THE RAZOR'S EDGE:

CONSTRUCTING MALE IDENTITY IN BRONZE AND IRON AGE NORTHERN EUROPE

by

Kaitlin Kincade

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ABSTRACT
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Kaitlin Kincade

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Personal hygiene paraphernalia has been largely overlooked in interpretations of prehistoric European societies. Razors in particular have only recently been examined as playing an important role in European prehistoric societies. Typically found in burials and hoards, razors have historically been associated with the "warrior elite" concept in European prehistory. As a counterpoint, this thesis will examine the role personal hygiene and body modification played in identity construction and the possible symbolic role of razors in the construction of male identity in the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe. Direct evidence, such as razors themselves, preserved hair, and bog bodies, as well as indirect evidence, such as emic and etic representations of the human body, and etic written texts that reference body modification, including hairstyles, facial hair grooming and possibly scarification, will be investigated. By using Hodder's concept of entanglement (2012) and drawing on ethnographic examples of body modification, this thesis will outline the possible cultural, social, and magico-religious importance of hair, hair removal and personal appearance in the creation and maintenance of male identity during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Britain and some parts of Scandinavia. This project will demonstrate how multiple lines of evidence regarding the use of razors in prehistoric Europe can help us determine to what extent razors, as well as associated hygiene

paraphernalia such as tweezer sets, were objects used in the construction of cultural identity while contributing to the growing literature on ritual, life cycles, and materiality of the body in archaeology more generally.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Typically found in adult male burials, razors made of bronze or iron are relatively common in Bronze and Iron Age Europe. These objects were initially interpreted as having a purely functional purpose in the context of male personal hygiene (Piggott 1946). However, razors are mainly found in burials and hoards and their appearance in such contexts suggests that they played a symbolic as well as functional role in Bronze and Iron Age society and "should not be regarded as an isolated object, but as part of a larger ideological or social statement" (Kaul 2013:469). I propose that razors served men during this time as personal symbols of identity and were a means of facilitating the construction of a primarily male identity. This thesis tests the hypothesis that personal hygiene and body modification (defined here as body modification not affecting the skeleton, including hair removal, hairstyle, piercings, tattoos, and scarification) played a major role in the construction and expression of ritually significant lifecycle phases in the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe.

The sample utilized consists of a select group of razors deposited during the Bronze and Iron Ages in the British Isles and Denmark (Figure 1.1), where 1) many razors have been recovered and published and 2) additional direct evidence for body modification is available. The sites chosen include two types of contexts: hoards (economic or ritual deposits) and burials (usually associated with males). The temporal context encompasses a time span from the Early Bronze Age (starting c. 2000 BC) to the Early Iron Age (ending c. 100 BC in Britain and c. AD 680 in Scandinavia) for two reasons: 1) because of likely changes in the use and meaning of these objects over time

and through space and 2) to test the idea that razors are consistently found in a limited range of contexts. The razors included in the analysis constitute a very small subset of the total available. This is not a comprehensive study but focuses on the utility of this body modification tool as a way of approaching the use of the body as material culture from a life cycle perspective (Meskell 2001; Fontijn 2012; Sofaer 2006; Treherne 1995) as well as examining the intricate interdependencies of humans and things in relations to representing and maintaining identity (Hodder 2012).

Research Questions

The thesis posits five research questions:

1) What role did personal hygiene (defined here as body modification not affecting the skeleton, such as hair removal, hairstyles, piercings, tattoos, scarification) play in identity construction and the expression of ritually significant lifecycle phases, including such rites of passage as birth (circumcision), puberty (scarification, shaving or cutting of hair), and death (mourning rituals, shaving and preparation for burial, possibly including the actual killing and deposition of selected individuals in ritual contexts), in the Bronze Age and Iron Age in northern Europe?

2) Can direct evidence (hygiene equipment found in archaeological contexts [razors, manicure sets, combs, hair pins, hair ties, hair rings, earrings, lip, ear or nose plugs, cosmetic sets]), when combined with indirect evidence (emic or etic representations of the human body and etic written texts) for body modification such as hairstyles, facial hair and possibly scarification be used to answer the first question?

3) Can razors in particular, which are found in large numbers across a wide temporal and geographic range of contexts, be used as a proxy for the significance of other types of body modification in northern Europe where indigenous texts and emic iconography such as figural representations can help interpret this part of the personal hygiene kit and through it the question of how the body was viewed in Iron Age Europe?

4) Can Ian Hodder's concept of "entanglement" be used to explain the different types of interactions that razors, and possibly other hygiene paraphernalia, create and/or facilitate in prehistoric European?

5) Can ethnographic examples of this form of body modification be used to generate possible hypotheses for ways in which hair, and by extension the items used to cut or shave it, might have been viewed as a symbol or expression of

Figure 1.1: Map of study area.

masculinity and/or "maleness" in the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe?

The sites that include razor deposits mainly date to the Bronze Age; however, most of the evidence for the use of razors Iron Age in date (i.e. bog bodies, written records, human representations).

During the Bronze Age in northern Europe, razors are considered part of the warrior "package" (Kaul 2013; Treherne 1995) and are associated mainly with elite males. In the Iron Age, particularly in Britain, graves of "warrior elites" exist as well, but razors are no longer used as a grave good (Whimster 1981: 262, 286, and 290). Other areas of continental Europe do see the continued use of razors in graves, but they are replaced as primary "male warrior" markers by weapons such as daggers and swords. Yet there is evidence for razors being used during the Iron Age (i.e. clean shaven bog bodies, iconographic representations of men with mustaches, Greek and Roman texts). Possible changes in depositional practices associated with razors during the Iron Age may reflect a shift in the use of material culture to express identity (specifically warrior elite and/or maleness). The temporal range of this thesis makes it possible to compare indirect and direct evidence for the use of razors and explores new approaches to understanding changes in how razors were deposited and became differentially symbolically charged in the archaeological record in northern Europe.

This thesis also aims to contribute to the current archaeological discussion of identity. Razors are examined *within* their cultural contexts to understand how they were used in the larger cultural system in which they are found. The expression of societal association and cultural meaning through material culture in archaeological contexts is examined. This provides the basis of a discussion about how cultural ideas and values are expressed

Table 1.1: Sites Included in Analysis			
Site Name	Country	Site Type	Reference
Irish Sites			
Barren, Co. Mayo	Ireland	Burial (cremation)	Waddell 1990:47
Knockast, Coolatore, Co. Westmeath 1-3	Ireland	Burial (cremation)	Piggot 1946:136
Cush, Co. Limerick 1 and 2	Ireland	Burial (cremation)	Waddell 1990:108
Kilmore, Co. Westmeath	Ireland	Burial (cremation)	Waddell 1990:150 and Binchy 1967:59
Hill of Rath, Co. Louth	Ireland	Burial (cremation)	Waddell 1990:111-113
Gortereghy, Co.Antrim	Ireland	Burial cremation)	Waddell 1990:47
Cromaghs, Co. Antrim	Ireland	Hoard	Eogen 1983:52
Monalty Duff, Co. Monaghan	Ireland	Hoard	Eogen 1983:189
Dowris Hoard	Ireland	Hoard	Eogen 1983:119
British Sites			
Ty'n-y-Pwll, Llanddyfnan, Anglesey	Wales	Burial (cremation)	Butler and Smith 1956:52
Winterslow	England	Burial (cremation)	Stoves 1946:126
Rudstone, E. R. Yorkshire	England	Burial (inhumation)	Butler and Smith 1956:50
Broughton-in-Craven, Yorkshire	England	Burial (cremation)	Butler and Smith 1956:51
Dalmore, Alness, Ross-shire	Scotland	Burial (cremation)	Butler and Smith 1956:52
Laughton's Known, Holm parish Orkney Mainland	Scotland	Burial (cremation)	Butler and Smith 1956:52
Llangwyllog, Anglesey	Wales	Hoard	Piggott 1946:139
Leckwith, Glamorgan	Wales	Hoard	Piggott 1946:141
Danish Burials			
Trindhøj A	Denmark	Burial (inhumation)	Randsborg et al. 2006:119
Buldjerg Lisbjerg	Denmark	Burial (inhumation)	Sellevold et al. 1984:42
Trappendal	Denmark	Burial (cremation)	Boysen and Andersen 1983:118-120, 121
Nybøl	Denmark	Burial (inhumation)	Randsborg et al. 2006:120
Grisby	Denmark	Hoard	Broholm 1946:181

through selective deposition of objects (i.e. ritual or founder hoards and burials). Identity theory is used to frame how objects create, facilitate, and maintain particular identities, especially gender, by investigating the multiple uses of razors. Finally, Ian Hodder's "entanglement" theory will be discussed as a possible tool to explore the different kinds of interactions that material culture, in this case razors, play within larger cultural constructs. By examining a large time period (2,000 BC to AD 100) depositional changes in this category that might- or might not- reflect associated changes in cultural values and ideology can be identified.

Theoretical Approach

To answer the research questions posed above, I have focused on the theoretical approaches of embodiment and identity theory. Several researchers have applied embodiment theory to the larger context of the archaeology of identity in prehistoric Europe (Back Danielsson 2008; Brück 2004; Treherne 1995; Wells 2001) but material culture theory is a new angle on the archaeology of identity. Material culture is anything that humans have created, modified, or used and is the foundation of most archaeological analysis. Ian Hodder's "entanglement" theory (2012) was chosen as the theoretical basis for this project because it allows the various effects of culture and objects on the body and on the construction of identity to be explored.

Ian Hodder elaborates on the value of applying material culture theory to archaeology in his book *Entangled* (2012), examining how things (i.e., material objects, nature, plants, animals, sounds, and thoughts) and humans interact and relate to one another. Hodder describes the relationship between humans and the material world as co-dependent (e.g., a nail needs a hammer to be most effective). This relationship is

complex and no part of the larger system can be removed from the equation in a simple manner (2012:88). Hodder's formula can be described as follows: humans depend on things (HT), things depend on things (TT), things depend on humans (TH), and humans depend on humans (HH): Entanglement = (HT) + (TT) + (TH) + (HH) (2012:88). Hodder defines entanglements as being "identified empirically as specific flows of matter, energy, and information" (2012:105). However, Hodder argues that most archaeologists are concerned with the physicality of things and objects rather than the larger system of interdependence between things and humans. He states that "archaeological direction is more directly attuned to the physical processes of things in themselves. …[Therefore] archaeologists are more comfortable, given their detailed work with artifacts, recognizing that there are physical processes that occur that are separate from, however much they are infused with, the social realm" (2012:95).

Hodder's main argument is that:

> Humans work within webs of meaning that often seem arbitrary, symbolic and representational. Their abstract and generalizing through processes are dependent on these webs, on language, on systems of representation. But very often, these same symbolic representations gain their salience from being embedded in sets of practices and experiences (2012:97).

Based on Hodder's interconnectedness of objects and cultural systems, objects could serve as a proxy to represent a masculine identity, especially those used to construct a specifically male identity, such as razors used for facial hair removal. For Hodder, societies are not only comprised of humans interacting with each other with materials facilitating those relationships, but material things tied to "the webs of interaction with dependence" (2012:111). Hodder's entanglement theory illustrates the complexity of the relationship between material culture and society. These interdependent relationships

highlight the fact that objects found in the archaeological record need to be examined as part of a complex web of social and cultural relations. Following Hodder's theory, it may be possible to understand larger cultural concepts or practices by examining the different interdependencies between humans and things; as what might be seen about the expression of male identity by examining razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia.

Hodder suggests that social scientists must understand how things and humans are intertwined and the different relationships between things and humans determine how culture works (2012:108). By examining the interdependence of things and humans, archaeologists will be able to access a deeper understanding of culture, people and societies in prehistory. The relationships between razors, humans, and other related personal hygiene equipment can be approached during the complex web-like interconnectedness that Hodder explores in *Entangled*. This includes, but is not limited to, examining razors as instruments in constructing and maintaining identity, as an expression of gender and social role, and in personal hygiene, both daily and situational (i.e. used in certain rituals). By using Hodder's theory of entanglement, this thesis explores the different ways that razors, as well as other personal hygiene equipment, were used in prehistoric Europe.

David Fontijn's article "Everything in its right place" (2008) presents two interesting theoretical concepts that provided an additional foundation for this thesis. While examining bronze artifacts in both burials and hoards during the Bronze Age in the lowlands of the Netherlands, he discusses how the imbued meaning of these objects could determine their selective deposition. Fontijn examines the construction of identity by

those mourning a deceased individual, arguing "identity can be constructed using specific bodily adornment including appropriate paraphernalia and gifts supplied by the mourners" (2008:90). He argues that the connection between the living and the dead was expressed by two particular events: the laying of the body on the funeral pyre and the inhumation of the cremated remains in an urn placed in a burial mound. Although Fontijn admits that the precise meaning of these items and how they relate to an individual's identity might not be known to us, he concludes that the identities constructed tend to express "local social concerns" (2008:93). As opposed to these local concerns of identity with the dead, Fontijn argues that Bronze Age hoards indicate that people adopted a particular kind of symbolism that was held in common by groups in several regions. Also, the role of ornaments shows that such "supra-regional personal identities" was associated with body modification and personal appearance (2008:96). Fontijn also argues that the biographical history of an object determined whether or not the object would be deposited in a hoard or burial. Many objects found in water deposits, including swords and axes, show significant amounts of wear or damage, for example. Fontijn also argues that "the biographies of objects and the individual are 'fused' (in a literal sense during cremation). The ideological emphasis in such burial practices seems to be on local identities and on the representation of a community as a collective whole" (2008:102).

Along with Hodder's entanglement theory, the theory laid out in Fontijn's study served as the second theoretical foundation for this thesis. Following Kopytoff's "The cultural biography of things" (1986), I have examined the life cycle of razors not only from the perspective of cultural biography, but in relation to the user's life cycle. This

has been strengthened by the interconnectness of Hodder's entanglement theory, which suggests that things and humans not only have similar life cycles (Kopytoff 1986) but are codependently intermingled with one another. Razors in particular are considered highly personal objects and it has been suggested that razors buried with individuals were used throughout the individual's lifetime (Kaul 1998, 2013; Kavanagh 1991). I have examined the possible implications of this idea by using cultural biographies of razors as well as the individuals buried with them to help understand the role of body modification and identity in prehistoric northern Europe.

Hodder's concept of "entanglement" challenges the more traditional concepts of earlier material culture theory. Although Hodder takes a more archaeological perspective than most material culture anthropologists, some of the more traditional concepts expressed by Woodward are worth noting and will be used in the theoretical framework of this thesis. Ian Woodward's book, *Understanding Material Culture* (2007), presents an overview of some of the more prevalent concepts in material culture theory. I focus on his ideas of identity expression and the concept of social performance of material culture. Woodward explains that objects have an "*expressive capacity*…that affords individuals an opportunity to articulate aspects of self through material engagements…" stating that effectively, objects "do 'social work'" (2007:135; original emphasis). Woodward continues,

> Objects, then, can assist in forming or negating interpersonal and group attachments, mediating the formation of self-identity and esteem, and integrating the differentiating social groups, classes or tribes. …In this way, *possession* of the objects *affords* cultivation of *identity*, sometimes irrespective of an object's aesthetic or functional qualities (2007:135, original emphasis).

Furthermore, "…Objects can *stand for* particular features of a person, in the absence of interpersonal contact. Thus, visually identifying an object within someone's possession can tell us much about a person, without us having to speak to him or her to confirm such a status" (Woodward 2007:137, original emphasis). An example of this non-verbal communication of identity is reflected when an unmarried Inuit woman styles her hair into two buns above her ears to reflect her marital status (Copper 1970:143). Williams and Sayers state that "material culture in all its varieties can serve in the construction, communication and transformation of identities as well as conveying them through time from generation to generation. Identities are embodied in the meaningful and mnemonic qualities of objects and materials" (2009:2). This suggests that there is a possibility that razors were worn on the body in public as well as being used to shave the head/face/body to signal a particular male identity. These concepts of identity expressed through material culture, a special form of non-verbal communication, supplement the theoretical framework of this thesis by comparing the evidence for ownership, use, and social display of razors and other personal hygiene equipment and the social lives with the meanings of these objects and the bodies they were used to modify.

Another important concept is the social performance of objects in association with identity. If "*objects have a performative capacity*" as a result of their social context and are reflexive presentations of self in relation to objects (Woodward 2007:152, original emphasis) then "the goal of any social actor is to harness the symbolic things and objects at hand in order to successfully convey their meaning to others" and thus "material things become part of most social performances" (ibid.:155). Using this theoretical lens, ritual deposits, such as hoards, burials, and everyday personal hygiene could be seen as social

performances used to express particular individual and social identities (helping to answer the first and third research questions). However, it is important to remember that "objects need symbolic framings, storylines and human spokespersons in order to acquire social lives; social relationships and practices in turn need to be materially grounded in order to gain temporal and spatial endurance" (Pels et al. 2007:153).

From the perspective of the archaeology theory of identity, Ing-Marie Back Danielsson's "Bodies and Identities in the Scandinavian Late Iron Age" (2008), explores the malleability and flexibility of identity. She writes:

> The body is pivotal when it comes to identity, since identity is performed through the body and bodily actions. Such actions may be constituted by reflected and unreflected bodily movements, everyday behaviors and habits, sexual orientation, speech, choice of clothing, bodily modification… and so on (2008:314).

The focus on behavior and physical appearance in the creation of the body's identity gives an interesting counter-perspective on how objects may be used to express identity. Although Back Danielsson is mainly concerned with the transformation of the body after death and cremation of the remains, she presents an interesting perspective on how the body may transform its physical appearance along with its cultural identity to express different stages in life cycles, which might be applied to other events in an individual's life, such as coming of age rituals or marriage, in addition to death.

Peter Well's book *Beyond Celts, Germans, and Scythians* (2001) focuses on identity construction in Iron Age in Europe. Although his book covers a large temporal and geographic area, he provides a solid foundation of identity theory in archaeology and how it relates to Iron Age peoples. Wells focuses on the plasticity of identity and the meaning of the material culture used to express it. He writes "…Identity is not a fixed

quality, but is fluid, dynamic and contingent," and furthermore "Objects that people make and use are also media of communication, transmitting information of different kinds from one individual to another and between groups" (2001:22). In the case of razors, this has particular implications for transmitting information about identity among individuals in direct and indirect ways: 1) a groomed, shaved face (indirect message) and 2) the razor itself (direct message), if visible and worn on the body (suspended from the belt). Wells also warns us that the meaning and identity expressed by an object may be congruent to the situation the object is used in: "the same object can have different meanings in different situations and similar meanings can be conveyed by different objects" (2001:25). For example, a razor in a hoard vs. in a grave might have had different meanings. Wells suggests that the two most informative manifestations of identity as expressed through objects are the practice of everyday activities and ritual (2001:26). According to Wells:

> This identity was created on the basis of practices, traditions, and material objects which had long been part of their way of life, but which attained potent new significance as they assumed the roles of identity markers. …It is in the practice of daily life, in the course of which people make, purchase and use their material objects that they create their identities, and the objects play essential roles in that process. As people use objects, the users, the meaning of the objects and the relationships between the people and the objects, all change. …In the process of interaction with the material world, people constantly renegotiate and restructure their identities (2001:29-30).

Wells' book provides a theoretical framework for an examination of the role of razors in the construction and maintenance of identity and how direct evidence and indirect evidence can be combined to interpret the archaeological record.

Wells' use of material culture in Iron Age European contexts to parse identity is in line with concepts of identity in material culture theory. Material culture theory is a

relatively new concept in cultural anthropology. It examines the creation of objects within a culture and how those objects are inter-related with the culture. The benefit of material culture theory for this thesis is based on the fact that the populations studied are alive and able to articulate their reasons, motivations, and thoughts on objects and how those objects fit within the wider culture. Although many of the case studies and conclusions might not transfer directly to prehistoric populations, archaeologists can still apply some of the theoretical ideas generated this way to their analysis of objects and their use in the pre-literate past.

The article "The Warrior's Beauty" by Paul Treherne (1995) presents the emergence of a warrior elite in the Bronze Age as linked to change in the expression of identity as well as material culture. The Bronze Age warrior elite are identified based on "personal consumables" found in male burials during the Early Bronze Age, centered around warfare (weaponry), alcohol (drinking vessels), riding/driving (horse harness/wheeled vehicles), and bodily ornamentation (personal hygiene equipment and dress) (1995:108). Treherne highlights the fact that "'toilet articles' appear to have been exclusively 'male' funerary goods at this time". In fact, by the late Bronze Age in some regions items of personal hygiene appear to be "the *main* male status item in graves" (1995: 111, original emphasis). He also argues that the primary "ideology" of the middle Bronze Age revolved around the "male (gendered) individual and the display of his personal accoutrements acquired through inter-regional exchange and emulation, with novel themes of drinking, driving/riding, body decorating, and fighting" (1995:111). This change in burial practice, according to Treherne, mirrors the change in identity and social status of certain individuals. Since the corpse was only visible for a short time, as

opposed to a longer display after death, "the message communicated by the body and its accoutrements to the audience had to be unambiguous and this lent itself to highly formalized or stereotyped representation" (1995:113).

Treherne then examines how these objects were used to signal a particular identity in death and in life. He focuses on personal hygiene objects, in particular razors, and their relationship to the deceased, mourning rituals, and signaling of the deceased's identity to the mourners. Many of the oak-coffin burials in Denmark show evidence of pubic and/or cephalic hair, but no beards, which suggests that male bodies were clean shaven at the time of interment in those areas at least (Treherne 1995:121). Furthermore some of the "toilet articles" deposited in graves show evidence of wear, resharpening, and repair. Treherne also discusses distinctions in the placement of the "toilet articles", which were "treated as a part of the costume and arranged directly on or beside the body, and swords, which were placed outside the cow hide that was frequently used to mantle the corpse" (1995:121). However, Treherne does not speculate as to the symbolic significance of the "toilet articles" being associated with the costume of the individual as opposed to objects such as swords, which are physically differentiated from the deceased's costume. Treherne argues that the objects associated with the warrior "package" represent concrete markers of "a store of signification—a means of mnemonically preserving the deceased in social discourse—which could structure continual social interaction and thereby the living, remembering, individual's sense of self and 'continuity'" (1995:124).

