translate Latin words meaning "cloak", but they also gloss words meaning "shirt" and are associated with OE words which clearly belong to the category "Shirt".

'Hacele' glosses subucula [a man's undergarment, shirt] in the Cleopatra MS<sup>9</sup> and, in association with 'ham', in the Digby Aldhelm MS.<sup>10</sup> The two occurrences may not be independent of each other, since this section of the Cleopatra MS is mostly devoted to Aldhelm glosses.

'Loða' and 'mentel' both occur as parts of glosses to colobium [a short-sleeved undergarment; from the eighth century a shirt, sleeveless tunic or cloak]. The OE words occur together in the Harley MS glossary in explanation of Isidor's definition of colobium:<sup>11</sup> colobium, dictum quia longum est, et sine manicis 'lopa, hom', uel 'smoc, mentel'.<sup>12</sup> 'Loða' also renders colobium in the Digby 146 Aldhelm MS in association with 'serc', 'smoc' and 'hemeþe',<sup>13</sup> and in the



Royal 6 Bvii Aldhelm MS.<sup>14</sup> While the ultimate sources of these glosses are different, two being from Aldhelm, the other from Isidor, it is not unlikely that they are connected. Surviving OE glosses demonstrate interdependence in so many cases that one cannot deny the possibility that the collocation may have been perpetuated by the copying of glosses from another source in an attempt to render fully the possible meanings of colobium. As already demonstrated (Section II, 5, pp.560-9), 'loða' and 'mentel' are normally the names of outer garments. It is possible that the terms had other meanings, or the garments alternative functions, but the most that can be deduced from the colobium glosses is that the 'loða' and 'mentel' shared with the 'hom' and 'smoc' (and probably 'hemeþe') the characteristics of length and sleevelessness.

#### 4. Shirts

'UNDER-SERC', BTD "an undergarment", would appear to be the strongest linguistic evidence for the existence of a garment which functioned solely as underwear. Its only occurrence is as gloss to colophium [probably for colobium] in the A-order vocabulary in the Cleopatra MS.<sup>15</sup> The compound might have meant "a shirt<sup>uor</sup> under another garment" or "something worn underneath a shirt". This appears to be one of the earliest such uses of 'under-'. (C.f. 'underwædel', Section IV, 1, p.580.)

'CEMES', BTD "a linen night-gown, chemise", replaced in BTS by "a shirt", occurs with 'ham' in the Cleopatra A-order glossary, rendering camisa<sup>16</sup> [camisia a linen shirt or night gown; in late Latin a long undergarment for men worn next to the skin]. The OE word derived from Latin camisia. Its form

suggests that it was an early borrowing into English, and its use in an OE text translating a Latin word other than camisia suggests that the word was well established in OE by King Alfred's time. It renders linea in the OE version of Gregory's Dialogues, in context which establishes that a garment of this name might be worn by a child, and also demonstrates that the 'cemes' and 'tunece' were different garments which could be worn simultaneously: 'he [the child Boniface] was utgangende of hire huse, 7 full oft butan his kemese 7 eac gelomlice butan his tunecan he eft on hire huse cyrde'.<sup>17</sup> There is no textual evidence from OE of the use of 'cemes' as a night-gown, but BTS's deletion of this interpretation seem unnecessary in view of the semantic range of camisia. Isidor, source of many entries in OE word-lists, attributes this function, among others, to camisia.<sup>18</sup>

'SCYRTE', BTD "short garment, skirt, kirtle", is found in the Boulogne Prudentius MS glossing pretexta<sup>19</sup> [praetexta, outer garment of Roman magistrates and free-born children; as worn by children, a short tunic]. The word has cognates in Germanic languages,<sup>20</sup> and is possibly related to the OE verb 'scyrtan', "to make short". It is antecedent to modern English "shirt". (The cognate "skirt" was probably a loan into Middle English from Scandinavian.<sup>21</sup>) The use of the word in an OE homily in a twelfth-century manuscript suggests that the 'sherte' was distinct from the 'curtle', and that the former was worn next to the skin, while the latter was an over-garment: '[John the Baptist] turnde ut of þe burh into wilderne ... and ches þere... Stiue here to shurte and gret sac to curtle'.<sup>22</sup>



'SERC', BTD "a shirt, shift, smock, tunic, sark", glosses colobium in the Digby MS in association with 'loða', 'smocc' and 'hemeþe'<sup>23</sup> and again with 'smoc' in a group of clothing terms in Junius/BM ('syrç').<sup>24</sup> 'Syrç' appears in a group of clothing terms in the Julius MS as gloss to colobium, uel interula<sup>25</sup> [an undergarment, shirt] and in Junius/BM the word renders suppar, interula<sup>26</sup> [supparum a linen garment worn by women]. 'Serce' glosses amilausia [amilausa a military<sup>upper</sup> garment] in the Corpus glossary<sup>27</sup> and three times in related word-lists in Cleopatra: twice in the A-order glossary<sup>28</sup> and once as the first of a group of clothing terms in the subject-order glossary.<sup>29</sup> The term appears twice in the continuous text version of the Benedictine Rule, rendering tonica [tunica Roman undergarment; documented from the twelfth century as tunic, coat, but used earlier by Ælfric of the Biblical Joseph's coat]. Despite the limited value of evidence drawn from a text concerning the monastic life, the Benedictine Rule offers the interesting information that the 'syrç', as well as being worn during the day<sup>30</sup> was worn for sleeping: a monk needed 'twegen syricas for þære nihtware'.<sup>31</sup> The interlinear version employs the loan-word 'tonican', 'tunican' in each case,<sup>32</sup> implying some degree of synonymy between 'serc' and 'tunece'.

The use of the word in the Benedictine Rule shows that the 'serc' was worn by men, and this is confirmed in Ælfric's sermon on the Passion of St. Thomas, which also demonstrates that the 'syrç' and cloak ('pallium') were different garments: 'þes pallium þe ic werige wyle me gelæstan . and min syric ne toslið... ær þan þe min sawl siðað of þam lichaman'.<sup>33</sup> The garments mentioned are obviously not ostentatious, since it has just been stated that the Christian does not wear 'flæsclice frætewunga'.

The word 'serc' was obviously well-established in the English language from early times since it occurs as an element in several compound words meaning "armour, corselet", which contribute towards the heroic vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon poet, for example, from Beowulf 'beadu-', 'here-', 'hioro-', 'leopo' and 'lic-serc'.<sup>34</sup>

'HAM', BTD "a covering, garment, shirt", also appears in military context as a compound element, for example 'fyrd-hom', "war-dress", 'scir-ham', "in bright armour".<sup>35</sup> The word is related to OE 'hama', "a covering", and also has cognates in the Germanic languages, for example Icelandic hamr, "a skin".<sup>36</sup> The term is obviously long-established in the Germanic languages. The word glosses colobium in the Corpus<sup>37</sup> and Cleopatra glossaries ('hom').<sup>38</sup> It also occurs with 'loða', 'smoc' and 'mentel' as gloss to the Isidor quotation in the Harley MS.<sup>39</sup> The word ('haam') glosses camis(i)a in Corpus,<sup>40</sup> and, with 'cemes', in the Cleopatra A-order glossary.<sup>41</sup> With 'hacele' it glosses subucula in the Digby MS.<sup>42</sup>

'HEMEPE', BTS "an undergarment with short sleeves, a shirt", probably derives ultimately from camisia. It must have been an early borrowing into Germanic, /c/ becoming /h/ according to Grimm's Law. There are cognates in several Germanic languages. Like 'ham' (above) the word may be related to OE 'hama', "a covering".<sup>43</sup> The word glosses colobium with 'loða', 'serc' and 'smoc' in the Digby Aldhelm MS<sup>44</sup> and interula in the glossed version of the Regularis Concordia.<sup>45</sup> It is mentioned in the Indicia Monasterialia, in a part of the document which does not relate to vestments, but to clothing of a kind which may have been also worn by seculars: 'Gyf þu hemepe habban



wille, þonne nim þu slyfan þe on hand and wege hi'.<sup>46</sup> The implication of the gesture would seem to be that the garment was sleeved, consistent with the usual interpretation of colobium which 'hemeþe' glosses elsewhere, though not with Isidor's definition of colobium.

'SMOC', BTD "a smock, shift", occurs in the multiple glosses to colobium in MSS Digby 146<sup>47</sup> and Harley 3376<sup>48</sup> and thus is linked to 'hemeþe', 'hom', 'lopa', 'mentel' and 'serc'. Cognates include Icelandic smokkr, "a blouse", and Middle High German smücken, "to adorn".<sup>49</sup> The term is documented in later English including the Promptorium Parvulorum entry: 'smoke, schyrte' camisia, interula instita<sup>50</sup> [the last-mentioned normally means the border or flounce of a Roman lady's tunic, or a bandage]. 'Smoc' is antecedent to modern English "smock".

## 5. Tunics

In some cases, the function of garments named in this group may have overlapped with the function of those in the previous group.

As noted above (Section II, 2, p.55) neither 'SLOP' nor 'SLYPE' is documented from the OE period except in compounds, though both are listed in BTD. 'Slop', BTD "a loose upper garment, slop, smock-frock, any kind of outer garment made of linen", has, as cognate, Icelandic sloppr, "a gown, loose garment, especially a priest's gown".<sup>51</sup> Later evidence attests the existence of a garment of this name, and gives some indication of its form. In the Promptorium Parvulorum 'sloppe' is rendered by mutatorium<sup>52</sup> [which may mean a cape, a wimple or a change of clothing]. More usefully, a garment of this name

is mentioned in The Canterbury Tales in context which suggests it might have taken the form of a cloak or loose tunic: 'kuted sloppes... that thurgh hire shortnesse ne covere nat the shameful membres of man'.<sup>53</sup> The 'sloppes' under discussion were short, but the condemnation suggests that this was a temporary fashion. (Robinson glossed 'sloppe' "loose over-garment".)

'Slype', BTD "a garment, slip", is also documented from later English, where it appears to signify the edge, perhaps the skirt, of a tunic. In the Promptorium Parvulorum 'slyp or scyrte' is glossed by lacinia<sup>54</sup> [lappet, edge or corner of a garment].

'TUNECE', BTD "a tunic, coat", derives from Latin tunica, which it glosses among a group of clothing terms in the Cleopatra MS<sup>55</sup> and also in Junius/BM.<sup>56</sup> It renders the same Latin word (tonicas) in the Liber Scintillarum<sup>57</sup> and in Ælfric's Old Testament translation, where it refers to Joseph's coat<sup>58</sup> (Plate XXII). It translates tunica in the West Saxon versions of the Gospels, where the Northumbrian version uses 'cyrtel',<sup>59</sup> and in the interlinear version of the Benedictine Rule (tonicam 'tonican'; tonicas 'tunican'), where the other version has 'syrce'.<sup>60</sup> The 'tunece' is distinguished from the 'wæfels' in the West Saxon version of St. Matthew's Gospel: 'þam þe wylle... niman þine tunecan. læt him to þinne wæfels'.<sup>61</sup> In the OE Orosius 'tunecan' renders togae<sup>62</sup> [toga long Roman garment, made of a single piece of material; the garment normally worn in Roman times] and the verb 'getunecude' (BTS 'getunecod', "provided with a tunic, dressed in a tunic") glosses togatos.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the fact that 'tunece' is mostly documented glossing the Latin word from which it derives, the term's use was



not confined to scholarly transliteration, since a garment of this name is mentioned in the late-tenth-century will of Wynflæd, a woman apparently of secular life: 'hio an Ceoldrype hyre blacena tuneca swa þer hyre leofre beo 7 hyre betso haliryft'.<sup>64</sup> The association with a holy veil, and the fact that the tunic mentioned is black, suggest some connection with religion. The necessity for women to wear a dark garment ('brunum hrægle') when taking the sacrament is mentioned in the Confessionale of Archbishop Ecgbert.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that the dark tunic and holy veil were Wynflæd's costume when she attended church. She owned more than one 'tunece', since she also bequeaths 'hyre betstan dunnan tunecan'.<sup>66</sup>

The biblical and Orosius citations show that the 'tunece' could be worn by men; the will that a woman living in the tenth century owned more than one garment of this name, in different colours. The 'tunece' was evidently unlike the 'wæfels' and similar in some respects to the 'cyrtel' and 'syrce', like the latter functioning as a nightshirt in monastic communities. Wynflæd's bequests suggest, however, that the term might be used of a more valuable garment than a nightshirt.

'CYRTEL', BTD "kirtle, vest, garment, frock, coat", is cognate with Icelandic kyrtill and modern English "kirtle".<sup>67</sup> Medieval Latin curtella and kurtella [kirtle] are documented only from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, so the OE term is not derived from this source, though it is likely to be related to curtus [short]. Serjeantson related 'cyrtel' to the OE verb 'cyrtan', "to shorten",<sup>68</sup> itself a loan from Latin curtus.<sup>69</sup> The word is found in Junius/BM, in conjunction with 'oferbrædels', glossing palla.<sup>70</sup> The entry

follows a group of terms relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and precedes names of personal ornaments and headgear. 'Cyrtel' or 'cyrtil' is employed in the Lindisfarne Gospels where the West Saxon versions use 'tunece'<sup>71</sup> and, similarly, is distinguished from 'wæfels'. This use of 'cyrtel' as alternative to West Saxon 'tunece' might suggest that the words were synonymous, but since Wynflæd's will bequeaths the 'cyrtel' as well as the 'tunece', there must have been some distinction between the two garments. If, as suggested above, Wynflæd wore the 'tunece' for church, it may have been a plainer, more formal garment than the 'cyrtel', but of similar cut. The will indicates that there was something unusual or elaborate about the texture or colour of each 'cyrtel' mentioned but lexicographers and translators have failed to agree about the meaning of the descriptions and about the correct reading of one of them. Wynflæd bequeaths 'hyre twilibrocenan cyrtel' and 'hyre cincdaðenan cyrtel'.<sup>72</sup>

'Twili' clearly means "two" or "double". Whitelock translated the former phrase "her double badger-skin (?) kirtle",<sup>73</sup>

incorporating the suggestion that the 'broc-' element was a substantive, meaning "badger". Thorpe, for no obvious reason, considered that the former kirtle was "double lambswool".<sup>74</sup>

If 'brocen' were not a substantive it might be the past participle of a strong verb, either 'brucan', Class II, or 'brecan', formally Class V, but sometimes having past participle 'brocen' by analogy with Class IV.<sup>75</sup> 'Brucan', often meaning "to enjoy" may mean "to wear [a garment]".<sup>76</sup> CHM cites (under 'brucan')

'brocen cyrtel', "a coat which has been worn" deriving the citation from Ælfric, but without giving any specific reference.

It is possible that Wynflæd was bequeathing a garment which she had only worn twice.



A more interesting possibility, but one which is harder to justify linguistically, is that 'twilibrocen' is a description of the garment's weave. CHM defines 'twilic' as "double, woven of double thread", and 'twilibrocen' (tentatively) as "woven of threads of two colours". There are many documented weaving terms in OE, but 'brocen' is not one of them. 'Twili' may, however, describe the weaving thread. The word is similar to modern English "twill", the term which describes the most popular weaving technique of Anglo-Saxon England (Part Two, D, 8-10, pp. 433-8, above). The earliest citations including "twill" in OED are from the fourteenth century, but it is possible that the word was in use earlier. Twill weaving is "double" weaving in the sense that it involves taking the weft over and under two warp threads simultaneously. The most luxurious weave known from Anglo-Saxon England is a diamond- or lozenge-patterned twill (Fig. 7), in which the diamond shape is deliberately made asymmetrical. The English examples are early, but the weave is known in Scandinavia from a time contemporary with Wynflæd's will. The modern description of the asymmetry is "broken", the name of this weave "broken diamond twill". If OE 'twili' were the equivalent of "twill", and 'brocen' were the past participle of 'brecan', "to break", the compound might mean "broken twill". It might seem too great a coincidence that the OE and modern names should be so similar, but if both were describing a twill weave in which a symmetrical pattern was deliberately broken, the coincidence is surely not outside the bounds of possibility.

The other 'cyrtel' bequeathed by Wynflæd was considered "white striped" by Thorpe, who read: '[7 Æðelf] læde þisse

hwitan hyre cinewa ðenan cyrtel'.<sup>77</sup> Whitelock considered 'hwitan' to be part of the name of the legatee and evaded translating the adjective.<sup>78</sup> BTS suggests the word may mean "purple" (BTS 'cyne-waden (?)'), presumably by association, through 'cyning', "king", with royal purple.<sup>79</sup>

The 'cyrtel' figures in the will of another Anglo-Saxon woman, Wulfgýð, who bequeaths 'ane wellene kertel',<sup>80</sup> the only garment mentioned in the text.

The wills demonstrate that the garment of this name could take a number of forms, and might be made of wool, or, possibly, if Whitelock's reading of 'brocen' is correct, of fur. It is likely in any case that the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to the 'cyrtel' of skin or fur, as made by the Scandinavians. The traveller Ohthere, describing in the OE Orosius the tribute paid by the Finns, mentions that among the offering of men of high rank there should be 'berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne'.<sup>81</sup>

The word is well-documented in Middle English, in contexts which show that a garment of this name was worn by both sexes, although it seems to have lost status since Anglo-Saxon times when it was important enough to be bequeathed. In Piers Plowman, for example, the (male) Sin Envy, is described as wearing such a garment in a context which suggests rough cloth:

clothed in a caurymaury...  
In kirtel and kourteby.<sup>82</sup>

In Chaucer's Parliament of Fowles and The Romaunt of the Rose the garment is worn by females and seems to be a petticoat.<sup>83</sup>

## 6. A wrapper

'WEALCA' is included here as a "Body garment" since it was worn on the trunk, though not a shirt or tunic, and it does



not appear to have been a cloak. The term is found in Ælfric's version of Genesis, where it translates theristrum [a summer garment] and refers to a garment worn by a woman: 'Ða dyde heo of hyre wydewan reaf 7 nam hyre walcan'.<sup>84</sup> This is the garb of a harlot, adopted by Tamar for the seduction of her father-in-law, and contrasting with the formal widow's weeds which are thrown off. BTD defines 'wealca' "a garment that may be rolled round a person, a muffler, wrap, veil", relating it to the verb 'wealcan'. Another substantive 'wealca' is defined "a roller, wave, billow", and it is likely that the formation of the garment name reflects the billowing nature of the costume.

## IV

Loin and leg coverings

Bræcce	Meo
Braccas	Nostle
Brec-hrægl	Sceanc-bend
Broc, brec	Sceanc-gegirela
Cæles	Socc
Gyrdels	Strapul
Hosa	Underwædel
Hose-bend	Wæd-bræc
Leperhose	Wining

1. Loin cloths

'GYRDELS', BTD "a girdle", in addition to signifying a belt, as indicated by use as gloss to cingulum and zona (Section VII, 2, p. 614, below), may also have signified "loin cloth". The term is found glossing lumbare [apron for the loins, loin cloth] in the (related) Corpus and Cleopatra A-order glossaries, in association with 'brec'. In Corpus the entry reads 'gyrdils broec'<sup>1</sup> and in Cleopatra 'gyrdel oððe brec'.<sup>2</sup> In later medieval times girdles had multiple functions, including the support of the 'breche'.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the functions of the Anglo-Saxon 'gyrdels' and 'breche' overlapped in some way, as indicated by the glosses. The glossator may, however, only have been attempting to give alternative explanations of lumbare.

'UNDERWÆDEL', listed but not defined in BTD, was considered an undergarment by Stroebe (Schurz, Lendenschurz, Gürtel).<sup>4</sup> The word appears in the Junius/BM glossary ('underhwædel') rendering subfibulum, uel subligaculum<sup>5</sup> [a white, four-cornered veil; and a waist band, or breech-cloth, respectively].

'WÆD-BRÆC', BTD "breeches, a covering for the loins", appears in Junius/BM ('wædbrec'), glossing perizomata, uel campestria, uel succinctoria<sup>6</sup> [girdle; (campestre) leather apron worn round loins; apron, respectively] and in MS Cotton



Julius Aii glosses perizomata, uel campestria.<sup>7</sup> The use of the term in the OE version of Genesis clarifies the function of the garment: 'hi...sywodon him ficleaf, 7 worhton him wadbrec'.<sup>8</sup> The term is again rendering perizomata.

Loin cloths may have been worn as alternatives to tunics, but it is possible that garments of this kind were worn under the tunics and so concealed in illustrations. The linguistic evidence may therefore attest a garment which is not evidenced from other sources.

## 2. Trousers

'BRÆCCE', BTS "trousers", appears in the Corpus glossary ('bra(e)ccae') as gloss to sarabar(a)e<sup>9</sup> [wide trousers].

'BRACCAS', BTD "breeches", is documented only in the interpretation of a dream, in a context which gives no information about the garment.<sup>10</sup> The OE word translates Latin braccus [trousers] and could be a direct loan, although the existence of cognates in Danish and Swedish (bracker, brackor, respectively)<sup>11</sup> suggest an independent existence in the Germanic languages from earlier times.

The related term 'BREC' is more common. This word, translated "the breech, breeches" by BTD, also has cognates in Germanic languages. The word is related to modern English "breeches" and Scottish "breek, breeks".<sup>12</sup> Originally the plural of OE 'BROC', 'brec' was usually singular in Middle English ('a breech'). The OE term appears to have principally signified a pair of short trousers, covering the loins or extending down the thighs. Apart from rendering lumbare in association with 'gyrdils' and 'gyrdel' in the Corpus and Cleopatra glossaries<sup>13</sup> (subsection 1, p.580, above) 'brec'

renders femoralia [a covering for the thigh; eleventh and fifteenth centuries: breeches] in the Indicia Monasterialia: 'Brecena tancen is þæt þu strice mid þinum twan handum up on þin þeah.'<sup>14</sup> The occurrence in this text shows that the garment of this name was worn by men, but the use of the word in the thirteenth-century Ancrene Wisse shows that, at least after the Norman Conquest, a garment of this name was worn by women, if only as penitential clothing ('þe brech of here').<sup>15</sup> The Middle English term is defined in MED: 'brech' 1(a) "the undergarment covering the lower part of the body; underpants, drawers or tights".

The compound 'BREC-HRÆGL' should perhaps be included here. BTD's definition is non-committal: "a sort of garment". CHM, however, gives "breeches". The word translates diploide in the Paris Psalter: 'him si abrogden, swa of brechrægle hiora sylfra sceamu'.<sup>16</sup> Other OE Psalters translate this with phrases apparently meaning "double cloak", such as 'mid twyfealdum mentel' (Section II, 5, p. 561, above). It seems that different translators made independent attempts to render something for which no equivalent existed, and that the translators understood different things by it. The Paris Psalter translator perhaps coined 'brec-hrægl', but it seems probable that he intended the word to mean a type of breeches.