More importantly for this thesis Treherne argues that the grave goods found in warrior elite graves reference a particular *life style* of the warrior elite. He argues that the

goods interred with the deceased did not gain significance only during the mourning rituals, "rather, they also were meaningfully implicated in their contextual uses in everyday life" (1995:124). Treherne focuses on toilet articles as an integral part of the warrior *life style,* specifically objects that facilitated the removal of hair, such as tweezers and razors (1995:124-125). He states that "the toilet articles, as well as the other consumables, were implicated in bodily practices which comprise a *life style*, structuring every-day interactions" (1995:125). Furthermore "such 'regimens' [Celtic warriors washing and styling their hair with lime before battle] of bodily appearance are central to the constitution of self-identity and subjectivity" (1995:126). Treherne concludes:

> These costumes not only visually and acoustically accentuated the body, nor did they only function as a medium of non-verbal (semiotic) communication, but formed the context within which the lived body reached an understanding of self. Socio-culturally organized regimes of self-adornment not only physically protect the individual, but symbolically express narratives of self-identity (1995:127).

Treherne's argument provides a unique theoretical framework within which to examine identity construction by outlining how personal hygiene equipment can be used to represent and construct identity, and how direct and indirect evidence can be linked to identity in prehistoric Europe.

Sofaer's body as material culture approach focuses on what she calls the fallacious division between the body and object (2006:3). She begins by arguing that just as human beings create and shape culture, culture creates and shapes the human body. Sofaer uses as an example how the different ways of carrying heavy loads can leave distinctive marks on the body over time. Different cultures use different methods of carrying objects and each type of activity leaves different wear patterns on the skeleton. As culture shapes both body and object, there is little separation between objects and

bodies in this theoretical framework (2006:86). Ultimately, "If bodies and objects are both material and social, because the processes that bring them about are both material and social, and we cannot separate bodies and objects because they are mutually implicated in those processes, then from a methodological perspective the body may be understood as a form of *material culture*" (Sofaer 2006:86, original emphasis).

Sofaer includes several critiques of the presentation of bodies in the archaeological literature. One is that "the phenomenological emphasis on the physical body … and assuming congruent experiences" of modern researchers attempting to understand the actions of past participants (2006:26) separates the experiences of past and present peoples. She also critiques the use of a constructionist perspective of the body and identity where the individual and/or the culture are seen as in complete control of that identity. Sofaer argues that biological constraints, such as sex, play a role in determining a person's identity within a culture and should not be discounted in the process of identity construction (2006:22). Lastly she criticizes the static definition of individuals as portrayed in the literature of "embodiment" theory; she argues that identity is consistently (re)negotiated throughout an individual's life time (2006:23).

These theoretical frameworks are used in this thesis in order to determine whether it is possible to access a deeper understanding of identity construction during the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe as represented by one category of body modification and personal hygiene implement, the razor. By employing Hodder's "entanglement" theory to razors in Bronze and Iron Ages northern Europe, I will examine the number of different ways that razors and other body modification tools could have been used to express, construct, and/or facilitate a particular gender and status. Although the use of

material culture theory as applied to embodiment has not been widely tested in archaeological contexts, some of the concepts of how objects are used to express identity and social performance provide access to a deeper understanding of the different ways of expressing identity using objects in prehistoric contexts. Using the framework of material culture theory this thesis will survey the different ways razors were used to create and perform identities within prehistoric communities. Wells provides a foundational identity theory applied to continental Iron Age Europeans (2001). Examining the transformations of the body through the life cycle, as described by Back Danielsson, helps to frame the changes in identity negotiation and the ongoing process of constructing individual and group identity. Using Treherne's article as a theoretical example of self-identity expression in individual burials provides a way to understand "toilet articles" as part of the warrior *life style* as well as self-identity. Lastly, Fontijn provides a useful approach to examining the link between the biographical history of objects and the individual, and the importance of those biographies in relation to selective, non-burial as well as burial deposits that express local and supra-regional identity.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

The subjects of personal appearance and personal hygiene in prehistoric Europe have mainly been discussed in the literature in the context of feminist and gender theory and the archaeology of identity (Back-Danielsson 2008; Sofaer 2006; Treherne 1995). Many studies that examine personal appearance and hygiene rely heavily on historical texts and iconographic representations to interpret the use of hygiene and cosmetic paraphernalia. This is because prehistoric European societies, including those of the Bronze and Iron Age, lacked emic texts and provide few representative images of humans.

Still, some evidence can be gleaned from the archaeological record. The focus on razors in this thesis demonstartes that the objects that create, facilitate and/or symbolize an identity can be used to understand that specific identity. In this example, masculinity can be explored by an in depth examination of one object category associated with "maleness" (as seen in Treherne 1995). In this chapter I will examine past research on razors, other hygiene paraphernalia and "maleness" in Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe. I will also discuss changes in burial traditions, hoards, and votive deposition of razors and associated objects from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in northern Europe.

Chronology

In Britain and Ireland, many of the studies on prehistory follow the Early, Middle, and Late chronology of central Europe. Although there are regional differences in artifact types, there are overlaps with the dating schema that is used in continental Europe. This allows for comparative analysis of material culture in Britain, Ireland and

other areas of Europe. However, Scandinavian prehistoric chronologies are different, particularly during the Bronze Age, and resulted in many discussions on how to compare this area with other areas in northern Europe.

Starting in the mid nineteenth century, Bruzelius and Worsaae divided the southern Scandinavian chronology into two periods (Early and Late Bronze Age) based on burial practices (i.e. inhumation/cremation) (Bergerbrant 2007:20). Montelius later described a more detailed chronology, introducing the six period chronology that is still used today. Periods I-III are the Early Bronze Age and Periods IV-V are the Late Bronze Age, while Period VI is the transition into the pre-Roman Iron Age (Table 2.1). Broholm in the 1940's uses Montelius' six periods but modifies the beginning of the Bronze Age. He argues that most of the bronze material from Period I was imported from central Europe and should date from the later half of the Late Neolithic. Broholm's chronology was the last full chronology attempted (Bergerbrant 2007:20). However, these chronologies tell us little about how Scandinavian prehistory relates to other parts of Europe and suggests that there was no Middle Bronze Age, or Tumulus Period.

This is not true for the oak-burial coffins that were found under large burial mounds or tumuli (Glob 1970); however, many researchers use the chronology and terms to study transitions between the Early and Late Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia (Hornstrup 1997). This makes research outside this bubble of knowledge difficult, particularly when conducting a more comparative analysis rather than a regional one. Although Broholm's dating of Periods I-VI has stood up to radiocarbon dating, the division between the Early and Late Bronze Ages is clearly too simple. In relation to central European chronology, the Late Neolithic and Period I correspond to the Early

Table 2.1: Chronology for Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia based on Bergerbrant 2007, Bronholm 1946 and Harding 2000

	Britain and Ireland Chronology	Scandinavian Chronology related to central European chronology
AD 200		Late Iron Age (Roman Period)
	Late Iron Age	
AD 0		Early Iron Age (pre-Roman Iron Age)
	Middle Iron Age	
200 BC		
400 BC	Early Iron Age	
		Transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age (Period VI)
600 BC	Late Bronze Age (Urnfield period)	
		Late Bronze Age (Urnfield period) (Period IV and V)
800 BC		
		Middle Bronze Age (Tumulus period) (Period II and III)
1000 BC	Middle Bronze Age (Tumulus period)	
1200 BC		
1400 BC		Early Bronze Age (Period I)
	Early Bronze Age	
1600 BC		
2000 BC		
2200 BC		
2400 BC		
2600 BC		

Bronze Age, Periods II and III to the Tumulus period (i.e. Middle Bronze Age), Period IV and V to the Urnfield period (i.e. Late Bronze Age) and Period VI is the transition into the Iron Age (Bergerbrant 2007:27; Harding 2000:11) (Table 2.1).

Razors and Marking "Maleness" in the Archaeological Record of Northern Europe

Mesolithic and Neolithic

It is unknown whether hair was removed or cut from the face and head before the Bronze Age. Many researchers have suggested that flint scrapers were the first implements used to shave facial hair (Kavanagh 1991:81). However gender marking using grave goods is seen as early as the Mesolithic in Scandinavia, as seen at the site of Vedbaek in Denmark (Mithen 1998:133). These flint daggers had such a strong association with "maleness" that even children were buried with flint daggers to mark their masculinity (Sarauw 2009:32). At Vedbaek a double burial of an adult woman and a newborn child included a flint blade that was associated with the child presumably marking his "maleness" (Mithen 1998:133) (Figure 2.1). Continuity cannot be assumed but can in some cases be documented based on evidence such as this where the link is clearly between the blade tool and biological sex rather than an achieved "warrior" identity. This also highlights Hodder's theoretical concepts for not only is the flint dagger dependent on humans to place meaning to it (TH), but the mourners are relaying on the flint dagger to express a particular ascribed identity to the infant (HT).

Bronze Age

Metal razors are found in burials and hoards in northern Europe beginning in the Early Bronze Age (Brück 2004). Many Bronze Age razors exhibit evidence of repeated resharpening and repair, which has lead several archaeologists to argue that most razors

were used by individuals throughout life before being deposited in graves or hoards (Kaul 2013:469; see Fontijn 2008). The surfaces of many razors are worn smooth where the razor would have been held, and the blades tend to have a slight concavity, possibly due to the application of repeated pressure on the jawbone (Kaul 1998:148-50). Associated personal hygiene paraphernalia includes tweezers and combs. Other objects associated with razors are weapons, flint scrapers, needles or awls, horse trappings, wagons, and drinking vessels.

Treherne (1995) and other researchers (Back Danielsson 2008; Kaul 2013; Levy 1999) have interpreted razors mainly as part of the costume of the warrior elite during the Bronze Age. However, this "warrior package" is not universal, particularly in southern Scandinavia. Horse trappings and wagons appear during the Late Bronze Age in

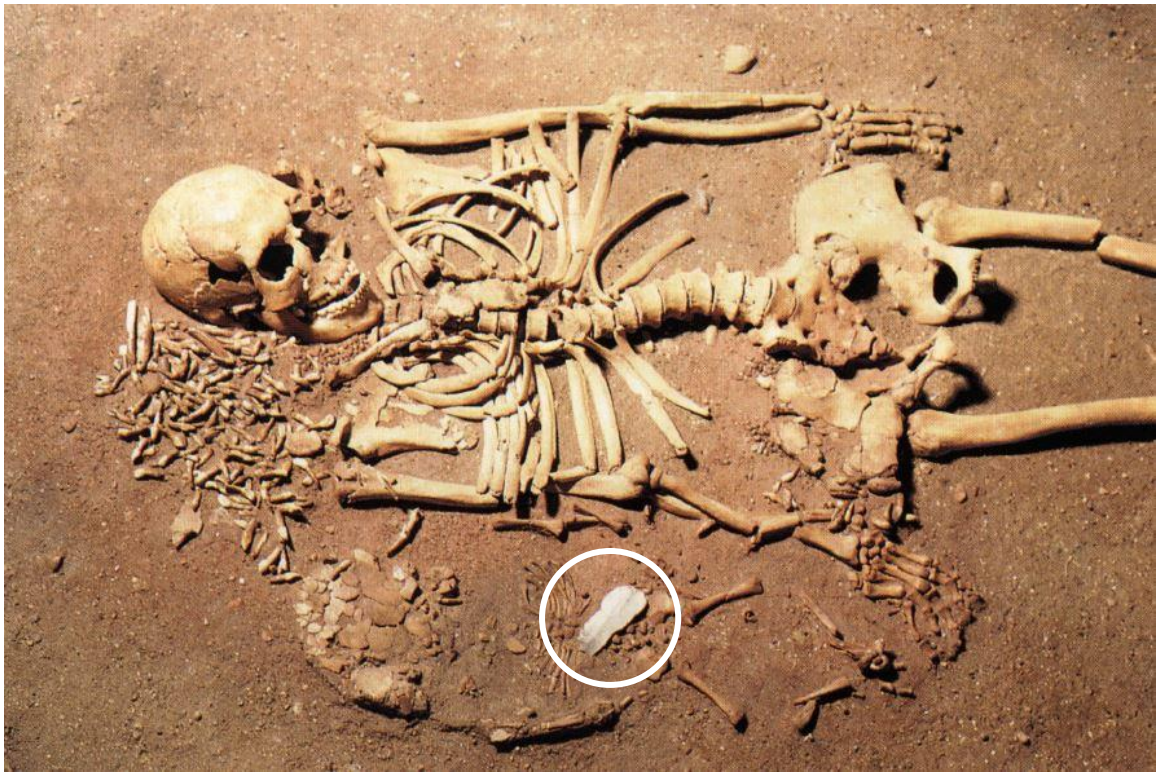

Figure 2.1: Double Burial from Vedbaek, Denmark. Infant associated with flint dagger interpreted as marking maleness or masculinity (Mithen 1998:132).

southern Scandinavia where they are associated with women rather than men, as seen in central Europe (Bergerbrant 2008:93). Weapons and personal hygiene equipment are common male objects for high status individuals in both areas of Europe at least starting in the Middle Bronze Age. Researchers have traditional interpreted two types of elite male roles in society during the Middle Bronze Age: the ritual priest/chief associated with Nordic solid-hilted swords and the warrior chief associated with the flanged-hilted sword (Bergerbrant 2008:62). However, Bergerbrant has challenged this concept, arguing that there are in fact two categories of men: those with swords and/or daggers and those without (2008:62). Although the burial information that Bergerbrant and other researchers are working with is limited to high status individuals with no or little information about lower status burials, the idea that a particular type of weapon (whether in the form of a sword and/or dagger or marked by the presence of a specific kind of sword) was used to signal status, occupation, and/or masculinity has been well researched in the costumes of Bronze Age southern Scandinavians.

Experimental archaeology has also been used to measure the potential effectiveness of prehistoric razors in order to test the idea that they ay have been more symbolic than functional. Conor MacHale, a student from University College Dublin, used soap and warm water with a replica bronze razor of Irish design and found that quick short strokes were more effective than the long, slower strokes made with a modern razor. The shave was not as smooth as with a modern razor but the Bronze Age razor was able to remove stubble. These razors also could cut hair from the scalp, but the blades needed frequent sharpening. The most effective shave came from a few days' growth of stubble that was soaked in warm water (Kavanagh 1991:85). This suggests

that shaving might not have been a daily activity but was probably done every few days or on special occasions and events. Kavanagh suggests that a second person was often employed as a barber (1991:86). It should be noted that mirrors are not found in this region until the late Iron Age. This suggests that a man would not have shaved himself, but would have had another man or woman shave him. The act of shaving another person would have been an intimate one that required a fair amount of trust and comfort between the shaver and the shaved and illustrates humans interacting with other humans using objects as a mediator of the event (i.e. HH from Hodder's entanglement equation).

There is a possibility that razors were worn on the person as a non-verbal way of communicating gender and/or status. Several razors in Britain and Ireland have perforations that imply a string or cord was used for suspension from an article of clothing, such as a belt. Many Danish razors have spiral or S-shaped handles that could also have been used for suspension. Other razor shapes, such as the horse or figure handles, would have made the suspension of the razor on the person difficult. However, there is evidence for wrappings and cases for razors. Leather or cloth wrappings around the blade of the razor could have made a sheath that was suspended from the owner's person, although this would have covered any decoration on the blade. Since most razors with anamorphic handles do not include decoration on the blade, this would not necessarily have been an issue. Other types of cases attested in burials, such as wooden boxes, seem highly unlikely to have been carried by the owner (Figure 2.2) but underscore the fact that burial deposition is not always a good indication of use in life.

Iron Age

The Iron Age witnessed a drastic decrease in razors in northern Europe. To date, no razors are known from burials dated to the Iron Age in Denmark, Britain, or Ireland. Razors appear again during the Early Roman Period (c. AD 0-250) in Denmark and during the Roman Period (after AD 43) in Britain, but there is no evidence for razors in Ireland until the early Medieval Period. However Iron Age British razors that are present are not of the pervious indigenous style but look like Roman razors. It is unclear whether the razors in Denmark are of a foreign or indigenous type due to the lack of images of the razors found in Iron Age burials available in the literature.

Razors in Prehistoric Northern Europe

The research on razors in prehistoric northern Europe carried out to date is not

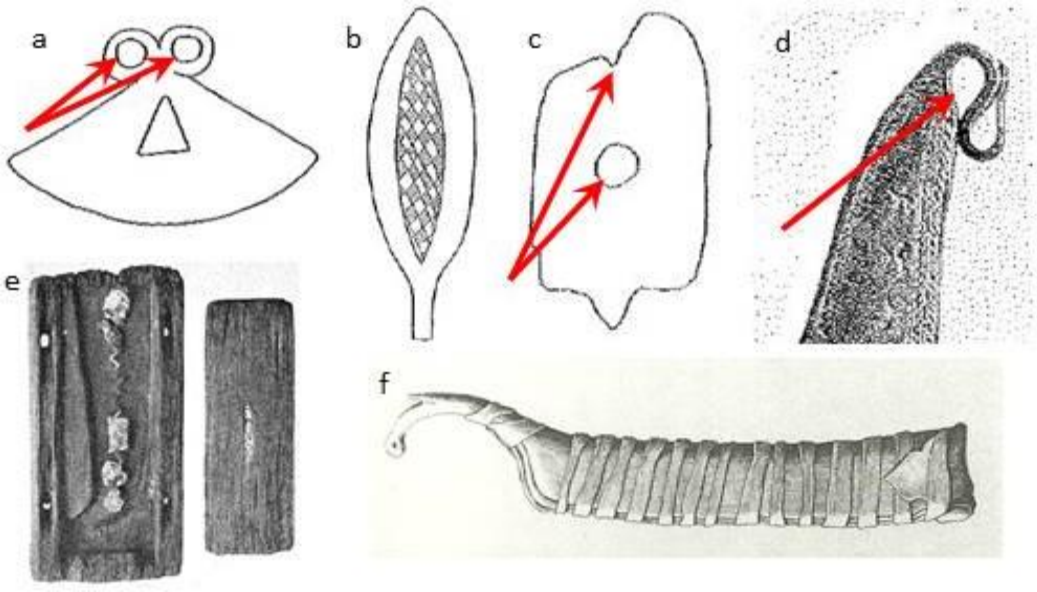

Figure 2.2: Possible suspension of razors a) Class III razors from Llyn Fawr Hoard (Piggott 1946:134) b) Class I razors from cremation burial in Sutherland, England (Piggott 1946:130) c) Class II razor from Middlesex, England (Piggott 1946:133) d) Danish razor from Snedsted, Denmark (Broholm 1947:45) e) Wooden case for razor from Vester Skjerninge (razor missing but gold inlay remains) (Broholm 1947:41) f) Razor wrapped in leather from Hvidegard oak-coffin grave (Kaul 1997:17).

extensive and there are major gaps in time and geographic location. The English-language literature tends to focus on the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in northern Europe and the British Isles. Most of the research on razor usage has been carried out by researchers as a side project and no in-depth study has been produced as yet. Other researchers have classified or compiled lists of known razors found within a region and primarily analyze the razors stylistically. With the exception of Trehern (1995) and Kaul (1998 and 2013), no comprehensive anthropological study in English has been carried out on razors in Bronze and Iron Age Europe.

Partly, this is because most site reports, especially early ones, are limited in their analysis of and information on razors. Many only mention that razors were found, while very few classify them according to Piggott's criteria (1946). Even fewer site reports have drawings or pictures of the razors along with descriptions about their condition or associated finds. In general, razors tend to be neglected in the larger narrative of site reports and are rarely discussed as having any possible importance to the site beyond their mere presence. The most extensive information about razors is found in mortuary context. Some early synthetic publications, such as Sellevold et al.'s *Iron Age Man in Denmark* (1984) and Waddell's *The Bronze Age Burials of Ireland* (1990), include razors in their discussion. In most sources however, including Waddell, there is little information about the type, condition, or other details about the razors found in the burials. This limits the amount of data available in site reports, but valuable details about finds associated with razors in burial contexts, settlements and ritual spaces are occasionally proided, The most complete English-language sources were included in this thesis based on the quantity and type of information available..

Bronze Age Razors in Northern Europe

Razors in the Bronze Age are especially prevalent in northern Europe where they have been most intensively analyzed as well. Several studies catalog razor finds, in the British Isles (Binchy 1967; Butler and Smith 1956; Piggott 1946). The information provided is usually an inventory of razor finds known up to the date of publication with little to no analysis of razors based on their context.

Denmark

No comprehensive analysis of prehistoric Danish razors as been carried out to deate. Broholm's volumes (1944-1948) include all Bronze Age finds known at the time with some analysis of the material collected. Flemming Kaul's *Ships on Bronzes* (1998) focuses on razors as a part of an analysis of depictions of ships on bronze objects; however little information on the contexts of the razors or the other bronze material is included. The main concern is the iconography on the objects. Jockenhövel's two volumes (1971 and 1980) cataloging all the razors in eastern and western Europe do not include Scandinavia. Although razors from the Danish Bronze Age have not been subjected to a comprehensive analysis or cataloging to date (as opposed to the British Isles), preserved head and facial hair, exemplified by the Bronze Age oak-coffin burials and Iron Age bog bodies, have been used to interpret the function of razors in the British Isles (see Kavanagh 1991).

Richard Bradley's article comparing decorations on Danish razors and Swedish rock art, inspired by Kauls' work (1998), argues for a connection between local cosmology and shaving. Images such as boats, suns, fish, wagons, and wagon wheels are seen on both razors and rock art in Denmark (Bradley 2006:372-376), implying a

possible symbolic link between the removal of facial hair and cosmology and/or ritual. Anne Roes made a similar observation decades earlier, looking at several razors from Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Denmark and comparing the designs found on them with rock art found from southern Sweden and Norway. She argued that razors might have been a way to display religious symbols, such as boats and suns, in areas that lacked rock outcrops suitable for inscription. This implies that they were worn in a visible way, presumably suspended from an article of clothing such as a belt. She also suggested that wood and other organic materials might have been used in addition to razors to display religious symbols (1952:50-52). Kaul, Bradley and Roes' work indicates that, to prehistoric Europeans, shaving was not just a mundane act, but could be also a sacred act in certain circumstances.

The archaeological evidence from a number of bog bodies in the British Isles and Scandinavia shows that men were clean shaven at the time of deposition; however, iconographic evidence of the same date (further south and west) shows men with facial hair, which suggests that razors were used to prepare the body in the mortuary context or at least for ritual bog deposition, in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland by removing mustaches and/or beards. Unfortunately the majority of prehistoric razors in northern Europe are found in cremation burials with the exception of some Middle Bronze Age Scandinavian examples. While the razors may have been part of the deceased's identity in life, an alternative view is that they were used to prepare the body before cremation. Many of the razors found in cremation graves did not pass through the pyre, so Bradley argues that they were used instead as a way to prepare the body for the life beyond death (2006:372-376).

One weakness of Bradley's and Roes' theories is that the dating of rock art is notoriously problematic. It is difficult to date pictographs without using some iconographic references from other dated material. Richard Bradley does not further explore his theory on the connection between rock art in Sweden and the iconography on razors found in Denmark. He does not follow up his initial research with an in-depth study of any other connection that might link razors to rituals or ritual iconography. Anne Roes' short article poses a number of interesting research questions, but she also does not pursue these questions further.

Flemming Kaul's article "The Nordic razor and the Mycenaean lifestyle" (2013)

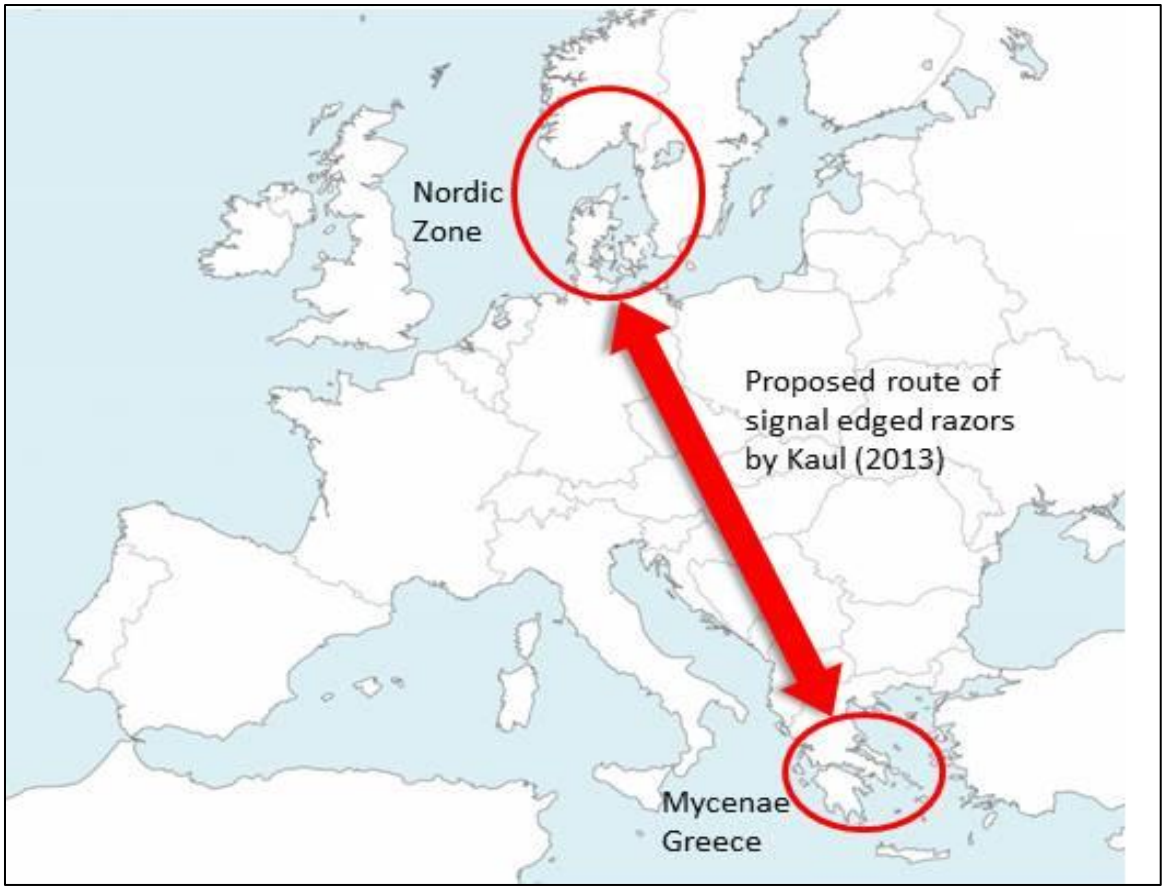

Figure 2.3: Map of proposed movement of signal edged razors between Scandinavia and Mycenae (after Kaul 2013).

argues that the similarities between Nordic and Mycenaean razors reflect the adoption of a version of the Mycenaean warrior life style by Nordic peoples (Figures 2.3 and 2.4). Most European razors found in central and western Europe have two edges; however, the Mycenaean and Scandinavian razors have a single edge and tend to have decorated handles. Because no razors from the Mediterranean are found in the Nordic region or vice versa, Kaul argues that razors did not move north, but that the Mediterranean ideology of the warrior elite was disseminated along trade routes (2013:467), probably related to the movement of amber (south and east) and tin bronze (north and west). Members of the Nordic communities wishing for more status within their society could have "deliberately picked up certain elements that could be used in self-promotion at a time of dynamic change" with the consumption of exotic goods (Kaul 2013:470).

Figure 2.4: a) Bronze Danish razor (Broholm 1946:13) b) Bronze Mycenaean razor (Kaul 2013:467).

Although Kaul makes an interesting case for the dissemination of the warrior elite ideology from the Mediterranean, he does not adequately explain the absence of single edged razors in regions between the Mediterranean and Scandinavia or why other regions did not adopt single edged razors. The appearance of single edged razors by itself does not indicate that a direct link existed between these two regions. Kaul argues that because razors are found in burials with weapons and usually with tweezers in the North and in the Aegean, "it would appear that common ideals of hygiene, hair fashion and bodily appearance became shared by warrior aristocracies that were geographically

distant from each other" (2013:469). However, as seen above (Treherne 1995), razors, tweezers, and combs were closely associated with the warrior "package" throughout northern, western, and central Europe beginning in the early Bronze Age (and possibly earlier, if flint blades in male burials of Mesolithic/Neolithic date in Scandinavia are an initial manifestation of this phenomenon) (Sarauw 2009). Although the exoticness of the Mediterranean warrior culture could have been attractive in differential status displays among northern Europeans, Kaul does not supply sufficient data to support his claim of a direct link between Mycenaean and Scandinavian warrior culture.

Britain and Ireland

Margaret Piggott was one of the first researchers to extensively analyze and categorize the Bronze Age razors of the British Isles (1946). A number of different studies utilize Piggott's classification system outside of Britain, including Butler and Smith's work with urn burials and associated razors (1956), Binchey's article on Irish razors and razor-knives of the Middle Bronze Age (1967), and R.M. Kavanagh's study of Ireland's Bronze Age razors (1991). The razor categories discussed in this thesis are derived from Piggott's analysis of Bronze Age razors in Britain and Ireland, with additions from her 1946 study. Margaret Piggott categorized razors into three classes: Class I, Class II and Class III. Class I is characterized by a long oval or rounded blade with a slight or no midrib (Figure 2.5a). Usually found with a tang and a hole at the end, this type is only present in cremation burials, never hoards. Class II is the bifid type of razor with a deep notch at the top of the blade, a pronounced midrib and a hole below the notch (Figure 2.5 b). These razors generally are found in hoards. Class III is an exotic type of razor with close parallels on the Continent (Figure 2.5 c); however there is no

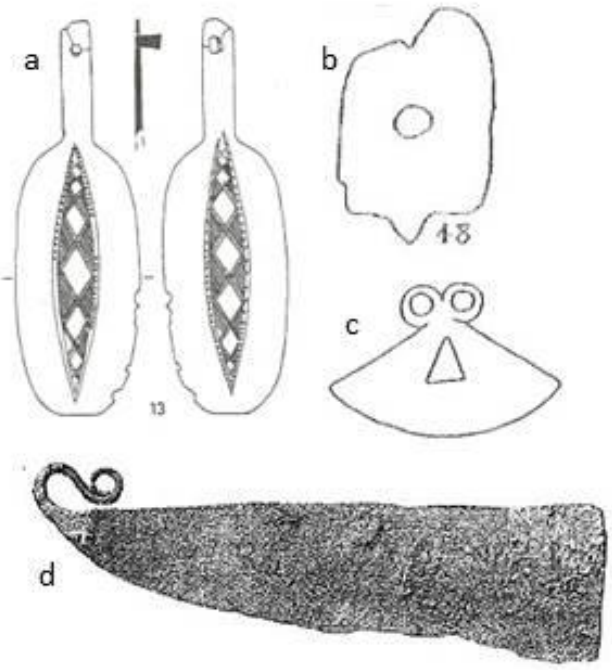

Figure 2.5: a) Class I (Kavanagh 1991:90) b) Class II (Piggott 1946:133) c) Class III (Piggott 1946:135) d) Class IV (Denmark only) (Broholm 1946:84).

further description of these features in Piggott's study (Binchey 1967:45; Piggott 1946:121). Class IV razors include the razors from Scandinavia where only one edge is the blade and the other is blunt. These razors types usually include a curved handle and decoration or images on the blade (Figure 2.5 d).

Piggott suggests that there is no evidence for the use of razors before the eighth century BC in the British Isles and argues that they began to be used only at the beginning of the late Bronze Age (1946:125). However, more recent studies have shown that razors were present in the British Isles during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (Binchey 1967; Butler and Smith 1956; Megaw and Simpson 1979:258). Piggott's definitions can be applied outside Britain and Ireland, which is why this thesis will include her three classes of razors as well as the Class IV razor (Figure 2.4 d).

Piggott's article on razors, though frequently cited, contains some unclear terminology. She claims that Class II razors are generally found in hoards (1946:126), although she does not clarify if the hoards are economic (founder's hoards) or ritual deposits. If Class II razors were mainly placed in votive deposits and Class I razors were

placed mainly in burials, this could suggest that the form of a razor influenced on its function, including whether it was used in ritual or secular contexts, which might in turn determine the type of deposition. Piggott's study represents a solid basis for further research on the study of razors and their function in Bronze Age society in Britain and Ireland, but this study expands this foundation to include a more nuanced interpretation that considers the meaning and the function of this object category in Scandinavia as well as the British Isles based on both context and style.

R. M. Kavanagh's article entitled "A Reconsideration of Razors in the Irish Earlier Bronze Age" (1991) focused more on the use and context of this type of artifact in Ireland based mainly on razor form. He argued that some razors were repurposed from older forms of metal blades. A majority of the razors in Ireland exhibit evidence for repairs and adjustments, indicating that they were in circulation for a significant period of time (Kavanagh 1991:85). While Piggott focused on the razors themselves, Kavanagh looked at other artifacts found in association with the razors. Razors are occasionally found with whetstones, probably used to sharpen the edges of razors, shears, and knives, all of which all could have been used to cut hair (Stead et al. 2006:86). Flint objects were found in association with four Irish burials containing metal razors, and Kavanagh posits that flint knives were proto-types of the bronze razors, as suggested above for the Scandinavian Mesolithic (Kavanagh 1991:81). He argues that these flint scrapers were later used for rough shaving while the bronze razors were used to perform the final stages of the shaving process. Due to the number of razors found in adult male burials, he concludes that there is a clear association between the razors and male personal hygiene in Bronze Age Ireland (Kavanagh 1991:77-85). In the last pages of the article, Kavanagh

explores the possibility that razors were used in ritual contexts in addition to their secular purposes, citing a number of finds, including the Lofthøy and Hvidegard Farm burials in Denmark. These burials contained organic materials that were preserved due to the oak-logs used as coffins during the early Bronze Age. The Lofthøy burial contained a man buried with a leather bag on his chest that contained a small bronze knife with a curved blade, a broken razor and a pair of tweezers, among other objects (Figure 2.6) (Glob 1970:114; Kavanagh 1991:86). Another burial at Hvidegard Farm burial also contained a man with a leather bag on his chest. The contents of the bag included an amber bead, a small conch shell, a small wooden cube, a selection of dried roots, tweezers, a bronze knife and a bronze razor, among a number of other objects (Glob 1970:116; Kavanagh 1991:87). Kavanagh interprets these objects as representing these men's skills as barbers and/or surgeons, and the reverence of their community for their skill. He suggests that they may have been shamans, medicine men, or other ritual specialists (1991: 87). Both of these burials with razors also contained knives, which might indicate that razors were used for special cutting activities that would not be done using a knife. Kavanagh also cites two Iron Age Danish bog bodies, Tollund Man and Grauballe Man, as an illustration of his thesis that razors were used to shave the men's beards and trim their hair before they were ritually killed (1991:86). Kavanagh concludes that "the presence of razors which were specifically designed for shaving can…be best explained as the property of special individuals who used these implements…to perform services, possibly as surgeons as well as barbers, to the community in the carrying out of rituals and funerary rites" (1991:87).

Kavanagh's arguments are interesting; however, there are some problems with the analysis of the examples he uses to support his interpretations of razors used in ritual contexts. One is that none of the burials he cites are from Ireland, the focus of his study. The second problem is that the bog bodies he cites, Tollund and Grauballe Man, are both from the early Iron Age in Denmark. Kavanagh does not acknowledge the large gap in temporal and geographic location between the focus of the material record in Bronze Age Ireland and the evidence from Iron Age Scandinavia he provides. The lack of mortuary evidence Kavanagh presents that is actually located in Ireland weakens his argument for razors being used for ritual purposes in Ireland during the early Bronze Age. Arguably, by encompassing a wider geographic area for the ritual use of razors, as well as examining larger patterns of deposition through time and space, Kavanagh could have strengthened his argument if he had been able to cite evidence for the continual deposition of razors from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Ireland and Scandinavia.

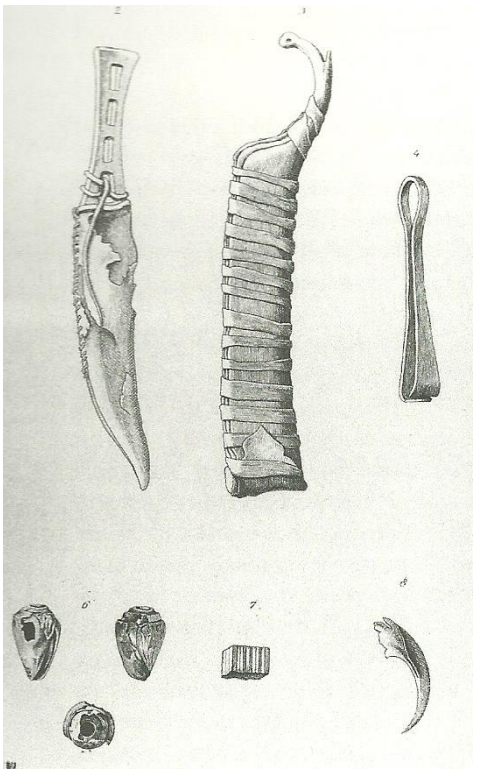

Figure 2.6: Lofthøy grave goods (Kaul 1997:17).

Iron Age Razors in Northern Europe

Razors are conspicuously absent in the archaeological record in northern Europe in the Early Iron Age. While there are many examples of razors in continental Europe

during this time, including the Hochdorf tumulus in Germany (Olivier 1999), in general, there is a decline in all types of personal hygiene paraphernalia during the Iron Age (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:21).

Denmark

In Denmark, as in the British Isles, burials and hoards no longer contain razors in the pre-Roman Iron Age. Deposition decreases for grave goods and hoards generally during this time, then slowly increases again during the Early Roman Period. The latest razors found in Denmark are from a large cemetery in Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg during the Early Roman Period. There are about 600 years between the last razors found in the late Bronze Age and the earliest razors of the Early Roman Period (Broholm 1946; Sellevold et al. 1984) in Denmark.

Britain and Ireland

During the early Iron Age, razors are no longer deposited in hoards and burials in Britain and Ireland. Grave goods and hoards in general decrease in number; however, the few burials with grave goods tend to have larger numbers of objects in them than similar deposits in the Bronze Age. Many artifact categories continue to be found in these selective deposits. Two examples of this change in deposition are illustrated by the Iron Age warrior burial of Whitcombe 12 and the elite burial at Little Amwell (Whimster 1981:262, 345, 375), both without razors, but with objects also associated with Bronze Age razors, such as weapons, tools, and other types of personal hygiene equipment. This does not mean that razors were not being used or that they were not in circulation, but there does seem to have been a change in how razors were taken out of circulation. This phenomenon will be examined further in Chapter 4.

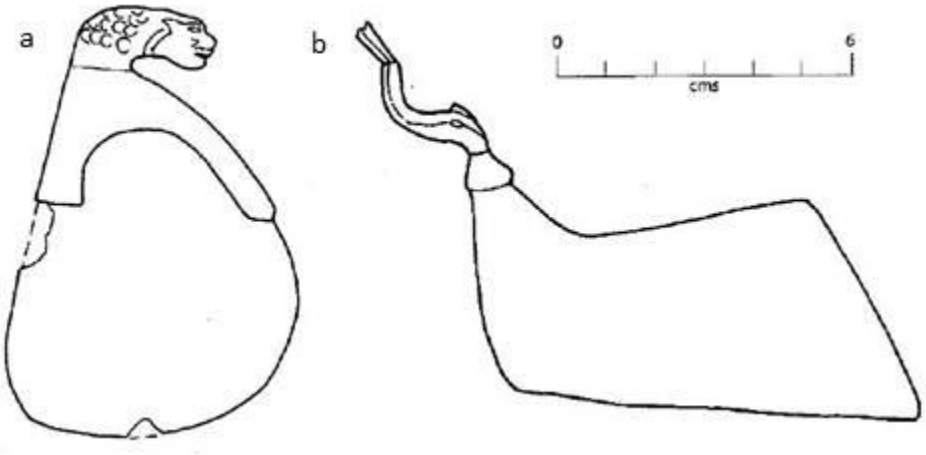

Figure 2.7 Roman razors found in northern Europe a) Zugmantel, Germany b) Köhl, Lower Saxony (both Eckardt and Crummy 2008:34).

Razors are again found in male burials during the late Iron Age and the Roman Period. Starting in the first century BC, some wealthy burials in southern Britain include razors. However, these razors are not the indigenous forms found in the Bronze Age typologies, but Roman-type razors. Roman razors usually have an iron blade with a bronze handle. The blade has either a rounded, broad leaf-shape or has a single-edge with a dolphin-shaped terminal. The terminal ends tend to be decorated with zoomorphic shapes, much more like the razors found in Denmark during the Bronze Age than in the British Isles (see Figure 2.7) (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:34-35).

Other Personal Hygiene Paraphernalia in Prehistoric Europe

Tweezers

Tweezers are by far the most common personal hygiene paraphernalia associated with razors. In Scandinavia, tweezers and razors are considered a standard set for male burials during the Late Bronze Age (Sørensen 1989:459). This is exemplified by Grave 32 at Trappendal (Boysen and Andersen 1983:118-120, 121) as well as the oak-coffin

burial at Sortehøj (Randsborg et al. 2006:120). However by the beginning of the Pre-Roman Iron Age these sets disappear from the burial record (Sørensen 1989:473). Tweezers are also found in female graves in other parts of Europe whereas razors never are. It is unclear if tweezers are also found in women's graves in Scandinavia for most of the available information about tweezers is related to men's graves and "maleness". Still, the association between razors and tweezers as objects of hair removal suggests that tweezers and razors were used in tandem to complete the same tasks in Scandinavia.

Combs

Razors are not the only objects associated with personal hygiene. Combs of wood, bone, ivory, and bronze are found throughout the Bronze and Iron Age in northern Europe. Combs become more popular during the late Iron Age in both Scandinavia and the British Isles, particularly in the Early Roman Period (Sellvold 1984; Whimster 1981). However, there are few examples of razors and combs being found in the same archaeological contexts. One rare exception is the Nybøl oak-coffin burial from the Middle Bronze Age in Denmark, which contained both a comb with a razor and the body of an adult male (Randsborg et al. 2006:120). Although razors and combs are rarely found together, combs are found in male burials during the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia. The difference between male and female burials with combs is that females tend to have the combs attached to their person whereas men do not (Bergerbrant 2008:63). In fact, the oak-coffin burial from Middle Bronze Age Muldbjerg, Denmark included the preserved hair of a man that was swept back and parted in the middle (Bergerbrant 2008:63; Glob 1970:78). However, since many combs are made out of organic material (i.e. wood, bone, horn) it is possible that more male

graves did include combs that have decayed, leaving no remains in the archaeological record.

Awls/Needles

Other artifact categories that are associated with razors are awls and perforated needles, many of which have been interpreted as tattooing needles (Müller 1897). In fact Broholm suggests that a number of Bronze Age examples of awls in male graves may have been used for the purpose of tattooing (Broholm 1946:99). In her examination of cosmetic grinders, Carr discusses a bone needle from Dragonby, England, whose points are stained with a dark dye, possibly evidence for tattooing in this area of northern Europe. She suggests that the association between awls/needles and razors/tweezers could be related to hair removal before the tattooing or body paint was be applied (Carr 2005:281-282, see below). Although the technology of permanent marking of the body was readily available (as seen in the "Ötzi" tattoos and the bodies found in the permafrost at Pazyryk that were decorated with elaborate designs, including animals, tattooed on the bodies of Scythians from the steppes) (McIntosh 2006:339-340), there is little to no direct evidence of tattooing in northern Europe either in the Bronze Age or the Iron Age (Harding 2008:192). Still, we can assume that it was part of the suite of body modification options available.