'STRAPUL', BTD "a covering for the leg, kind of trousers", appears (as 'strapulas') with other garment terms in Junius/BM glossing tubroces, ucl brace<sup>17</sup> [tubroces for tubraqus, tubrucus, a legging, similar to tibiale]. HEW related the term to Greek and Latin words, but gave no Germanic cognates.<sup>18</sup> The word perhaps derived from Latin strebula [the flesh about the haunch], the voiceless stop /b/ becoming a voiceless stop /p/ in Germanic



according to Grimm's Law. 'Strapylle' glosses femorale<sup>19</sup> and ('a strapul') tibiale<sup>20</sup> [leg wrapping for shins, stocking] in fifteenth-century glossaries, and 'the strapuls of a pare brek' glosses tribrica in another text of similar date.<sup>21</sup> Way suggested that the word meant "a kind of braces for nether garments" on the evidence of the Promptorium Parvulorum entry: 'straple, of a breche (strappyl); Femorale, feminale ('strapyl of brech' ffemorale)<sup>22</sup> [feminalia thigh bandages], but this interpretation does not correspond to the OE glosses. The Anglo-Saxons evidently used the word tibracis of a humble type of boot. St. Cuthbert wore a pair made of hide which covered leg and foot.<sup>23</sup> The apparent meanings of the word in the Ancrene Wisse and Trevisa's English translation of Higden's Polychronicon also fail to support Way's interpretation. The former states that 'Sum wummon inohreaðe wereð þe brech of here ful wel icnottet þe streapeles dun to þe vet ilacet ful feaste'<sup>24</sup> and the Polychronicon confirms the suggestion that 'strapeles' covered the whole leg and were fastened by laces: '...þey were liche to mares wip white legges up to þe piges for þat tyme þe Longobardes used strapeles wip brode laces down to þe sparlyver'.<sup>25</sup> The frequent association of 'strapul' with 'breche' or 'a pare brak' in post-conquest texts suggests that the two were worn together, perhaps constituting parts of the same garment. The 'strapul' covered the whole leg, and was fastened with laces, but it perhaps formed the legging part of a pair of long-legged breeches. The later texts suggest that the garment called 'strapul' was worn by both sexes, at least after the Norman Conquest.

### 3. Stockings and socks

The following terms appear to be the names of garments which covered foot as well as leg. 'HOSA', BTD "a covering for the leg, hose", appears to have had the semantic range of modern English "hose", possibly with the additional meaning "leg guards, greaves".<sup>26</sup> 'Hosa' glosses caliga, uel ocrea<sup>27</sup> [leather shoe; metal greave, and in the eleventh century thigh boot or legging, respectively]. The entry occurs in the Julius MS and is followed by three entries relating to footwear. This group does, however, follow a list of vestments, and as the word occurs in monastic texts it is possible that the garment of this name was part of the costume of those in the religious life. The existence of cognate words in other Germanic languages suggests, though, that the word was in use before the conversion, and may have been the name of a secular garment first. The Icelandic and German hose appear to mean "legging, gaiter" and "breeches", respectively, and Old High German hose is found glossing caliga.<sup>28</sup> 'Hosum' renders caligis in the glossed Regularis Concordia<sup>29</sup> and 'hosa', 'hosan', glosses calige in both versions of the Benedictine Rule.<sup>30</sup> In the continuous text version the phrase 'hosa and meon' renders pedules et caligas.<sup>31</sup> The gesture associated with this garment in the Indicia Monasterialia shows that it covered the lower leg, but does not indicate whether or not the foot was also covered: 'Gyf þu hosa habban wille, þonne stric þu uppweard on þinum sceancum mid þinum twam handum'.<sup>32</sup>

The compound 'LEPER-HOSE', BTD "a leather covering for the leg, gaiter", glosses ocreae uel tibiales in Junius/BM.<sup>33</sup> Cognates in Icelandic and Old High German correspond in meaning



to the BTD definition of the OE word.<sup>34</sup> The Anglo-Saxon garment of this name may have covered the foot, however, since 'leperhosa' glosses caligas in Ælfric's Colloquy.<sup>35</sup> The article was included in this text as one of the products of the 'sceowyrhta'.

'MEO',<sup>36</sup> BTD "a shoe or sock covering the foot", overlaps semantically with OE 'socc'. In the Harley glossary 'meon' glosses calsus<sup>37</sup> [for calceus, a half boot or shoe covering the whole foot] and in the Leiden glossary genitive 'mihes' renders odonis<sup>38</sup> [udo, a felt or fur sock]. The word renders pedula [footwear] in Junius/BM<sup>39</sup> and in the Benedictine Rule ('meon' for pedules)<sup>40</sup> where context suggests that 'meon' were different from 'hosa' and that both were considered essential garments for the brethren: 'synd gesealde fram þam abbode ealle neadbehege þing, þæt is cugele, syric, meon, hosa...'. This, the continuous text version of the Rule, renders pedules et caligas 'hosa and meon' where the interlinear version has 'soccas and hosan'. This suggests that both 'hosa' and 'soccas' could translate pedules and both 'meon' and 'hosan' caligas, 'hosa' having dual function, but a simpler explanation seems more likely. 'Hosa' is found elsewhere interpreting caligas and the quotation from the Rule shows that, in that context at least, 'hosa' and 'meon' were not considered synonymous. It is likely that the interlinear glossator rendered the Latin word for word, but the continuous text translator used a freer approach and inverted the phrase in translation, nevertheless rendering caligas with 'hosan' as was usual and translating pedules with 'meon' as elsewhere in the text. 'Meo' and 'socc' may therefore be synonyms, 'hosa' something different.

'SOCC', BTD "a sock, kind of shoe", apart from translating pedules ('soccas') as discussed, glosses callicula [caligula, a small military boot] in the BM/Plantin-Moretus glossary<sup>41</sup> and soccus in the Corpus glossary, in association with 'slebescoh'<sup>42</sup> [Soccus light shoe, slipper. Isidor's definition of soccus is: Socci, cuius diminutivum socelli, apellati inde quod saccum habeant, in quo pars plantae inicitur.<sup>43</sup>] OE 'socc' was probably a Latin loan into continental Germanic (ultimately Greek),<sup>44</sup> having cognates in other Germanic languages including Icelandic sokkr, "a sock", and Old High German soc which glosses soccus, caliga and calicula.<sup>45</sup> The cognates and the meaning of modern English "sock" should not obscure the evidence of the lemmata glossed by OE 'socc', which suggest a bag-like foot covering which was put on easily, but do not prove that the garment continued far up the leg.

'CELES', TCS "a footcovering", should perhaps be grouped with the preceding words since it also translates pedules (pediles, 'calise').<sup>46</sup> The term derives from Vulgar Latin calsius, perhaps ultimately from caliga, and is related to calceus. It was probably a loan into continental Germanic.<sup>47</sup> There are cognates in Greek and in Germanic languages which appear to signify leg-coverings. Schlutter suggested that the glossary entry derived from the Vulgate circumpedes et femoralia et humerale posuit ei (Ecclesiasticus, 45, 10), pediles functioning as equivalent or explanation of circumpedes. Citing the glossary entries for 'meo', Schlutter argued that the 'cales' resembled the 'meo' but expressed uncertainty whether the garments were more like shoes or stockings; an uncertainty which arises in discussing each of the words in the above group, so indicating that these garments may have covered both leg and foot.



4. Garters

'HOSE-BEND', BTD "a hose-band, garter", is a readily-comprehensible compound since both elements are much documented and 'hosa' well-established as the name of a garment for the legs. 'Hosebendas' occurs as gloss to periscelides [leg bands, anklets] in MS Digby 146.<sup>48</sup> Though rare, the OE word was probably not a nonce-formation, since a similar compound in Old Norse, hosna-reim,<sup>49</sup> suggests a common Germanic origin for such compounds of 'hose'.

'SCEANC-BEND', BTD "a band for the leg, a garter", also glosses periscelides ('scangbendas') in a group of glosses mostly associated with garments and ornaments in Junius/BM.<sup>50</sup> This, again, is a self-explanatory compound, again the second element being a substantive related to the function 'bindan', "to bind", but whereas the first element of 'hose-bend' is the name of a garment, 'sceanc-bend', literally "a band for the shin"<sup>51</sup> is compounded according to the more usual pattern of part-of-the-body plus garment term.

A third hapax legomenon, 'SCEANC-GEГИRELA', is compounded according to a similar pattern. Defined "clothing for the leg, a garter", by BTD, like its synonyms 'scancgegirelan' is found glossing periscelides. It occurs in the A-order Cleopatra glossary.<sup>52</sup>

'WINING', BTD "a band for the leg", was apparently in more general use. 'Weoning' glosses fascellas [as fascia, a band] in the Harley MS<sup>53</sup> and in Junius/BM renders fascia ('wyningc') and ualliegias ('wyncgas') among a group of clothing terms.<sup>54</sup> [This is the only recorded use of ualliegias as a garment. Elsewhere the word means "saddlebags".] An instruction in the Indicia Monasterialia, in that part of the text

which seems to refer to everyday clothing rather than vestments, confirms that the 'winingas' were worn on the lower leg: 'Bonne þu wynyngas habban wille, þonne do þu mid þinum twam handum onbutan þine sceancan'.<sup>55</sup> The term has cognates in non-Germanic and Germanic languages,<sup>56</sup> including Icelandic vindingr "a strip wound round the leg instead of hose".<sup>57</sup>

'NOSTLE', BTD "a fillet, band", was evidently used of a bandage and, possibly, of a head band (Section VI, 4, p.605, below), but could evidently be applied to a leg binding, since in the Leiden glossary 'mihes nostlun' glosses odonis vitam<sup>58</sup> [vitta, a band]. In a list headed Vestium Nomina in Junius/BM, 'nosle', uel 'sarclað', glosses fasciola<sup>59</sup> [bandage, including leg bandage]. Leg bands may have been worn round the leggings to keep them in place ('hose-bend' 'nostle') or may have functioned alone as leg coverings, being wrapped directly round the shin ('sceanc-bend', 'wining'). Some of these leg bands may have been ornamental ('sceanc-gegirela'. C.f. Section VIII, 1, pp. 623-5, below).



## V

Shoes

Calc  
Crinc  
Fotgewæde  
Hemming  
Læs-hosum  
Læst

Rifeling  
Scoh, gesceo, gescy  
Slife-scoh, slipe-scoh  
Stæppe-scoh  
Swiftlere

1. Terms of doubtful validity

Two of the terms listed may be immediately discounted as the result of studies of glossaries more recent than those used in the dictionaries. Some omissions from the list must also be explained.

'LÆS-HOSUM' occurs in the Junius/BM glossary in the phrase 'fotleaste læshosum' glossing cernui<sup>1</sup> [cernuus, a shoe]. BTD derives from this 'læst-hosan', "some species of covering for the foot, socks without soles", quoting in evidence Du Cange's citation from Isidor: Cernui socci sunt sine solo.<sup>2</sup> TCS suggests the reading 'fotlæstlease hosan', following Meritt<sup>3</sup> and Lübke, who had showed, however, that the OE gloss was simply a rendering of Isidor's definition.<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that it was the English name of an article of footwear.

This entry occurs among a group of lemmata and glosses referring to footwear.<sup>5</sup> It seems that several of the OE terms, often compounds of 'scoh' and not mentioned individually in BTD are, similarly, not the names of known types of shoes, but explanations derived from Isidor. Thus Kindschi demonstrated<sup>6</sup> that 'triwen scoh', glossing coturnus [high shoe, boot] ('trywensceo' in Junius) derived from the sentence immediately following Isidor's second mention of coturni.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the gloss 'wifes sceos' is not indicative of a distinctive type

of shoe for women in England. The phrase glosses baxeae [baxea, normally a woven shoe] and the gloss is derived from Isidor's second definition of this word: Baxoa calciamenta mulierum sunt.<sup>8</sup> The entry 'unhege sceos' is not a translation of the Isidor definition of talares, but could be a description derived from it: Talares calcei socci sunt, qui inde nominati videntur quod ea figura sint ut contingant talum.<sup>9</sup>

'LÆST' occurs among the group of footwear terms in Junius/BM already discussed. It is defined in BTD "a covering for the foot, a boot" on the basis of Wright's reading ocreae uel musticula 'læste'.<sup>10</sup> This, however, was the result of an error in transcription corrected in Wülcker's revised edition of Wright's Vocabularies: ocreae, uel tibiales 'leperhosa', calopodium, uel mustricula 'læste'.<sup>11</sup> [The use of calopodium as an item of footwear (a clog, patten) is not documented earlier than the fifteenth century. / Calo signifies timber for joinery; mustricula, a shoemaker's last.] Kindschi supported Wülcker's reading with one from the BM glossary.<sup>12</sup> 'Læste' therefore, probably meant "a shoemaker's last" and was not the name of a type of shoe.

## 2. General terms

'FOTGEWÆD', BTD "footclothing", is no more than a generalization for footwear, formed after a common pattern of compounding, part-of-the-body plus general garment term. A hapax legomenon, the word occurs in the Benedictine Rule as a generalization followed by specific terms: 'habbon hig to fotgewædum hosa and moon'.<sup>13</sup>



'SCOH', BTD "a shoe", is the commonest of OE footwear terms, in this or other spellings. It is a recurrent compound element, both in the names of individual types of footwear (discussed subsection 3, pp. 591-2, below) and in probable nonce-words (discussed subsection 1, pp. 589-90, above). There also exists a collective form 'gesceo', 'gescy'. Cognates of both forms may be found in other Germanic languages. The term is the source of modern English "shoe". The occurrences of the OE term are so numerous that it would be unnecessary to mention every one, therefore samples only are given. In its various forms, the word occurs in several glossaries, in biblical translations and in non-religious writings, indicating that the term was not confined to scholarly use.<sup>14</sup> It is most often found glossing calciamentum [shoe] in glossaries (for example 'gescy' in the Julius glossary),<sup>15</sup> Bible translations (calciamentorum, 'sceoea', Lindisfarne, 'giscoes', Rushworth)<sup>16</sup> and non-biblical texts (calciamenta, 'gescy', Colloquy).<sup>17</sup> In glossaries the term renders calcarium ('scoh'),<sup>18</sup> calceos ('gescy'),<sup>19</sup> caliga ('scoh'),<sup>20</sup> fico [shoe, clog] ('sco')<sup>21</sup> and galliculae [galicula, a garment; perhaps confused with caligula?] ('scos').<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Slippers

'STEPPE-SCOH', BTD "a slipper", occurs in the Corpus glossary ('steppescoh'), rendering subtalaris<sup>23</sup> [literally, "under the heel"; c.f. talaris, a sandal fastened to the ankle]. 'Stæppescos' glosses the same lemma in a group of terms arranged alphabetically in Cleopatra.<sup>24</sup> (Talares is glossed 'unhege sceos' in the Junius/BM glossary, subsection 1, p. 590, above).<sup>25</sup>

BTD lists 'SLIFE-SCOH', "a loose shoe easily drawn on, a slipper", on the basis of the Corpus entry soccus 'socc, slebescoh',<sup>26</sup> relating the substantive to the OE verb 'slifan', "to slip or put a garment on a person". The spelling variation between the glossary citation and the dictionary entry was presumably incorporated on the basis that <b> was an early spelling for the sound /v/, and that this sound was commonly represented in OE by <f> between vowels. BTD also lists, individually, 'SLIPE-SCOH', "a shoe easily slipped on, a slipper", from the entry in the Cleopatra A-order glossary: soccus 'slypescos'.<sup>27</sup> BTD's deduction of the existence of 'slife-scoh' seems unnecessary. Corpus and Cleopatra have a number of entries in common, and it is more probable that the Corpus 'slebescoh' was an earlier or idiosyncratic version of 'slipe-scoh' (the voiced plosive /b/ becoming the voiceless plosive /p/ in the later text), than that it was a different word, unique in OE, based on 'slifan'. The currency of 'slipe-scoh' is confirmed by its survival into modern English. It is documented up to the nineteenth century, meaning, in the dialect of Somerset, an old, loose pair of shoes worn in the evening.<sup>28</sup> It is now obsolete except for the derivative "slip-shod", "having shoes on the feet but no stockings".<sup>29</sup> It is likely that there was some semantic overlap, at least in the eighth century, with 'socc'. Although categorized for convenience here among slippers, the lemma suggests that 'slipe-scoh' (like 'socc', and perhaps with some resemblance to 'cæles', 'hosa' and 'meo', discussed above, IV, 3, pp.584-6), was in shape a bag-like article, rather than the low shoe represented by 'stæppe-scoh' and 'swiftlere'.

'SWIFTLERE', BTD "a slipper, shoe", is a more common term. It is a corruption of (early) Latin subtalaris.<sup>30</sup> It glosses



subtalares ('swyfteleares') in Junius/BM<sup>31</sup> and renders the same word in the gloss to Ælfric's Colloquy ('swyftleras'), where it is distinguished from 'sceos' (ficones).<sup>32</sup> Although the pupils studying the Colloquy were students in a monastic school, the subject matter of the text concerned secular life and it is probable that the words used to gloss it were familiar to vernacular speakers. The subtalares are included as the products of the shoemaker, who was, presumably, like other characters mentioned in the work, a secular. 'Swiftleras' were, however, worn in the monastery. The sign to be made when they were required suggests that they were worn low on the foot and did not cover the leg: 'Gyf þu swyftleras habban wylle, þonne sete þu þinne scytefinger uppon þinne fot and stric on twa healfa þines fet þam gemete þe hi gesceapene beoð'.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4. Raw hide shoes or sandals

'HEMMING', BTD "a kind of shoe", BTS "a boot made of raw hide", is attested in the OE period only from glosses, which are not independent of each other. In Corpus, 'himming' glosses pero<sup>34</sup> [a boot made of raw hide] and in the Cleopatra A-order glossary there is the entry: pero 'hemming' i. 'ruh sco'.<sup>35</sup> The additional note in the later glossary might suggest that a word current when the eighth-century Corpus glossary was made, might have been rare and in need of clarification<sup>36</sup> when Cleopatra was written in the eleventh century. The word was not obsolete, however, since it occurs in a fifteenth-century Scottish poem in a context associating it with 'rewelynys' (discussed below as 'rifeling'):

And led hym in-til swylk Dystres  
 Dat at sa gret myschef he wes,  
 Dat hys Knychtis weryd Rewelynys  
 Of Hydīs, or of Hart Hemmynys.<sup>37</sup>

Since 'hemming', like its Old Icelandic cognate hemingr<sup>38</sup> may be used of the skin of the hindlegs of a deer, it is possible that in the quotation 'hart hemmynys' is in apposition to 'hydīs'; but the survival of the OE footwear name, and apposition to 'rewelynys' seems equally possible.<sup>39</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon shoe was no doubt named from the hide of which it was made, a practice which can be traced in the names of some primitive Norwegian shoes.<sup>40</sup>

'RIFELING', BTD "a kind of shoe or sandal", occurs in Junius/BM ('rifelingas') glossing obstrigelli<sup>41</sup> [obstrigillus, a shoe sole, sandal fastened to the feet by straps]. The lemma gives some indication of the shape of the 'rifeling'. The name also signified, or came to signify, a shoe of untanned hide, since a fifteenth-century gloss: 'A revelynge', pero<sup>42</sup> establishes a semantic link with 'hemming' and a later definition shows that like the 'hemming' it was a 'ruh sco': "a kind of shoe of the untanned skins of the ox and seal, which are called 'rivilins'".<sup>43</sup> The word survived in the dialects of Scotland, persisting to the present day in the Shetland Isles as a name for "cowskin moccasins".<sup>44</sup> The word is related to Old Norse hriflingr, "an ancient general term for a hide shoe",<sup>45</sup> and possibly to the Middle English verb 'rivelen', "to wrinkle".<sup>46</sup>

It is possible that the 'hemming' and 'rifeling' were shoes of a type which is well attested from Northern Europe, similar to the Irish "pampootie", of which an early-twentieth-century example survives.<sup>47</sup> This footwear was normally made from a single piece of hide cut from the lower part of the hindleg of an animal.<sup>48</sup> This utilized the natural shape of the hide, the baggy heel area of the animal skin becoming the



toe of the shoe. The shoes were normally sewn together at the sides and the back, there being no separate sole.<sup>49</sup> The hairy side faced outward when worn, and according to practice recently observed in Norway, although the fur would be stripped off for summer wear, it would be retained in winter.<sup>50</sup> A more primitive version could be made by wrapping a piece of hide round the foot and securing it with thongs round the ankle.<sup>51</sup> A shoe of this type "gains its shape by contraction" corresponding to the verb 'rivelen'.

In Scandinavia this type of footwear was worn by peasants, so that hriflingr and its near-synonym fitjungr, originally shoe-names, eventually came to signify persons of this class.<sup>52</sup> Although there is no direct evidence about the Anglo-Saxon shoes of this type, since the names do not appear in literary context, it is likely that the Anglo-Saxon raw hide shoes were also worn by country people. Lindsay cites no source for the lemma pero which is glossed by 'himming' in the Corpus glossary, but the glossator may have known Isidor's definition: Perones et (s)culponeae rustica calciamenta sunt.<sup>53</sup>

## 5. Other sandals

'CRINC', tentatively defined "a kind of shoe" by BTD, and by BTS given a queried comparison to OE 'crencestre', "a female weaver", occurs ('crince') as gloss to cuterno<sup>54</sup> (cothurnus). OED suggests a relationship with OE 'crincan' said to be a rare form of the verb 'cringan', "to fall in battle", but having "the primitive meaning to draw oneself together in a bent form, to contort oneself stiffly, curl up".<sup>55</sup> If the substantive 'crinc' were related to this verb, the shoe name may have originally applied to footwear which was not stitched or fitted

to the foot, but drawn together, perhaps with thongs (as 'rivelen' suggests the similar shape of 'rifelingas', above).

Finally 'CALC', BTD "a shoe, little shoe, sandal", may have been used of a humble type of footwear. 'Calcum' translated sandaliis [sandalium, a slipper, sandal] in the West Saxon versions of the Gospels ('calken' in the latest version).<sup>56</sup> The word occurs in a passage where Christ orders the disciples to journey without possessions or money. They are to be 'gesceode mid calcum'. The word was borrowed from Latin calceus after the conversion<sup>57</sup> and is only documented in the Bible translation cited, therefore there is no proof that the word came to be applied to shoes worn by the Anglo-Saxons.



## VI

Headgear

Included in this section are words which may describe garments worn on the head, and pins for securing the hair or headdress. Possible names of headcoverings are:

Bænde	Healsed
Bende	Hod
Binde	Hufe
Cæppe	Orel
Cappa	Scyfel
Cuffie	Snod
Feax-clap	Ðwæle
Feax-net	Wimpel
Hæt	Wræd
Heafod-clap	Wrigels
Heafod-gewæde	

In addition, 'nostle', 'rift' and 'wealca', already listed in Sections IV, II and III, respectively, may have signified head coverings.

Names of pins for the head are:

Cæfing  
Feax-preon  
Hær-nædl  
Þrawing-spinel  
Up-legen

### 1. Wrapper

BTD's definition of 'WEALCA', "a garment that may be wrapped round a person, a muffler, wrap, veil", necessitates the consideration of the term in this section, but the context in which the word appears in OE biblical translation<sup>1</sup> suggests that the term signifies something more enveloping than a head-veil or muffler for the neck.

### 2. Headdress or grave-clothes

'HEAFOD-CLAP' is defined "head-cloth, head-dress" by BTD, and "the cloth used for wrapping the head of a dead person" by BTS. (C.f. BTS 'heafod-hrægl'.) The word is certainly used

in OE of a cloth wrapped around the head of a corpse.<sup>2</sup> In the Harley glossary 'heafodclap', uel 'wangere' glosses capitale<sup>3</sup> which may have signified something on which the head was laid rather than a wrapping for the head. [Capitale is only documented with the meaning "headdress" from the fifteenth century.] The word appears under the heading Vestium Nomina, however, in Junius/BM, (with 'cappa') where it glosses capitulum, uel capitularium<sup>4</sup> [a covering for the head of a female]. The word persisted into the Middle English period. Its use in the Ancrene Wisse demonstrates that in the thirteenth century the term was used of a head garment, and that this was considered unsuitable for women leading the religious life. The context shows that it differed in some way from 'wrihels' (OE 'wrigels') and possibly that it differed from the 'wimpel': 'Nai . wimpel ne heaued clað nowðer ne nempneð hali writ . ah wrihels ane'.<sup>5</sup>

'HEALSED', BTD "a cloth for the head", appears to be derived from OE 'heals', "the neck". (A possible alternative meaning may be "the neck opening of a tunic", c.f. BTD 'healseta' and 'heafod-smæl'.) In the Anglian versions of the Gospels, this word translates sudarium [documented in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meaning a sheet for wrapping round relics], once (in sudario 'in halsado') clearly not referring to a garment,<sup>6</sup> and in other cases ('halscode', 'hascoda') used of the wrapping of corpses.<sup>7</sup> The term glosses capitium, however, among a group of entries derived from Aldhelm in the Cleopatra MS.<sup>8</sup>

'WRIGELS' also appears to have been used in two ways, meaning a grave-cloth or a veil. BTD separates the meanings of the word: I "a covering" II "a garment, veil". The word



is related to the OE verb 'wreon', "to cover",<sup>9</sup> the substantive perhaps deriving from the function. 'Wrigels' occurs in context showing that it could signify the cloth used to cover the face of a corpse<sup>10</sup> but it also clearly means "veil" in several citations and therefore will be considered below (subsection 3b, pp. 602-3).