Cosmetic Grinders

Cosmetic grinders, also known as cosmetic sets, are found predominantly in Britain during the late Iron Age and the Roman period and illustrate another shift in hygiene paraphernalia. These objects were originally interpreted as amulets or other adornments. Ralph Jackson (1985, 2010) was the first to realize that these objects were

mortar and pestle sets. The cosmetic grinders are made of metal, usually bronze, cast in a "boat-" or "canoe-shape" (Figure 2.8). There is a grooved channel running through the mortar and the pestle has a slightly curved end that fits into this channel and usually shares at least two decorative characteristics with the matching mortar.

Figure 2.8: Cosmetic Grinders (Carr 2005:275).

Most of these cosmetic sets date to the first and second centuries AD. They are primarily found in the Britain, with a few found in Brittany. Due to their style and context these artifacts are thought to have originated in the late pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain, but they are used throughout the Roman occupation (Jackson 1985:175-176). It is possible that the cosmetic grinders were suspended from a ring on the bottom from a belt, possibly visually signaling some type of status or identity within the community (Jackson 1985:176). This feature is one they share with some razors which were similarly "bound to the body" and probably played an active role in the construction of individual identity. In the few known contexts, cosmetic grinders are usually accompanied by other toilet instruments, such as tweezers and nail clearers, as at the St. Albans site (Jackson 1985:171). Unfortunately most of the sets in museum collections were isolated or early finds without clear archaeological context.

Jackson thought that it was unlikely that the cosmetic used in the mortars was fat-based or liquid due to the shape and depth of the grooved channel in the mortars (1985:172). He suggested that a mineral-based substance could be made into a powder

and used on the face or eyes. The slender curve of the pestle would lend itself especially well to being used as an applicator for the eyelashes and brows (Jackson 1985:172). However, Gillian Carr believes the function and use of the cosmetic sets might have changed through time with Roman influences and changing Celtic identities (2005:287).

Carr examines the possibility that the cosmetic grinders were used in tattooing and resistance to Roman rule. Carr critiques Jackson's interpretation of the cosmetic grinders being used for only a "Roman"-style face and eye paint, without consideration of the indigenous functions of the cosmetic grinders, since the grinders clearly did not originate in the Roman world and were made in a non-Classical style. She lists five critiques of Jackson's interpretations: first, the cosmetic grinders are found only in Britain; second, the Romans had their own tools for grinding cosmetics; third the grinders are made in a variety of styles, which is not a Roman feature; fourth they are made in a native Romano-British style; and finaly, a few grinders date to before the Roman Conquest (Carr 2005:274).

Carr argues that the grinders were used for tattooing or painting the body with indigo based on a number of Classical sources that describe the Britons as painting their bodies in some way, usually with a blue or dark color. To get the dark blue color, Carr suggests that woad, a plant brought to the British Isles centuries earlier, could have been used. Woad also has anti-bacterial properties and could make wounds on the battlefield less susceptible to infection and less painful if the body was covered with woad or woad was used to staunch bleeding. Claudian describes the people of Britain as being "marked by iron" while Tacitus' asserts that every man wore the decorations he had earned on his body (Carr 2005:279). If woad was used to stanch bleeding, the wound would have

turned blue. However this could also imply that tattooing was mainly a mark of heroism in battle, perhaps with or without the blue colored battle scars rather than a practice involving selected imagery.

Carr then looks at some of the ritual importance and possible spirituality associated with the use of woad in ceremonies. Due to woad's anti-bacterial properties along with the rich color produced, the plant could have been used as a way to protect the wearer from harm in battle or in life. Carr then looks at Classical accounts of Britons painting their bodies blue, and suggests that the use of a woad vat would have been the best way to get the desired effect. The indigo dye binds to the proteins of the skin, but needs to be exposed to the air to turn the indigo color. A person submerged in a woad vat would need to expose the indigo dye to the air for a few minutes before the body would turn the desired blue color; thus emphasizing and perhaps adding to the perception of the magical properties of woad. Furthermore, the use of cosmetic grinders, as opposed to the use of fingers, for grinding, mixing, and applying the indigo color would add to the special, magical properties of woad indigo. The person applying the indigo dye would be unlikely to "contaminate" the dye with their skin or waste the indigo powder (Carr 2005:276-277).

Carr then looks at the possible changes in the use of the cosmetic grinders through time. She suggests that the use of indigo powder would have been tightly controlled by a few individuals; coupled with the low yield of the woad plant, the individuals chosen to be tattooed or painted would not have been random. The cosmetic grinders found are usually in burial contexts. Carr suggests that the only "safe" way to dispose of the grinders was to take them out of circulation by burying them with powerful individuals,

perhaps the tattooists or persons with the right to wear tattoos. Tattooing at the beginning of Roman rule could have been an act of resistance to Roman cultural norms and a way to show the identity of the individual as belonging to the indigenous population. Tattoos also could have been perceived as badges of courage applied in a rite of passage; a person brave enough to go through tattooing could make a good warrior. After the Roman Conquest, the gender identity associated with the cosmetic grinders might have shifted from men (or both genders) to women. The cosmetic grinders are similar to the grinders used by Roman women and could have shown the acceptance of native British people of a "creolized" Romano-British identity (Carr 2005:284-286). Carr's explanation of the shifting identities of the Britons to a "creolized" identity and suggests a fluidity of identity may have existed even if artifacts appear static. Carr demonstrates how personal hygiene paraphernalia use could change through time due to the cultural need to change physical signals relate to identity. If these tattoos were on the face or scalp, the hair would have to be removed regularly to reveal or add them at different moments over the course of an individuals' life span.

Toiletry Sets and Roman Influence on Hygiene

The expansion of the Roman Empire into continental Europe influenced areas beyond its borders. During the Iron Age, Roman cultural norms and values infiltrated indigenous cultural concepts whether forcibly by conquering an area or by osmosis through new trade routes and interactions with neighboring communities. New types of personal hygiene paraphernalia were introduced into northern Europe, especially in the British Isles during the late Iron Age. Mirrors become popular items in female burials

and in votive deposits, the latter usually in watery contexts beginning in the late first century BC and the early first century AD (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:31).

The Romans also brought new hygiene paraphernalia with them, including shears, toilet knives, and toiletry sets (Figure 2.9). Shears were a single piece of metal with a semicircular loop linking the two blades together allowing the blades to spring apart after being pinched together. Most Iron Age shears are found in elite male burials or as single finds during the late Iron Age in Britain. Little Amwell is an example of a high status Iron Age burial that included shears (Whimster 1981:375). Many of these shears are found with Roman razors or knives and weapons. Researchers highlight the fact that with the reemergence of Roman-style razors, an increase in tweezers is seen in burials, and the introduction of shears highlights the importance of grooming and maintaining hair in Roman Britain (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:35-36). Furthermore, Celtic elites had long hair (both men and women) whereas Roman men wore their hair short. Shears in a grave, like razors, signal a degree of alignment of the deceased with Roman fashion and possibly identity.

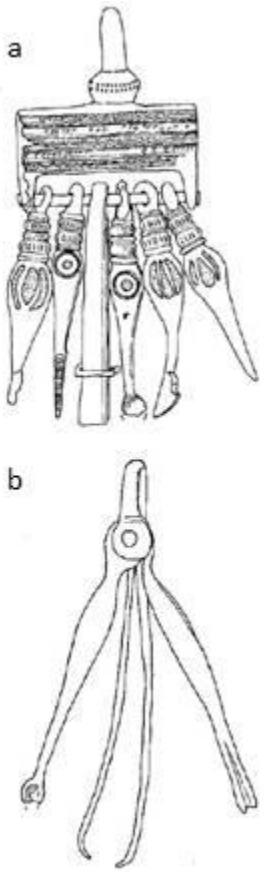

Figure 2.9: Toiletry Sets with Shackle and Bar from Britain
a) Castleford (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:120)
b) Scole (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:121).

Just before the Roman incursion into southern Britain (AD 43), toiletry sets start to appear in elite burials (Figure 2.9). These sets include personal hygiene paraphernalia

such as nail-cleaners, tweezers, and ear-scoops linked together with a loop of metal. These toiletry sets can include two types of hygiene paraphernalia or several different types of the same hygiene paraphernalia category. Pre-conquest burials show that predominantly adult male burials often contained toiletry sets while post-conquest burials show both adult female and male burials with toiletry sets. Eckardt and Crummy believe that these toiletry sets were a visible sign of status (2008:91), since it would have been possible to suspend them from an article of clothing such as a belt, much like the razors. According to Eckardt and Crummy, the toiletry sets would not have been shown in public, but the result would have been apparent to the community. Post-conquest, miniature replicas of toiletry sets started to appear on brooches called *chatelaine brooches*. These brooches would have signaled the individual wearer's status by providing a proxy for the real toiletry sets they used in private (Eckardt and Crummy 2008:91). These toiletry sets highlight the continuing importance of grooming hair and nails through the late Iron Age.

"Maleness" in Northern Europe from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age

What it meant to be gendered "male" in the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe is unknown. Although maleness and masculinity both describe the culturally ascribed attributes of being male, they have two different definitions. Maleness is defined as the physical and psychological manifestation of a male being (Akbar 1991), while masculinity is defined as consisting of the culturally ascribed attributes, actions, speech, and dress that are associated with and performed by males (Connell 1995:21). There is also an intersectionality between status, kinship, race/group, and age that create a specific type of masculinity. Much of the evidence of prehistoric European masculinity

comes from burials, grave goods, and more rarely iconography. Therefore our understanding of masculinity at this time is limited to the sparse burial record and revolves around the knowledge of only a certain status category of males within these communities, typically elites who are more visible due to the number and type of objects buried with them than "ordinary" men.

The "warrior package" in northern Europe in the Bronze and Iron Ages is associated with weapons, personal hygiene paraphernalia, drinking and feasting equipment, and horse trappings (Kaul 2013:468; Terherne 1995). Although none of these object categories on their own (apart from the razor) communicate a strictly "male" identity and many of the same objects can be found in high status female burials, it is the combination of these objects that creates an identity of maleness (i.e. thing depends on other things [TT] in Hodder's equation). Masculinity, while continuing to be closely associated with weaponry, horse trappings, and drinking and feasting equipment, changes its association with personal hygiene paraphernalia at the beginning of the Iron Age. Razors in particular are no longer found in burials and hoards in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia in the Iron Age, although "warrior" graves are still present (Stead 1991:80 and 194). However, the "warrior package" Terherne describes (1995) is only associated with a few select men of the community and does not necessarily represent the concepts of masculinity applied to most of the population.

Several distinct object categories are gendered male in northern Europe in prehistory. In Bronze Age Denmark, Janet Levy found clear gender associations with certain objects found in hoards and burials. Swords, helmets, spears, and decorated axes are associated with men while elaborate belt ornaments, earrings, and hollow bronze

tubes (most likely decorating the fringes of a skirt) are female (Levy 1999:65). Levy also found that most exotic and imported metal objects are associated with males, which might imply male control over long-distance trade (Levy 1999:65-66).

This strict gendering of objects can be found as early as the Mesolithic and Neolithic in Scandinavia. The Danish Bell Beaker phenomenon (c.2350-1950 BC) shows a direct association between male cremation burials and finely knapped bifacial lanceolate flint daggers, reflecting both maleness and status or role (Figure 2.10). These daggers are found in particularly high numbers in Norway and western Sweden and come in a variety of different qualities and stages of production (Sarauw 2009:23). Several types of flint daggers are found not only in burials but also in hoards (Sarauw 2009:32). However it is only the oversize and high quality flint daggers that are strictly associated with male identity whereas the smaller lower quality daggers were probably used by both men and women (Sarauw 2009:40). The flint daggers are linked to the display of social identities, with particular emphasis on male identity and masculinity. It has been argued that the flint daggers along with the start of Danish archer burials with multiple arrows and wristgaurds represent an idealized male identity associated with

Figure 2.10: Flint dagger from Hindsgavl, Denmark (c. 2000 BC) (Cunliffe 2008:215).

war-like activities (Sarauw 2009:24). This practice of gendering objects continues through prehistory and well into the Middle Ages in Scandinavia (Williams and Sayer 2009:6).

As seen above, the gendering of objects as male or female has a long tradition in Danish prehistory. The knowledge of how masculinity was constructed in Britain and Ireland in the Bronze Age is more limited. Still, elite male burials were also consistently associated with weapons throughout prehistory in Britain, Ireland, and southern Scandinavia. The weapon types change (from bows and arrows and axe heads in the Early Bronze Age to swords, shields, and spear heads in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages), but the association between maleness and weaponry is well documented (Bergerbrant 2008:104; Cunliffe 2004; Glob 1970; Harding 2000; Treherne 1995). Although the use of razors to mark this elite "warrior" masculinity changed in the Iron Age in northern Europe, the most prevalent burial data show that these elite men were involved in some type of warfare which had a strong tie to their masculine identity.

However, the understanding of masculinity and "maleness" in most cases in European prehistory is focused on a single status category. Our understanding of the male "warrior" or "elite" is partially due to the available archaeological evidence and the greater visibility of these individuals within the archaeological record. Although it is possible that this was the primary concept of masculinity during this time in prehistory, we must also consider that there might have been other concepts of masculinity that are not expressed as explicitly in the archaeological record. For the purposes of this thesis, we cannot therefore assume that all males shaved part or all of their facial hair to signal "maleness" but rather that razors were used to signal a specific type of masculinity.

Burial Traditions, Hoards and Selective Deposition of Objects in Northern Europe from the Mesolithic/Neolithic to the Iron Age

The ways that the people of northern Europe disposed of human remains and objects in votive deposits changed considerably over time. Some archaeologists have also theorized that the types of deposition of the body as well as the locations of objects associated with the body represented the community's understanding of self, status, and gender. Richard Bradley argues that most objects found in hoards and burials are similar in kind (1990:91). He suggests that burials functioned much like hoards or votive deposits, in the sense that all objects placed in burials and hoards are intentionally taken out of circulation. Although Bradley concedes that an object could be appropriate in one set of circumstances and inappropriate in another, he does not believe that the distinction between grave goods and hoard objects is clear-cut (1990:94). Most archaeologists have examined such objects in relation to the body and status, focusing on the "exotic" nature of pieces that imply the identity of the individual buried. However, some archaeologists have challenged this hypothesis. Peter Wells asserts that the objects in burials do not display the deceased individual's identity but reflect the values of the community in Iron Age Europe (2012:135). According to Wells, "the reason that so many of the objects that were placed in graves are so stunning visually and the reason their arrangement was so carefully attended to is that the whole frame and structure and content of the burial and the ceremony were calculated to serve the purposes of the community" (2012:135). He states that the arrangement of objects in the burial by the surviving community represents a diagram of the social system of the community (2012:135). The idea of burials as a social diagram was first examined by Anne Villard (1993).

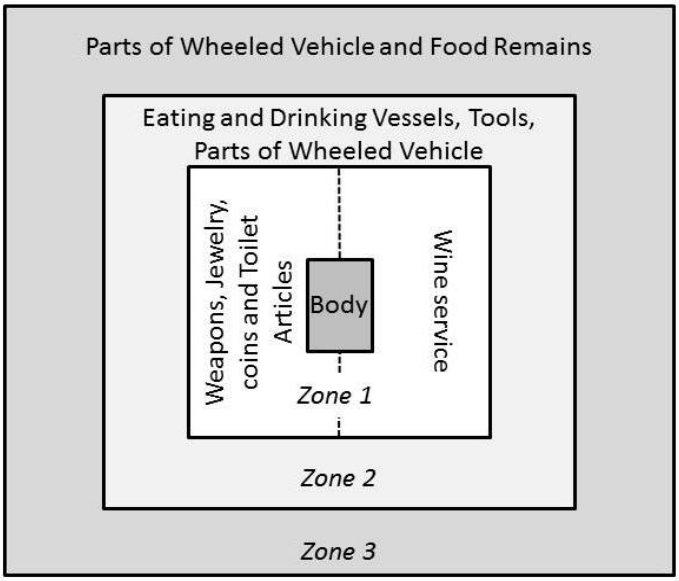

Figure 2.11: Villard's arrangement of grave goods (cited in Wells 2012:136).

Villard examined the arrangement of grave goods in Late Iron Age Gaul and discovered that there were three concentric zones moving out from the body at the center (Figure 2.11). In one half of the first zone, weapons, jewelry, coins and toilet paraphernalia are found, while the other half includes a wine service. The second zone includes eating and drinking vessels (different from the wine service), tools, and parts of wheeled vehicle with amphorae on the periphery. In the third and last zone, food remains and parts of the wheeled vehicle are present (Villard 1993:264). For Wells, this model can be used to illustrate the way the objects found in burials that were not associated with each other in everyday life could "tell us important things about links between ideas in the minds of the members of the community" (2012:136).

Wells' concept of burials as diagrams of the community's values and ordering of the world is an interesting approach to some prehistoric burial practices, but it does not account for all of them. For example, the fishing tackle placed on the chest of the body in the Early Iron Age Hochdorf burial has long been interpreted as personal items that might have reflected an activity the deceased enjoyed in life (Olivier 1999:126). Laurent Oliver examines the burial goods of the Hochdorf from the perspective of the temporality of the

grave goods as well as their physical distance from the body. He describes three periods of time, correlation with distance form the physical remains:

> Period 1 "Objects belonging to the deceased during his life-time, including sometimes objects which did not belong to the deceased, which were inherited or passed on, but from one or several earlier periods" (On or near the body)
>
> Period 2 "Objects introduced, transformed or manipulated between the death of the corpse and the installation of the corpse and grave goods into the grave" (Near the body)
>
> Period 3 "Objects introduced, transformed or manipulated at the moment of the setting up of the grave" (Farthest away from the body) (Olivier 1999:126)

Although it is not the deceased who ultimately decides what they are buried with, that should not imply that only the survivors' community identity is expressed, excluding the deceased's personal identity. Olivier states:

> "If the selection of these objects is connected to different moments in a process which begins during the life of the deceased, and is prolonged until after his death, then the grave goods do not have just a single, unique, significance in their relationship with the deceased. The role assigned to the objects changes from the time when they were possessed or used, to the moment during which they are consigned to the grave. These transformations are manifest in the manipulations or modifications to the grave goods after the death of their owner" (1999:127).

Olivier argues that to completely understand the individual's status or identity it is important to examine "the entire process of the history of the funerary assemblage, from its beginning to its end" (1999:127). Olivier's study of the Hochdorf tumulus gives a richer understanding of the creation of a high status burial by analyzing the different temporalities of grave good acquisition and the creation of the tumulus. In this study, Olivier makes a strong case for the importance of understanding the different scales of time that are part of the deposition of the body and the grave goods. This shows that

razors, as highly personal objects that might have been used throughout an individual's life, could have been seen as "bound to the body" in Iron Age burials and possibly even Bronze Age burials. Many razors are found either on the body or close to the cremated remains in burials; there are several examples of razors being placed inside the urn (e.g. Winterslow, Englang urn burial) with the cremated remains and some show evidence of possibly going through a funeral pyre (Kavanagh 1991:78)

Hoards and votive deposits might be similar to burials in that they remove objects from circulation, but it should not be assumed that all such objects were deposited for the same reasons. Throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages there are examples of natural spaces being used for votive deposits; however, the meanings behind these deposits would probably have changed with the community's needs and the purpose behind the ritual. Although votive deposits are found in similar contexts for over a thousand years, Bradley warns against assuming the continuation of meaning behind the ritual. He argues that "the deposition of votive offerings in watery locations is evidenced over a long period of time, but may have been utilized in very different ways from one period to the next, so that what started as an informal transaction between the living and the gods was transformed into one of the central political activities in prehistoric society" (1990:202). The definitions of these sites are based not only on the location, but on the objects that are found both singly and as assemblages.

Bogs are one of the ritually significant areas where multiple types of artifacts were deposited in many time periods. Votive deposits have been found in such places, usually close to where bog bodies are found (Kelly 2006). There has been some difficulty differentiating between votive deposits for ritual purposes and economic

hoards. One of the defining features of votive compared to economic deposits is that deposits for ritual purposes are found in specialized places, such as lakes, rivers, bogs, burial mounds, and deep pits, and contain a high number of weapons, ornamentation, and ceremonial objects (Bradley 1990:14). Bog sites in Scandinavia, Britain, and Ireland were used for a few generations or once, but the same place was never used over a long period of time. One example is a ditch in Toftum where whole pottery vessels were smashed intentionally (Bradley 1990:61).

Many of these deposits contain objects that were "ritually killed", meaning that they were broken or destroyed before being deposited. The destruction of the objects might have kept people from looting the material at a later time and thus ensured that the objects would remain in their original place and not be used by any other living person.

Burial Practices and Indicators of "Maleness"

From the start of the Late Neolithic, the Bell-Beaker phenomenon was the characteristic burial and ceramic complex of northern Europe (see above). This burial tradition involved a single inhumation usually associated with a ceramic type of beaker. Other popular types of grave goods included status items such as archers' equipment (arrows and wristguards), daggers of copper, bronze, or flint, stone axes, and personal adornment (amber beads, gold, or jet beads). This type of mortuary assemblage is popular until about 1300 BC and reflects a martial character associated with males and maleness (Cunliffe 2008:203, 210).

During the third and second millennia BC, an elite category of person began to emerge in some areas of Europe. Many of the elite burials of Wessex, England are dated between c. 2000 and 1400 BC, paralleling the adoption of the Beaker single inhumation

rite in other areas. Scandinavia also sees an increase in high status graves (as represented by the ceremonial flint daggers) at this time. With the adoption of the single inhumation burial rite as well as the introduction of bronze and metalworking, southern Scandinavia, Britain, and Ireland enter into the Early Bronze Age. However, cremation remained the dominant practice in northern Britain and Ireland at this time (Harding 2000:111)

The appearance of burial mounds marks the beginning of the Tumulus phase or Middle Bronze Age in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. Southern Scandinavia starts a unique practice of oak-coffin burials at this time (Period II and III; c. 1400-950 BC). Oak tree trunks were hollowed out and the bark scraped off to create coffins, usually for high status individuals; due to the tannic acid in the wood, this preserved material that would otherwise have decomposed, including the physical remains of the deceased (Glob 1970). Due to the exceptional preservation of organic material in a number of these oak-coffin burials, organic parts of the costumes the individuals were buried with have survived as well as several examples of hair and nails, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4. The burial from Egtved in Denmark is a good example; the skirt, woolen shirt, and belt of a young woman survived along with the woolen blanket that covered her (Cunliffe 2008:211-215). Many of the central burials of older males include woolen caps, among others the burials at Lille Dragshøj, Borum Eshøj and Trindhøj (Glob 1970: 23, 27, 38). According to Bergerbrant, the caps were a symbol of status and/or age for the men (2008:114), which begs the question if there were other perishable costume elements that signaled different categories of masculinity that are not usually preserved in the archaeological record?

After c. 1300 BC (the Late Bronze Age) in northern Europe, there is a change in burial tradition in this region. During this time, trade routes changed, affecting the interactions between Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. Britain and Ireland became part of the "Atlantic Bronze Age system", which included the Iberian Peninsula through the Atlantic coast of France to Britain and Ireland (Cunliffe 2008:231). At the same time, Scandinavia is characterized by the "Nordic Bronze Age" cultural complex. However, there were similarities between these areas; the warrior elite complex dominated the Late Bronze Age across Europe (Treherne 1995) and there was a shift from inhumation to cremation during this time throughout this region. Bodies were burned on a funeral pyre, the ashes and bones were collected, then buried in an urn in a cemetery. This was the start of the "Urnfield Culture" (Cunliffe 2008:231-258). There was also a decrease in the number of large burial monuments along with a decrease in elaborate grave goods (Bradley 1990:98).

At the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 600 BC), the "Atlantic Bronze Age system" broke down, leaving Britain and Ireland more isolated, which resulted in a new regionalism. However, the British Isles did have trade connections with northern France and the Netherlands (Cunliffe 2008:300). The Nordic Zone also witnessed increased regionalization as the Bronze Age trade routes broke down. The elaborate burials are no longer seen. There is also a shift from Denmark as the political and economic center to the northern coast of Poland (Cunliffe 2008:301). Later in the Iron Age, Scandinavia relied more on local iron sources and started to look more inward. This is also seen in the lack of exotic goods during this time as well as a decrease in luxury items found in burials (Cunliffe 2008:349). It is not until the Early Roman Period in Scandinavia (c. 1 to

200 AD) that there is an intensification of luxury goods. Although the Romans never conquered Scandinavia, Roman exotic goods became popular elite trade items there. At this time there was also a shift back to inhumation in cemeteries. This included an increase in grave goods, especially metal and exotic items (Sellevold et al. 1984).

The burial practices during the Iron Age in Britain and Ireland are not well documented. Based on the partial and complete skeletons found in the Danebury Iron Age cemetery, Wait (1985) calculated that only five percent of the population is represented in the archaeological record. Gillian Carr and Christopher Knüsel (1997:168) suggest that four-post structures found in the middle of fortified towns were used to expose bodies of the dead for excarnation. The popular interpretation is that the bodies were exposed to the elements (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Chadwick 2012; Cunliffe 1974:316; Shepland and Armit 2012:101-02). Carr and Knüsel believe that these four-post structures were not used for storage, but as platforms for the dead (1997). Nearly all the sites with four-post structures, including Danebury, produced whole or partial skeletons. Furthermore, at Danebury pits with disarticulated bones are found throughout the site, but they occur more frequently near the four-post structures (Carr and Knüsel 1997:168). Whether or not these structures were used for excarnation, inhumation become prevalent again during the middle Iron Age in the British Isles (Bradley 1990:161).

Hoards and Selective Deposition of Masculine Objects

The first hoards start in the Neolithic, as seen in the flint dagger hoards of the period in Denmark and the Netherlands (Sarauw 2009). Once metal was introduced in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia, hoards and votive deposits began to become more

widespread and extensive. It is assumed that these deposits of wealth were offerings to chthonic deities placed in rock crevices or thrown into lakes, rivers, or bogs. The depositions increased dramatically in the British Isles, Ireland, and Scandinavia through the late Bronze Age (Cunliffe 2008:235).

During the Bronze Age there was a clear association between weaponry and watery locations. However, axes become less important in watery locations at the end of the period and are increasingly found in dry-land hoards. Also at this time a decrease in grave goods, is accompanied by an increase in metalwork deposits in watery contexts. In Scandinavia and neighboring areas, bogs were the main deposit contexts as opposed to Britain and Ireland, where most votive deposits are found in rivers and lakes. In Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia, there is a decline in the percentage of weaponry and an increase in ornaments in the course of the Late Bronze Age (Bradley 1990:97-98). This shift away from weaponry, a male category of object, to ornament, a "female" category of object, might suggest increased involvement of women in votive deposition overtime (Bradley 1990:122).

A new type of hoard first appears in the Late Bronze Age, the "founder's hoard". This type of hoard is found on dry land and tends to include more broken weapons and tools than other hoards. "Founder's hoards" also may include metalworking residue, such as slag and ingots (Bradley 1990:118). Bradley suggests that this type of hoard might not have been ritual, but was meant to keep valuable metal safe from thieves and was intended to be easily retrieved (1990:118). However, there is not enough evidence to determine whether or not "founder's hoards" were strictly economic and "non-ritual" or if they may have had a ritual character.

The start of the Iron Age saw a decrease in hoards and votive deposits in Scandinavia and the British Isles (mirroring the decrease in elaborate burials at this time) (Bradley 1990:160; Cunliffe 2008:301). The lack of evidence for the destruction or disposal of wealth suggests that the Nordic Zone became more egalitarian, with small villages focused on agriculture. In southern Scandinavia, the increase in bog bodies is accompanied by as decrease in metalwork deposits, but an increase in pottery, foodstuffs, and animal deposits is also seen. As in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland saw a decrease in metalwork deposits in rivers and an increase in animal remains on dry land in the early Iron Age. It is not until the late Iron Age that deposition of fine artifacts especially metalwork resumes (Bradley 1990:161).

An environmental change may have had an effect on hoards and votive deposits as well. Around 600 BC, the European climate changed to become colder and wetter. Nutrients leeched out of the soil faster, which led to a loss of agricultural fertility of the land and an expansion of bog land (Cunliffe 2008:349). Soon after the change in climate, two major changes in hoards and votive depositions occur in Scandinavia.

Starting around 500 BC there are a number of hoards of weapons found in watery contexts in Denmark. These large hoards of weapons are thought to be war booty given as tribute to deities following a victory or to safely deposit the enemies' "polluted" weaponry (Fontijn 2008:151). An example is the Hjortspring hoard (dated c. 500 BC) which contained a vessel, described as a "war canoe", filled with 10 or more coats of iron ring mail, 64 wood shields, 11 single-edged iron swords, 169 spearheads and various small objects of bronze or wood. The emphasis on war booty might imply a new culture of raiding neighboring communities or a more symbolic deposition of weapons (Cunliffe

2008: 349-351). The second change in votive deposition is the increase in the deposition of bog bodies.

Bog Bodies and Other Preservation of Head and Facial Hair in the Archaeological Record

There is little information in the burial record about personal appearance that does not leave traces on the skeleton, and even less on how one's appearance might have been used to mark social identities, relationships, or roles in society. There are few examples of preserved hair in Bronze and Iron Age European contexts. The best evidence comes from the bog bodies of northern Europe, most of which date to the Iron Age (c. 400 BC-300 AD) (Glob 1965 and 1970; Green 2001; Kelly 2006; Turner and Scaife 1995). These bodies were deposited in bogs where the lack of oxygen in the environment slows or stops decay of certain organic materials, such as skin and hair (Glob 1965 and 1970; Kelly 2006). Bog bodies are found throughout northern Europe starting in the Neolithic; however, it is not until the Iron Age that they become more prevalent in the archaeological record. The Iron Age increase in bog bodies is seen in Britain and Ireland as well, but Denmark has the largest number of bog bodies of any European country, most dating to the Iron Age (Turner et al. 1995) (Table 2.2). There is also a change in how the bodies are deposited in the archaeological record. In Britain and Ireland, most of the Neolithic finds consist of parts of individuals, usually the cranium or the mandible; however, during the Iron Age, most bog bodies include the whole body (with a few exceptions) (Turner et al. 1995). The use of human remains in ritual deposition and the decrease in metal deposits (with the exception of war booty hoards in Scandinavia) reflects a drastic change in ritual practices and wealth disposal during the Iron Age.

Table 2.2: Preserved Hair of Bog Bodies					
	Dated	Location	Cause of Death	Hair	Photograph
Cashel Man	2000 BC	Ireland	Broken arm and cut on back (possibly held down with wooden stakes)	Short head hair	
Clonycavan Man	392-210 BC	Ireland	Blows to the top of the head and to face (axe?)	"Mohawk" hair style; no facial hair	
Tollund Man	375-210 BC	Denmark	Hanged	Short head hair; clean shaven; manicured nails	
Old Croghan Man	362-175 BC	Ireland	Disembowel-ed and dismembered	Manicured nails	
Elling Woman	c. 280 BC	Denmark	Hanged	Intricate hair style	
Lindow Man	2 BC-119 AD	England	Blows to the head, strangulation, and stabs to the neck and chest	Short head hair; mustache	
Windeby Boy	c. 100 AD	Germany	Unclear (possibly drowned)	Short head hair (possibly shaved one half of head); no facial hair	

These burials are considered distinctively different from other types of disposal due to their interment in bog contexts and the frequent evidence of a violent death. The lack of oxygen in the bog stops the decomposition of skin and hair, so the bodies as well as other organic material, such as textiles, leather, and inorganic metal, are well preserved. It is this unique preservation and the circumstances of deposition that make bog bodies important for understanding Iron Age society.

Many of these individuals were killed just before their placement in the bog. There are a number of different types of injuries found on the bodies; the most prevalent causes of death are stab wounds, severed throat, strangulation, or drowning. A small number of bodies appear to have been killed "three times", usually by cutting the throat, strangulation, and/or drowning. It is assumed that the bodies were killed at the place of their "interment" in the bog. A study of the environment around the site where Oldcroghan Man (Figure 2.12) was found demonstrated that he was placed in a naturally occurring water pool in Oldcroghan Co., Ireland soon after death (Plunkett et al. 2009:275). Due to the incredible preservation of most bog bodies, it has been assumed that they were quickly placed in the bog after death, which may imply that victims were often killed at the bog site. Many of the bog bodies are found with sticks, ropes, or hurdles holding the body down; in the case of Oldcroghan man, withies, ropes made of twisted twigs, were passed through his upper arms (Kelly 2002, 2006).

Figure 2.12: Oldcroghan Man (Kelly 2006:235).

Bog bodies do not appear to be gender or age specific; men, women, and children have all been found in bogs. The status of these individuals is difficult to determine; one reason is the general lack of burial goods placed with the bodies and the second is the unique nature of their death and interment, which implies that these deaths cannot be compared to "normal" burials. There is some evidence that both recent finds in Ireland, Clonycavan (Figure 2.13) and Oldcroghan, were men of high status. Clonycavan man was found with a unique hairstyle, much like a Mohawk, that was created using gel from the Iberian Peninsula. Clonycavan Man, Oldcroghan Man, and Tollund Man from Denmark all had well-manicured finger nails, which researchers argue implies that they were high status individuals who did not do hard labor (Kelly 2002, 2006: 26). These men might have been chosen because of their association with a warrior elite identity or ther connection to a "royal" lineage.

Figure 2.13: Clonycavan Man (Kelly 2006:234).

As stated above, many of the places bog bodies are found are associated with hoards and votive deposits. The act of destroying, or "ritually killing", an object could be connected with the placement of the bog bodies. Both the objects found in votive deposits and the bodies were often killed, literally and figuratively, before being placed in

these deposits. In this sense, bog bodies may have been viewed as another type of votive deposit.

Kelly has argued that bog bodies and other votive deposits might have been used to establish and reaffirm tribal boundaries. While examining the locations of bog bodies in Ireland, he (2006, 2012) noticed that they fell on or close to early medieval barony boundaries. Further analysis revealed that many of the barony boundaries coincided with ancient tribal boundaries. Clonycavan Man was found at the conjunction of three baronies, for example. Four other bog bodies dated to the Iron Age in Ireland fit the pattern, with up to forty possible finds located on these ancient boundaries. Many of the finds are parts of people that Kelly suggests were severed from the body to be placed on the border at different places, as in the case of Oldcroghan Man. Other finds match the same pattern; votive deposits of weapons, horse trappings, personal adornment, drinking vessels and tools usually related to farming are often found on or near tribal boundaries (Kelly 2006, 2012); the bodies and some objects reflect a highly ritualistic preparation of male victims that included hair removal.

Other examples of preserved hair are found in association with rituals and burials in Iron Age Europe, such as the braid of hair found outside the looted chamber of the Hohmichele tumulus in Germany ca. 600 BC (Arnold 1991:44), or the presence of a braid of hair found in a Danish bog (Treherne 1995:126). These have been interpreted as mourning or ritual offerings. Some of the earliest examples of preserved hair come from the early Bronze Age cremation urn at Winderslow, England; the hair found in the urn along with a razor originally was thought to be eyebrow hair from several individuals (Stoves 1948:126-127), although newer studies suggest that the hair was facial hair cut

off so that neither roots nor tips were present (Kavanagh 1991:86). Either way, it illustrates that hair removal was a part of mortuary ritual early on in European prehistory. Several of the oak-coffin burials in Denmark during the early Bronze Age include preserved hair, showing that most of the men interred were clean-shaven when buried (Kaul 2013:468; Treherne 1995:121). With only a few examples of prehistoric hair recovered in prehistoric Europe, archaeologists have used hygiene paraphernalia to interpret the role of personal appearance and hygiene during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Summary

The literature on razors and other hygiene paraphernalia is very extensive; however, it typically only catalogues the known examples of each category as opposed to examining the objects within their contexts. Only a few researchers have engaged with the topic of "maleness" and masculinity in prehistoric Europe and their work has tended to focus on only a few high status individuals. The association of maleness with weapons, feasting, horses, and hygiene paraphernalia, particularly razors, is well documented but might only apply to a few individuals. Still, the association between elite maleness and razors is a long-lived and widespread phenomenon. The changes in razor deposition along with the changes in burial traditions, hoards, and votive deposits, seem to suggest a change in the association between razors and elite maleness over time, as the following discussion will show.

Chapter 3:

Methods

I have used a qualitative approach to examine direct evidence for body modification in northern Bronze and Iron Age Europe, focusing on hygiene equipment found in archaeological contexts (i.e. razors, tweezers, toiletry sets, combs, nail-cleaners, cosmetic sets) and bog bodies, as well as indirect evidence (emic or etic representations of the human body and etic written texts) for body modification such as hairstyles, facial hair and possibly scarification and/or tattooing. The abundance of razors in the archaeological record over a large geographic and temporal span is the reason this thesis focuses mainly on the removal and cutting of hair from the body and the association between hair and the construction or negation of identity. Because bronze razors are found throughout Europe from the early Bronze Age to the Roman Period, there are many examples in published site reports (Jansen 1984; Waddell 1990). In northern Europe indigenous texts and emic iconography (e.g., rock art) can also help in the analysis of razors as a part of the personal hygiene kit, as well as part of the warrior package, using Hodder's model of entanglement to contextualize Bronze and Iron Age European body modification.

Types of Evidence

Direct evidence

To achieve these goals, a select group of razors found in burial and other non-burial ritual contexts were examined (Table 3.1). Information on the razors comes from site reports and other published material. The site reports were chosen based upon the presence of razors, sufficiently detailed context information time period, and geographic area. Razors

documented in various contexts (i.e. burial, domestic, ritual/non-burial), within a specific temporal range and in particular geographic areas were subjected to a qualitative analysis to identity possible patterns and changes in use significance over time and through space. Evidence for the suspension of razors and their display on the body as symbols of identity, gender, and/or status was also emphasized.

The sample of an exclusively northern European form of direct evidence (bog bodies and oak-coffin burials) that illustrates the range of ways hair was modified by Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age northern Europeans to mark identity and potentially reveal ritual practices is presented in Table 3.1. The bog bodies chosen for this study were included for three reasons: 1) they are found within the geographic parameters of this study (i.e. Scandinavia, Britain, and Ireland); 2) the bodies show evidence for

Table 3.1: Bog Bodies Included in Analysis

	Dated	Age at Death	Location	Sex	Nail/Hair Modification
Cashel Man	2000 BC	Twenties	Ireland	Male	Short head hair
Clonycavan Man	392-210 BC	Early Twenties	Ireland	Male	"Mohawk" hair style; no facial hair
Tollund Man	375-210 BC	About 40	Denmark	Male	Short head hair; clean shaven; manicured nails
Old Croghan Man	362-175 BC	Unknown (due to missing head)	Ireland	Male	Manicured nails
Elling Woman	c. 280 BC	About 25	Denmark	Female	Intricate hair style
Grauballe Man	Late 3rd century BC	Thirties	Denmark	Male	Short head hair; clean shaven; manicured nails
Lindow Man	2 BC-119 AD	Mid-Twenties	England	Male	Short head hair; mustache
Windeby Boy	c. 100 AD	Adolescent (12-14)	Germany	Male	Short head hair (possibly shaved one half of head); no facial hair

modification of facial and/or head hair, whether in the form of styling or removal of hair and/or care for nails; and 3) they fall within the temporal parameters of this study (i.e. Bronze/Iron Age date). The selection of bog bodies also includes a range of sexes and ages to test whether hair removal was associated with a particular social category or age group. The bog bodies, along with other archaeological examples of preserved hair from the study area (Winterslow, England and the oak-coffin burials in Denmark), provide direct evidence of the cutting or removal of hair in different contexts and circumstances.

Indirect Evidence

The comparative cultural analysis focuses on ethnohistorical and ethnographic examples of hair used in rites of passage, identity marking, and ritual sacrifice. The ethnographic examples represent cultures with similar socio-political and/or subsistence strategies to those of Bronze and Iron Age northern Europeans. The ethnohistorical sources focus on two types: those found in the same geographical location but not temporally congruent and examples that coincide temporally but not geographically. A number of these sources come from Greek and Roman contexts and should be used cautiously. Many of the Greek written accounts of northern European cultures come from a time when the Greeks were concerned with creating a unified Greek identity, as opposed the individual city-states (Wells 2001:79), suggesting that creating a common Greek enemy was instrumental in uniting the city-states to fight the "barbarians". Similarly, the Roman author Livy used stories about northern Europeans to highlight the danger outside Rome's borders and "only the maintenance of traditional Roman values could save the city" (Wells 2008: 78-79). It is important when examining the Classical sources to "understand them as cultural constructions" (Wells 2008:105). These

Table 3.2: Written Sources Consulted in Thesis						
Author			Date	Culture being discussed	Description	Source
Name	Context	Source				
Homer	Greek	*Iliad*	760-710 BC	Greeks	Hair of mourners is placed on the deceased before burial	Treherne (1995:121)
Diodorus Siculus (from Poseidonius)	Greek	*Bibliotheca historica*	First century BC	Gaul	Facial hair different for different classes	Freeman (2002:26)
Caesar	Roman	*Gaulic Wars*	55-54 BC	Britons	Men wearing mustaches	Freeman (2002:66)
Unknown	Insular Celtic	*The Deeds of CúChulainn*	Eighth century AD (first written)	Celtic	Shaving of hair as a rite of passage for boys	Rees and Rees (1961:256 and 378)
Unknown	Insular Celtic	*Kulhwch and Olwen*	Twelfth century AD (first written)	Celtic	Shaving with a boar's tusk as a challenge before marriage	Rees and Rees (1961:262)
Unknown	Scandinavian	*Njál's Saga*	Unknown	Icelanders (Vikings)	Men have long beards and hair	Anonymous (1994)

examples of different uses of hair modification provide a range of different practices of hair removal. Insular sources were also examined for descriptions of facial or head hair and references to "maleness". Several scholars (Bradley 1990; Kelly 2002) postulate a possible carryover of prehistoric values of "maleness" into the Dark Ages in Britain and Ireland, which suggests that stories and myths as well as traditional practices recorded in

the Dark Ages might be able to inform the prehistoric archaeological record if used parsimoniously.

Iconographic evidence from both etic and emic sources was also examined (Tables 3.3 and 3.4). Many of the examples of representations of male facial and head hair modification date to the Iron Age. The emic examples were chosen because they present depictions of men both with and without facial hair (Figure 3.1). Some of the examples do not come from the geographic area of this study and will be discussed only as examples sharing the range of possibilities; the analysis focuses mainly on the emic examples found in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. However, these examples are limited due to the lack of published material focusing on these images in these geographic areas and the scanty archaeological record of such depictions.

The etic examples come primarily from Greek and Roman sources. Although the Greeks might not have had direct contact with northern prehistoric Europeans, the Romans were in more direct contact with these groups. These representations of Europeans must be understood within their historical context. Many of these images

Figure 3.1: Emic examples of different types of facial hair a) Boa Island Two-Faced Idols, Ireland (Kissane 1986:11) b) Bronze Ornament on vessel, Denmark (National Museum of Denmark website) c) Tricephalic Head, Ireland **(**Kissane 1986:13).