### 3. Ecclesiastical or secular headgear

#### a. Hoods

Both 'CÆPPE' and 'CAPPA' appear to have signified the "cope" which was an ecclesiastical vestment, and also to have been used with the meaning "cap". It is not clear whether or not this second use was limited to ecclesiastical function. The wide semantic range of the lemmata glossed by these words complicates the problem of defining their function.

'CÆPPE', BTD "a cap, cape, cope, hood", occurs in a list of vestments in the Julius MS glossing planeta<sup>11</sup> [ecclesiastical vestment, chasuble]. It glosses the same lemma in Junius/BM,<sup>12</sup> but this time among a list of terms relating to children's clothing or bedding. The entry is followed by 'gerenod cæppe' glossing penula<sup>13</sup> [c.f. paenula a poncho-like garment worn for travelling, military cloak; ecclesiastical vestment; ponicula woollen outer garment for journeys and wet weather, documented from the thirteenth century with the meaning "hood"]. The word also occurs in a list of clothing in the Julius MS, glossing cappa<sup>14</sup> [cap, hood; documented from the seventh century meaning a cloak with a hood].

OE 'CAPPA', BTD "cap, cope, priest's garment", appears with 'heafod-clap' glossing capitulum, uel capitularium<sup>15</sup> and

in the Harley glossary it renders caracalla<sup>16</sup> [Gallic clōak without a hood, vestment, cope].

'Ceppe' and 'cappa', which have cognates in several Germanic languages, both derive ultimately from Latin cappa. HEW relates the terms to modern English "cap" as well as to "cope" derived from Vulgar Latin capa, ultimately from cappa.<sup>17</sup> Possibly the two OE terms, near-homonyms, were originally semantically distinct. Since both the words are only documented from glosses, there is no evidence that they were in general spoken use in OE.

'HOD', BTD "a hood" has several Germanic cognates, and is probably a development of a West Germanic term meaning "hat", and is antecedent to modern English "hood".<sup>18</sup> The word derived from Latin cassis [a helmet].<sup>19</sup> It glosses capitium in the Corpus ('hood')<sup>20</sup> and Harley glossaries<sup>21</sup> and in the A-order glossary in the Cleopatra MS.<sup>22</sup> The garment of this name was worn by monks, since the Indicia Monasterialia contains the instruction: 'Gyf þu hwæt be wylcum munece tæcan wille, þe 7a his tacen necunne, þonne nim þu þe be þinum hode'.<sup>23</sup> A reference to the garment in the Confessionale of Archbishop Ecgbert suggests that it covered the shoulders: 'Gif he godspel ræde lecge him þæne hod ofer þa sculdra'.<sup>24</sup> Both citations suggest that the 'hod' might be the equivalent of the monk's cowl, but another instruction in the Indicia demonstrates that the 'hod' and cowl were not identical: 'Ðonne þu cuglan habban wille, þonne wege þu þinne earmellan and foh to þinum hode'.<sup>25</sup> If a 'hod' could be worn by a monk who was not wearing a cowl, the 'hod' may also have been a garment worn by seculars. The early adoption of the word into the Germanic languages suggests that it was used of a secular garment before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.



## b.Veils

It is possible that veils were worn by seculars, although this form of headgear appears especially associated with the religious life.

'HEAFOD-GEWÆDE', BTD "a head-dress, veil", does not occur in secular literature, only in religious works, although it is never used with specific reference to the convent. It occurs in a Wulfstan homily<sup>26</sup> in reference to Isaiah 3, where worldly ornaments of women are condemned. As a compound formed of part-of-the-body plus general garment term, the word may have functioned as a general term for "headcovering", but it appears to have been used more specifically in Ælfric's OE version of Genesis where it translates (figurative) velamen [covering, garment, robe, veil]. The purpose is the covering of the eyes: 'þæt beo ðe to heafodgewædon þæt ðe huru ne sceamige wið ða þe ðe geseoð'.<sup>27</sup>

'OREL', BTD "a garment, veil, mantle", deriving from Latin orarium [napkin, handkerchief], has cognates in Germanic languages.<sup>28</sup> It appears in association with 'wimpel' among a group of words signifying head garments in Junius/BM, rendering ricinum<sup>29</sup> [headveil, especially worn by women mourners]. In the same glossary under the heading Vestium Nomina 'orl' glosses stola, uel ricinum.<sup>30</sup> 'Orelu' glosses oraria in the Cleopatra A-order glossary<sup>31</sup> and in Junius/BM 'orl' glosses orarium, uel ciclas<sup>32</sup> [cicla a state robe with a border, worn by women; twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a rich robe]. 'Orl' again renders ciclas in a glossary in Bodleian Library MS Auct. F.2.14<sup>33</sup> and 'orel' with 'ryft' renders cicla in the Harley glossary.<sup>34</sup> The term is again associated with 'wimpel' in the

Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (1520) Aldhelm MS: 'vimplum' ± 'orlum' cycladibus.<sup>35</sup> In the same MS there is the entry: mafortibus 'vimplum' i. velaminibus, with the marginal note 'hvimplum' vel 'orlum'.<sup>36</sup> [Mafors woman's veil, sometimes priest's; maforte headdress; mafora twelfth-century, veil.] These associations with 'wimpel', a head garment which appears to have been worn by secular women, and which was considered unsuitable for women in the religious life later in the medieval period (subsection 6, pp. 609-10, below), suggests that the garment named 'orel' might also have been worn by secular women. The term does, however, occur in a homily of Ælfric, with reference to St. Agnes, where it is used figuratively, possibly with allusion to the holy veil of the religious life: 'He [Christ] geglængde me mid orle . of golde awefen'.<sup>37</sup>

'RIFT', BTD "a veil, curtain, cloak", though discussed above among Outer garments must be included here since (with 'orel') 'ryft' glosses cicla<sup>38</sup> and 'rift' glosses biuligo, niger velamen<sup>39</sup> in the Harley glossary. In biblical context 'wahrift' translates uelum<sup>40</sup> [the veil of the temple]. The compound 'haligrift' referred to nun's clothing, and came to mean the religious life,<sup>41</sup> but it is possible that secular women might also have worn a veil named 'rift'.

'WRIGELS' as mentioned above (subsection 2, pp. 598-9), could be used of the wrapping of a corpse, but it seems to have been used of a garment also. A Middle High German cognate rigel signifies "headcovering".<sup>42</sup> The word is used of the holy veil in the Durham Ritual, 'halgŵ wriilcse' rendering sacro velamine,<sup>43</sup> and in homiletic context.<sup>44</sup> There is no evidence from OE that the garment of this name was worn by seculars, but the use



of the word in the Ancrene Wisse demonstrates that the 'wriheles' as opposed to the 'wimpel' and/or 'heaued clað' was considered suitable wear for anchoresses.<sup>45</sup> Since such recluses were not nuns, but secular ladies devoted to the contemplative life, it is possible that the 'wrihels' was a head covering worn by seculars, but, at least in its thirteenth-century form, was a sober, conservative garment.

c. 'Hufe'

'HUFÉ' may have been used of the hat of a churchman, but was very probably applied to the headgear of seculars, and is therefore considered fully below (subsection 6, pp. 607-8).

#### 4. Fillets

All the terms grouped below refer to bands of some kind. They may have been used of bands for the head, but some, at least, had other functions also.

'BINDE', BTD "a band, wreath, headband, fillet", has a number of cognates in other Germanic languages and is related to the OE verb 'bindan', "to bind". This term occurs in the Indicia Monasterialia in a context which not only demonstrates the position in which the article was worn, but also shows that it was considered as typical a feature of the appearance of the secular (married) woman as the beard was of the layman<sup>46</sup>:

'Gewylces ungehadodes wives tacen is þæt þu [strice] mid foreweardum fingrum þin forwearde heafod fram þam anum earan to þon oprum on bindan tacne'.<sup>47</sup> Though no such headband is visible on the majority of illustrations of women, Cnut's queen, who might be depicted in typical clothing of the early eleventh century does wear such a band (Plate XXVI). The bequests of

'hyre betspan bindan' and another 'bindan' occur, with gifts of clothing, in the will of Wynflæd, a document from the last quarter of the tenth century.<sup>48</sup>

'BÆNDE', BTD "a band", occurs in the mid-tenth-century will of Byrhtic and Ælfswith, in the bequest of 'healfne bænde gyldene'.<sup>49</sup> There is no contextual evidence that the object was a head ornament, but if it were, it might have been a metal or gold-embroidered band.

'BEND', BTD "a band, bond, ribbon, chaplet, crown, ornament", occurs in several glossary entries and in biblical context with the meaning "restricting bond",<sup>50</sup> but other glosses show that the word might be used of a head ornament. In Junius/BM, among a group of terms signifying coverings and ornaments for the head, there occur the entries: diadema 'bend agimmed and gesmiðed' and nimbus 'mid goldegesiwd bend'.<sup>51</sup> [Diadema royal headdress, diadem; nimbus headband (Isidor) worn by females.] 'Bend' also glosses lunula<sup>52</sup> ["little moon", ornament worn by women] in the same glossary. Although there is no evidence that 'bend' was used of a headband worn by the Anglo-Saxons, its occurrence as gloss to these lemmata perhaps strengthens the possibility that the very similar 'bænde', mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon will, may have signified a headband.

'SNOD', BTD "snood, fillet, headdress", glosses cappa in the Corpus<sup>53</sup> and Cleopatra A-order glossaries<sup>54</sup> and capsa [normally box; ? for cappa] in Harley.<sup>55</sup> It twice glosses uitta [a band, a cap for the head] in Junius/BM, once among other clothing terms<sup>56</sup> and once among terms relating to head-gear.<sup>57</sup> 'Snoda' also glosses vittarum in an Aldhelm MS.<sup>58</sup> In the Harley glossary the word is found rendering cinthium,



mitra<sup>59</sup> [cintum a belt; mitra headband or turban worn by Greek and Roman women; from the twelfth century, an ecclesiastical mitre; a nightcap]. In an Aldhelm MS the word glosses redimicula<sup>60</sup> [redimiculum a fillet, necklace or girdle]. The word has cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages, including Swedish snod(d), "cord" and Old Irish snathe, "thread".<sup>61</sup> The word is also related to modern English "snood", but the OE term seems to have signified a band or cord rather than the ornamental hair net designated by modern "snood". The 'snod' functions like a piece of string in an OE homily: 'heo... becnytte [ænne wærnægl] to anum hringe mid hire snode'.<sup>62</sup>

'NOSTLE', BTD "a fillet, band", has already been considered among leg coverings (Section IV, 4, p. 588). Possibly the term could also be used of a head band. 'Nostlena' glosses uittarum in Cleopatra<sup>63</sup> and 'nostlæ' glosses uicta [probably for vitta] in Bodleian MS Additional C 114.<sup>64</sup> The word glosses fascia [a band, including a headband] in Junius/BM<sup>65</sup> in a group of clothing terms which includes 'snod' and 'wyning'.

'FEAX-CLAP', BTD "a head cloth, hair band, fillet", is a hapax legomenon formed on the familiar pattern of part-of-the-body plus general garment term. The word glosses fascia in the Cleopatra A-order glossary (BTD fascia crinalis, corrected in BTS) with alternative 'wrædwriðels'.<sup>66</sup>

'ÐWELE', BTD "a band, fillet", has cognates in Old and Middle High German meaning "towel".<sup>67</sup> The OE term is found in the Corpus glossary rendering vittas ('thuelan')<sup>68</sup> and taeni(i)s [a band, fillet] ('ðuælum').<sup>69</sup> In a Bodleian Library MS 'thwæle' glosses infula<sup>70</sup> [a band, bandage, especially the fillet signifying consecration].

'WRÆD', BTD: "a bandage, band, fillet", is related to the OE verb 'wriðan', "to bind", and to modern English "wreath". It glosses fascia in the Cleopatra A-order glossary<sup>71</sup> and in the same MS 'wræda' glosses fasciarum in conjunction with 'sweþelum'.<sup>72</sup> In the Brussels Aldhelm MS 'ræda' glosses fasciarum (vinculorum).<sup>73</sup> In the same MS 'vrædas' glosses redimicula.<sup>74</sup> In the Benedictine Rule the word is possibly used of the ornament to a garment: 'sume heora fnada and wrædas gemiccliap'.<sup>75</sup> Elsewhere the word is not used of a garment, but of a bandage for a wound.<sup>76</sup>

## 5. General term

'HÆT', BTD "a hat, covering for the head", is not documented in OE texts apart from glosses, but appears as gloss to several different lemmata. In the Corpus glossary it renders calomachus<sup>77</sup> [a skull cap] and in Junius/BM calamanca<sup>78</sup> (calamachus). It glosses capitium in the Julius MS<sup>79</sup> [for capitulum or caputium, hood on vestment] and mitra in the Corpus<sup>80</sup> and Cleopatra A-order glossaries (mitras 'hættas').<sup>81</sup> In the Digby MS 'hættes' renders mitre in association with 'hufan'.<sup>82</sup> It glosses tiara [oriental headdress, turban; from the thirteenth century, ecclesiastical mitre] in the Cleopatra MS.<sup>83</sup> In Junius/BM, 'fellen hæt' renders galerus, uel pilleus<sup>84</sup> [galerus helmet-like head covering of undressed skin, cap, hat; pileus egg-shaped hat or cap made of felt]. 'Hæt' is related to Latin cassis.<sup>85</sup>

## 6. Distinctive types of headgear

'FEAX-NET', BTD "a hair net, network cap for confining the hair", is found in Junius/BM. It glosses reticulum<sup>86</sup> [a



little net, network cap] and rigula<sup>87</sup> [ricula a small veil].

'CUFFIE', BTD "a cap, coif, hood, headdress", appears as a bequest in the will of Wynflæd ('cuffian').<sup>88</sup> Thorpe translated the word as "cuffs"<sup>89</sup> but there appears to be no support for this interpretation other than the similarity to the modern word. The term could, perhaps, be related to OE 'cufle', 'cugele', "a monk's cowl". 'Cugle' was a loan into continental Germanic from Latin cucullus<sup>90</sup> [cap, hood fastened to a garment, monk's cowl]. An alternative (personal) opinion is that 'cuffie' might be a borrowing from Latin cuphia, documented in BM MS Additional 32,246, where it is glossed 'hufe' vel 'mitra'.<sup>91</sup> Cuphia is not documented in Latin dictionaries, but is probably related to coifa, cited from the thirteenth century, and signifying "headdress". OED relates modern English "coif" to cufia or cuphia, supposing the Latin word to be an adoption from Germanic, deriving from Old High German chuppha. It is possible, therefore, that 'cuffie' was the English form of a well-established Germanic term, or that it was re-introduced from the medieval Latin cuphia, or that it was a variant of 'cufle'.

'HUFÉ', BTD "a covering for the head", appears in Junius/BM under the heading Vestium Nomina, among articles of headgear. It glosses cidaris, uel mitra<sup>92</sup> [cidaris turban of Jewish high priests, diadem of Persian kings]. The preceding entry is infula 'biscopheafodlin'<sup>93</sup> but the juxtaposition does not prove that 'hufe' was also an ecclesiastical item. The term could be applied to episcopal headgear, however, since 'biscopes huf' appears in the Junius glossary glossing flammeolum, uel flammeum.<sup>94</sup> [Flammeolum normally means a flame-coloured bridal veil, flammeum a bandage.]

'Hufe' also glosses cuphia vel mitra in the BM Additional MS glossary,<sup>95</sup> mitre i. tigera (? for tiara) in BM MS Royal 6 Bvii ('hufan')<sup>96</sup> and mitre in the Digby Aldhelm MS ('hættes, hufan').<sup>97</sup> A related verb 'hufian' may be deduced from the biblical 'he scridde his suna midd 7 gyrde hi 7 hufode'<sup>98</sup> but since the context relates to the consecration of Aaron's sons as priests, the verb possibly has a religious significance. The substantive has cognates in other languages, including Icelandic hufa, "a hood, cap, bonnet", and German haube, "a bonnet, cap",<sup>99</sup> and including Greek and Indian terms signifying "hump-backed".<sup>100</sup> It is possible that the OE 'hufe' took its name from a humped shape. The name cannot have derived from the characteristic dome-shape of the episcopal mitre, since this did not develop until after the Norman Conquest.<sup>101</sup> The Latin mitra, mitre which is glossed by this word is not recorded in the ecclesiastical sense until the twelfth century.

The word survived into Middle and modern English (though now obsolete) and into modern Scottish ("how") where it does not appear to have had religious significance.<sup>102</sup> 'Houues of selk' are said to be worn by Sergeants of Law in Piers Plowman<sup>103</sup> and garments of this name ('howve') are worn by men in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde<sup>104</sup> and the Prologue to The Reeve's Tale.<sup>105</sup> Yet in Coverdale's sixteenth-century version of the Bible, headgear of this name is worn by a woman (Judith): 'sett an hoove upon hir heade' 'bounde up hir hayre in a hoove to begyle him'.<sup>106</sup>

'SCYFEL', BTD "a covering for a woman's head", occurs in the Corpus<sup>107</sup> and Cleopatra A-order glossaries ('scyfla')<sup>108</sup> glossing maforte. 'Scyfele' glosses mafors in another glossary



in the Cleopatra MS.<sup>109</sup> It occurs among garment terms, preceded by ependiten 'cop' and followed by sanctimonialis 'nunne',<sup>110</sup> a juxtaposition which suggests, but does not prove, that the 'scyfel' may have been associated with the religious life.

The word has cognates in Germanic languages, including Icelandic skupla, skypill, "a woman's hood hiding or shading her face".<sup>111</sup> BTD tentatively suggests an association with the element "shovel", as in "shovel-hat". The OE verb 'scufan' "to push" and the related substantive 'scufa', "precipitation (caused by a push)" may also be relevant. Taking the Icelandic cognate into account, it seems possible that the OE 'scyfel' was named from some projection which shaded the face and that the garment of this name may have been worn by women only.

'WIMPEL', BTD "an article of women's dress, a wimple", occurs with 'orl' in Junius/BM as gloss to ricinum<sup>112</sup> among a group of words signifying garments and ornaments for the head. In another group of garment terms in the same glossary, 'winpel' glosses anabola<sup>113</sup> [anaboladium linen mantle or wrap]. 'Vimpe' glosses cyclade(veste) in the Brussels Aldhelm MS<sup>114</sup> and the same MS also contains the entry mafortibus 'vimplum' i. velaminibus with the marginal entry 'hvimplum' ± 'orlum'.<sup>115</sup> An Aldhelm MS from Salisbury Cathedral has 'wymplum' glossing an entry which was probably mafortibus though no longer legible.<sup>116</sup>

'Wimpel' has cognates in Germanic languages including Icelandic vimpill "a hood or veil",<sup>117</sup> and is antecedent to modern English "wimple". The characteristic headdress of women in Anglo-Saxon illustrations approximates so closely to the article which was known as a wimple in later medieval and modern times<sup>118</sup> that it seems likely that 'wimpel' was the name given in the Anglo-Saxon period to the characteristic headgear of women. The

glosses alone, however, fail to establish the appearance of the 'wimpel' or even to prove that the word was applied exclusively to headgear. The glosses to mafors suggest that the word may have been applied to headgear worn by women, a use consistent with the meaning of the term in later contexts. Chaucer's Prioress wore a 'wypul' which was 'pynched' ("pleated"),<sup>119</sup> and a garment of this name is worn by some orders of nuns up to the present day, but it was almost certainly originally worn by seculars. Indeed, it was sometimes considered an extravagant garment, indicative of worldly vanity, the author of the Ancrene Wisse warning his readers: 'wrihen ...nawt wimplin'.<sup>120</sup>

## 7. Pins

Hair pins or hat pins must have been necessary to keep some veils and hats in position. 'CÆFING', BTD "an ornament for the head", appears in MS Royal Bvii ('cæfinga') glossing discriminalia<sup>121</sup> [a woman's hair clasp] which it also glosses in the Digby MS, together with 'earpreonas',<sup>122</sup> probably an alternative explanation of the lemma, rather than a synonym. In the Harley MS discriminale is glossed 'uplegen', uel 'cæfing'.<sup>123</sup> The word may have been used of a different kind of ornament also, since 'kæuinge' glosses redimicula among garment and jewellery terms in Junius/BM.<sup>124</sup>

'UP-LEGEN', BTD "a hair pin", TCS "a headdress", occurs in association with 'cæfing'<sup>125</sup> and also glosses discriminalia in Junius/BM ('uplegene') in association with 'feaxpreonas'.<sup>126</sup> 'FEAX-PREON', BTD "a hair pin", is not documented elsewhere.

'HÆR-NEDL', BTD "a hair pin", and 'PRAWING-SPINEL', BTD "a curling iron, crimping pin", are found together in two



Aldhelm MSS glossing calamistro ('pravincspini' ± 'hærnædla')<sup>127</sup>  
[calamistrum a pin for curling the hair]. 'Prawing-spinel'  
(once as 'pravincspilnle') also occurs as gloss to the same  
lemma in the Brussels MS.<sup>128</sup>

## VII

Accessories

## Collars and neck cloths:

Sal  
Sweor-clap  
Sweor-sal  
Sweor-teah

## Belts:

Belt  
Fetel, fetels  
Gyrdel, gyrdels

## Hand coverings:

Glof  
Hand-scio

1. Collars and neck cloths

Included in this group are those words which the dictionary definitions suggest might have signified collars or neck cloths worn as part of the clothing. The metal neck-rings ('hringas', 'beagas') which were traditional status-symbols of the heroic age have not been included.

'SWEOR-CLAP', BTD "a cloth for the neck, a collar", is only documented once and, particularly since it is an easily comprehensible compound, it may have been a nonce-word. It occurs in the Harley glossary, in an entry from which BTD deduces two other compounds: collarium 'sweor-clap' uel 'teg' uel 'sal'<sup>1</sup> [collarium band or chain for neck; collar].

'SWEOR-TEAH', BTD "a collar", and the second of the group of OE words in the Harley gloss (above) is more likely to have signified a dog's collar than a garment for humans since it appears in Junius/BM in a chapter concerned with animals, particularly with hounds,<sup>2</sup> as gloss to millus, uel collarium<sup>3</sup> [millus a dog's collar]. In the Brussels Aldhelm MS 'sviortegum' glosses vinculis, collaribus<sup>4</sup> [vinculum something which binds].

'SWEOR-SAL', BTD "a collar", is never, as such, documented, except possibly in the Harley entry (above). 'SAL', BTD V "a necklace, collar", is documented as gloss to collario in Cleopatra.<sup>5</sup> The suggestion of the compound seems unnecessary. It is possible that a human's garment was



understood by 'sal', but an entry in the Promptorium Parvulorum ('Soole, bestys tyying')<sup>6</sup> lessens the probability by showing that in later English the term signified a tether.