Table 3.3: Emic iconographic representations of male faces in Bronze and Iron Age Europe				
Object	Date	Location	Depiction	Source
Knowth Mace Head	3300-2800 BC	Knowth, Ireland	Man with slicked back hair and a beard	Kissane (1986:9)
Razor	Bronze Age	Zealand, Denmark	Man with no facial hair	Treherne (1995:105 and 129)
Gold Ring	Late 5th century BC	German Rhineland	Man with a mustache	Armit (2012:19)
Broddenbjerg Idol	535-520 BC	Broddenbierg, Denmark	Man with a pointed beard	National Museum of Denmark website
Beltany Stone Head	400 BC – 400 AD	Beltany, Ireland	Man with beard and mustache	Kissane (1986:11)
Tanderagee Idol	Iron Age	Tanderagee, Ireland	Man with mustache and beard	Kissane (1986:11)
Boa Island Two-Faced Idols	Iron Age	Boa Island, Ireland	Three men's faces with pointed breads	Kissane (1986:11)
Bronze Model of a Human Head	50-20 BC	Welwyn, Hertfordshire, England	Man with a mustache	British Museum website
Bronze Face Ornament on Vessel	1st century BC	Dejbjerg, Denmark	Man with a mustache	National Museum of Denmark website
Tricephalic Head	1st century BC	Corleck, Ireland	Three faces, clean-shaven and bald	Kissane (1986:13)
Bronze Face Ornament for a Shield	First half of 3rd century AD	Vimose, Denmark	Face of a man with mustache	Wells (2008:107)
Small Silver Man's Mask	4th century AD	Gudme, Denmark	Face of a man with a mustache	National Museum of Denmark website
Bronze Male Figure	3rd- 4th century AD	Bregnebjerg, Denmark	A god with mustache and pointed beard	National Museum of Denmark website
Flagon handle	Unknown	Basse-Yutz, Moselle, France	Man with a mustache	British Museum website

Table 3.4: Etic iconographic representations of male faces in Bronze and Iron Age Europe				
Object	Date	Culture, Location	Depiction	Source
The Dying Gaul, statue	c. 230-220 BC	Greek (Roman copy), Rome	Gaul with a mustache	Farris (2000:7)
Gaul Killing himself and his Wife, statue	c. 230-220 BC	Greek (Roman copy), Rome	Gaul with a mustache	Farris (2000:9)
Denarius (coin) with the head of captive Gaul.	48 BC	Roman, Unknown location	Barbarian captive with beard	British Museum website
Male prisoners on the Column of Marcus Aurelius	AD 193	Roman, Rome	Barbarians with large beards	Farris (2000:93)
Bronze appliqué	late 1st–2nd century AD	Roman, Unknown location	Barbarian with a beard	Metropolitan Museum of Art website

were used to show the triumph of Greek and Roman civilization over the "Other" of "barbarian" Europe (Farris 2001; Wells 2002:74). This "othering" of Europeans was often accomplished by representing them as physically distinct from Mediterranean groups and tended to highlight the differences between the Greeks and Romans and "barbarian" peoples (i.e. large beards and mustaches, torcs, pants, and nakedness).

Applying Theoretical Framework to Evidence

As discussed in Chapter 1, the theoretical framework used to approach the research questions focused on Ian Hodder's "entanglement theory" (2012). Based on Hodder's equation for entanglement (i.e. "Entanglement" = HT + TT + TH + HH) (2012:88) I have used a matrix to represent the four different relationships that make up cultural entanglement and the relationships between things and humans and among things and humans (Figure 3.2). Examining these relationships provides a more systematic way

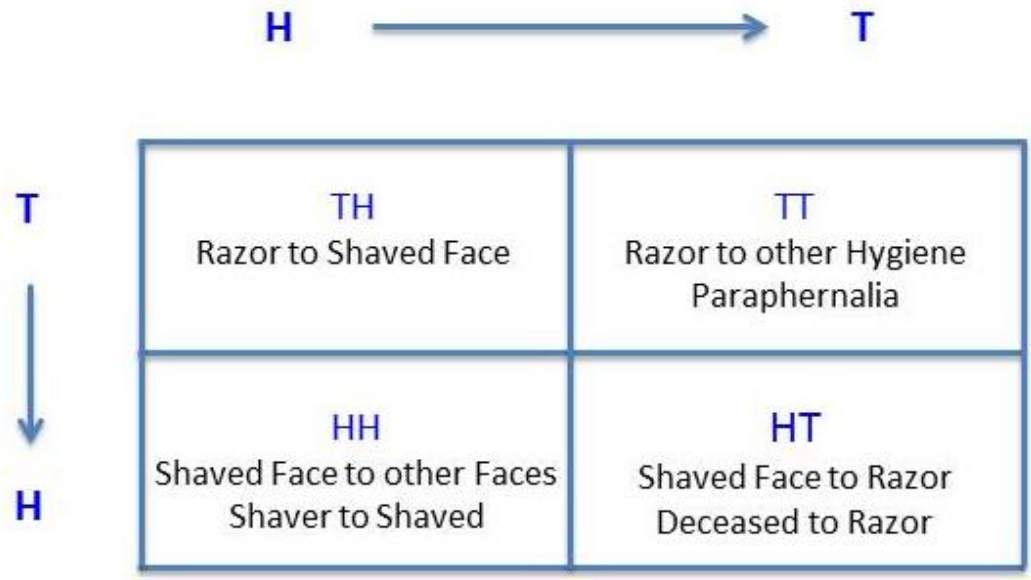

Figure 3.2: Hodder's entanglement equation as a matrix (thanks to William Wood for the suggestions) (2012:88).

of exploring how razors and their use were viewed in prehistoric northern European society and by extension how certain statuese and roles were imagined and marked.

In addition I have explored how the life cycle of a razor might have intermingled with the life cycles of individual males. Not only how objects may have cultural biographies (Fontjin 2008; Kopytoff 1986) but also how they might have interacted with a human's life cycle and aging to understand how razors were created, used, and discarded. I propose several possible ways of conceptualizing how razors and men might have interacted to create a masculine identity in prehistoric northern Europe.

Scope of Study

Variables and Definitions

The data used in this analysis included razors, associated objects, and find contexts within specific geographic and temporal ranges. Razors are defined as small

blades with handles that are assumed by previous researchers to have only been used for removing hair, usually facial hair. This not only includes the razor classes identified by Piggott (1948) but also "razor-knives" as defined by Butler and Smith (1956). Razors are different from other blades found in the archaeological record, such as knives, daggers, swords, and spears, because of their shape and size. Objects found in the same context as razors are also considered. Although all objects found with the razors discussed here are described, associated personal hygiene paraphernalia were subjected to a more in-depth analysis. For this study personal hygiene paraphernalia are defined as any object that is associated with hygiene and/or changing an individual's personal appearance without affecting the skeleton. This includes any object that is used for hair removal (tweezers, shears, razors), hair styling (lock rings, combs, wax or other styling products), body paint/tattooing (cosmetic sets, awls/needles), and objects or material used for general personal hygiene (mirrors, toiletry kits, perfume containers).

Context is an important part of the qualitative analysis developed for this project. Two primary contexts are discussed in the thesis: burials and hoards. Some razors are found outside these contexts (see Piggott 1948), but as this thesis is not concerned with the razors as objects but with the relationship and meaning of razors within the larger cultural system of the Bronze and Iron Ages, isolated finds of razors were not included in the analysis. Some of these razors were found in settlement contexts (e.g. All Cannings Cross, Wilts. and Ham Hill, Somerset) or in plow zones (Roes 1952), but they represent a very small sample compared to the razors found in graves or hoards. Burials involve the intentional placement of the physical remains of the deceased in a way that is considered "standard" for a particular time and geographic location. Both inhumations and

cremations contain razors in Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe. Although bog bodies fall within this broad definition of body disposal, the particular placement of bog bodies in or near watery contexts coupled with the fact that the majority of bog bodies show evidence of fatal violence sets them apart as a distinct category of deposition (Glob 1965; Greene 2001:113-135; Kelly 2006 and 2012). Hoards are difficult to define for archaeologists because they can be found in a number of different environments, time periods, and geographic locations. For this study, hoards are defined as the intentional placement of objects in the ground or in water in association with rituals of wealth destruction by elites and/or the community (Bradley 1991:106).

Sample Parameters

To answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1 information on the site type, associated artifacts, and documentation of in the form of images/measurements, condition of material, etc. were a requirement of inclusion, while data related to other objects, burial/hoard layout, and methodology of sexing burials were preferred. The data were derived from catalogues of hoards and burials, excavation reports and published catalogues of razors. However, for many of the recorded burials it is unclear whether they were sexed based on the osteological evidence provided or based on the assigned gender associations of grave goods found with the body. For this study, all the burials will be assumed to have been *gendered* male unless otherwise stated in the published material. Cremation was the deominate rite in the study area for most periods included in the analysis and is difficult to definitively sex usch remains. The few examples in the data set that could be sexed included Rudstone, York, England (Butler and Smith 1956:50), Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg Graves 73 and 109 in Denmark (Sellevold et al. 1984:46-

47) were made. All well-documented burials containing razors in northern Europe outside the study areaare male with one possible exception, Reardnogy More, Co. Tipperary in Ireland (Waddell 1990:134), which might be a female burial.

The geographic area of the study included Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland including surrounding islands) and Ireland, as well as Denmark and the immediate surrounding area. The geographic parameters focus on Denmark because this area of Scandinavia has the largest number of documented razors in the archaeological literature as well as the largest number of bog bodies. Furthermore by concentrating on evidence from Denmark a more regional examination of razors in the archaeological record is possible and patterns that might otherwise be obscured are more likely to be visible. Although Britain, Ireland, and Denmark were not always part of the same trade networks during the Bronze and Iron Ages, the areas share many similar ritual practices (i.e. bog bodies, hoards, henges) and material culture. Most of the information used in this project was drawn from English sources with the exception of the Bronholm source, which is written in Danish and included a large number of Danish razors that were not documented in the English language literature. Although numerous non-English sources were not included, this pilot study tested whether it is possible to understand the creation of identity using material culture and body modification in the archaeological record on the basis of such a small evidential sample. The next step would be a Ph.D. level study including all razors documented in the literature from the study area.

The temporal parameters of this analysis range from the early Bronze Age (c. 2000 BC) through the end of the early Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (c. 100 BC) and include the Early Roman Period in Denmark (c. AD 200). The study encompasses a

longer time period in Denmark for several reasons. Ssouthern Britain was conquered by Rome relatively early and reflects the social changes that accompanied imposed Roman values, culture, and societal norms. Although there was some resistance to Romanization by the indigenous population, Roman influence as well as the influx of Roman goods into the area changed the indigenous society as well as the male/warrior identity. Secondly, the Romans never conquered Scandinavia or Ireland, and thus their cultural values and society would have impacted the indigenous population in these areas differently. Researchers call this time period in Denmark the Early Roman Period because of the large influx of Roman exotic goods coming into the region.

Razors are generally scarce during the early Iron Age in burials and hoards in the study area. This time period saw an overall decrease in grave goods and hoards in Britain, Ireland and Denmark. To interpret this change in the deposition of razors, a number of burials from this period have been included in the analysis that do not include razors. These burials were chosen due to the sexing and/or gendering of the burials as male and because they include objects that had previously been associated with razors. These contexts illuminate the changes in deposition in razors on a more limited regional level and allow some hypotheses for understanding the symbolic, metaphoric, or practical transformation of razors in these areas at this time to be generated.

Analysis of Material

Sites with razors that fall within the defined parameters were compiled and examined using the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 1. Along with examining the material through the theoretical lens of entanglement theory, major patterns in the deposition of razors were identified. This included objects associated with the "warrior

package" described by Terherne (1995) as well as the selective deposition of razors through time and space. Next the material was compared to other direct evidence, such as preserved hair in burial contexts including the Winterslow site (Britain), several Danish oak coffin burials and Scandinavian and Irish bog bodies.

Indirect evidence was examined to elucidate symbolic associations and interpret the direct evidence found in the archaeological record. Ethnohistorical and iconographic sources for northern European male appearance during the Bronze and Iron Ages were used to construct a model for the way razors were used during prehistory in northern Europe and to determine whether there were changes in men's personal appearance over time. The Roman and Greek ethnohistorical accounts describe prehistoric European populations that were neighbors of the Mediterranean cultures, not the regions considered in this study (there are a few etic representations of British men and descriptions of Gauls in what is present-day France, but none of Danish men). However, these sources still provide a rough estimation of the types of facial hair that were present throughout Europe at this time. The iconographic evidence is limited to the later half of the study's temporal parameters. Most examples of male facial hair from both emic and etic sources date to the Iron Age with very few examples from the Bronze Age and all of those late in the period. Both the ethnohistorical and iconographic evidence was compared to direct evidence of hair modification in the archaeological record in order to provide a range of possible facial hair styles and to construct a template for male identity at this time.

Various ethnohistorical sources as well as ethnographic examples provide models for the possible magico-religious properties of hair as well as the range of hair removal

practices associated with rites of passage and the expression of a specific identity (often associated with particular life-cycle phases). These examples provide a spectrum of uses for razors in rites of passage, including razors used to facilitate or represent a specific identity and how hair may have been used in rites of passages not only by the individual going through the rite, but by the participating audience, practitioners, family members, etc. This evidence also helps outline a framework for changes in expressions of "maleness" and masculinity through time and space.

Approach to Research Questions

Using these methods, the research questions can be explored in further detail. This thesis does not aim to provide definitive answers, but attempts to explore the ways that identity can be understood via the material culture present in the archaeological record for which possible interpretations can be generated. The secondary goal was to generate additional research questions and suggest possible avenues for explaining these further.

These methods allow an examination of patterns in the archaeological record to help understand the role of razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia in lifecycle shifts and rites of passage. Burials provide the most detailed information related to the gender and age of buried individuals as well as their status and roles based on associated grave goods. This study will test whether it is possible to combine direct evidence and indirect evidence to understand perishable, non-skeletal body modification, such as hairstyles, removal of facial hair, and possible scarification. If indirect evidence can inform researchers about the direct evidence in the archaeological record, then it may be possible to understand cultural processes of prehistoric communities that are not directly

preserved in the archaeological record. By examining personal hygiene paraphernalia, a material that is well documented in the archaeological literature but has been subjected to little in-depth analysis, this thesis will be able to test these two research questions.

Using Hodder's "entanglement" theory underscores the different ways the interconnectedness between razors and humans during Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe was used to non-verbally communicate gender and status identity. The enthohistorical and iconographic evidence for male body modification is used to test whether there was a symbolic or magico-religious importance to razors in northern Europe in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Finally, examining the information from ethnographic examples of hair removal during different stages in the life cycle will test whether or not it is feasible to use ethnographic examples to generate hypotheses for the ways modification and hair removal implements might have been used in prehistoric northern Europe.

Chapter 4:

Results and Discussion

The direct evidence includes an in-depth analysis of razors found in good contexts with associated material. By examining razors within their find contexts and in relation to other objects, how these razors were associated with other material culture and how they might have contributed to the construction of male identity is explored. This also provides insight into how the use and symbolism of razors may have changed over time. Combining several different kinds of indirect evidence helps to inform the direct evidence and sheds light on some of the practices that leave no traces in the archaeological record, such as performances of identity, including gender, through body modification.

Direct Evidence

The direct evidence consists of an analysis of razors found in good contexts in Britain, Ireland, and Denmark (Figure 4.1). This evidence is examined to identify patterns within the material and to situate the material within the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 1. The second type of direct evidence analyzed consists of the few examples of preserved hair in the archaeological record of northern Europe, including bog bodies. Comparing the patterns of deposition of razors as well as the evidence for preserved hair provides a deeper understanding of how, when, and why razors were used during particular stages of the individual life course and in particular ritual contexts in northern Europe in the Bronze Age and Iron Age.

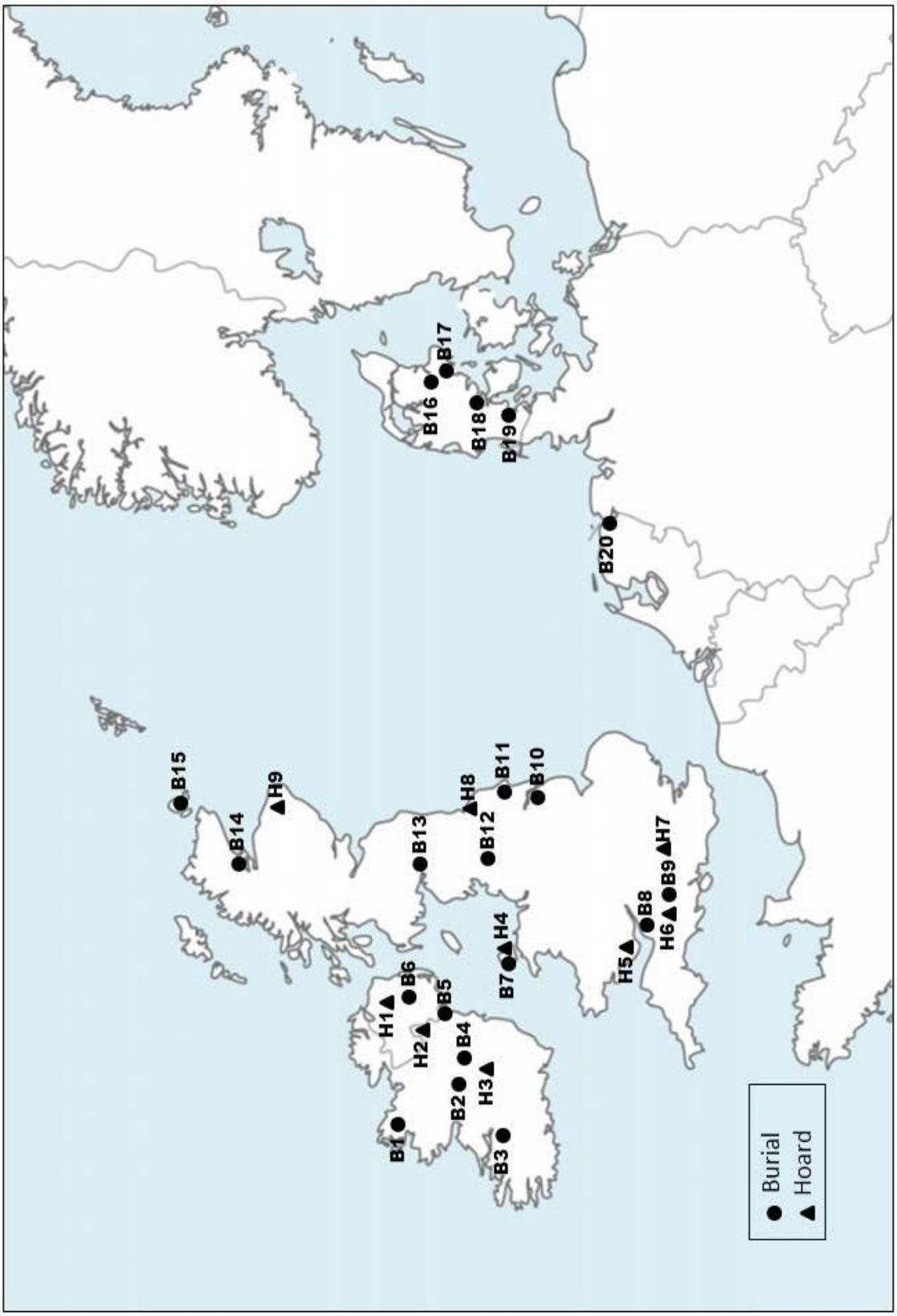

Figure 4.1: Map of sites included in the analysis

Table 4.1: Key to Sites in Figure 4.1

Burial#	Site
B1	Barren, Co. Mayo (Ireland)
B2	Knockast, Coolatore, Co. Westmeath 1-3 (Ireland)
B3	Cush, Co. Limerick 1 and 2 (Ireland)
B4	Kilmore, Co. Westmeath (Ireland)
B5	Hill of Rath, Co. Louth (Ireland)
B6	Gortereghy, Co.Antrim (Ireland)
B7	Ty'n-y-Pwll, Llanddyfnan, Anglesey (Wales)
B8	Priddy, Somerset (Britain)
B9	Winterslow (Britain)
B10	Broughton, Lincolnshire (Britain)
B11	Rudstone, E. R. Yorkshire (Britain)
B12	Broughton-in-Craven, Yorkshire (Britain)
B13	Shttlefield, Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire (Britain)
B14	Dalmore, Alness, Rossshire (Scotland)
B15	Laughton's Known, Holm parish Orkney Mainland (Scotland)
B16	Trindhøj A (Denmark)
B17	Buldjerg Lisbjerg (Denmark)
B18	Trappendal (Denmark)
B19	Nybøl (Denmark)
B20	Drouwen, Gem. Borger, Drenthe (Holland)

Hoard #	Site
H1	Cromaghs, Co. Antrim (Ireland)
H2	Monalty Duff, Co. Monaghan (Ireland)
H3	Dowris Hoard (Ireland)
H4	Llangwyllog, Anglesey (Wales)
H5	Leckwith, Glamorgan (Wales)
H6	WILT-E8DA70 (Wiltshire) (Britain)
H7	Wallingford, Berks. (Britain)
H8	Heathery Burn, Durham (Britain)
H9	Braes of Gicht, Aberdeenshire (Scotland)

Razors in Context

Razors are predominantly found in hoards and burials. This section will examine the patterns found in burials and hoards with razors in Denmark, Ireland, and Britain included in the data set (see Appendices). Many of these sites share similar features, including locations in or around water. Most importantly these contexts are selective deposits and it is no accident that razors were placed in them. There are few examples of razors from Iron Age settlement contexts (Piggott 1946:135) and most of these are the Late Bronze Age pieces that are in poor condition. Furthermore these razors are types that do not fit the patterns Piggott describes for the Bronze Age (1946:121). This potentially interesting. There may have been a difference between curated, older razors

and those deposited in graves and hoards. Included in this analysis are three Bronze Age type razors found in Iron Age contexts. Razors found in Denmark, Ireland, and Britain display a number of similarities as well as differences.

Burials

The data analyzed here are not comprehensive, but include a subset of razors found in burial contexts that coincide with the study parameters. The data from Denmark, Ireland, and Britain (see Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4) include a number of burials, both inhumations and cremations. Since very few burials of Iron Age date contain razors in the British Isles, Ireland, or Denmark, all of the burials in this data set are from the Bronze Age with some dating to the Early Roman Period in Denmark. However, one of the short comings of the available data was the lack of distinct dates for the British and Irish material. Many of the burials were dated to the general Bronze Age and thus might skew the data when examining patterns chronologically. This is especially problematic when comparing the burials from Britain, Ireland, and Denmark to one another, since the Scandinavian data can be more reliably dated. However the data still provide some interesting evidence for Bronze Age burials with razors if only to indicate the extent of regional and temporal variation.

British Burials

The British material included 13 razors from Bronze Age burials selected from published material (Table 4.2). The most common grave good found in the British burials with razors was a cordoned urn, as Butler and Smith recognized in their study (1956:48). Weaponry is the second most common artifact type found in the British razor

Table 4.2: Number of British Burials in Data Set				
	Early Bronze Age	Unspecified Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age	**Total**
Number of Burials	1	10	2	**13**
Percentage	8%	77%	15%	**100%**

burials while personal ornament (defined here as any type of jewelry, including pins for clothing) is the most common artifact category during the late Bronze Age.

Irish Burials

The Irish burials with razors contained fewer grave goods overall than the burials from Britain and Denmark. In this data set, nine objects were found in association with razors in the 13 burials (Table 4.3). The most common artifact category associated with razors was cordoned urns. Other artifacts buried with razors included flint scrapers and one knife.

Table 4.3: Number of Irish Burials in Data Set			
	Unspecified Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age	**Total**
Number of Burials	9	4	**13**
Percentage	69%	31%	**100%**

Danish Burials

The data sample from Denmark includes 34 total burials the majority of which are cremations (Table 4.4). Studies of burials with razors have shown that tweezers are

Table 4.4: Number of Burials with Razors in Data Set in Denmark					
Early and Middle Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age			Early Roman Period	**Total**
	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6		
5	12	7	4	6	**34**
15%	35 %	21%	12%	18%	**100%**

strongly associated with razors (Sørensen 1989; Treherne 1995), which is reflected in this sample as well. However, the artifact typemost commonly associated with razors in the data set is the knife. The data also show that in the Early Roman Period there are no burials with tweezers, while all of the burials with razors included an iron knife. This might be due to an unintentional bias of the burials that fit the sample parameters in the English literature; all contain knives as the most prevalent grave good category associated with razors.

Comparing Burials with Razors in Northern Europe

Comparing burials with razors in Denmark, Ireland, and Britain directly is difficult due to the lack of chronological control for the material from Britain and Ireland and the different chronologies in use in these areas. However there is some information to be gleaned from comparing these contexts to one another. In all three areas the majority of razors appear in cremations. Generally, burials in Denmark with razors are much more likely to contain several other grave goods while the British and Irish burials are more likely to have razors as the only grave good (Kilmore, Co. Westmeath [Burial C], Barrow No.2, Blanch Group, E. R. York, and Belclare, Carrowbeg North, Galaway).

The burials from the British Isles and Ireland do not have the close association with tweezers or awls seen in the Danish burials. This suggests that the strong association between razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia that is seen in Denmark is not northern European phenomenon and does not appear in the British Isles during the Bronze Age. On the other hand, flint scrapers are not found in Danish burials, which suggests that Kavanagh's (1998) observation regarding Irish razors associated with flint scrapers might only be true in this area of northern Europe. The differences in the

associated objects that are characteristic of burials with razors show regional variability limits comparisons of the role of razors in northern Europe. This study suggests that because supra-regional analyses may be skewed by geographic variations the analysis of razors should be separated by region.

Most of the burials can be interpreted as elite burials in their region. Razors found in Irish and, to a lesser extent, British burials are usually the only metal grave good present, but, due to lack of large amounts of metal grave goods in general, many have interpreted these burials as elites or at least individuals with access to wealth. In Denmark, where metal grave goods are more prevalent, razors are found in burials that show a variation of the "warrior package". Not all of the Danish burials with razors include weapons nor do all weapon burials include razors. However, the warrior elite as described by Treherne are not represented exactly in the Danish mortuary record. Several razors are found in burials that contain swords or miniature sword in Denmark, but burials with weapons and razors are not as prevalent as the Bronze Age elite burials in continental Europe. This might suggest either that the burials with razors are not signaling the warrior elite status in Denmark but another type of masculinity, or that the warrior package was not expressed the same in Denmark and central Europe.

A few universal observation that can be made is that there are only rarely multiple razors placed in burials (only 0.6% of the sample) and razors placed in a burial are usually associated with a single individual. Although razors are a strictly male grave good, not all men are buried with a razor; in fact razors are not common grave goods (Harding 2008) but are continually present in elite male burials throughout the Bronze Age in northern Europe.

Hoards

Hoards as a razor context in Britain, Ireland, and Denmark exhibit a different type of selective depositional practice by region. All hoards with razors in this data set date to the late Bronze Age. This rules out a chronological analysis, but a comparison by geographic location is instructive. The Danish data only includes one hoard with a razor, indicating that razors were not routinely placed in hoards there compared to Britain and Ireland, where several hoards from the late Bronze Age with razors are known. This limits the analysis that can be carried out by comparing these geographic areas to one another, but suggests a regionally selective deposition of razors in hoards and votive deposits. Another problem is the lack of in-depth descriptions of the hoards containing razors. Several of the hoards from the British Isles, particularly those included in Piggott's analysis (1948), describe associated artifacts as "other objects" (see Wallingford, Berks., Heathery Burn, Durham, and Llangwyllog, Anglesey) ruling out accurate counts of objects found with the razors in these contexts. The information provided for the content of these hoards was included in the descriptive data set, but limits the comparative analysis and will only be addressed briefly below.

Of the 13 hoards from Britain and Ireland containing razors, four were found in bogs, one was found in a crannog, and eight were from unknown locations. The most common artifact category found in hoards with razors was weapons, specifically spearheads, axe heads, and swords. Tools and knives are commonly associated object categories as well. These artifact categories follow Treherne's (1995) pattern of razors associated with the warrior elite package; the large amount of weapons, along with tools and knives, shows that razors were highly associated with martial ability and "maleness"

in these hoards. Due to these associations are not found in graves, this might suggest that these deposits are expressing a community identity rather than the individual identities burials depict.

The one hoard from Denmark that contains razors came from a bog near Grisby during Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC). Even though it is the only hoard with a razor, some inferences can be made based on this material. The fact that there is only one hoard containing a razor indicates that razors are not frequently found in this context in Denmark. Tools are the most common artifact category in this hoard, followed by ornaments. However, this hoard also includes fragments of tweezers, thus showing that selective deposition of razors is strongly associated with tweezers, as in all other Danish razor contexts during this time period.

The hoards from Britain, Ireland, and Denmark are markedly different from each other. It is more common to find razors in hoards in Britain and Ireland than in Denmark. The British and Irish hoards also have a much higher association between weapons and razors. Although Denmark is known for large "war booty" votive deposits in the late Bronze Age, the Danish hoard that includes a razor has a small number of weapons compared to the hoards found in the British Isles and Ireland. The hoards from the British Isles and Ireland are also more likely to contain a larger number of objects. The Danish hoard does include a large number of objects (the Grisby hoard had 63 objects), but not as many as some of the larger hoards from Ireland, such as WILT-E8DA70, which included about 114 objects. Additional comparisons of burials and hoards with razors from both geographic areas could elucidate patterns of razors in selective deposits.

Comparing Burials and Hoards with Razors (Denmark, Britain, and Ireland)

The burials and hoards from the British Isles during the Bronze Age show an inverse relationship with respect to the amount of personal hygiene artifacts present, as described by Bradley (1990). Although the burials with razors usually contain no grave goods other than a razor and possibly a cordoned urn in Ireland and Britain, hoards include a large number of objects with several different kinds of objects. Weapons are the most prevalent artifact category in hoards; however, no weapons are found with razors in the British or Irish burials dated to the Bronze Age. Even though hoards with razors contain larger numbers of objects than burials in Britain, it is more likely for razors to be deposited as grave goods there than in hoards (26 burials from the Bronze Age as opposed to 13 hoards).

In Denmark these comparisons between Bronze Age burials and hoards are limited due to the lack of hoards that include razors. It is clear that razors were not routinely placed in hoards in Denmark, but were mainly deposited in graves. Although many artifact categories are found in both burials and hoards, objects most numerous in burials are not found in large numbers in hoards. This suggests that the selective practice of deposition required specific object types to be placed within specific contexts.

In both the British Isles and Denmark, razors are more likely to be found in burials than in hoards. Danish burials contain large numbers of grave goods while in the British Isles and Ireland burials with razors usually only contain a few grave goods. Hoards with razors are more likely to be found in the British Isles while Danish razors are almost exclusively found in burials. Danish burials with razors usually contain knives, tweezers and ornaments while burials from Britain and Ireland are likely to include

cordoned urns. In contrast the larger hoards from Britain and Ireland are more likely to have weapons while the Danish hoards contain mostly tools. As other researchers have pointed out (Bergerbrant 2008; Sørensen 1989) Danish razors are highly associated with tweezers, but this association is not found in Britain or Ireland. The sample presented here indicates that razors were frequently placed in selective deposits, but how these razors were used can be shown in the few examples of preserved hair found in the archaeological record.

The warrior elite package was also expressed differently in Britain, Ireland and Denmark. The Danish material shows a close association with the warrior package Treherne (1995) associated with continental Europe. This includes the association of personal hygiene paraphernalia with weapons, although feasting and riding equipment is less well represented in the burials (Bergerbrant 2008:93). However the general absence of grave goods in Britain and Ireland suggests that the warrior package was not expressed in burials there but rather in hoards. The Late Bronze Age hoards in Britain and Ireland include large numbers of weapons that are not seen in burials. This suggests that the warrior package was being expressed and performed differently in these two regions during the Late Bronze Age; in Britain and Ireland it is expressed via wealth destruction in hoards while in Denmark it appears mainly in burials and mortuary ritual.

Bog Bodies and Preserved Hair in the Archaeological Record

The few examples of preserved hair in the archaeological record fall into two different categories. The first type of preserved hair is hair that was removed from the body and placed in the archaeological record with some type of ritual associated with its placement. This can be seen in the example of the Winterslow urn burial where detached

hair was placed in an urn with a cremation and a razor (this will be explored further below). The second type of preserved hair is hair still attached to the body that is preserved due to particular depositional practices. This includes bog bodies as well as the oak-coffin burials from the early Bronze Age in Denmark.

The first type of preserved hair is rarely found in the archaeological record. There are only a few known examples. The earliest is the early Bronze Age urn burial at Winterslow, cremation burial found in southern England, which included hair and a razor on top of the ashes and cremated remains. Stoves (1946:126) originally identified the hair as eyebrow hair from several individuals, but it was later identified by Kavanagh (1991:86) as facial hair minus the tips and roots, possibly suggesting that it was new growth of a beard. If the hair at Winterslow was eyebrow hair, then it could have come from a number of mourners who used hair removal to modify their personal appearance and signal their state of mourning. But if the hair was from a beard, it could have come either from the deceased or from a male mourner. If the hair was from the deceased, this would imply that the deceased was first shaved the hair retained, the body burned and the facial hair replaced with the cremated remains in the urn.

The other two examples of hair preserved in the archaeological record are two severed braids of hair, one placed in a tumulus in Germany and the other placed in a bog in Denmark. The braid from Germany was found just outside the looted central chamber of the Hohmichele tumulus (Arnold 1991:44). The Danish find was recovered in a bog (Treherne 1995:126) which has a close association with ritual activity. All three of these examples show the removal of hair in close relationship with ritual; the examples from the Hohmichele tumulus and the Winterslow urn burial possibly provide evidence for the

removal of hair as a sign of mourning. The Danish bog example represents a ritual deposition of hair, much like the deposition of wealth that is commonly found in bogs. These examples all show the active removal of hair as a sign of particular milestones in an individual's life course (in this case one's own death) or that of a close relative or other intimate, that would be visually apparent to others.

The second type of preserved hair is found in mortuary contexts that involve hair still attached to the body when it was interred. The most common type of attached preserved hair is found in bog bodies and oak-coffin burials. The Middle Bronze Age oak-coffin burials in southern Scandinavia include a number of men who do not appear to have been clean shaven at the time of their interment and who kept their head hair long, usually swept back from their foreheads (Bergerbrant 2008; Glob 1970). Bog bodies exhibit evidence for similar practices (Figure 4.2). The oldest known bog body was found in Cashel county, Ireland in 2011 and is dated to the beginning of the Bronze Age (c. 2000 BC). Cashel Man, although sustaining some damage to the head during discovery by a digging machine, provides evidence of close cropped hair (Kelly 2012:9). Other bog bodies, which mostly date to the

Figure 4.2: Bog Bodies a) Clonycavan Man (Kelly 2006) b) Grauballe Man (Greene 2001:Plate 13) c) Elling Woman (Greene 2001:123) d) Tollund Man (Greene 2001:Plate 17) e) Old Croghan Man (Kelly 2006).

Iron Age in the British Isles and in Denmark, show similar patterns of hair modification (Figure 4.3).

With the exception of Lindow II (Lindow Man) (found in England and dated c. 2 BC- AD 119), all male bog bodies were clean shaven at the time of their deposition.

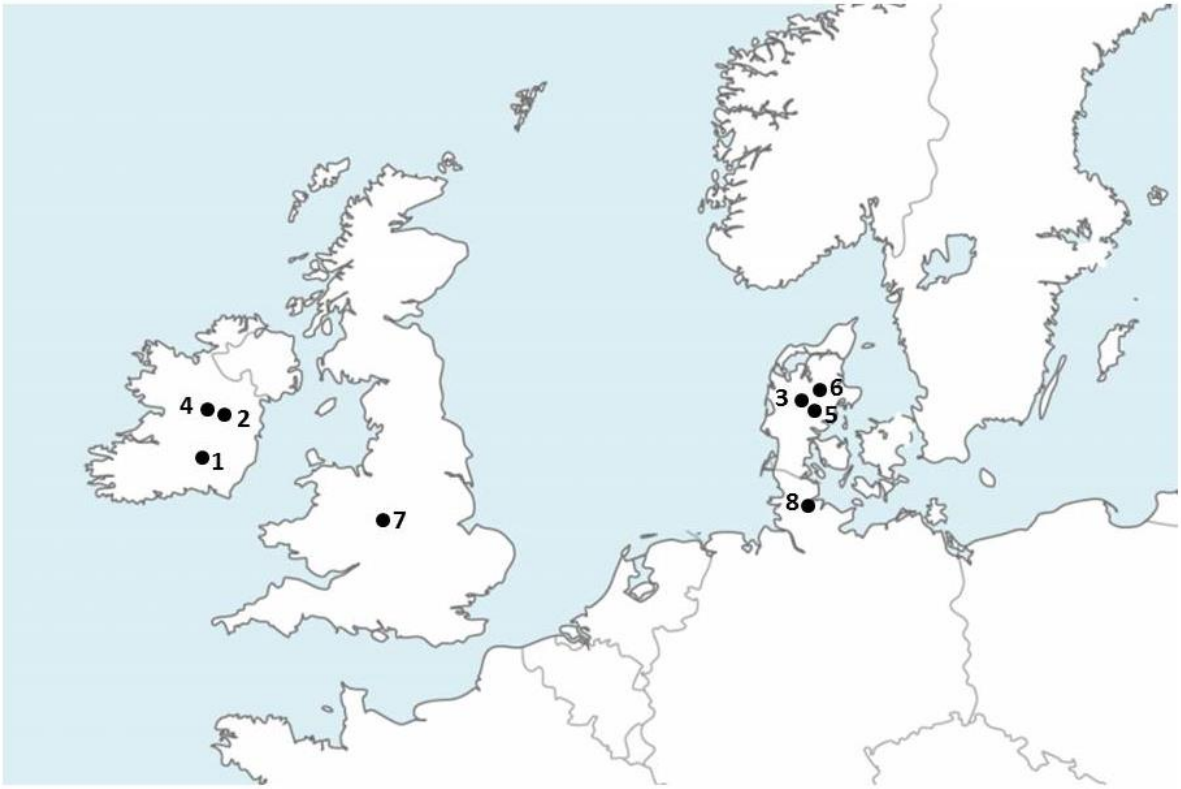

Figure 4.3: Map of bog bodies mentioned in text

Table 4.5: Bog Bodies Key to Figure 4.3

Number	Name	Dated	Location	Sex
1	Cashel Man	2000 BC	Ireland	Male
2	Clonycavan Man	392-210 BC	Ireland	Male
3	Tollund Man	375-210 BC	Denmark	Male
4	Old Croghan Man	362-175 BC	Ireland	Male
5	Elling Woman	c. 280 BC	Denmark	Female
6	Grauballe Man	Late 3rd century BC	Denmark	Male
7	Lindow Man	2 BC-119 AD	England	Male
8	Windeby Boy	c. 100 AD	Germany	Male

Lindow Man is one of the few bog bodies with facial hair and even he seems to have sported a fairly "young" mustache (Connolly 1985:15). Many other bog bodies have close cropped hair, including Clonycavan Man, Tollund Man, Lindow Man, and Windeby Boy (Connolly 1985:15; Greene 2001:119; Kelly 2006:2). Other bog bodies have elaborate hair styles that would have needed another person's help to create, as in the case of Elling Woman's braids (Greene 2001:123), and Clonycavan Man's up-do (Kelly 2012:234). In addition to the maintenance of hair, many bog bodies have well-manicured fingernails that imply a lack of hard labor, including Tollund Man, Clonycavan Man, Lindow Man, and Old Croghan Man (Joy 2009:7; Kavanagh 1991:86; Kelly 2012:235). The intricate hairstyles and the manicured nails of these bog bodies suggest that these individuals were of the elite class and, in the case of the males, might have been warriors or rulers sacrificed as prisoners of war in neighboring communities. Kelly (2006; 2012) suggests that these bog bodies, especially Clonycavan Man and Old Croghan Man, were placed on tribal boundaries to reinforce the borders.

These examples of preserved hair suggest that hair removal and manipulation were an important part of mortuary ritual during prehistoric Europe. This includes not only the preparation of the deceased but also the removal of hair by participants to signal a period of mourning. Although bog bodies should not be considered examples of normal burial practices, they do show that razors, tweezers, and possibly other hygiene paraphernalia were used in ritual and to prepare the bodies of sacrificial victims. In conjunction with the other examples of preserved hair in the archaeological record, however, there appears to be a long tradition of the removal of hair at death from the early Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Britain, Ireland, and Denmark.

Although there are examples of hair preserved in the archaeological record, contemporaneous with razors found in the same geographic areas, most bog bodies are found during a period of time when razors have largely disappeared from the archaeological record. The majority of bog bodies date to the Iron Age, but razors drop off in burials and hoards during that time. Even though razors are physically absent in the archaeological record during the Iron Age, bog bodies of this date show direct evidence for the use of razors or razor-like objects for hair removal at death or in preparing human sacrifices. The few examples of hair removal in more conventional burials, such as the Middle Bronze Age oak-coffin burials in southern Scandinavia and possibly the Early Bronze Age Winterslow urn burial in Britain, suggest that hair removal of the deceased was part of the preparations for the interment of the body for long period of time in northern Europe. The other examples of preserved hair, such as the braid of hair found in the Hohmichele tumulus and the Danish bog, suggest that the living may have removed hair and left it in ritual contexts as well, possibly as offerings as part of the mourning ceremony. While razors would have been needed to remove male facial hair they could also have been used to cut the hair of both sexes in mourning rituals. More importantly, Iron Age bog bodies show direct evidence of razors being used even when they are not present in the archaeological record.

Indirect Evidence

As many of the research questions of this thesis deal with concepts that are not easily accessed by examining the material found in the archaeological record or the archaeological literature, it is necessary to examine indirect evidence to help inform possible interpretations of the direct evidence. A selection of historical written sources

from Greece and Rome will be surveyed to illustrates how the Mediterranean cultures described their northern neighbors with respect to body modification and personal hygiene. Although these sources are notoriously biased in their depictions of Iron Age Europeans (Wells 2001:105), they still can provide insight into possible personal appearance and body modification among northern Europeans at this time. Both emic and etic iconography was examined to reconstruct the range of male facial and head hair fashions. Lastly, an examination of ethnohistorical and ethnographic material provides insight into possible interpretations of the direct evidence.

Historical Written Sources

As stated in the previous chapter, many of the written sources describing Iron Age Europeans were politically and culturally biased (Wells 2001:105). Most accounts highlight the "otherness" of Europeans and do not accurately depict a particular time period or culture. The Greek and Roman authors also do not address non-elite men or women in great detail (Wells 2001:108). However, many of these accounts do provide descriptions of the appearance of Iron Age European elites. Other written sources include insular Celtic texts. Many of these latter sources were written down during the early Middle Ages, after the introduction of Christianity, although the majority appear to have been part of a long oral tradition that was passed down through the centuries (Rees and Rees 1961:11). Several of these stories include references to the uses of razors or hair removal during rites of passage.

Greek Sources

In Homer's *Illiad*, the mourners removed their hair by plucking or shaving it and place it with the body of the deceased (Treherne 1995:121). In this example, hair

removed by the living and placed with the deceased symbolizes a bond between the mourners and the dead person. It also shows the passing of an individual by means of a physical change in the survivors' appearance, signaling a temporary or liminal state of mourning within Greek culture. Something similar might have been involved in the case of the Winterslow urn burial and the braided hair found in the Hohmichele tumulus. This example shows that the practice of hair removal as a sign of mourning was practiced at least in the Mediterranean in the Bronze Age and might be expected in areas in contact with this region as well.