## 2. Belts

'BELT', BTD "a belt, girdle", has cognates in Germanic languages and is the antecedent of modern English "belt". In the Cleopatra A-order glossary 'gyrdel, oððe belt' renders balteum<sup>7</sup> [balteus a belt] and 'belt' glosses balteus i. cingulum in the Digby MS<sup>8</sup> [cingulum a girdle encircling the hips]. There is a similar entry in the Harley glossary: baltheum, cingulum, uel 'belt'.<sup>9</sup>

The meanings of some terms appear to include "purse" as well as "belt", reflecting the practice of suspending the purse from the girdle. Thus 'FETELS', BTD "a little vessel, bag", BTS "a belt", clearly signifies a bag in an OE Bible translation, 'fætelsas' rendering saccos<sup>10</sup> [saccus a bag, especially for money], yet a bequest in the will of Ælfgar, of 'tueye suerde fetelsade'<sup>11</sup> appears to indicate that the 'fetels' was something associated with a sword, a belt or perhaps a sheath.

'FETEL', BTD "a girdle, belt", is also found in association with a weapon: 'sweordum and fetelum'<sup>12</sup> and may signify a sword belt. The Germanic cognates of this word mean "band" or "ribbon".

'GYRDEL', BTD "a girdle, belt, zone, purse" has a range of uses, but its function as an article of clothing is demonstrated by its inclusion in groups of clothing terms in Junius/BM: antrax<sup>13</sup>, uel clauus, uel strophium 'angseta', uel 'gyrdel', uel 'agimmed gerdel'; zona, uel zonarium, uel brachile, uel

redimiculum 'gyrdel'; zona 'gyrdel'<sup>14</sup> [clauus purple stripe on Roman tunic; strophium headband or bandage; zona belt, money belt; brachile girdle]. This function is demonstrated by an instruction in the Indicia Monasterialia: 'Ðonne þu gyrder habban wylle, þonne sete þu þine handa forewearde wiðneopan þinne nafolan and stric to þinum twam hypum'.<sup>15</sup> The instruction is among paragraphs referring to mass vestments, however, so does not offer evidence that a garment of this name could be worn by seculars.

'GYRDELS', BTD "a girdle", also glosses cingulum<sup>16</sup> and bra(c)hiale.<sup>17</sup> This word was included among names of loin and leg coverings (Section IV, 1, p.580 ), on the evidence of its association with 'brec' as gloss to lumbare.<sup>18</sup> This apparent semantic range may be accounted for by evidence that the girdle was worn round the hips and loins, rather than the waist. A homiletic passage rendering Bede's account of a holy man standing in the river usque ad lumbos<sup>19</sup> by 'to his gyrdle'<sup>20</sup> suggests this. The word occurs in the Benedictine Rule, where it translates brachile.<sup>21</sup> The evidence that an article of this name was worn by monks suggests a utilitarian strap or cord, but the gloss 'swyrdes gyrdel' to baltheus<sup>22</sup> shows that the term might be used of the more substantial sword belt, and that it was not confined to ecclesiastical use.

### 3. Hand coverings

'GLOF', BTD "a glove", appears to have been in common use. The origin of the term is obscure. Stroebe suggested that the prefix 'ge-' had been added to an element cognate with Gothic lofa and Old Norse lofe, "palm of the hand".<sup>23</sup> The term is



documented from the eighth century, occurring in the Corpus glossary rendering manica<sup>24</sup> [the long sleeve of a tunic which covered the hand]. It glosses manica and manicula in corresponding entries in the Cleopatra A-order glossary.<sup>25</sup> In Junius/BM the word appears opposite mantum<sup>26</sup> [possibly a glossator's error influenced by the preceding entry manualis 'handlin' (for 'handlin'); there are documented terms mantum, mantellum but these mean "cloak", mantile "towel" or "napkin"]. In the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum 'glofa' renders cirothecas [chirotheca glove] in a passage which suggests that the supplying of clothing was sometimes the responsibility of a man's social superior in the hierarchical Anglo-Saxon society, but that financial provision might be made for the man to take on this responsibility himself: 'Oxanhyrde mot læswian II oxan oððe ma mid hlafordes heorde on gemænre lāsse be his ealdormannes gewitnesse; earnian mid ðam scos 7 glofa him sylfum'.<sup>27</sup> The citation demonstrates that gloves (and shoes) were not regarded as luxuries, but were considered necessary equipment for a layman in humble position. Gloves were certainly worn by monks, who should not have dressed ostentatiously. The Indicia Monasterialia mentions them with the description of a gesture which demonstrates that the English 'glof' was a separate covering for the hand, not a sleeve which could be extended to cover the hand (c.f. manica): 'Ðonne þu glofan abban wille, þonne stric þu þa opre hand mid þære opre bralinga'.<sup>28</sup> An anecdote concerning the loss of a pair of gloves belonging to a brother, Wilfred, in the prose Life of St. Guthlac,<sup>29</sup> which derives from Felix's Latin Life confirms both that gloves were worn by men in holy orders and that they existed as early as the eighth century. The name 'glof' was given to the protective

hand covering used in hawking<sup>30</sup> and is used of the pouch or gauntlet carried by the monster Grendel, probably in the tradition of such Northern creatures, in Beowulf.<sup>31</sup>

'HAND-SCIO', BTD "a glove", occurs only as a proper name, 'Hondscio' (one of Beowulf's retainers),<sup>32</sup> and in the place-name Andscoresham.<sup>33</sup> It bears an obvious resemblance to German Handschuh, "glove", and to cognates in other Germanic languages, but there is no evidence that the term was in popular use in Christian Anglo-Saxon times. It may have been archaic by the time it was recorded in written form, preserved only by the traditional element in OE poetry and by the practice among a certain tribe of naming warriors after commonplace objects.<sup>34</sup> The place-name probably derived from a personal name.

It is possible that the form of the word may be indicative of the structure of the garment it originally represented. Hald has suggested that the Handschuh group of terms implies a common development of shoe and mitten.<sup>35</sup> Bronze Age mittens of woven material<sup>36</sup> and of needlework<sup>37</sup> survive from Scandinavia and Viking Age examples are also known.<sup>38</sup> They were made from two pieces of material, one larger than the other, stitched together with a semi-circular seam, as are modern mittens. The name 'hand-scio' and its Germanic cognates were probably originally applied to this type of mitten, but it cannot be proved that this article was known in England.

Gloves appear to have been more popular with Germanic peoples than with other Europeans. Leather gloves, lined with soft cloth and laced at the back of the hand were found in Alamannic graves at Oberflach,<sup>39</sup> and a doeskin glove with a decorated cuff of cowhide was found in the "Minstrel's Grave" at St. Severin, Cologne,<sup>40</sup> an interment



probably of the late seventh or early eighth centuries. It is possible that gloves were imported into England from the Continent in the late Anglo-Saxon period since a duty of five pairs of gloves (cirothecas) was among the twice-yearly dues to be paid by the Carolingian Emperor for the right to trade with Billingsgate.<sup>41</sup>

Although the glove or mitten was therefore evidently popular among the Germanic peoples, there was an alternative method of protecting the hand, the overlapping sleeve. This method appears to have been used by the Romans, and as attested by a single Anglo-Saxon illustration (Plate XXIV), by women in late Anglo-Saxon England. The use of 'glof' in the Corpus glossary (glossing manica) suggests that this word might have signified such a sleeve, but the contexts in which 'glof' appears in later texts do not confirm this. There are several OE terms which appear to signify "sleeve": 'earmella', 'earm-slif' 'earm-stoc' 'hand-stoc' and 'slif'. The last-mentioned glosses manica ('slyf')<sup>42</sup> but its use in the Laws of Alfred in defining compensation for wounds received on the visible areas of the body suggests that the 'slif' did not cover the hand: 'Æghwelcere wunde beforan feaxe 7 beforan sliefan 7 beneoðan cneowe sio bot bið twysceatte mare'.<sup>43</sup> The form of the compound 'hand-stoc' suggests that it might have been used to cover hand as well as arm. 'Stoc' is cognate with OE stuka "a sleeve" and with Old High German stucha which glosses manica.<sup>44</sup> The OE term glosses manica in several Aldhelm MSS<sup>45</sup> and occurs in the Indicia Monasterialia,<sup>46</sup> but in association with the "scapular" which was probably an ecclesiastical garment. There is no evidence from secular texts.

Linguistic evidence therefore does not confirm that there was an Anglo-Saxon sleeve which covered the hand. Indeed, the fact that 'glof' was used to gloss manica suggests that the glossator did not know of an English equivalent for this sleeve, only alternative forms of hand covering.



## VIII

. General terms

Clap, clapes  
 (Ge)gerela  
 Gerif  
 Ge-scirpla  
 Godweb  
 Hætera  
 Hrægel, hræglung

Reaf  
 Sceorp  
 Scrud  
 Swæpels  
 (Ge)wæd  
 -waru

1. Words which are also compound elements

'HÆGEL' is defined in BTD: "a garment, dress, robe, rail, clothing". BTS adds I "a garment, vestment"; II "(collective) dress, garments, clothes, clothing, raiment". The word has cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages, and is antecedent to modern English "rail" (as in "night-rail"). It is the commonest of OE garment terms, and there are so many documented occurrences that only selected examples are considered below. The word translates vestimentum [clothing, a garment] in several texts including the Northumbrian version of St. John's Gospel, where 'uoede' is given as alternative.<sup>1</sup> The form 'HÆGLUNG' glosses vestitus [clothing] in Junius/BM.<sup>2</sup> 'Hrægel' translates several Latin garment names: amiculo [amiculum cloak] in the Cleopatra A-order glossary,<sup>3</sup> clamiden in the Lindisfarne Gospels,<sup>4</sup> poplum [broad upper garment] in an Aldhelm MS,<sup>5</sup> pallium in the Lindisfarne Gospels,<sup>6</sup> superhumeralis (ecclesiastical) in the Pastoral Care<sup>7</sup> and tunica in the Lindisfarne Gospels.<sup>8</sup> More than once the Lindisfarne glossator uses the word in conjunction with more specific OE garment terms: tunicam is glossed 'cyrtel' ± 'hrægl' and pallium is glossed 'hrægl' ± 'hæcla' ± 'bratt'.

'Hrægel' frequently functions as head in noun phrases glossing Latin phrases, for example in Junius/BM in a group of

Isidor glosses beginning segmentata uestis 'geræwen hrægel'.<sup>9</sup> The compound 'hrægl-gewæde', unusual in that it consists of two general terms, appears in the Cleopatra A-order glossary rendering liniamentis ('hræglgewædum').<sup>10</sup> 'Hrægel' appears to have been used of rich or poor garments. In the Blickling Homilies alone the word is used of angelic garments,<sup>11</sup> old clothes begged by a pauper<sup>12</sup> and costly raiment.<sup>13</sup> It might be used of the clothing of either sex, for example in the Confessionale of Ecgbert it is stated that a woman ought to attend eucharist in 'brunum hrægle'<sup>14</sup> whereas in the poem Judith the word is used of the clothing of a male retainer of Holofernes.<sup>15</sup>

'CLAP', BTD II "a garment" and 'CLAPES', BTD "clothes", have cognates in Germanic languages and are related to modern English "cloth". The singular form renders vestimentum<sup>16</sup> and the plural vestes,<sup>17</sup> though in the singular the word more often functions as modern English "cloth" except in compounds. It appears that the terms could be used of the garments of either sex, since 'clapes' is specifically used of the garments of a man,<sup>18</sup> and 'clap' of the 'tunecan' of a woman.<sup>19</sup> In compound, 'clap' is often combined with parts of the body, for example 'bearm-clap' (Section III, 2, pp.567-8, above), and may combine with a term signifying the wearer, for example in 'cildclaðes' which occurs in Junius/BM as gloss to cune, uel crebundie.<sup>20</sup>

'REAF', BTD II "raiment, a garment, robe,vestment", is another common term. Selected citations only are given. The word glosses uestis, vestimentum and indumentum [garment] in the Julius glossary<sup>21</sup> and in the group under the heading Vestium Nomina in Junius/BM it renders cultus<sup>22</sup> [appearance, clothing, especially splendid dress]. As 'linenum reafe', translating



stola byssina in Genesis,<sup>23</sup> the term is applied to a luxurious garment. It could be used of the garments of either sex, as is apparent from a passage in Deuteronomy where the word translates ueste: 'Ne scryde nan wif hi mid wæpmannes reafe ne wæpman mid wifmannes reafe'.<sup>24</sup> The term is used in compounds, often of ecclesiastical vestments, such as 'preostreaf'.<sup>25</sup> 'Reaf' meaning "garment" survived into Middle English.<sup>26</sup>

'SCRUD', BTD I "dress, clothing, attire", II "an article of dress, a garment", is related to the OE verb 'scrydan', "to dress" and has cognates in Icelandic, and in modern English "shroud". It is well documented as a garment term from the Middle English period.<sup>27</sup> The OE word translates several Latin general terms for clothing. 'Scruud' glosses habitus [appearance, dress] in the Vestium Nomina group of glosses in Junius/BM<sup>28</sup> and is used in homilies where the biblical source has vestes<sup>29</sup> and vestimenta.<sup>30</sup> It translates the latter term in a version of the Psalms where 'gegyrlu' appears synonymous.<sup>31</sup> The word also glosses vestitum, once in the gloss to Ælfric's Colloquy<sup>32</sup> which suggests that 'scrud' was a well-established term. The word is also used to translate more specific Latin garment terms, such as stolas in the OE version of Genesis<sup>33</sup> uestis, clamis in Junius/BM<sup>34</sup> and melote, veste among the Aldhelm glosses in the Brussels Codex.<sup>35</sup>

Several agreements concerning the financial provision to be made for the clothing of religious bodies utilize the general garment term 'scrud'. Thus, in an inventory from Thorney Abbey, various gifts are recorded, their purpose being 'to scrude'.<sup>36</sup> This use of the term is particularly frequent in compounds, for example 'scrud-feo',<sup>37</sup> or 'scrud-fultum', financial assistance

given by King Edgar to clothe the monks of Ely<sup>38</sup> and 'scrud-land', land given by Eadsige to Christchurch, Canterbury, for the same purpose.<sup>39</sup> The term was not confined to monastic clothing, for apart from ecclesiastical uses like 'nunscrude'<sup>40</sup> it appears in compounds relating to armour, such as 'beadu-scrud'.<sup>41</sup> In glossaries the term appears as the head in noun phrases, functioning similarly to 'hrægel'. With various modifiers the term is used to explain Latin lemmata which, in at least one case, probably lacked exact equivalents in OE. Thus 'cildes scrud' glosses praetexta<sup>42</sup> and 'slefleas scrud' colobium<sup>43</sup> in different groups of clothing terms in Junius/BM.

Outside its use as a compound element, the word is several times used of the clothing of men, for example the garments given by the biblical Joseph to his brothers.<sup>44</sup> The term is only applied to the clothing of women in compounds, such as 'nunscrude' and 'wif-scrud'. The latter compound is used in the will of Wulfwaru where context shows that, like 'scrud' alone, it could be used specifically as well as generally. The will includes the following bequests: 'ic geann Godan minre yldran dehter... anes wifscrudes ealles. And Alfware minre gyngran dehter ic geann ealles þæs wifscrudes þe þer to lafe bið'.<sup>45</sup> It appears that Goda is to receive one woman's outfit, complete, while Alfwaru is to be given all the female clothing which remains. The bequest to the elder daughter suggests that garments were not always considered individually, but could be conceived as a costume, the individual pieces perhaps matching in colour or trimming.

'WÆD' and 'GEWÆD' may conveniently be discussed together, though they are listed separately by BTD: 'wæd', BTD I "(1) a weed (as in palmer's, widow's weeds), an article of dress, a



garment (2) in a collective sense, clothing, dress"; 'gewæd', BTD "a garment, clothing", BTS I "what is worn by a person (1) in a collective sense, clothing, raiment, clothes (2) a garment". The terms have cognates in Germanic and non-Germanic languages.<sup>46</sup> Various forms ('wede', 'woede', 'uoedo') appear in the Northumbrian versions of the Gospels<sup>47</sup> where, in each case, the West Saxon versions use 'reaf'. 'Wæda' glosses indumentorum in BM MS Royal 5 E XI of Aldhelm<sup>48</sup> and 'gewæde' renders amictus [clothing, a cloak] in a version of the Psalms.<sup>49</sup> The occurrence of the term in a legal text, involving the determination of the extent of damages received for injuries, testifies to its use in the general sense of "clothing": 'Gyf dynt sweart sie buton wædum... Gyf hit sie binnan wædum...'.<sup>50</sup> The word appears to be used of a specific garment less often than some of the terms discussed above. Among a number of occurrences in poetry, the word is found in the Maxims of the Exeter Book, where 'wæd' is juxtaposed to 'hrægl' in a context which suggests they were synonymous: 'heo... wæscep his warig hrægl ond him sylep wæde niwe'.<sup>51</sup> The use of the term in the alliterating phrase 'wæpen and gewædu'<sup>52</sup> suggests that it could be applied to military equipment. It could be used of elaborate clothing, for example 'cynegewædum' in the OE Bede,<sup>53</sup> but elsewhere is used of the minimum clothing necessary for subsistence: 'forlæt ðonne eal ðæt ðu age, buton wiste and wæda'.<sup>54</sup> Clearly the terms were well-established in OE and their range of uses wide.

'GE-GERELA' and 'GERELA' may also be grouped together for convenience. BTD defines 'ge-gerela': "clothing, apparel, habit, garment, robe", BTS adding: "(1) in a collective sense apparel, clothing, raiment (2) a garment, an article of clothing".

BTD defines 'gerela': "apparel". BTS ('girela') adds: I "in a collective sense, attire, apparel, clothing, garments"; II "a garment, robe". These OE words translate various general Latin terms. 'Gyrle' glosses habitus [appearance, dress] in the Digby MS<sup>55</sup> and 'gegyrla' (with 'scrud') translates vestimentum in a version of the Psalms.<sup>56</sup> The terms also translate more specific Latin garment names, such as amiculis ('gegerelan'),<sup>57</sup> ciclaðes ('gegirelan')<sup>58</sup> and liniamento ('hloðan, gegirelan')<sup>59</sup> in the Cleopatra A-order glossary. 'Gyrlan' glosses stola in the Boulogne Prudentius MS.<sup>60</sup> The gloss of 'gegirelan' to discriminalia in the Cleopatra glossary<sup>61</sup> shows that the word might be used of a personal ornament which was not a garment.

'Gerela' appears to have been the clothing term chosen most frequently when context suggests finery or ostentation. In the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle the word is applied to finery which is contrasted with a coarser garment: 'alede ic minne kynegyrylan and me mid uncupe hrægle...me gegerede'.<sup>62</sup> The Guthlac poem in the Exeter Book mentions 'gierelum gielplicum' among the excesses of young people and worldly monks.<sup>63</sup> In both the West Saxon and Northumbrian versions of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the luxury garments called mollibus vestitum in the Latin text are rendered: 'hnescum gyrlum' ('gerelum').<sup>64</sup> In the early West Saxon version of the Gospels the clothing given to the returned Prodigal Son is called 'selestan gegyrelan',<sup>65</sup> and Christ warns the people to beware of the scribes 'þa wyllað on ge-gyrlum gan'.<sup>66</sup> In a sermon, Wulfstan warns: 'God reafian læste eowere dohtra heora gyrla and to oferrancra heafodgewmða'.<sup>67</sup>

The terms are not only confined to elaborate garments, however. In the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle the phrase



'lyperlice gerelan', a reference to coarse clothing<sup>68</sup> occurs close to the reference to finery already cited. There is at least one other recorded use of the term with reference to a poor garment. In the OE Appolonius of Tyre the fisherman uses the word with reference to the humble cloak which he shares with the shipwrecked prince: 'mine þearfendlican gegirlan',<sup>69</sup> rendering pauperitatem tribunarii mei. This same 'gegirila' (habitus)<sup>70</sup> betrays the prince's situation and he is provided instead with suitable clothing: 'wurðfullan scrude'.<sup>71</sup>

These terms, then, were used of textiles which were elaborate (not only clothing, 'gegyrele' glosses labara<sup>72</sup> [banner]) and could signify the regalia of royalty or other persons of social standing; but the words could also be applied to poor and humble garments. The terms could apparently be used of the clothing of either sex. They are used of the costumes of the scribes, the Prodigal Son, the fisherman in Appolonius and of Christ.<sup>73</sup> Wulfstan applies the word 'gyrla' to women's clothing and the Cleopatra glossary also used the term in relation to women, glossing theristodetes 'wudewan gierela'.<sup>74</sup> The terms might be applied to the clothing of persons in holy orders, for example 'biscopas gierelan',<sup>75</sup> but were not the names of vestments and were often used of secular clothing.

'-WARU' is not listed as a garment in BTD but has been included here because it occurs in compounds, functioning as a general garment term with the meaning "-wear" (as in "nightwear"). Both documented occurrences of the term are in monastic texts, but the Benedictine Rule employs the term in a way which suggests that it need not be applied only to the clothing of monks: each monk is to have 'twa cugelan and twegen syricas for þære nihtware'.<sup>76</sup> The other occurrence is a reference to 'munuclice scrudware' in

the Laws of Æthelred.<sup>77</sup> The combination with 'scrud' produces a garment term from two general terms.

## 2. Other terms

'GODWEB' is defined by BTD: "a divine or very precious web, purple cloth, excellently woven material". BTS adds I "fine woven material, material woven from silk or cotton, fine linen"; II "something made with such material". The word has cognates in Germanic languages and in Greek, the latter meaning "divinely-woven fabric", which supports the lexicographers' interpretation of the 'god' in 'godweb' as signifying "God" rather than "good".<sup>78</sup> Clearly the word signifies a fine material which could form part of a regalia. Thus, in the Harley glossary there is the entry: fascēs, i. honores, dignitates, plagas, triumphos 'cynedomas', uel 'aldor', uel 'gegerla', uel 'godweb'.<sup>79</sup> Since in the OE version of Bede 'mid golde / 7 mid godwebbe' renders auro et purpura<sup>80</sup> and since 'godvebbenum' glosses bombicinis<sup>81</sup> it may be deduced that the fine material called 'godweb' was frequently purple, and normally of silk. In a few instances 'godweb' refers to a specific garment. For example, in the Corpus glossary, 'goduuebbe' glosses toga<sup>82</sup> and in the Cleopatra A-order glossary 'godweb' renders calamidis<sup>83</sup> (for chlamidis). The word was used, however, of other articles which were not garments, which were made of fine textile, such as a cloth associated with a banner.<sup>84</sup>

'SCEORP', BTD "dress, apparel", is another term employed of splendid costume. Translating habitu in the OE Orosius, the word is used of the purple robes of a bishop which are compared with those of a king,<sup>85</sup> and of battle equipment: 'ægper ge heora sceorp, ge eall heora wæpn ofersylefredan'.<sup>86</sup> The



term also occurs among the list of duties of a man of the rank of thane in the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum; he is to provide 'scorp to friðscipe'.<sup>87</sup> BTD tentatively renders 'scorp' in this context as "apparel for those on board".<sup>88</sup> 'Sceorp' does occur in compound, but the compound words relate to battle equipment, for example 'hilde-sceorp',<sup>89</sup> not to clothing.

'HÆTERA', BTD "garments", in contrast to 'gerela', 'godweb' and 'sceorp', appears to have been used of the garments of the poor, and often of clothing which was in ragged condition. The cognates of the word include Old Indian terms signifying "roof, cover",<sup>90</sup> which, taken in conjunction with the contexts in which 'hætera' appears, suggest the OE word derived from the completely functional nature of the article it named. In homiletic context a poor man is said to have 'ne hælpe ne hætera'<sup>91</sup> which suggests that the term could be used of the most rudimentary of garments. The word is also associated with the destitute when Ælfric tells of Jews dying of hunger: 'cuwon...heora hætera'.<sup>92</sup> In the OE version of the Book of Exodus the term is applied to the garments of male slaves, translating vestitu: 'Ga he ut mid his hæteron swilcon he in com'.<sup>93</sup> The word is used of torn clothing in a homiletic anecdote concerning the wicked magician Simon, who was attacked by a dog which 'totær his hæteru... of his bæce'.<sup>94</sup> In Middle English the term continued to be used of ragged garments: 'alle his hateren weoren to-toren'<sup>95</sup> and of the minimum clothing necessary for subsistence: 'I have but one hatere'.<sup>96</sup> In the Promptorium Parvulorum 'Hatyr, rente cloth' is translated scrutum, pannicia<sup>97</sup> [scruta trash; panniculus a rag; light, short garment]. Though now obsolete, the word survived in modern English until the nineteenth century.<sup>98</sup>

'SWÆPELS', BTD "a wrap, garment", is related to the OE verb 'swapan', "to wrap", as well as to Icelandic sveipa, "to wrap, swaddle". BTD notes a related Danish phrase meaning "a child in swaddling clothes" which, added to the other cognates, suggests that the 'swæpels' was originally a garment which was wrapped around (c.f. 'wealca' Sections III, 6, VI, 1, pp.

578 - 9, 597, above).

Another Icelandic cognate, sveipa, signifies "kerchief, hood",<sup>99</sup> but there is no evidence that the OE term was applied to head coverings. The word glosses amicula in the A-order Cleopatra glossary<sup>100</sup> and is used figuratively in a Mercian version of the Psalms, where it translates amictus.<sup>101</sup>

'GE-SCIRPLA', BTD "clothing, clothes", is related to the OE verb 'gescyrpan', "to clothe", and to the substantive 'sceorp' (above, pp. 626-7).<sup>102</sup> The word is applied to men's clothing, in a homily condemning worldliness: 'Hwær beoð þonne his idlan gescyrplan?',<sup>103</sup> and with reference to seafarers' apparel in the poem Andreas.<sup>104</sup>

'GERIF', BTS "a garment", is documented only from Junius/BM, where 'fotsidgerif' glosses limus (Junius limes)<sup>105</sup> a gloss which renders Isidor's definition: limus, vestis quae... ad pedes producitur.<sup>106</sup>



## IX

Clasps

Objects which may have clasped the hair or headdress have been considered above (Section VI, 7, pp. 610 -

611 ). Other probable names of fasteners are listed below:

Bul	Mentel-preon
Cnæp	Ofer-feng
Dalc	Preon
Fifele	Sigle
Gyrdel-hring, gyrdels-hringe	Spennels

Several of the items are linked in glossaries. 'DALC', BTD "a clasp, buckle, brooch, bracelet", glosses fibula [buckle, clasp, pin] in Junius/BM, together with 'preon' and 'oferfeng'.<sup>1</sup> 'Dalc, oððe preon' appears in a list of jewellery in the Julius MS glossing spinther<sup>2</sup> [bracelet], and 'dalc' renders the same Latin word in Ælfric's Grammar.<sup>3</sup> In two Aldhelm MSS 'oferfengc, dalc' glosses ligulam i. fibulam<sup>4</sup> [ligula for legula a flap, or lingua a tongue, especially of shoe, strap or latchet of shoe]. Cognates of 'dalc' include Icelandic dalkr, "a pin for a cloak", and Old Irish delq, "a thorn, needle".<sup>5</sup> Tacitus mentioned that the Germanic peoples used thorns to pin their cloaks<sup>6</sup> and it is possible that the term 'dalc' derived from such a simple fastener, though it may have been used of more sophisticated metal clasps in Anglo-Saxon times.

'OFER-FENG', BTD "a clasp, buckle, latchet of a shoe", is associated with 'dalc' as gloss to fibula and ligula.<sup>7</sup> Glossing fibula it appears in a list of jewellery in Julius ('oferfengc')<sup>8</sup> following spinther 'dalc, oððe preon'. The word also glosses legulam i. fibulam in an Aldhelm MS.<sup>9</sup>

'PREON', BTD "a pin, brooch, fastening", linked with 'dalc'

and 'oferfeng' as gloss to spinter and fibula<sup>10</sup> also occurs in association with 'mene' (BTD "a necklace, ornament"). 'Menum' ± 'preonum' glosses monilibus<sup>11</sup> [monile, necklace, collar] and 'mynas, preanas' glosses lunulas.<sup>12</sup> The word must have been the name of an object in use in the tenth century since it is mentioned in wills of this period. Wulfwaru bequeathed 'twegea preonas' to her elder daughter.<sup>13</sup> Wynflæd left to her daughter a 'MENTEL-PREON'<sup>14</sup> the only documented occurrence of this compound; 'hyre ealdan gewiredan preon' was bequeathed in the same will.<sup>15</sup> 'Preon' has cognates in medieval languages and in modern English "preen" and Scottish "preyne" ("a pin made of wire").<sup>16</sup>

'BUL', BTS "an ornament, brooch", also occurs as a bequest which indicates that it signified a woman's ornament. Wulftric left to his goddaughter 'pone bule ðe was hire ealdermoder'.<sup>17</sup> 'Bula' occurs in the A-order Cleopatra glossary rendering bulla<sup>18</sup> from which the word derived. [Bulla signifies anything rounded, but especially an amulet worn on the neck.] 'Bulan' glosses leculam in an Aldhelm MS<sup>19</sup> and 'bvlas' renders murenulas [murenula a small necklace, from muraena a dark stripe] in the Durham Ritual.<sup>20</sup>

'FIFELE', BTS "a buckle", replacing BTD's 'figel(?) fifele(?)', "a buckle, button", is derived from Latin fibula, and there is no evidence that it was in general use in English. Its only documented occurrence is as gloss to fibula in association with 'sigel' and 'hringe' in the Cleopatra A-order glossary.<sup>21</sup>

'SIGEL', BTD "a clasp, brooch, jewel" (a tentative definition), apart from its association with 'fifele' and 'hringe' also glosses fibula ('sigl') in the Corpus glossary<sup>22</sup> and occurs with 'cnæp' and 'spennels' in the Harley MS glossing fibula, s.



dicta quod ligat.<sup>23</sup> The word also glosses bullā, for example in the Corpus glossary ('sigl')<sup>24</sup> and the A-order Cleopatra ('sigel')<sup>25</sup> and in the Harley MS glossing bullā, gemma ('sigl')<sup>26</sup> [gemma jewel]. It also glosses sibba<sup>27</sup> ["? for fibula"]. The word is related to 'sile', BTD "a necklaco, collar, band for the neck", and to 'sigele', "a necklace". The term perhaps primarily signified a personal ornament, and hence could be used of a brooch or clasp.

The Harley gloss is the only recorded occurrence of 'CNÆP', BTD II, "a button, brooch", and of 'SPENNELS', BTD "a clasp". The existence of Germanic cognates including the Icelandic spennill, "a clasp", suggests that the term may have been more common in OE than the single instance implies. It is related to the verb 'spannan', "to clasp".<sup>28</sup>

'GYRDEL-HRING' and 'GYRDELS-HRINGE' are listed separately in BTD with the same definition: "a girdle-buckle, clasp for a girdle". The latter is probably an earlier form of the same term, since 'gyrdilshringe' is found in the Corpus glossary glossing legula<sup>29</sup> and lingula<sup>30</sup> while 'gyrdelhringe' glosses the same lemmata in the related A-order glossary in Cleopatra.<sup>31</sup>

## X

. Discussion1. The naming of garments

The names of some Anglo-Saxon garments evidently derived from their nature. Thus, association with documented OE verbs suggests: that 'wealca'<sup>1</sup> was a garment which wrapped around the body; that 'crinc' and 'rifeling' were shoes which were drawn together, and wrinkled, respectively; and that 'binde' and 'wræd' were articles used for binding. Less specific examples are 'ham' and 'hætera', both of which, as cognates indicate, may originally have signified "a covering". Thus, 'hætera' came to be applied to the most basic of clothing, and, by extension, to rags, and 'ham' to the shirt worn close to the skin.

Some garments probably took their names from their shape: the relationship of 'scyrte' to an OE adjective meaning "short" and 'cyrtel' to curtus suggests that shortness was an essential quality of the 'scyrte' and 'cyrtel'; cognates in other languages and later English terms suggest that the head coverings 'hufe' and 'scyfel' were named from their shape, the former humped, the latter projecting.

There is some evidence that items might be named according to their fabric, hence a blanket/cloak of white or undyed material was named 'hwitel' and leg or footwear made from a particular area of an animal's skin took its name from the name given to that hide, thus 'hemming', 'strapul'.

Many OE garment names are compounds. Most correspond to the pattern: part-of-the-body plus general clothing term, for example 'bearm-clap'. These, and compounds of 'ofer-' or 'under-' with specific or general clothing terms, such as 'under-serc',



'ufre scrud', take their names from the positions in which they were worn. Some other compounds, for example 'leðer-hose', 'slipe-scoh', describe characteristics of garments.

Word-formation is only to be taken as evidence of costume with reservation. Deductions from names about the nature of garments may of course only be relevant with regard to the earliest form of those garments. Change of fashion need not necessitate change of vocabulary; it would be misleading to deduce from the form of some modern clothing terms (for example "petticoat") the nature of the present-day garments bearing those names. Conversely, however, garment names based on function (like modern "muffler" and "wrapper") are probably likely to remain associated with their original function, or to become obsolete if fashions change.

## 2. The origin and date of garment terms

Most of the terms listed have cognates in other Germanic languages, which would suggest that they were established in OE before the conversion.<sup>2</sup> Words which were of native origin, and therefore originally applicable to secular clothing before the introduction of Christianity, might eventually be applied to ecclesiastical vestments. It seems that 'hacele', 'ofer-slop' and 'rocc' were utilized in this way.

'Braccas', 'cæles', 'cæppe', 'cappa', 'cemes', 'hæt', 'hod', 'mentel', 'orel' and 'socc' were ultimately derived from Latin, but appear to have been early, pre-conversion loans. Terms borrowed into OE from Latin after, and probably as a direct result of, the conversion, include 'bul', 'casul', 'calc', perhaps 'cuffie', 'fifele', 'pilece', 'stole', 'strapul' and 'tunece'. 'Tunece' certainly passed into secular use and the

others may have done so. The majority of vestment names were imports and remained specialized, but it is apparent that the Church both borrowed garment terms from the native language and provided a source of new vocabulary.

It is evident therefore, that primitive OE was rich in terms relating to costume, some of which had been borrowed from Latin into continental Germanic; but that the vocabulary was augmented by further Latin loans, which in some cases came to be applied to secular clothing.

Many of the documented clothing terms are to be found in the Corpus glossary, the earliest of the sources cited. Examples are: 'braccas', 'brec', 'glof', 'gyrdel-hring', 'gyrdels', 'hacele', 'hat', 'ham', 'heden', 'hemming', 'hod', 'loða', 'pad', 'rift', 'sciccing', 'scyfel', 'sigel', 'slife-' or 'slipe-scoh', 'snod', 'socc', 'stæppe-scoh', 'ðwæle', and 'wimpel'. In other cases the limitation of evidence makes chronology hard to establish. Words documented in OE only from Corpus and the related, tenth-century Cleopatra glossary were not necessarily archaic by the time Cleopatra was made, as proved by the survival into modern English of "hemming" and "slipshod". Terms documented only from late texts were not necessarily late innovations.

### 3. Frequency of occurrence

A number of the documented terms appear to have been very common. Examples include the names of fabrics: 'lin', 'linen', 'wull', and several general and specific clothing terms: 'clap', 'gegerela', 'glof', 'hacele', 'hrægl', 'reaf', 'sciccels', 'scoh', 'scrud' and 'wæfels'. Others, with fewer documented occurrences, may have been more obscure. Many of the listed terms are hapax



legomena: 'bearm-rægl', 'bratt', 'brec-hrægl', 'breost-lin', 'breost-rocc', 'casul', 'crinc', 'feax-clap', 'feax-preon', 'fifele', 'fotgewæde', 'gerif', 'hær-nædl', 'hed-clap', 'hop-pada', 'hose-bend', 'mentel-preon', 'ofer-hacele', 'ofer-læg', 'sceanc-bend', 'sceanc-gegirela', 'spennels', 'sweorclap', 'sweor-sal', 'ufre scrud', 'under-serc', 'underwrædel' and 'wealca'. Most of these occur only as glosses, and may never have belonged to the popular vocabulary. Some, particularly those which are self-explanatory compounds, may have been nonce-words. This assumption should not be made too readily, however: the survival of 'bratt' in later English would suggest that it was not so rare as its single documented occurrence from Anglo-Saxon times would suggest; 'breost-rocc' and 'hose-bend', both readily-comprehensible compounds, have cognates in Germanic languages, so may not have been nonce-words in English.

#### 4. Dialect

Comparison between the Northumbrian and Mercian glosses to the Gospels with the West Saxon versions suggests a preference for certain terms which may have been regional, but might have been merely idiosyncratic. The evidence suggests Anglian preference for 'cyrtel', 'rift', 'stole' and 'wæd' over other synonyms, though these words are also documented in West Saxon texts. 'Wæfels', avoided by the Anglian glossators, appears to have been preferred by the West Saxons, and also appears in a Kentish glossary. 'Twin' is used by the West Saxon glossators of the Gospels, though 'linen', the Northumbrian choice, appears elsewhere in West Saxon texts. The Celtic loan 'bratt' is the only example of a word which is attested only in a non-West

Saxon text. 'Gyrdels broec' and 'slebe\_scoh' occur in these forms only in the Mercian Corpus, but Cleopatra contains the very similar 'gyrdol oððo brec' and 'slypescos', therefore these terms did not remain exclusively Anglian.

Some variations in spelling may be regional. Northumbrian glosses include 'hæcla' for 'hacele' and 'uoede', 'woede' and 'wede' for 'wæd'. These provide insufficient evidence to suggest different pronunciation. It is also unlikely that the back-spelling 'hryft' in a Mercian text (West Saxon 'rift') represents phonological variation.

## 5. Semantic range

The divisions indicated by Sections II to IX above are no more than convenient groupings according to the apparent functions of the garments named. The subdivisions reflect problems of interpretation and establish the existence of various types of apparel within the wider groups. Categorization of terms has been dependent on meaning as illustrated by context and by the Latin lemmata glossed. Finer distinctions have been indicated by the relationship of terms to each other. Some degree of synonymy has been established when words appear together as glosses to the same Latin term, or when words appear in similar context in different texts. More rarely, context has established that terms are not synonymous.

Thus, in Section II, some degree of semantic overlap is apparent between 'ofer-slop' and 'stole' and between 'basing', 'bratt', 'hacele', 'heden', 'hrægl', 'hwitel', 'loða', 'mentel', 'rift', 'reowe', 'rocc', 'sciccels' and 'wafels'. The terms were not exact synonyms. Examination of the individual words



establishes that the garment called 'heden' was made of skin or fur (and that possibly the 'basing', 'lođa', 'sciccells' and 'rocc' could be, also), the 'hwitel' of undyed thread; that 'hrægl' was a general term, the others specific garment names; that 'rift' shared some function with 'orel', "a veil", though the common element may have been no more than that women wore both garments; and that 'hacele', 'mentel' and 'lođa' may have shared characteristics with terms grouped under Section III, Body garments.

In Section III it has been possible to establish some degree of relationship between 'cemes', 'ham', 'hemepe', 'serc' and 'smoc', and, through the glosses to colobium to link 'hacele', 'lođa' and 'mentel' to this group. The various possible meanings of colobium, rather than a similarity between the OE 'hacele' group and 'cemes' group may have been the reason for this collocation, however. A similarity between 'cyrtel' and 'tunece' is implied by their use in the Gospels, but Wynflæd's will suggests some distinction between these terms. It is apparent that the 'tunece' was similar to the 'syrce' but distinct from the 'cemes', though 'tunece' and 'cemes' could be worn together. The 'tunece' fulfilled a different function from the 'hacele' and 'wofols' which have been categorized in Section II. Some distinction between the 'syrte' and 'cyrtel' is apparent, and these garments could be worn simultaneously, the 'cyrtel' over the 'syrto'. These inter-relationships indicate that garments of similar cut could function differently, as underwear or as over-tunics, corresponding to Einhard's evidence of Frankish costume (B, 1, p. 528, above) that the camisia was worn under the tunica. The 'cemes', 'serc' and 'tunece' might be worn for sleeping.

The various modifiers associated with 'cyrtel' suggest that this garment might be made of various materials and therefore that the same garment name might be applied to clothes of different textures.

Among the Leg coverings listed in Section IV, 'hose-bend', 'sceanc-bend' and 'sceanc-gegirela', glossing the same Latin word, are apparent synonyms. 'Cæles', 'hosa', 'meo' and 'socc', apparently of similar meaning and grouped together as "Stockings and socks" may bear some relationship to the "Slippers" group in Section V, since 'slipe-scoh' and 'socc' overlap semantically. Though similar, 'hosa' and 'meo' were not identical, nor were 'hosa' and 'socc'. 'Hemming' and 'riveling' are apparently synonymous names for raw hide shoes.

Words which signified "band, bandage", could be applied to headgear, though they might have other functions, 'nostle', for example being used of a garter or a fillet. In Section VI, 'orel' and 'wimpel' appear to have some relationship, and 'rift' is linked to this group as well as to the Outer garments grouped under Section II. 'Cæfing', 'feax-preon' and 'up-legen' appear to have had the same meaning. 'Hær-nædl' and 'prawing-spinel', probably synonyms, similarly were names for hairpins.

Of the words in Section VII 'sweor-clap', 'sweor-sal' and 'sweor-teg' are apparent synonyms, though it is uncertain that they represent garments. Also synonymous are 'gyrdel', 'gyrdels' and 'belt'. 'Gyrdels' has some degree of semantic overlap with 'brec', grouped, on other evidence, with Loin and leg coverings. The fact that words meaning "girdle" may also mean "purse", suggests that purses were attached to belts. The formation of 'hand-scoh' suggests that the mitten, as well as the glove, may have existed.



Among General terms, in Section VIII, 'wæd' and 'gewæd' appear similar in meaning to 'reaf', and 'scrud' to 'gegerela', though the latter pair also occur in opposed sense. General terms sometimes appear as equivalent to specific garment names, hence: 'gegerela' equals 'loða'; 'hrægl' equals 'cyrtel', 'bratt' and 'hæcla'; 'clap' includes 'tunece'.

Some degree of semantic overlap between the names of Clasps in Section IX links 'preon' to 'dalc' and 'ofer-feng' as well as to 'mene'; and 'sigle' to 'cnæp', 'fifele', 'hringe' and 'spennels'.

The relationship between some of these groups may have been minimal. The link between some of the terms in the final section, for example, may have been no more than that as various types of ornament they offered possible explanations for the lemmata lunulas and monilibus. Others, however, are likely to have been synonyms or near-synonyms. One of the characteristics of OE, exploited in its literature, is the quantity of synonyms applicable to many subjects. The large quantity of documented terms for clothing is not therefore surprising. The demands of alliteration, a structural feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry and a device often found ornamenting prose, may have perpetuated synonyms. Terms might be incorporated in rhythmic, alliterating formulas of which there are examples in 'ne hælpe ne hætera' and 'wæpen and gewædu'.

Freedom in the creation of compound words was also characteristic of OE. The formation of compounds may have produced synonyms for existing garment names, but, as suggested above, though many creations may have been nonce-words, others may have been in general use.

## 6. Deductions about costume from linguistic evidence

The linguistic evidence implies that the Anglo-Saxons had a far greater variety of garments than testified by other sources. Even allowing for some degree of synonymy, it is clear that to assume a one-to-one relationship between the garments illustrated in manuscripts, and selected garment names, as some costume historians have done, would be an over-simplification. The quantity of terms representing outer garments, for example, suggests that there was a greater variety than the simple rectangles worn by men and the sleeved or draped garments worn by women in most illustrations, though the linguistic evidence is insufficient for the reconstruction of any alternatives. The semantic overlap between "cloak" and "blanket" found on investigating some of these terms, suggests the original versatility of the Anglo-Saxon cloak which may have persisted as it persisted in the Empire of Charlemagne.

Synonyms make possible some deductions about garments. The overlap of terms in the "Socks" and "Slippers" groups suggest a bag-like foot covering. Both texture and shape are suggested by the linking of 'hemming' and 'raveling'; thus it is possible to deduce the existence of hide shoes of wrinkled appearance.

The vocabulary study offers several English names for the fur garments which are mentioned in Latin letters, though not shown in illustrations. The possible evidence that fur was used for body garments as well as outer corresponds to the evidence of the clothing worn by Charlemagne.

In addition to supplying potential names for the garments which are visible in representations of costume in art -- tunics, gowns, headgear, leg coverings and shoes -- the linguistic evidence



also suggests or confirms the existence of garments which are not shown, or not depicted clearly, in art. Thus, there is evidence of underwear, nightwear, loin cloths, bosom cloths, stockings, gloves, and the clasps which have been preserved by archaeology.

The fillets, hoods, veils and wrappers, as well as the various types of hat, which comprise names of headgear augment the limited varieties depicted in art. The variety of footwear, including slippers, raw hide shoes and sandals, designated by specific names existing in addition to general words for shoes, may be related to the archaeological finds from York. The linguistic evidence suggests an even greater variety of shoe types than so far revealed by archaeology.

The terms 'binde', 'bul', 'cyrtel', 'cuffie', 'orel', 'preon', 'snod' and 'wrigels' were applied to articles worn by women, and, on Middle English and modern English evidence, the 'wimpel' appears to have been a feminine garment. OE 'braccas' represents a garment worn by men, though Middle English evidence suggests that later, at least, a garment of this name was worn by women. The 'wæfels' was worn by men and 'gescirpla' is used of men's clothing. Middle English texts show that the 'strapul' was worn by women and possibly by men, and that the 'hufe' could be worn by both sexes. The garment name 'tunece' and the general terms 'gegerela', 'hrægl' and 'reaf' were applied to the clothing of both sexes in the OE period. There is no proof that any of the terms could not be applied to the garments of either sex, though the citations involving headveils suggests that these were exclusively feminine wear.

Finally, the citations offer occasional insights into social history. For example, the provision of gloves to persons of low rank shows that these accessories (popular elsewhere in the Germanic world) were not considered luxuries in Anglo-Saxon England. The insertion of such a clause as this into a law code, and the existence of a term such as 'gafol-hwitel' evidences the system of payment in kind prevalent in the Middle Ages.

The provision of finance for the purpose of clothing communities, and the designation of responsibility for handling such matters, as illustrated by some of the quotations, shows that providing apparel for the communal households and large work forces of Anglo-Saxon times required considerable administration.



PART FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

## PART FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented has already been summarized or discussed at the end of each Section (Part Two, B, XXXI, pp. 337-407; C, pp. 419-20; D, pp. 457-8; Part Three, B, 4, pp. 492-4 ; C, 3, p. 507 ; D, 3, pp. 512-13 ; E, 2, p. 516 ; Part Four, B, 6, pp. 540-1 ; C, X, pp. 632-42).

The different sources (archaeology, art and written material) largely reveal different facts, although some correspondences occur. The combined evidence reveals something of costume in each century of the Anglo-Saxon era, though some periods receive more clarification than others.

Despite Tacitus's claim that there was some similarity between the garments of the sexes in Germania, and the fact that some Old English garment names appear to have been applied to the clothing of both men and women, there are obvious differences between the costumes of the two sexes at all stages of the Anglo-Saxon period. After studying the evidence it is now possible to describe the costume of each sex, and its development:

English women of the fifth and sixth centuries evidently dressed in a girdled gown which could be worn over a blouse and under a cloak. The tubular gown was characteristically supported on the shoulders by a "pair" of brooches, usually matching, but if not, almost always of similar shape. The position of the "paired" brooches might vary, and the basic costume might be augmented by additional jewellery or modified (and to the modern investigator disguised) by the omission of one or both brooches; but it is probable that this gown was worn by women in almost all areas of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The gown was normally



wool, usually twill (mostly 2 x 2), woven of Z-spun thread, though tabby weaves and rarer twills (possibly imported stuffs) may have been used sometimes. Tablet-woven braids or string may sometimes have been used to attach the gown to the brooches. The gown could be attached to the under-blouse by a brooch. The blouse may have opened down the front, where it could be clasped by a brooch or pin. The blouse was probably the garment which had long sleeves ending in leather or tablet-woven cuffs. In Anglian areas the cuffs were often secured by metal clasps. The blouse might be of linen or wool, tabby or twill. A cloak, woven in a coarser weave than the gown, could be fastened by a brooch or pin worn at one shoulder or centrally. The gown itself was belted or girdled, belts being made of leather and girdles often consisting of tablet-woven braids. Possibly a combination of leather and textile might also be used. Some belts were fastened by buckles. In other cases toggle beads, rings or knots may have been used. Various articles hung from the belt as tools, trinkets and probably as symbols of the woman's role as housekeeper. Some kind of headdress was worn, but the evidence does not indicate its nature or if it was worn by the majority and in all areas. Possibly Anglo-Saxon women wore a veil or a network cap as other Germanic women did. Some women used a pin to secure headdress or hair. Evidence from one burial (Greenwich Park, K) suggests that the hair could be worn in a self-sustaining knot. Beads and pendants ornamented the costume, most often worn as festoons near the neck, but also worn at head, arms and girdle. Metal arm and finger rings were normally only worn by the rich.

During the sixth century there were some variations in the costume of women: women in areas culturally related to Kent may

have worn a robe which fastened down the front, though at one site (Chessell Down, IOW) this appeared in conjunction with the "paired" brooch gown; and in Kent itself and at some associated sites, prosperous women briefly adopted gold-brocaded garments -- usually headdresses -- often worn in conjunction with other unusual objects which may have belonged to a regalia indicative of social or ceremonial status.

In the seventh century women appear to have abandoned the tubular gown and the sleeved blouse. Possibly they adopted instead a sleeved robe. One of the garments worn during the seventh century, possibly a veil, or perhaps a cloak, could be fastened across the throat by a pair of linked pins. A single annular or polychrome disc brooch might be worn at shoulder or chest, and probably clasped a rectangular cloak. Long brooches had now permanently given way to circular. (The primitive-looking safety-pin brooches which appeared at this time were probably not worn in such a way as to be visible.) The new faith of Christianity was sometimes proclaimed by the costume: by a pendant cross, hanging from the necklace, or (in Kent) by a buckle plate decorated with cruciform perforations. Necklaces were now more often composed of pendant bullae and beads of amethyst, gold and silver, or of beads strung on or across rings, than by the clumsier strings of amber, glass and paste beads popular during the pagan period. Women's belts may have become narrower in the seventh century, since many sites have produced smaller buckles than are normally found in pagan burials. In some areas women may have ceased to wear buckles. In Kent the perforated buckle plate appeared, also perforated leather, though this may have not been used for belts, but for objects such as knife sheaths. An isolated example (Cambridge) shows that tablet-



woven belts continued to be worn in this century. Women continued to suspend objects from their girdles, but the nature of those adjuncts changed slightly. Innovations included chatelaine chains, cylindrical threadboxes and pouches of textile and/or leather. Annular brooches were sometimes re-used as suspension rings. Footwear is clearly attested for the first time in the seventh century. Laces or thongs, ending in metal tags, fastened leather shoes. Linen slippers or stockings may have existed. Women may occasionally have used simple brooches to secure stockings or garters.

Women's costume continued to change in the early Christian period. Literary evidence testifies to the elaborateness of feminine dress, Aldhelm describing a brightly-coloured costume which included two body garments, decorated sleeves, a light, be-ribboned headdress and furs. Archaeological evidence demonstrates a brief Frankish fashion for buckled shoes, and the Franks Casket depicts women in hooded cloaks. At least some of the "dress hooks" and strap ends which have been recovered in greater quantities from sites of the Christian period than from earlier ones were probably worn by women, and the suites of flat-headed pins dating from the eighth century, if they belonged to clothing, were probably worn by women rather than men. Annular brooches and adjuncts to the costume, including small bags, continued to be used in the eighth century.

The Viking incursions probably reintroduced the Germanic costume with "paired" brooches, but there is no evidence that this fashion spread back to the Anglo-Saxons who had abandoned it earlier. Anglo-Viking sculptures show women in the trailing dress and with the plaited hair which characterize females in Scandinavian art. The bared head for women was alien to Christian

Anglo-Saxon culture; evidence from literature and art associate a head covering with (virtuous) woman from the eighth century onwards.

Anglo-Saxon women of the ninth century wore single disc brooches, and bequests of the tenth century suggest that women continued to prize jewellery though it is rarely depicted in art. Women of the tenth and eleventh centuries evidently wore wimple-like headdresses which concealed the hair and neck. A wide-sleeved gown or a robe of chasuble type was worn over other layers of clothing. One inner garment had tight-fitting sleeves which reached to the wrist, where they were pleated or wrinkled. The robe was girdled, but by a soft sash rather than a rigid belt. There is no evidence that buckles or girdle adjuncts were worn at this time. The legs were normally covered by skirts, but might be bound by garters. Flat-soled shoes with a decoration or fastening at the front were worn on the feet.

Men's costume did not change so drastically during the Anglo-Saxon period. The three main garments worn by Germanic men before the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England -- short tunic, trousers and cloak -- appear in Anglo-Saxon art when it develops some degree of naturalism in the centuries after the conversion. The archaeological evidence for the pagan and conversion periods does not correspond on this point. Grave finds would suggest that men did not normally wear brooches and that if and when they did so they did not confine themselves to the circular fasteners which, in art, normally clasp cloaks.

Men of the fifth and sixth centuries probably wore clothes of wool, which, like women's, were normally woven in 2 x 2 twill, though men, also, might wear other weaves and linen. Men wore



belts or girdles, which, like women's, could be of leather or braided fabric, possibly both leather and textile. Men's belts were often studded and/or decorated with ornamental plates. They were sometimes buckled, though the buckle was not essential even for an elaborate belt, and for one which had to carry the weight of a sword. Alternative methods of fastening the girdle were employed by men as by women. Some men may have worn a baldric, perhaps a semi-military fashion. A knife, often carried in a sheath, was usually attached to one side of the belt, and other articles such as tweezers and shears were also carried this way, though the variety and number of such girdle adjuncts were less than worn by women. Tools could occasionally be carried at the leg. They were perhaps tied by garters which secured the leg coverings. Possibly trousers worn at this period were loose-fitting, being bound to the leg at intervals. The cloak which was worn over the other garments was probably a coarser fabric than the tunic. The cloak may have taken the form of the versatile, voluminous rectangle, but the poncho-shaped cloak which did not require a fastener is also a possibility at this early date. Men's garments may sometimes have been clasped by pins, but in the main, <sup>their</sup> only jewellery was the functional buckle. Clasps such as those found in the chieftains' burials at Taplow, Bu and Sutton Hoo, Sf, are rare and perhaps military.

Seventh-century male graves, like female, evidence the wearing of leather footwear, the carrying of leather and fabric pouches and the introduction of punched leather in Kent. A possible innovation in men's costume is the "shaggy" cloak, though the distribution of evidence suggests that the latter was a luxury item, probably imported. Documents of the early

Christian period testify the wearing of fur clothing by men (ecclesiastics) and linguistic evidence confirms the wearing of fur garments (not simply un-shaped skins) in Christian Saxon times.

A slight development in the costume of men during the eighth century may be marked by the Franks Casket. On this, men appear both in the baggy trousers depicted in Roman art and the close-fitting leg coverings of later Anglo-Saxon art, thus providing a terminus ad quem for the former and a terminus a quo for the latter. Footwear already existed in various forms in early Christian times, including the tibracis worn by the simple monk and the Frankish buckled shoes evidenced from Kent. This variety in footwear (not confined to men) was to continue, as attested by finds of several different types of shoe in York, and by linguistic evidence. Shoes and gloves were worn from at least the early Christian period, even by people of humble status.

During the ninth century shorter cloaks<sup>and possibly jackets,</sup> were introduced. Men continued to wear short cloaks with tunics for the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period, but long cloaks did not disappear. The Viking invasion probably brought some different clothing to the Danelaw area. Resulting variations in male costume may have included the loin cloth, the wearing of belted trousers without the covering tunic and the adoption of the (tailored) Irish coat or cloak which was fastened to the garment beneath it by a penannular brooch.

By the tenth and eleventh centuries men wore close-fitting leg coverings which were bound below the knee by parallel strips of gartering. Over the trousers they wore one or more garments of similar shape (perhaps interchangeable), functioning as underwear, shirt and tunic as required, to which names such as 'cemes', 'cyrtel' and 'tunece' could be applied. The tunic or



shirt had tight, pleated, wrist-length sleeves. The outermost garment was a rectangular cloak which was clasped by a disc brooch. Men performing physical labour, who were often barefoot and without cloaks, might wear the tunic tucked up, or could wear a garment similar to the tunic which was slit up the sides of the skirt. The tunic was girdled, but apparently not buckled. There appears to have been an innovation in male costume towards the end of the period, in the form of the ankle-length gown, confined at the waist by a sash. It may have been confined to those of high rank. Possibly its introduction was related to the importation of luxurious fabrics, especially silk, which was taking place on an organized scale at this time (though individual travellers had been bringing or sending home fine fabrics at least since the early Christian missions). The long gown was accompanied by the long cloak, often fastened at the centre of the chest rather than at one shoulder. The gown may have been worn over trousers, probably of the same type as worn under the tunic. The long garment did not replace the short tunic. A man of rank in late Anglo-Saxon times might own both costumes.

A general comment which might be made about the development of the clothing of both sexes is that it became more tailored during the Anglo-Saxon era. In the earlier centuries people tended to make a garment fit them by wrapping a piece of material round the body then pinning or binding it in the required position -- women clasped their gown with brooches, men (according to the Roman sculptures of Germans) tied loose trousers to the legs. This method of dressing gave way to the wearing of more garments which had been shaped during manufacture -- sleeved

robes and hooded cloaks for women and tighter trousers for men. The tailoring of clothes was not a new skill -- the sleeved blouse of women and the tunic of men had been in existence for centuries when these other developments took place -- the technique was simply being applied more widely. In pre-shaping their clothes, the people no doubt lost some of the versatility of their costume; the fifth- and sixth-century gown of women, for example, had been capable of many variations which a sleeved robe was not.

The developments which took place in costume, in particular in women's costume, interestingly mirror some of the cultural influences known to have affected Anglo-Saxon England. The women settlers wore a type of gown popular among other Germanic peoples, reflecting their Scandinavian and North German origin. The fact that the same basic costume was worn by women settlers in most areas of England attests the common cultural background of the invaders. Slight regional variations in women's costume, such as choice of brooches or use of wrist clasps, correspond to the post-settlement variations of Angle and Saxon; while other variations have the common denominator that they occur in Kent or in areas influenced by Kent, a region culturally distinct from the rest of England in other respects. Some of the variations in costume in sixth-century Kent reflect the fact that Kent was looking across the channel (Ethelbert of Kent, to whose court Augustine came in 597, married a Frank) and was to continue absorbing Frankish influence. The Frankish shoe fashions in eighth-century Polhill are a small example of this continued intercourse.

On a larger scale, the development in women's costume in all areas in the conversion period, with its emphasis upon single brooch and necklace of bullae, reflects the changed source of



cultural influence -- from pagan, Northern Europe to the Christian Mediterranean. The Church no doubt encouraged the change, deploring the unfamiliar costume of Northumbria, which, to the foreigner at least, was associated with paganism. In addition to bringing new garments, the cultural changes of the conversion brought, through Latin, new garment names into the English language.

The new Viking settlers may have brought with them their native dress, and garments adopted from elsewhere; but the rest of England continued to be influenced from Christian Europe, so that the costume of an Englishwoman in the tenth century was quite unlike that of her Viking contemporary in Scandinavia.

The evidence considered in the preceding chapters demonstrates that the clothing of the Anglo-Saxons was not primitive or casual. It was skilfully woven and worn in a deliberate way. The linguistic evidence (even allowing for nonce-words and synonyms) suggests the existence of many specific garments.

Clothing mattered. It mattered to the wearers, who conformed to fashion; it concerned the Church, which equated non-conformity in matters of dress with Sin; and it exercised employers and benefactors, for people had to be clothed.

This work began with the statement that costume study provides a personal link with the past. It has offered a number of insights into the life and thought of the Anglo-Saxon people. For example, the colourful nature of their dress is constantly apparent: in pagan times with rare cases of dyed fabric and common examples of gaudy beads and mass-produced brooches or the more tasteful polychrome jewellery of Kent. Literature witnesses this colourful nature and the bright shades of the Tapestry and paintings

confirm it. The worldly nuns described by Aldhelm have a vitality in their enthusiasm for colourful, flamboyant clothes, an exuberance which the Church endeavoured to suppress in its flock ('Wif moton under brunum hrægle to husle gan') though appreciating the fine and colourful fabrics acquired for holier purposes.

Less directly, there are other slight but fascinating glimpses into social history; the skill and patience of the weaver who constructed elaborate braids and twills in the squalid conditions of the Anglo-Saxon weaving shed; the practicality of the seafarer who tucked up his tunic to wade, or the farmer who carried seed in his skirts; the care with which the corpse of a child was equipped with tiny beads, or a tool it had been too young to use; the pagan beliefs and the discipline which allowed valuable grave-goods to remain in the ground. Such hints as these convey, albeit briefly and intermittently, the personality of our ancestors.



## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I  
TEXTILE AND LEATHER REMAINS  
Attached to

<u>Site</u>	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
BEDFORDSHIRE Kempston							
1863 Oct 20							
Nov 16						workbox	coarse linen; female contained spun thread and wool; female
Dec 7							coarse linen; female contained worsted and three types of linen; associated with leather - contained in pouch?; female
1864 Jan 18		cruciform				workbox	linen and 3-strand string; female
Feb 8		saucer, pos- sibly one of a pair					"worsted"; female
Mar 10		cruciform					coarse linen; female
Mar 17							coarse linen; female
Mar 19		disc, one of a pair				perforated coin "iron"	linen linen Date of site: V - VI Surviving textiles: British Museum; Ashmolean
May 2							
Leighton Buzzard IIA No. 9				*		bronze ferrule with pin	leather textile impression Date of site: VI
No. 11							



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Brooch</u>	<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Leighton Buzzard IIB Grave 32	quilt					
Grave 39			suite of two			textile; also "soft black substance" - shroud?; child, probably female  the pins "fastened two layers of the fabric and were covered by a third, coarser layer, either a shroud or a cloak"; necklace between the two layers of textile held by the pins; Gurney suggested the outer layer was a veil; female Date of site: VII
Tottenham B3 and B4						stain of small leather wallet about 3" x 3 1/2"; male and female contained wool threads (female) leather (male).
E1 and E2						contained thread and small roll of cloth; children (female) cloth and ?leather leather stain 3" square, probably purse cake of shoe mud with im- pression of finely woven linen from slipper or stocking





Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Blewburton Hill		*					4 layers 1. innermost when worn, ) over fine textile 32 ) pin threads per 1" ) and 2. finer 2 x 2 twill, ) catch 2-spun, 36 per 1" ) plate 3. 2 x 2 twill, 2 spun wool, warp 24 weft ) over 28 per 1"; tablet- ) hinge woven starting ) with border ) plate 4. 2 x 2 twill; tablet- ) pass- woven starting ) ing border ) through 2 x 2 twill, 2-spun; two frag- ments of tablet-woven starting border; female Date of site: VI-early VII Surviving textiles: Reading Museum
Prillford Ashmolean No 11 1423 (1886)		small-long					traces of textile on hinge support Date of site: probably V - VI Surviving textile: Ashmolean
Lowbury				under back- bone, buckle or strike-a- light.			coarse cloth on upper-side; male Date of site: early VII

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>						<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
East Sheffield No 21						tweezers	textile impression; female Date of site: probably VI Surviving textile: Cambridge
Wallingford ? identical with Ashmolean No 1939 453b	disc	disc					Miss Crowfoot: On front: textile 10 x 12 threads per cm. On back: linen; on pin replaced wool ? twill weaves and tabby; female Ashmolean brooch: front almost covered by coarse tabby, S- spun in at least one direction on back: textile weave indistinguishable Date of site: probably V - VI. Surviving textiles: Ashmolean
Long Wittenham Grave 58	disc, single brooch on left shoulder						textile; female Date of site: VI (or earlier) - VII
BUCKINGHAM- SHIRE Cop Round Barrow						knife, under spine to the left	leather, male Date of site: unclear, probably earlier than VII



Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Stone II		saucer				tabby-woven textile; stray find, or associated burial disappeared	
Taplow					one of two, gold, possibly belt fasteners	stamped leather	
						gold thread from diamond-patterned textile, in position suggesting use as a belt and diagonal baldric, or decorated edge of a cloak. fastened on the shoulder; also wool, fine and coarse fibres (? from double-coated sheep); 2 x 2 twill and tabby-woven textiles; male; probably of high rank. Date of site: VII	
						Surviving textiles: Reading Museum; British Museum.	
CAMBRIDGE-SHIRE Barrington Ashmolean No. 1968 17		3 small-long brooches				2- and S-spun threads on the pin heads and on the pin of the largest.	

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Brooch</u>	<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Barrington A						
1914		disc, open- work				
1905 19 & 20						
1909 2706		small square- headed				Z-spun, probably flax textile on pin head
1909 283		small square- headed				Z-and S-spun threads, probably twill
1909 268a		small square- headed				"string" round and over both pin supports
61 D.8.C. D.9.C. unnumbered		annular applied				as above
Cambridge No 34 - 852		small-long one of a pair				Z-spun and S-ply threads tabby-woven textile. replaced fine Z- and S-spun threads on pin head
Trinity Coll Loan Collect No. 50						tablet weave, 16 weft threads per cm. (?identical with that on brooch, above)
No. 109 unnumbered				silver		Z-spun twill on pin head
Trinity Collect. Grave 2		square- headed				Z-spun twill
Grave 110						replaced Z-spun twill replaced coarse Z-spun twill replaced Z-and S-spun threads on pin head
						Z-spun threads. impression of Z-spun threads; 4 rows of tablet weave



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Barrington A Conybeare Collect. 2 brooches	<u>Front</u>					
	<u>Back</u>	disc pair to above				tabby-woven textile ?tablet weave
2 brooches						?tablet weave on pin head 4. rows of tablet weave 8 twists of tablet weave, probably wool; likely to have edged tabby woven textile Date of site: VI Surviving textiles: Ashmolean; Cambridge; British Museum
Redfern Collect. 3 small-long brooches, one unlike the others.						
Barrington B Grave 10		pair disc brooches on shoulders				on both, replaced fine Z- spun threads; female.
Grave 13		bird-shaped single brooch				decomposed remains of pouch
Grave 21		small-long, one of 'pair' on shoulders				on back of pin, Z-spun threads, possibly tablet weave; female. replaced Z-spun threads on pin head; female
Grave 23		small-long, one of 'pair' on shoulders				replaced Z-spun warp and weft threads
Grave 28	disc at shoulder, catching brooch at hip					on back: Z-spun threads across head: fringe (or grass); female textile; female

Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Barrington B.							
Grave 42	disc, one of pair on shoulders	small-long, "paired" on shoulders with Roman brooch				replaced tabby-woven textile, Z-spun, 16 x 12 threads per cm. (threads paired in the middle where one had broken); female	
Grave 47		pair small-long brooches on shoulders		on hip		replaced Z- and S-spun threads; female	
Grave 55						on both, Z-spun threads; some long threads, possibly fringe; female	
Grave 72						replaced Z-spun threads of coarse textile, probably twill; female	
Grave 75		disc, one of pair on shoulders				Z-spun twill; female	
		disc, pair to above				replaced Z-spun threads	
Grave 79		small-long, one of pair on shoulders				2 areas of textile, probably linen	
						on pin catch: twill, probably not regular 2 x 2, Z-spun, 14 x 12 threads per cm.	
						on pin head: probably the same fabric, ending in tablet border or tubular selvedge; Z-spun S-ply; female	



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Barrington B	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Grave 79		small-long, pair to above				on pin catch: 2-spun twill similar to above, and possibly tablet as above round pin head: knot of Z- spun thread on pin head: coarse threads, Z-spun, 3-ply, probably linen; also possibly tablet weave (Miss Crewfoot's records, "one of a pair" do not corre- late with Cambridge Museum's one small-long, one annular); female replaced Z- and S-spun threads (possibly the "fragment of bronze" at neck recorded by Foster); female at back of pin head: replaced Z-spun thread and one piece S-spun beside pin head: Z-ply thread; female replaced twill; Z- and S-spun
Grave 80		small-long				
Grave 81		small trefoil- headed				
Grave 82		small: cruciform, one of "pair" at shoulders				
Grave 85		small-long, one of "pair" at shoulders				textile fragments (garment or pouch?) on pin head: replaced textile, Z-spun, twill and tablet weave; female
						ring and key at left hip

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Barrington B Grave 86	<u>Front</u>					
	<u>Back</u>	disc, one of a pair at right shoulder and above left collar bone				
Grave 97		small-long, one of "pair" at shoulders				Z- and S-spun threads; female textile on pin
Grave 107		smaller, "paired" with above annular, one of "pair" at shoulders				Z-spun twill, in folds (weave no longer distinguishable) 1. either two tablet-woven twists, or a small plait 2. Under 1.: Z-spun threads replaced Z-spun twill
Grave 108		disc, one of pair at shoulders				on pin head: replaced textile, ?tablet weave on catch and back of base: leather or sheepskin on pin head: replaced twill, Z-and S-spun
Grave 110		cruciform, one of "pair" at shoulders				on back: fine twill under pin: 6 rows of fine tablet weave
Ashmolean No 1909 255		cruciform, pair to above				Z-and S-spun threads, possibly a knot ?leather
1909 263		saucer				coarse twill
1909 267						
1909 270a	trefoil					



Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Barrington R 1909 285		small-long small-long, pair to above				fine 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun on pin support: twill, Z-spun, and 7/16 leather round pin support: 7/16 string	
1909 302		small square-headed disc disc				replaced Z-spun textile Z-and S-spun threads, unravelled, or fringe	
Cambridge No 34.801		small-long				on pin catch: replaced Z- and S-spun threads, twill	
34.820		small-long; pair to above				on pin catch and pin support: Z-and S-spun threads, twill	
34.822		small-long				on pin head: Z-spun twill	
34.823		small-long, pair to above				on pin head: replaced Z-spun threads	
34.824		small-long				replaced Z.- and S-spun threads; fine diamond twill, linen	
34.825		small-long				on pin head: Z-and S-spun threads	
		small-long				2 x 2 twill, Z-spun, 12 x 10 threads per cm.	
		small-long, pair to above				replaced Z-spun threads of twill, similar to above (weaves no longer distinguish- able on either brooch)	

Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Barrington B							
34.827		small-long				round head of brooch:replaced Z-spun textile, probably twill, medium weight, equivalent of 16-18 threads per cm. in one direction.	
34.828		small cruciform				on back along pin: replaced long Z-and S-spun threads, possibly fringe	
34.830		small-long				round pinhead: replaced textile	
34.831		small-long.				on back and pin head: Z-spun twill, equivalent of 16 x 12 threads per cm.	
34.833		disc, one of a pair				round pin head and along pin: replaced Z-spun tabby, 16 x 20 threads per cm. on other side of pin: longer thread, possibly from twill	
34.854				*		on back: fine 2 x 1 twill, 18 x 14 threads per cm., Z-spun	
34.855				*		replaced textile, probably tabby, Z-spun	
unnumbered						replaced Z-spun threads Date of site: V-VII Surviving textiles: Ashmolean; Cambridge	



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Burwell Grave 2						visible in soil
Grave 16						knife at left hip
Grave 34						knife at right hip
Grave 42						male
Grave 55						extending from knees to knees thigh
Grave 72				openwork: on right hip		dark material, ?pouch; female
Grave 76						dark material, ?pouch; child, probably female on tongue: leather inside chape: traces of textile; female traces of textile, ?pouch; female
Cambridge I						Date of site: late VI-early VII linen or hemp tablet weave; Y-pattern produced by turning alternate tablets; 3 obser- vable colours: white, pale bluish-green, another; warp dyed or stained indigo Date of site: V-VII, object probably VII Surviving textile: Cambridge

Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Foxton No. 3.				decorated with naturalistic fish; at right ribs		on back: textile on front: ?leather; child Date of site: VI according to Fox, but the fish, a Christian symbol, suggests VII	
Haslingfield Cambridge No. H1		small-long small-long, pair to above small-long				round pin head: Z-spun thread as above	
H2						round pin head: Z- and S- spun threads	
H3	disc	disc				no details	
H4		small-long small-long, pair to above				on back: replaced textile, probably tabby, Z-spun round pin head: replaced Z-spun threads	
H5		small-long, one of a pair				on pin head: Z-spun twill and ?tablet weave	
H6		small-long, one of a pair				Z-spun fabric almost certainly attached to tablet_woven or braided edge	
H7		cruciform				by pin head: probably tabby	
H8		saucer, one of a pair				on back: replaced textile, probably tabby	
H9		large square-headed				under pin catch: Z-and S-spun threads on back and round pin head: twill; Z-spun threads, probably some S-spun	



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Brooch</u>	<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Haslingfield						
H10		applied applied, pair to above disc, one of a pair				round pin head: Z-spun thread leather or grass Z-spun twill
H11						
Foster bequest						four rows of warp-face woven braid, plain weave Z-spun S-ply threads eight rows of tablet weave, Z-spun
Ashmolean No. 1909 222		small square-headed				on back of pin support and round pin: traces of textile
1909 226	square-headed	square-headed				on front: impression of Z-spun twill, medium weight on back of foot: five rows of weave, probably patterned tablet
unnumbered.		square-headed, pair to above S-shaped S-shaped, pair to above				traces of coarse Z-spun threads imprint of fine textile (now hardly distinguishable) as above Date of site: V-VI Surviving textiles: Ashmolean Cambridge

Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Melbourn Grave 11, lower Grave 18, lower Grave 25				on pelvis perforated; at right pelvis *			imprint of very coarse textile; female on back: fine woollen material of worsted texture; male two fragments of fine weave; male Date of site: VII
Little Wilbraham No. 81 apparently typical find		large cruci- form, on lower ribs, associated with paired brooches					"coarse canvas" Date of site: VI
DERBYSHIRE Benty Grange						bone chainwork	silk textile impression ?"shaggy" cloak remains Date of site: VII
Brushfield							light coloured hair, ?remains of fur cloak Date of site: probably VII
Heath Wood							fragment of metal embroidery on silk or wool; 6-stitch Date of site: IX or X (viking)



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>						<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
Hurdlow						workbox at right shoulder on iron mass	outside: impression of linen inside: thread; female impressions of fine and coarse linen; coarse flannel or wool Date of site: VII
Sharp Low						knife	impression of fine wool Date of site: unclear, but possibly VII
Swarkeston		cruciform					2 x 2 twill, fine and regular 15-16 x 11-12 threads per cm; wool; female Date of brooch: early VI Surviving textiles: Museum and Art Gallery, Derby
ESSEX Broomfield							Remains of wool and flax textiles including: (B1) broken diamond twill, 32-34 x 23-26 threads per 1"; (B2) fragment with woollen, tablet-woven closing border; (B3) 2 x 2 twill, striped, of undyed wool

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Broomfield						(B4) reddish "shaggy" cloak fragments; (B6) 2 x 1 twill with tubular selvedge; rich (probably royal male) burial, without visible human remains, perhaps "half burnt" Date of site: VII Surviving textiles: British Museum
Dovercourt		radiate				round hinge support: traces of textile
Mucking Grave 90	equal-armed at centre neck, associated with "paired" brooches	equal-armed				on front: probably tabby on back: traces of textile
Grave 117						buckle: on front: tabby, Z-spun flax on back: ?leather belt plate 2: on front: coarse Z-spun threads on back: leather belt plate 4: tabby, Z-spun, undyed linen, 16 x 14 threads per cm., some coarser pressed together on leaves: tabby, Z-spun, undyed linen; 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun wool, 10 x 10 threads per cm., selvedge (?) visible)

belt-plates and loose in grave



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Mucking Grave 117						belt plate 5: on front: tabby, Z-spun, undyed linen, coarser than on belt plate 4, no selvage on back: leather; traces of Z-spun threads loose in sand: leather the layers of material from the back of the buckle suite lay in the order: rushes, cloth, buckle suite, leather, cloth; male on front, and associated with tongue: leather; twill textile on back: traces of twill traces of leather sheath on tang: textile fragments, possibly binding for handle fine twill c. 28-30 threads per 1" on shield boss was probably a wrap rather than a garment; male on underside: coarse textile, 1 1/4" x 1 1/4", 16 threads visible; child leather; male traces of tabby, and (on detached piece) two rows of four Z-spun threads; indeterminate sex leather; indeterminate sex
Grave 245				on right pelvis		knife, above left pelvis boss
Grave 258						triangular piece of iron, in middle of grave with wood, out- side right leg
Grave 260S						
Grave 266						
Grave 271						knife

Site	Attached to					Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	
	Front	Back				
Mucking Grave 276				*		inside: leather on back: twill, c. 20 threads
Grave 287						fine, loose weave, probably tabby, c. 32 threads per 1"; crossed at one end by two threads, and a piece of textile wrapped across; female
Grave 320						sheath, probably leather
Grave 322			on left side, over arm, under knife			replaced textile, coarse, probably tabby, lying in folds; female
Grave 323	small-long, one of a pair					replaced textile; female
Grave 336	small-long	small-long				on front of head and (detached) pin: traces of textile; female
Grave 341						2 x 2 twill, probably 2-spun; female
Grave 343				+ buckle plate, found at waist		on front and detached, one fragment having been in a fold round the plate: replaced textile
Grave 350				in pelvic area		on back: 2 x 2 twill, 2-spun, c. 10 x 14 threads per cm.; male leather; male



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Mucking Grave 351	annular, one of a pair at chest and shoulder	annular				on front, at end of pin: replaced textile, probably 2 x 2 twill, one direction at least Z-spun round pin at the same end: two threads, crossing on back: replaced textile, probably wool, 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun; female fragment of 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun, equivalent of 8 x 8 threads per cm.; also detached threads; female on front of foot: probably tabby on back of pin catch: traces of replaced textile on back of pin catch: traces of textile, ? wool two detached fragments of replaced Z-spun textile 2 x 2 twill, c. 9 x 12 threads per cm.; ? female connected with pin: thread, ? two-ply along pin: coarse textile, probably 2x2 twill; detached fragments, probably the same; female
Grave 374		small-long, at chest				
Grave 397	small-long, at middle of disturbed grave	small-long				
Grave 448		small-long				belt ornament
Grave 451		disc, one of a pair				

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Brooch</u>	<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Mucking						
Grave 493				at middle of waist		
Grave 529	small-long, one of a pair					leather detached fragment of very fine weave with some much coarser Z-spun thread; male threads; female
Grave 531						replaced tabby; indeterminate sex
Grave 533	disc, one of a pair at centre and left shoulder	disc				on front: 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun, c. 16 x 16 threads per cm. detached fragment probably the same on back: traces of much finer textile, probably twill; female
Grave 537	small-long					on edge of front, could be a fold from behind: replaced textile, possibly tabby; ?female
Grave 540		disc, one of a pair				on back and pin: 2-ply thread, Z-spun, S-ply; a few coarse replaced threads; female (excavation incomplete)
Stray find from R.B. ditch		small-long				round base of pin support at brooch head; string or braid, wrapped under (pin missing) Date of site: V-VI Surviving textiles: Mucking excavation site



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Saffron Walden						bracteate pendant  impression of linen: female Date of site: VII - XI
GLoucester- shire Bishop's Cleve	cruciform; under chin	cruciform			saucer	on front: tabby on back: ?hide round pin: tabby; tablet associated traces of leather; ?female No details of site
Kempsford						cauldron, covered face  adhering to side: textile Lost during restoration of cauldron
Leckhampton Hill						?armour; iron links and ?helmet  traces of textile No details of site
HAMPSHIRE Alton						fragment, a few centimetres square. Date of site: probably VI
Snell's Corner S6						bronze, ring, link, bead, under throat  coarse tabby, 2-spun, probably wool, c. 18 x 8.9 threads per cm.; female

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Snell's Corner S10	<u>Front</u>			above pelvis		
	<u>Back</u>			left spine, above pelvis		
S 12						<p>on front: fine twill, possibly diamond, probably wool; warp Z- weft S-spun; 20x16-18 threads per cm.</p> <p>on back: tabby, possibly linen, Z-spun; 16 x 14 threads per cm.; ?male</p> <p>on back: ?diamond twill or pulled tabby, probably wool; warp Z-weft S-spun; 22 x 13 threads per cm. if twill; male</p> <p>Date of site: probably VII</p> <p>Surviving textiles: Southsea Castle</p>
Winchester						<p>head and shoulders covered with cloth of gold; gold braid, two widths, probably headress, and rosette decoration</p> <p>Date of burial: IX</p>
ISLE OF WIGHT Bowcombe Down No. 21		four.		on sacrum		<p>pins bound with string</p> <p>impression of textile;</p> <p>improbable identification as male</p> <p>Date of site: ?VI</p>



Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Chessell Down Grave 1 Gravé 8 (Dennet)						round lower skull lace tag	gold fringe; female inside, attached to rivet: worsted threads Date of site: VI
HERTFORD- SHIRE King's Walden		small square- headed, one of a pair					behind foot: textile; ?female No details
HUNTINGDON- SHIRE Woodstone Grave 9					between thighs	iron between thighs	cloth "of a herringbone textile" (i.e. twill) Date of site: probably VI
KENT Beakesbourne Grave 29 Grave 30  Grave 37 Grave 38				on right left hip		?key, at left	coarse linen punched leather; child, probably female coarse wool punched leather

Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Beakesbourne	*	*					on front: tabby, 2-spun, 8 - 9 x 7 - 8 threads per cm. on back: fragments, probably wool, including tablet weave, probably edge; traces of pattern brocading Date of site: VII Surviving textiles: Canterbury
unpublished							
Bifrons							leather; female
Grave 11						under waist with buckle and studs	gold wire; female
Grave 21						on top of skull	leather; male
Grave 27				+ rivets at left forearm			leather
Grave 29				under waist		on skull	gold wire; female
Grave 32						coin pendant on chest	impression of textile; female
Grave 38				+ tags under waist			leather; female
Grave 41						at skull	gold wire; female
Grave 51						on skull	gold wire; female
Grave 64						on skull	gold wire; female
Grave 73						2 knives at right	leather sheath



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Bifrons Grave 79 Grave 91				near right side + tags at right of chest		knife and studs at left of chest
unnumbered Tomlinson Coll.						solid black matter, possibly leather; male leather  leather  leather  tabby and 2 x 2 twill textiles Date of site: VI Surviving textiles: seen by Miss Crowfoot
Breach Downs						at right side
Chartham Down Grave 4 Grave 10 Grave 25				near hips		at right side  iron strap ends at right hip 1. "silver" 2. "brass"
						leather, probably pouch (? the same one as mentioned in P.S. to Conyngham, containing sceattas) Date of site: VII - VIII
						linen on underside of l. leather and linen inside 2: leather coarse textile







<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>	
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>		<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
Finglesham D3						linen, broken diamond twill with tablet-woven border, probably side rather than starting border; twill Z-spun warp, S-spun weft; 22-24 x 18 threads per cm. border six twists wide; richly equipped female	
G2						replaced 2 x 2 twill, one system Z- other S-spun; male	
H1						impression of Z-spun tabby Date of site: VI	
Greenwich Park Ashmolean No. 1836 215b						Douglas found woollen and linen fabrics, including linen of "herringbone" weave, (i.e. twill) in Ashmolean: one large and three smaller pieces of textile, S-spun, tangled with roots; one small piece possibly 2 x 2 tabby another probably twill	

cylinder (? work-box) and iron rods (?keys) probably suspended from the girdle

on spear, but thought to derive from tunic sleeve or cloak.

ferrule



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>						<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
Greenwich Park						on skull	human hair: Ashmolean has knot of hair (possibly textile had been tied round it to secure it, but this material is inside the loop of hair); it loops over itself twice, possibly forming a knot which would be secure without need of pins. Date of site: uncertain, perhaps VII. Surviving textiles: Ashmolean
Holborough Grave 7				small bird buckle found left waist, ?purely ornamental as two others found in grave			on back: wood and leather; male Date of site: VII or later
Howletts Grave 1 Grave 8 Grave 16  Grave 26			probably one of a pair			scabbard	2 x 2 twill; ?female gold threads; female (and also from another grave?) linen tabby; could be part of clothing, but as a sword from another grave was bound with tape (also tabby) this may have wrapped the weapon; male twill

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Howletts Grave 32 Grave 35						2 x 2 twill ?2 x 1 twill; ?S-spun Date of site: V - VI
Kingston Grave 11 Grave 59 Grave 129 Grave 134 Grave 151 Grave 173 Grave: 299				*  * * 2		leather remains of coarse cloth leather-covered wood; male  inside: linen or other cloth; Faussett considered this had lined the belt on back: textile on front of one and back of the other: textile under rivet: leather; male leather; female Date of site: VII
Lyminge Grave 1 Grave 17 Grave 31 Grave 44				at left waist + plate at right waist		leather (cow or deer hide); male leather; probably female leather ?pouch; male  gold threads; female Date of site: VI Surviving gold threads: Waldstone Museum



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Minster						"the appearance of a small chain of some material into which gold had been woven, but as soon as it was touched it pulverized." Date of site: ?VII
Osengal					purse clasp	coarse linen 2 x 2 and 2 x 1 twills, unpublished Date of site: V - VIII+
Riseley Grave 22	penannular, ? at left shoulder - see opposite	penannular				on front: coarse textile, probably tabby, 2-spun; possibly torn edge unraveling; equivalent of 8 - 10 threads per cm. in one direction on back: 1. mass of thread similar to above 2. finer textile, probably 2 x 2 twill, 2-spun; female
Grave 63						possibly this brooch is identical with the "circular buckle" found at the left shoulder. coarse 2-spun tabby, c. 12 x 8 - 9 threads per cm.
					iron plate (? of buckle)	

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Riseley Grave 66	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				iron  ring, found at right ribs
Grave 69						2-spun tabby, in folds, 9.11-12 x 18 threads per cm.; grave contained male and female on both sides: textile; female
Grave 77						?leather Date of site: V - VII Surviving textiles: Borough Museum, Dartford
Sarre Grave 4						replaced tabby and twill tabby gold braid; female gold braid; female gold braid (position unrecorded); female Date of site: VI Surviving gold threads: Maldstone Museum
Grave 90				2		above right hand round skull
Grave 94						
Sibertswold Grave 29						chatelaine at middle of grave iron iron chain iron chatelaine complex, at feet
Grave 47						fine textile; female threads of coarse textile coarse linen; female very fine linen
Grave 54						
Grave 60						



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>						<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
Sibertswold Grave 60						workbox	inside: threads at first thought silk, since disproved; also wool and shgr't hair; female textile; female textile; female
Grave 100						chain	linen; female
Grave 124						chain and iron at knees	outside: linen; female leather: male
Grave 133						chain	leather, ?perforated; female
Grave 151						workbox	tablet weave
Grave 177						? from scabbard	Date of site: VII
Grave 180						silver hasps	
unnumbered, possibly one of those listed above						workbox	
Stowting Grave 9						around skull, close to small amber beads	gold braid; ?beads woven in; female Date of site: VI Surviving gold thread: Maidstone Museum
Worthy Park							no details
exact provenance unknown, from the Douglas Coll. Ashmolean Museum 1966				buckle ring			traces of textile

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Ashmolean No. 1966 1985	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				detached, loosely-woven textiles which may be Anglo- Saxon
LEICESTER- SHIRE Barkby Field				*		no details Date of site: uncertain ?V or VI
LINCOLN- SHIRE Fonaby						"enveloped" in fabric woollen tablet-woven braid; tabby-woven flax; tuft of animal hair (?hide cover) lying on a tabby fabric Date of site: VI + Surviving textiles: Scunthorpe Museum
Laceby	Square- headed	square- headed				on front: impression of tabby, probably linen, Z- spun, 14 x 14 threads per cm. on back: 1. "warp weave" braid with two tablet twists on either side, possibly the end of the braid; linen, at least two colours; Z-spun, S-ply weaving and repair threads, Z-spun sewing threads.



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Laceby						2. twill, probably 2 x 2, one system Z - the other S-spun; Z system equivalent of 10 - 12 threads per cm. Date of brooch: late VI, old when buried. Surviving textiles: Lincoln Museum
Sleaford Grave 39						leather and wood
Grave 50					at wrists	"remains of bronze armilla embedded in leather"; female leather; female
Grave 86					at wrists	leather: female impression of "canvas"; female
Grave 121						leather: female (with clasps)
Grave 151					at wrists	leather; female textile; female
Grave 163						on pins: imprint of coarse and finer textiles
Grave 168						Date of site: V - VI
Grave 191						on front: tabby-woven linen on back: 2 x 2 twill brooch recovered from dragline, not a grave; no details
unnumbered	S-shaped	S-shaped				
Wallington	*	*				

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Welbeck Hill Grave 3	<u>Front</u>					
	<u>Back</u>	between 2 annulars				
Grave 19 Grave 41	annular	annular			*	two pieces of textile attached, one associated, Z-spun 2 x 1 or 1 x 2 twill, undyed flax, 18 x 12 threads per cm. ?replaced leather on front: 1. tabby, Z-spun, pigmented wool, equivalent of 18 x 17 threads per cm. 2. across tabby: scrap of guilloche plait; S-ply, pigmented wool; probably sewn to the edge of the weave 3. knotted round side of ring: coarse thick threads, probably five; Z-spun, 3-ply flax, similar to thread through beads in the same grave on back: round pin to front: replaced twill, one direction Z-, the other S+spun on front: tabby, Z-spun, flax, 24 x 14 threads per cm. on back: broken diamond twill, one direction Z-, the other S-spun, pigmented wool
	large square-headed	large square-headed				



Site	Attached to					Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	
	Front	Back				
Welbeck Hill						
Grave 45						
Grave 49	annular	annular				tweezers
Grave 52						

probably tabby, Z-spun, flax  
on front:  
1. at end of pin and on ring  
of brooch: tabby, Z-spun,  
slightly pigmented wool,  
14-16 x 12 threads per cm.

2. at other end of pin:  
Z-spun replaced threads  
(perhaps from textile on  
back, 2., below) crossed by  
S-spun threads; possibly  
fringe or sewing threads,  
but probably tablet-woven  
border to textile on back  
(2., below) fairly coarse

on back:

1. replaced leather

2. beneath leather: replaced  
twill, one direction Z-,  
the other S-spun, 4-shed  
detached: Z-spun, 4-shed  
twill (i.e. 2' x 2 or pat-  
terned twill); ?flax  
medium weight

Z-spun threads, loosely spun,  
undyed flax

?leather; Z-spun threads

on one surface: folds of  
replaced textile, 2 x 2 twill,  
10 x 9 - 10 threads per cm.  
on other surface: replaced  
textile and part of ?fringe,  
Z-threads, S-ply, probably  
attached to twill

coin

small tube

bronze fragment  
at left hip

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Welbeck Hill Grave. 56	<u>Front</u>	annular	with spangles			<p>on front:</p> <p>1. replaced tabby, one direction, Z-spun, other Z-spun S-ply, 18 x 18 threads per cm.</p> <p>2. lying over 1. on pin: coarser replaced textile, Z-spun twill, probably 2 x 2</p> <p>3. at junction of pin and ring: corded threads, possibly tablet weave</p> <p>on back: against pin, coarse replaced threads Z-and S-spun over and round pin: replaced textile 2 x 2 twill, one direction Z- the other S-spun, 12 x 10 threads per cm.</p> <p>probably leather</p> <p>1. coarse Z-spun textile, possibly wool, 10 x 5 - 6 threads per cm.</p> <p>behind 1: 2. finer replaced textile, 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun 12 x 10 threads per cm.</p> <p>detached fragments: light Z-spun threads, possibly flax mixed with leather and bracken</p> <p>Date of site: ?V - VI</p>
	<u>Back</u>	annular				
					bronze wire ring	



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
NORFOLK Broome						skull  reddish-brown hair, ?"shaggy" cloak Date of site: ?
Caister- by Norwich Grave 16 Grave 32		annular, one of a pair annular, one of two found on left side				round pin: replaced textile, 2 x 2 twill, Z-spun, ?female  round pin: replaced Z-and S- spun threads; grave dis- turbed, ?female Date of inhumations: ?VI or VII
Grimston						impressions only Date of site: VI Surviving impressions: King's Lynn Museum and Art Gallery
Hunstanton Park		in front of face				child Date of site: unclear: ?VI Surviving textile: Norwich Castle
Kenninghall						no details Date of site: V-VII Surviving textile: Norwich Castle

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Sporle				at side, under girdle hanger		impressions; "buckle" probably annular brooch, buckle found with a male; hangers typically female 7 skeletons in barrow: "a kind of woollen cloak was distinctly observed envelop- ing each body, but which quickly turned to dust on the admission of air" Date of site: ?VI Surviving impressions ("doubtful"): Norwich Castle
Thetford						tabby textile; 2 pieces shaped leather, one with eye- lets, probably from shoes Date of finds: from town, probably late Saxon Surviving leather: Thetford Museum
NORTHAMP- TONSHIRE Holdenby 1901-2 unnumbered Grave 30b						textile impression of textile on grave-goods



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Holdenby	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
1909 Grave 4		saucer, one of a pair				impression of textile; probably female Date of site: VI-VII Surviving textiles: Central Museum and Art Gallery, Northampton
Holmanby						unpublished
Wakerley						unpublished
NORTHUMBER- LAND Galewood				annular, one of a pair		coarse cloth; probably female Date of site: uncertain, V-VII
OXFORD- SHIRE Cassington Ashmolean No. 1945 117a 1942 154		disc				round hinge support: string
		3 similar saucer				round hinge supports of all three: string on one; ?twill Date of site: V or VI Surviving textiles: Ashmolean
Great Tew				*		on both surfaces: tabby; probably male; No details

Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Minster Lovell							textile fragments, probably twill Date of site: V or VI Surviving textile: Ashmolean
Stanton Harcourt						at feet with bronze tag	leather; child, probably female Date of site: probably VII
Wheatley Grave 20 Grave 26		single brooch				iron rod by ribs	no details: female no details: female Date of site: uncertain, possibly VI
Yelford						metal	2 x 2 twill Date of site: uncertain, possibly VII
RUTLAND Market Overton County Museum No. 0548							on back: textile Date of site: VI Surviving textile: Rutland County Museum, Oakham
STAFFORD-SHIRE Kusden							impressions of textile and hair (?skin garment) Date of site: VII





<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>	
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>		<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>					
Lakenheath Grave 2		2 annulars, at chin and left shoulder (a third was at right shoulder)				probably twill, Z-spun threads	
Grave 4						replaced Z-spun threads fine Z-spun textile in layers; female traces of textile 1. probably twill, coarse Z-spun 2. on tip: tabby, Z-spun, 11 x 11 threads per cm., vegetable fibre; female	
Grave 6						1. Leather 2. tabby, Z-spun, probably flax; spinning uneven; thread counts on two fragments 20 x 16 and 20 x 12 threads per cm.; "male" but with a pair of brooches	
Grave 9		small-long; pair to above				replaced textile, 2 x 2 twill Z-spun, 12 x 12 threads per cm., in layers on pin: coarse, Z-spun twill	

2 annulars,  
at chin and  
left shoulder  
(a third was  
at right  
shoulder)

small-long

small-long,  
pair to above



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lakenheath Grave 9	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
	large cruciform (3rd brooch)	large cruciform worn sideways below chin				on front: tabby, 2-spun on back: replaced coarse 2 x 2 twill, 11 x 9 threads per cm.; female leather; male leather
Grave 10				*		strap end
Grave 11						lump of sandstone
Grave 12				*		wrapping stone: fine, 2-spun, 2 x 1 twill, 30 x 22 threads per cm.; vegetable fibre; textile of high quality; female
Grave 14				*		2-spun twill, probably 2 x 2; male
Grave 16				*		replaced 2-spun threads; female
Grave 18				*		replaced, fine, 2-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 19 x 19 threads per cm; probably male
Grave 19						2-spun threads, probably twill; child, ?female.
Grave 21	annular, one of two	annular, one of a pair				on pin: traces of textile; child, probably female replaced, 2-spun, 2 x 2 twill, equivalent of 16 x 12-13 threads per cm., in layers replaced, coarse 2-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 8 x 8 threads per cm.; probably female

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lakenheath	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Grave 22		cruciform beneath chin				Z-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 8 x 9 threads per cm.; female
Grave 24						Z-spun threads; male
Grave 27		annular, pair to above	annular			replaced textile, coarse, one system Z-spun on pin: Z-spun, probably tabby (probably from the annular brooch, but not certainly)
		large square headed (3rd brooch)		on chest		round pin: coarse textile, probably 2 x 2 twill, one system Z-; the other Z-spun, equivalent of 14 x 10 threads per cm. replaced Z-spun tabby, 12 x 12 threads per cm.
						Z-spun threads (mistakenly associated with "spearhead" in PGAS report)
						Z-spun tabby, equivalent of 14 x 10 threads per cm.; female
Grave 28		square- headed (3rd brooch) below chin		bronze		round pin: Z-spun, probably 2 x 2 twill
						outside: Z-spun tabby, 12 x 12 threads per cm., uneven; several layers inside: leather



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lakenheath Grave 28	<u>Front</u>					
	<u>Back</u>			iron		<p>(not consistent with inventory of grave-goods) Z-spun threads</p> <p>leather</p> <p>Z-spun threads</p> <p>probably tabby as on bronze buckle, Z-spun 12 x 12 threads per cm., very pulled</p> <p>coarse, Z-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 9 x 8 threads per cm., probably wool</p> <p>on front of hangers: replaced fur or hair</p> <p>Z-spun, probably 2 x 2 twill, regular, 12 x 12 threads per cm., in layers</p> <p>probably strip of iron mentioned in inventory of grave-goods</p> <p>coarse Z-spun, probably tabby; female</p> <p>replaced, Z-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 8 x 8 threads per cm.; male</p> <p>replaced Z-spun textile; adolescent</p> <p>replaced coarse Z-spun 2 x 2 twill, 10 x 8 threads per cm.</p> <p>Z-spun threads; male</p>
Grave 29						<p>tag end</p> <p>iron ring</p> <p>knife</p> <p>girdle hangers and keys</p> <p>iron manicure set from chatelaine complex</p> <p>iron</p> <p>iron ?remains of shield</p> <p>iron and bronze</p> <p>iron</p> <p>bronze</p>
Grave 30						
Grave 31						

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lakenheath Grave 33	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
		cruciform (3rd brooch) beneath chin				
				iron		
					at wrists	
						heavy fabrics over the entire body"
						round pin:
						1. coarse, Z-spun, 2 x 2 twill, 9 x 9 threads per cm. on top of twill:
						2. fragment of a band, probably (2-hole) tablet weave, which may have been fringed, and probably edged a finer twill than 1. or the tabby (below); this finer textile Z-spun, S-ply, 8 wefts per cm. under twill:
						3. tablet weave (4-hole), Z-spun, 11 rows and 11 wefts per cm.; "rather fine to be the border of the 2x2 twill" by head: Z-spun, S-ply threads, possibly from weft of 3. (above)
						(not included in inventory of grave-goods)
						coarse Z-spun threads, probably from twill
						Z-spun tabby, 16-17 x 15 threads per cm.
						attached to associated vegetable matter: probably the same textile; Z-spun tabby, equivalent of 14 x 12-14 threads per cm.. pulled



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Lakenheath Grave 33	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				iron flakes and ring, found above knees
Mildenhall (possibly from Warren Hill, below)					*	with vegetable matter: textile fragments, including the 2 x 2 twill. 2-spun 2 x 2 twill, 12 x 12 threads per cm; female Date of site: VI, possibly extending to VII through holes: 2-spun, blackish sewing threads on upperside: traces of 2-spun textile, probably the same as the twill underneath on underside: 1. 2-spun 2 x 2 twill, wool, equivalent of 10 x 10 threads per cm. 2. tablet weave, 2-spun, 2-ply thread, 2-twisted, wool; 12 tablet twists per cm.
Mitchell's Hill Ashmolean No. 1909 485	applied				2 pairs	on hinge support: traces of textile  wool stained or dyed yellow on one pair: 1. twill 2. plain tablet weave, warp 2-spun, weft 2-ply S, button- holed edge, probably 3 cm. wide; about 20 twists, 8 per cm. on second pair: 1. twill 2. tablet weave, 26 twists; 2-ply weft finer and tablet twists closer than above, 9-10 per cm.

Site	Attached to					Information	
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp		Other
	Front	Back					
Mitchell's Hill						<p>3. two stitches in 2-ply yarn across tablet - ?decoration, brocading</p> <p>detached: Z-spun 2 x 2 twill, 15 x 14 threads per cm.</p> <p>one of these twills a fine 2 x 1.</p> <p>Ashmolean has four detached pieces which may be those listed above</p> <p>1. twill (but apparently 2: x 2) S-spun</p> <p>2. similar</p> <p>3. folded piece, coarse edge</p> <p>2 colours or shades, both different from 1.; two degrees of coarseness; ?tablet</p> <p>4. Small piece, also edge, similar to 3.</p> <p>Date: ?V or VI</p> <p>Surviving textiles: Ashmolean</p>	
Snape						<p>Two areas of dark red hair (thought human, wrapped in cloth); two small pieces textile, texture of "coarse sailcloth"; "shaggy" cloak</p> <p>Date of site: ?VII</p>	



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Sutton Hood 1939 Ship Burial						awaits definitive publication; finds include: tabby-woven linen and wool; 2 x 2 twills; 2x1 twills (SH7 and 8); broken diamond twills in wool (SH 1 and 9) and linen (SH 12); one piece unbroken diamond twill; soumak weave; 2-hole tablet weave forming a corner (SH 14); dyed wool in a cloth base - "shaggy" cloak fine textiles may be from bedding; fine linen, broken diamond twill and tabby appear to belong to a pillow; others, including woollen broken diamond twill, could be blanket. Date of site: VII Surviving textiles: British Museum
Warren Hill 1875 Nov 24  Nov 25  1876		cruciform (3rd brooch) at side of face cruciform				tweezers, bronze ring and plate, wood  textile; male  round brooch: textile; female  body apparently wrapped in cloth; disturbed

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Warren Hill 1877 Apl 3 1881 Grave 3		cruciform (3rd brooch) at left of neck			on either side body  on breast	beads and ring
West Stow Heath					*	textile  twill of two degrees of coarseness; beads and ring at back of brooch in cloth; brooch broken in antiquity and apparently sewn to outer garment or shroud woollen cloth "the substance of a medium flannel"; female Date of site: VI
SURREY Farthingdown						on underside: small, fragment deteriorated textile fragment Date of site: ?V or VI Surviving textile: Moysey Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds
						remains of fur object, ?cap; child Date of site: VII
Kitcham Grave 125				one large, one small at left of waist		leather; male



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Mitcham Grave 140						"stiletto" by left leg
SUSSEX Alfriston Grave 20						iron tabs, found with belt; equipment under left pelvis and vertebrae
Grave 24				at right shoulder		
Grave 43						bronze tongue, on chest
Grave 62						manicule set, at left hip
Grave 87						iron
Highdown Grave 2 Grave 6				at hips + plate at waist		

leather sheath  
Date of site: V - VI (?+)

inner sides: textile of  
delicate quadrangular pattern,  
?embroidery; indeterminate  
sex

leather; probably male

textile in Lewes Museum,  
attached to iron pin and  
ring attributed to this  
grave probably corresponds  
with quoit brooch

leather; female, crippled,  
richly equipped

leather cover or case

leather

Date of site: V or VI  
Surviving textiles:  
Lewes Museum

leather; female

leather; male

impressions of textile on  
other grave goods; no  
details

Date of site: V-VI  
Surviving textile: University  
of Southampton

?quoit, one  
of seven  
found on  
breast

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Woodingdean				*		leather belt visible; male Date of site: unclear
WARWICKSHIRE Bagington						fragments; no details Date of site: probably VI Surviving fragments: Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry
Bidford Grave 76						?leather; female
Grave 82						no details
Grave 153			below chin	on left hip		no details; female leather; female Date of site: VI-VII
Stratford						leather, remains of purse containing coin; female Date of site: VI
Stretton-on- Fosse						staining and impressions No details: in private hands
WILTSHIRE Ashton Valley Barrow No 7						"a Kersey cloth" Date of site: unclear, possibly VII





<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Petersfinger Grave 29	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>	iron attachment to disc brooch - ? originally applied, one of a pair			
Grave 33				at right pelvis		iron fragment at left side
Grave 42				on pelvis		strap plate at right pelvis knife at left waist
Grave 48						flat ring, probably purse contents tweezers, at left ribs ?hip
Grave 49b						near right wrist
Grave 50						
Grave 51						

1. Z-spun tabby, wool  
2. below 1.: Z-spun twill, probably 2 x 1, c. 14 x 14 threads per cm.; wool (brooch identified as disc by Mrs. Crowfoot)  
on one side: leather  
on the other: Z-spun tabby; wool; female  
on tongue: leather  
on underside: textile  
tip of leather sheath; male  
on buckle plate: leather; male.  
no details; female  
no details; female  
leather; probably purse; female  
leather, probably purse; female



<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Petersfinger Grave 57						two iron rings, at left side
						on one side: leather on the other: textile; female Date of site: VI-VII Surviving textile: Salisbury Museum
Roche Court Down Barrow 2 Grave 2						leather knife sheath; male leather with textile impression on both sides Date of site: ?VII
Sherrington				at left		leather; male Date of site: unclear; ?V or VI
Winklebury Grave 9						on back: tabby Date of site: probably VII
Winterbourne Gunner Grave 1 Grave 4				+ belt fittings at waist		on one side: replaced textile, 2-spun, probably 2 x 2 twill, equivalent of 15 x 15 threads per cm. on the other: 2-spun threads and leather fibres; leather; male

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>	<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
Winterbourne Gunner Grave 6						francisca, at left shoulder
YORKSHIRE Eccynton Mortimer Museum, Hull, No. BC 38		annular				replaced textile, Z-spun, coarse 2 x 2 twill, 9 x 9 threads per cm., probably wool; male. Date of site: V - VI.  on pin: twill Date of site: unclear Surviving textile: Mortimer Museum, Hull
Cheesecake Hill No. 3 No. 4		2 annulars "paired" saucer, one of a pair				on pins: coarse textile; female impression of tabby; female Date of site: V or VI
Driffield						linen, visible when grave opened, and on brooch; female Date of site: V or VI
Ganton Wold						"portions ... of woollen fabric"; female Date of site: VI
Kirkburn		penannular				on pin: ?textile Date of site: unclear ?VI

<u>Site</u>	<u>Attached to</u>					<u>Information</u>
	<u>Brooch</u>		<u>Pin</u>	<u>Buckle</u>	<u>Clasp</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>				
Londesborough Hull No. C38				*		2 x 2 twill
?Londesborough Hull No. C34 or C38						coarse textile Date of site: ?VI Surviving textile: Mortimer Museum, Hull
Oceaney Beck				*		finely woven linen Date of site: VII
Painsthorpe "old						workbox  covering of fine textile, possibly linen; burial found 1876 with workbox and "remains of satchel" of woven material; Meaneay suggests Chatelaine preserved textile from clothing Date of site: VII Surviving textile: Mortimer Museum, Hull.
Saltburn March 1 March 19						hide; female  large piece of hide; ?to wrap body; probably female Date of site: VI



Site	Attached to						Information
	Brooch		Pin	Buckle	Clasp	Other	
	Front	Back					
Sewerby							graves in general had "much fabric", in particular a rich female with violent burial above Date of site: VI-VII
Uncleby No. 29						workbox	inside: two kinds of thread, presumably for domestic work Date of site: VII
Whitby							2 x 2 twill, 20-25 x 14-16 threads per cm.; wool pair leather shoe soles, turned and pierced for stitches Date of finds: uncertain; if Saxon probably IX, otherwise XII or later
York							1. tabby, dark brown wool from double-coated sheep; probably Saxon 2. diamond twills; probably Viking 3. types Saxon footwear: boot with toggle; shoe with side seam and three irregular cuts at throat; slipper
Roman Fortress							



## APPENDIX 2

List of OE garment terms and related words considered in Part Four, C, and the subsections under which they are discussed

bande VI	hat VI
basing II	hætera VIII
bearm-clap III	ham III
bearm-rægl III	hand-scio VII
belt VII	heafod-clap VI
bende VI	heafod-gewæde VI
binde VI	healsed VI
bræcce IV	hed-clað II
braccas IV	heden II
bratt II	hemepe III
brec-hrægl IV	hemning V
breost-lin III	hod VI
breost-rocc III	hop-pada II
broc, brec IV	hosa IV
bul IX	hose-bend IV
cæfing VI	hrægel, hræglung VIII
cæles IV	hreða II
cæppe VI	hrycg-hrægel II
calc V	hufe VI
cappa VI	hwitel II
casul II	læs-hosum V
cemes III	læst V
clap, clapes VIII	leperhose IV
cnæp IX	lin I
crinc V	linen I
crusene II	loða II, III
cuffie VI	mentel II, III
cyrtel III	mentel-preon IX
dalc IX	mco IV
eaxl-clap III	nostle IV, VI
feax-clap VI	ofer-feng IX
feax-net VI	ofer-hacele II
feax-preon VI	ofer-læg II
fel II	ofer-clop II
fetel, fetels VII	ofer-slype II
fifele IX	orel VI
flæp I	pad II
fleax I	pilece II
flis, flys I	preon IX
fotgewæde V	reaf VIII
frence II	reowe II
(ge)gerela VIII	rifeling V
gerif VIII	rift II, VI
ge-scirpla VIII	rocc II
glof VII	sal VII
godweb VIII	sceanc-bend IV
godweb-cynn II	sceanc-gegirela IV
gyrdel VII	sceorp VIII
gyrdel-hring, gyrdels-hringe IX	sciccels II
gyrdels IV, VII	sciccing II
hacele II, III	scoh, gesceo, gescy V
hær-nædl VI	scrud VIII



sculdor-hrægl III  
 scyfel VI  
 scyrte III  
 scoluc I  
 serc III  
 side I  
 sigle IX  
 slife-scoh, slipe-scoh V  
 slop III  
 slype III  
 smoc III  
 snod VI  
 socc IV  
 spennels IX  
 steppe-scoh V  
 stole II  
 strapul IV  
 swæpels VIII  
 sweor-clap VII  
 swcor-sal VII  
 swcor-teah VII  
 swiftlere V  
 tuncce III  
 twin I  
 prawing-spinel VI  
 ðwæle VI  
 ufrc scrud II  
 underserc III  
 underwædel IV  
 up-legen VI  
 (ge)wæd VIII  
 wæd-brec IV  
 wæfels II  
 -waru VIII  
 wealca III, VI  
 wimpel VI  
 wining IV  
 wrad VI  
 wrigels VI  
 wull I

## APPENDIX 3

Glossary of Latin garment terms and other Latin words in Part  
Four, C

amictus clothing, cloak

amiculum garment that is thrown on, cloak

amphibalum garment, cloak

anaboladium linen mantle or wrap

anthrax carbuncle (medical)

armenum ? (cf. arma arms, amentum strap)

armilatus military upper garment

balteus belt

baxea woven shoe, (Isidor) woman's shoe

birrus cloak (to keep off rain)

biuligo ? bi two, uligo moisture

bombicinum silken

bombyx silk

bracae trousers

braccus as bracae

brachile girdle

bullae amulet for the neck, anything rounded

byssus flax and the linen made from it

calamachus skull cap

calamanca as calamachus

calamistrum pin for curling the hair

calceamentum shoe

calceus half boot or shoe, covering the whole foot

caliga leather shoe

caligula small military boot

callicula as caligula or gallicula

calo timber for joinery

calonodium (fifteenth century) clog

calsus as calceus

camisia linen shirt or nightgown; in late Latin long undergarment for men; (twelfth century) ecclesiastical vestment

campestre leather apron worn round loins

cansile similar to camisia

capitale (fifteenth century) headdress

capitium wearing a hood; or for capitulum or canutium

capitulum head covering for women

cappa cap, hood; (seventh to fourteenth centuries) cape, cloak with hood

cansa box

caputium hood fastened to back of vestment

caracalla Gallic cloak without hood; vestment, cope

cassis helmet

casula cloak, chasuble

cernuus shoe; (Isidor) sole-less soccus

chlamys cloak

cicla (cyclas) state robe with border worn by women; (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) rich robe

cidaris turban (of Jewish high priests); diadem (of Persian kings)

cingulum girdle encircling hips

cintum belt

ciroteca (chirotheca) glove

clavus purple stripe on Roman tunica

coifa (thirteenth century) headdress

collarium band or chain for neck, collar

colobium short-sleeved undergarment; (eighth to fourteenth centuries) sleeveless tunic or cloak

cononeum gauze net, especially on bed; canopy

cothurnus high shoe, boot



crebundie ? as cunie

crusina ? (cf. crus leg, shank, shin)

cucullus cap; hood fastened to garment, monk's cowl

cultus appearance, clothing, especially splendid dress

cunie ? cradle clothes (cf. cunabulum cradle)

cuphia probably as coifa

curtella as kurtella

curtus short

diadema royal headdress, diadem

diplois double garment to be wrapped round body, cloak; (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) doublet

discriminalia hair clasp worn by women

ependytes outer garment

fascelles as fascia

fascia band, including headband

fasciola bandage; small bandage for the legs

feminalia thigh bandages

femoralia covering for thigh, (eleventh and fifteenth centuries) breeches

fibula buckle, clasp, pin

fico shoe, clog

flammeolum flame coloured bridal veil

flammeum (fourteenth century) bandage

galerus helmet-like headcovering of undressed skin; cap, hat

gallicula garment

gemma jewel

gunna in late Latin a leather garment; according to Boniface and Guthbert of Wearmouth, a fur garment worn by monks

habitus appearance, dress

humerales as umerales

indumentum garment

infula band, bandage, especially red and white fillet or woollen band which signified consecration

instita border or flounce of Roman lady's tunic; bandage

interula undergarment, shirt

kurtella (fifteenth century) kirtle

labarum banner

lacerna cloak worn by Romans over the toga in cold or wet weather

lacinia lappet, corner or edge of garment

laena lined upper garment, cloak

lana wool

lanugo woolly substance (e.g. of plants); (fourteenth century) blanket or woollen undergarment

lectulus bed, couch

legula flap

lena mantle

ligula for legula or lingula

limus girdle or apron trimmed with purple

lineum linen garment

lingula tongue, especially of shoe; strap or latchet of shoe

liniamento garment

linna as lacna or lena

linostema garment of linen and wool, mixed

linteum a linen cloth

lodix coverlet, blanket

lorica mailcoat

lumbare apron for the loins; loincloth

lunula ornament worn by women, "little moon"

mafora (twelfth century) veil

mafors woman's veil, sometimes priest's

maforte (seventh century) headdress

manica long sleeve of tunic, which covered the hand

mantellum cloak

mantile mantle, overall

mappa napkin, ecclesiastical manipule

mappula as mappa

mastruga garment made of skins; a sheepskin

melote a sheepskin; (Isidor) goatskin garment

millus dog's collar

mitra headband or turban worn by Greek and Roman women; (twelfth century) ecclesiastical mitre; nightcap

monile necklace, collar

muraena dark stripe

murenula small necklace

mustricola shoemaker's last

mutatorium capo; wimple; change of clothing

nimbus headband (Isidor) worn by females

obstrigillus shoe sole; (Isidor) sandal fastened to the foot by straps

ocrea metal greave (cf. ocre (eleventh century) thigh boots or leggings)

odo as udo

olosericum (ninth century) silk mantle

onertorium cover

orarium napkin, handkerchief

paenula poncho-like garment originally worn by slaves, which became popular as travelling and military garment; ecclesiastical vestment

palla wide upper garment, held together by brooches, worn by Roman ladies; undergarment; men's garment; ecclesiastical vestment, archbishop's pall

pallium Greek cloak, thus, upper garment; ecclesiastical vestment, archbishop's insignia

paludamentum military cloak

panniculus rag; short, light garment



pecten comb

pectica as pecten

pedula footwear (cf. pedule sole)

pellicia (ninth to fifteenth centuries) pelisse, pilch, leather garment

pellis pelt; leather garment of skin

penicula woollen outer garment covering whole body for journeys and wet weather; (thirteenth century) hood

penula for paenula or penicula

peplum robe of state; any broad, upper garment

pera as melote

periscelis leg band, anklet, worn by women

perizomata girdle

pero boot made of raw hide

pileus egg-shaped hat or cap made of felt

planeta (twelfth to fourteenth centuries) ecclesiastical vestment, chasuble

practensorium stray animal

praetexta outer garment of Roman magistrates and free-born children

redimiculum fillet; necklace; girdle

reno reindeer skin; fur pelisse worn by ancient Germans

reticulum little net; network cap

ricinum headveil, especially worn by women mourners

ricula small veil

saccus sack, bag, especially money bag

sagulum small military cloak

sagum coarse woollen blanket or mantle

sandalium slipper or sandal

sarabara wide trousers

scruta trash

sinclon fine cotton or muslin

soccus low-heeled light shoe; slipper; sock

spinther bracelet

stola long upper garment; in late Latin a woman's garment;  
ecclesiastical vestment, stole

stragula pall

stragulum covering, rug, carpet

strebula flesh about the haunch

strophium band worn by women under the breasts; headband

subfibulum (suffibulum) white, four-cornered veil

subligaculum waist-band; breech-cloth

subtalaris "under the heel", cf. talaris

subucula man's undergarment, shirt

succinctorium apron

sudarium (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) sheet for wrapping  
round relics

superhumerales ecclesiastical vestment, pall

supparum linen garment worn by women

taenis band, fillet

talaris sandal fastened to the ankle

tapeeta carpet, coverlet

tegmen covering

theristodotes as theristrum

theristrum summer garment

tiara oriental headdress, turban; (thirteenth century) ecclesiastical mitre

tibiale wrapping for the shins; stocking

toga long Roman garment made of a single piece of material

toral valance of couch

tramaserium ? cloth (trama weft or filling of a web)

tribrica as tubrucus

tribunarium small cloak

tubrucus (tubragus) legging, similar to tibiale

tunica Roman undergarment worn by both sexes; (twelfth century)  
tunic, coat, tabard; ecclesiastical vestment, tunicle

udo sock of felt or fur

umerale covering for the shoulders, cape

vallegias the glossary citation is the only recorded use of the term as a garment; otherwise saddlebags

velamen covering, garment, robe, veil

vellus fleece

velum covering, curtain, veil

ventrale belly-band

veste as vestmentum

vestmentum clothing; a garment, vestment; bedclothes

vestitus clothing

vinculum something which binds

vitta band; cap for the head

zona belt, girdle; money belt