Roman Sources

Diodorus Siculus describes Gallic men of different status having different types of facial hair:

> Some of the common men shave off their facial hair while others wear a short beard. The upper classes shave their cheeks but grow a long moustache which hangs over their mouth. When they drink, the liquid must run through the moustache so that it acts as a sort of strainer (Freeman 2002:26).

Diodorus highlights the fact that facial hair could have been used to signal a distinct social status within society. He also describes the Gauls styling their hair using lime to lighten it and to slick it back from the forehead (Freeman 2002:26). However it is unclear if this was practiced by all men or only those of a particular social status.

From 55 to 54 BC, Julius Caesar led a Roman army against the Britons. During this time, Caesar recorded not only military movements, but also some customs and practices of the people he encountered. He wrote "[The Britons] have long hair and shave every part of their bodies except for the head and upper lip" (Freeman 2002:66).

Caesar not only writes that Gallic men have long hair and mustaches, but also insinuates that the Britons might have removed all body hair (*Gallic Wars*, 5.12-14).

Insular Celtic Sources

The insular written sources highlight the use of hair removal and shaving as a part of the life-cycle. *The Deeds of CúChulainn* describes the exploits of the eponymous young warrior. The giant CúRoí shaves CúChulainn's hair with his sword and then covers his head in cow dung. This might be a reference to a common initiation of young men into adulthood (Rees and Rees 1961:256). Furthermore when CúChulainn was battling another giant, a piece of flesh was taken out of his shoulder by his opponent. This would have resulted in an "initiation scar" and is called "CúChulainn's Shearing" (Rees and Rees 1961:256). This story suggests that scarification could have been used as part of the initiation rite for young men being inducted into manhood. Another interpretation is that removing a part of the body (in the story it was flesh, but in more normal practices, it might have been hair, which is more easily and painlessly removed from the body) as a symbol of entering into manhood. When these events took place, CúChulainn might have been on his *fianna*. During the early medieval period in Ireland, young men in their teens were sent out into the wilderness on a *fianna* (Ó Cróinín 1995:85 and 119), which represented a time of socialization for the young men as well as a rite of passage into adulthood and was a way for the villages to send the young men away during the period when they were the most disruptive.

In traditional Irish stories, the *fianna* were elite groups of traveling warriors also known for their poetry (Mackillop 2005:219). The famous leader of the *Fianna Éireann* was Fionn mac Cumhaill. Fionn means "fair" or "light-haired one" (Mackillop 2005:225

and 227). Fionn was not only identified as a prophesied individual by his fair hair, but it also symbolized his intellect and wisdom (Mackillop 2005:225). In the Fenian Cycle of poems, Fionn is continually identified by his hair color as a warrior, poet, and seer which suggests that hair was seen as a visible signal of a person's identity.

To join the *Fianna Éireann* , a prospective member of the elite militia had to prove themselves mentally as well as physically able. They had to become prime poets, mastering twelve books of poesy, as well as pass a test of bravery and cunning. Then, armed with only a shield and a hazel stick, the prospective member had to defend against nine opponents throwing spears at them from a distance. To pass, the prospective member must not be harmed by the spears, must make no sound while running on the forest floor, and must keep "his braided hair" from catching on tree branches (Mackillop 2005:221). This story of the mythical *fianna* highlights the fact that men, especially young warriors, had hair long enough to braid. In addition, the hair of a young warrior was well-taken care of and was seen as a source of pride as well as of a masculine or military identity.

The story of *Kulhwch and Olwen* shows the use of razors and the removal of facial hair in association with martial rites. Kulhwch, a mighty warrior, falls in love with Olwen, the daughter of the giant Ysbaddaden. Before Kulhwch can marry Olwen, he must complete thirteen impossible tasks set to him by Ysbaddaden, one of which is that Ysbaddaden's hair and beard must be washed and trimmed. Kulhwch needs to obtain the tusk of Yskithyrwyn Chief Boar as a razor, the blood of the Black Witch to dress the beard, and the shears and the comb that are between the ears of Twrch Trwyth to style the giant's hair (Rees and Rees 1961:264). This story highlights the maintenance and

preparation of physical appearance, particularly the care of facial hair, during times of celebration and martial rites not only for participants but also the audience.

These examples of traditional "Celtic" folktales show two possible uses of hair removal in the rites of passage of prehistoric northern Europe. This is not to imply that these stories provide evidence of the use of razors in actual initiation rites or in martial rituals, but such references might have roots in long traditions of hair removal associated with particular phases of a person's life-cycle. As with preserved hair, hair removal appears to have been practiced as early as the Bronze Age (possibly earlier) during mourning rituals and continued to be used to prepare the body for interment up to the Iron Age and early Christian era is some areas of northern Europe.

In the Icelandic *Njál's Saga*, the main character, Njál, is mentioned twice to have no beard. He is identified by the lack of facial hair and is called the "Beardless One" (Anonymous 1998:87). In fact he is described as "a wealthy man and handsome, except he grew no beard" (Anonymous 1998:40). This suggests that elite men wore beards, possibly even as a symbol of their status and wealth. In contrast, another man, Bródir, was a warrior who "both tall and strong, and his hair so long that he could tuck it into his belt" (Anonymous 1998:156). Originally written down during the Viking era, this suggests that Viking warriors and/or elites wore their hair long and had some facial hair.

The two sources from Caesar and Diodorus describe northern European men's facial hair as signaling a specific identity. Diodorus indicates that facial hair may signal a man's social status within the community, while Caesar suggests that mustaches were the most popular facial hair style for Britons. To maintain a mustache takes some skill with a razor and consistent shaving. However, no razors are found in the archaeological record

in Britain during the time that Caesar is describing. Although this does not discount the possibility that a similar tool, such as a flint scraper or a knife, was being used to shave, it does highlight the possibility that razors were present during the Iron Age but were not deposited in the same contexts as in earlier periods.

Iconography

The iconography from both emic and etic sources shows a wide variety of facial hair in depictions of northern European men in the Bronze and Iron Ages. However, there are some general shortcomings for each source of evidence. The etic sources primarily depict northern European men as the "other". Generally this is more indicative of the etic culture's values than an accurate depiction of prehistoric European men (Farris 2000; Wells 2001:105). Also, many of the Europeans depicted in the Mediterranean etic sources are not from northern Europe but from neighboring areas, such as Gaul. The emic sources are limited chronologically as well; depictions of humans do not become common until the later Iron Age. During this time there are many depictions of human figures and faces that are used for decoration, but there are very few examples earlier than the Iron Age.

Etic Sources

The etic iconography of northern Europeans comes from the Greeks and Romans. Two Greek examples are the "Dying Gaul" and the "Gaul Killing himself and his Wife" (both c. 230-220 BC) (Figure 4.4 a and b). The only surviving statues are Roman copies of the Greek originals. Both of these statues show warriors depicted with torcs and mustaches. The mustaches are short and well-manicured as oppose to the long mustaches that are described by Caesar. In contrast to the well maintained mustaches depicted by

the Greeks, Roman iconography often shows "barbarians" with large bushy beards. The difference in representations of northern European might be due to the ways Greeks and Romans represented themselves. Greeks saw beards as a sign of maturity and civilized masculinity, therefore a focus on the mustaches might have been a way to mark the northern European men as different from Greek men. Romans, on the other hand, were clean shaven and saw beards as uncivilized and wild. Thus "barbarians" were depicted

Figure 4.4: Etic iconographic representations of northern Europeans a) The Dying Gaul (Farris 2000:7) b) Gaul Killing himself and his Wife (Farris 2000:9) c) Male prisoners on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Farris 2000:93) d) Denarius (coin) with the head of captive Gaul (British Museum website) e) Bronze appliqué (Metropolitan Museum of Art).

with large beards to differentiate them from the civilized Romans.

However, the etic iconography does imply that facial hair, whether styled or not, was an important feature in the physical appearance of men in northern Europe. Again, although the Romans and Greeks are not depicting Europeans from the British Isles and Denmark specifically, they do show male facial hair in the southern neighboring communities. This does not mean that the iconography of Gallic men can be assumed to represent all northern European men, but it should be taken into account when discussing the use of facial hair to signify "maleness".

It should also be considered that the iconography produced by Greek and Roman artists shows a particular kind of "maleness" that might not apply to all men. Many of the interactions between the Greeks, Romans, and northern Europeans were militaristic in nature. This implies that most interactions with northern Europeans were on the battlefield where specific groups or identities were being expressed that may not have reflected the same identities expressed during peace time. Examining the use of facial hair as a symbol of social status as described by Diodorus, most of the Greek depictions show high status men. This is seen by the presence of a torc on the "Dying Gaul", which is a symbol of high status and leadership. The "barbarian" prisoners with large beards in Roman iconography examples are either lower status men, as in the case of the captive Gaul on the denarius (48 BC), the captive Gauls on the "Column of Marcus Aurelius" (AD 193) (Figure 4.4 c) and the bronze applique of a "barbarian" (late 1st–2nd century AD) (Figure 4.4 d) or captives who were presumably unable to shave.

Emic Sources

The emic sources from Britain, Ireland, and Denmark are Iron Age in date, especially Late Iron Age. However there is one example that is from the Neolithic, the Knowth mace head. The mace head shows a man with his hair slicked back from the forehead and a beard without a mustaches (Figure 4.5 a). Another early example is a razor from Denmark dated to the Bronze Age; the man has no facial hair and has his hair slicked back from his forehead. These two rare examples of detailed human faces created before the Iron Age both show a varied amount of facial hair, but similar hair styles.

Other examples of Iron Age depictions of hair usually show a beard and/or mustaches. There are a few examples that depict clean shaven men, such as the tricephalic head from Ireland (Figure 4.5 d). However, these examples appear to be the exception to the rule. Many of the iconographic images of bearded men appear to depict gods, such as the bronze figure from Bregnebjerg, Denmark (Figure 4.5 e), or religious practitioners, such as the two-faced idols from Boa Island, Ireland (Figure 4.5 c). Men with mustaches are usually found associated with metal objects and are used as decorations on objects such as shields, as in the face from Vimose, Denmark (Figure 4.6 a), or drinking/feasting equipment, such as the face from Dejbjerg, Denmark (Figure 4.5 g) found in a ritual deposit of a wagon with other high status bronze objects. The head from Mšecké Žehrovice, Czech Republic (Figure 4.6 d) suggests that men had slicked back hair and possibly a tonsure on their crown (Venclova 2002). The two most common types of facial hair depicted in the emic iconography suggest that different types of "maleness" were expressed through different types of facial hair. Many of the men with full beards or with beards and goatees are found in relation to other megalithic structures

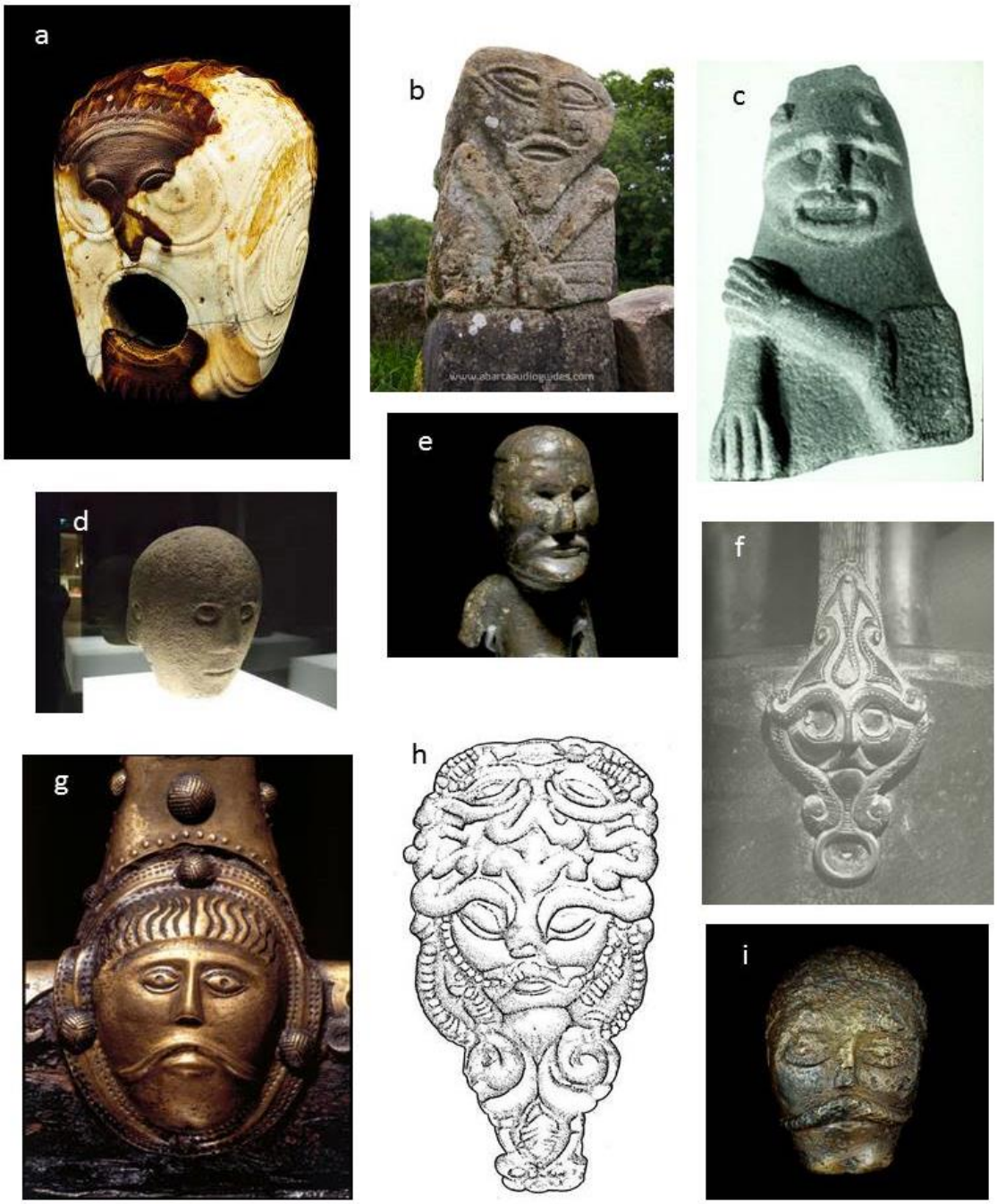

Figure 4.5: Emic iconographic representations of northern Europeans a) Knowth Mace Head (Kissane 1986:9) b) Boa Island Two-Faced Idols (Kissane 1986:11) c) Tanderagee Idol (Kissane 1986:11) d) Tricephalic Head, Ireland (Kissane 1986:13) e) Bronze Male Figure, Denmark (National Museum of Denmark website) f) Flagon Handle, Unknown (British Museum website) g) Bronze Face Ornament on Vessel, Denmark (National Museum of Denmark website) h) Gold Ring, Rhineland (Armit 2012:19) i) Bronze Model of a Human Head (British Museum website).

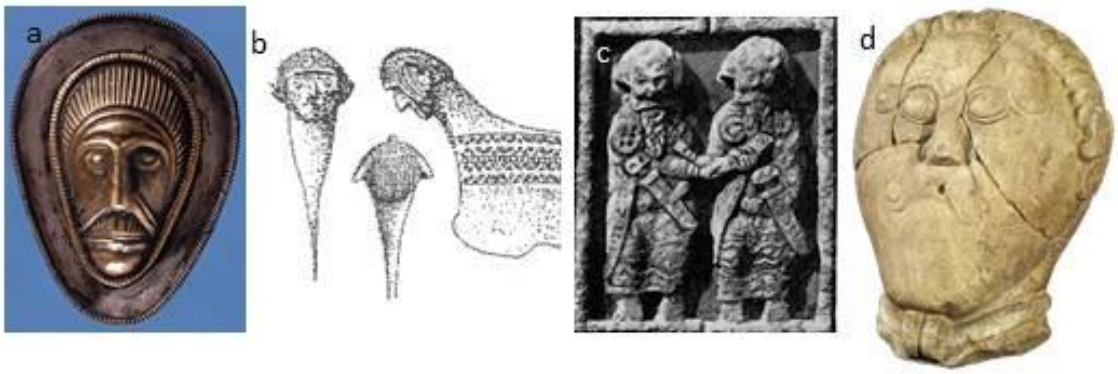

Figure 4.6: Emic iconographic representations of northern Europeans a) Vimose Bronze Face, Denmark (Wells 2008:107) b) Man's Head on Terminal End of a Razor, Denmark (Treherne 1995:106) c) Two Chieftains on Clonmacnoise Cross, Ireland **(**Fitzgerald 1997:256) d) Stone Head from Mšecké Žehrovice, Czech Republic (Venclova 2002:462).

from the Neolithic. The example of the Beltany stone head from Ireland is an Iron Age addition to a Neolithic stone circle. The two-faced idols are interpreted as representing ritual practitioners, perhaps druids, and their duality between this world and the spirit world (Kissane 1986:11). Male faces that only have mustaches are usually decorations on objects that are associated with the "warrior package" (Treherne 1995). This suggests that these objects used representations of the "warrior elite" with mustaches to mark the ownership of these objects, and highlights the general association of these objects with the "warrior elite" class.

Returning to the accounts written by Diodorus, the mustache might have been a symbol of the "warrior elite" whereas a full beard had greater association with ritual practitioners. Diodorus' observations of facial hair as an expression of elite vs. commoner social identity would support this interpretation of material. He noted that only elites were allowed to wear a mustache, much like the faces of men found on objects that had, in previous time periods, been associated with a "warrior elite" identity.

Furthermore the Greek statue of the "Dying Gaul" with a mustache and a torc gives another representation of a possible "warrior elite". However, it is clear that not all men in northern Iron Age Europe wore their facial hair in the form of a mustache and most were probably bearded or clean-shaven. Mustaches may have had a special pre- or proscriptive significance when worn on their own, as suggested by Caesar.

Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Examples

The examples provided are intended to present different ways that hair and body modification were part of identity, linked to magico-religious beliefs and practices and used to signify different stages of the life-cycle. There is no one to one correlation between texts, images, and the archaeological record in northern Europe, but using all three sources highlights the range of ways that razors, hair removal, and other body modifications were used to express identity in northern Europe.

Identity using facial hair has been used throughout history. In ancient Egypt during the first and second Dynasties, beards were seen as symbols of kingship. This symbol was so powerful that female pharaohs wore a *postiche,* or a false beard usually made of gold, to legitimize their rule (Dowd 2012:39). An example from the early Middle Ages (c. 500-900 AD) in Ireland is a depiction of two "chieftains" with large, plaited beards on the stone cross of Clonmacnoise (Fitzgerald 1990:256) (Figure 4.6 c). Although it is possible that these chieftains were more like the Vikings of this time than earlier Celtic leaders, it does provide an example of chieftains being identified by their large, well-maintained beards. Both men and women slaves in the Viking world (*thralls*) wore their hair shorter than free men and women to identify their servitude (Sherrow 2006:385). Another example of hair being used to represent a particular occupation and

social status is found in 1102 AD, when all clergy had to be clean shaven and long beards were banned by papal decree. Clergy members were identifiable not only by their particular dress, but also by the short cropped hair (and sometimes by the bald patch on the top of the head called a tonsure) and clean shaven face (Dowd 2010:38).

There are many ethnographic examples of hair having some type of magico-religious properties. In the biblical story, the strength of Samson was contained in his hair and once it was cut by Delilah, he lost his supernatural strength (Cooper 1971:38). Popular belief during the Middle Ages and Renaissance was that a witch's power came from her hair. When a suspected witch was captured, her hair was often partially or completely shaved to reduce or remove her magical powers (Cooper 1971:196). Hair was also used to ward against witchcraft and curses; witch bottles found throughout Britain and Ireland during the 17th and 18th century AD were used to remove a curse from the victim and to reverse the curse back onto the witch. Hair and urine from the victim of witchcraft were collected in a bottle along with a piece of felt cut into the shape of a heart and a number of bent pins. The bottle was then buried in the ground or thrown into a body of water. The Thames River is known to have yielded several examples of such "witch bottles" (Merrifield 1987:163-175).

A possible "witch bottle" from the eighteenth century was found associated with a Bronze Age cremation burial containing a razor in Gortereghy, Ireland. The farmer who found the burial died soon after from a kick in the head by a horse. Waddell proposes that the bottle contained holy water to placate the spirits of the deceased (Waddell 1990:47). Although it is unclear whether the bottle contained the hair of the deceased

farmer, it does show that these "witch bottles" were used to repel evil or vengeful spirits as well as protecting victims from witchcraft until recent times.

An example of hair being used to mark rites of passage comes from the Roman Empire. The first time a man shaved was an important day that marked his entrance into society as a full citizen of the Roman Empire. The beard was grown out and on a day planned ahead of time the beard was shaved off and the hair was then dedicated to a god. This was usually at the same time that a young man was presented his *toga virilis*, a toga only worn by men of the middle and upper class (Peck 1963:196). This example from Rome echoes some of the aspects of "CúChulainn's Shearing," with the removal of hair (in CúChulainn's case also the removal of flesh) marking the transformation from child into adult.

Ethnographic examples of the expression of identity and status show how hair and other body modification (temporary and permanent) can be used to signal a specific situation (e.g. mourning) or stages during the life-cycle (e.g. marital status, puberty) as well as association with a particular group. These examples of personal hygiene used in expressing identity all show the importance of visual cues involved in the construction of a particular identity. Sometimes the identity being expressed is situational (e.g. a period of mourning), represents a particular stage during the life-cycle (e.g. young woman's marital status through dress), or shows an association with a group (e.g. religious practices of cutting or growing hair in a particular way) (Cooper 1971:43).

Body modification and personal appearance are often used as non-verbal expressions of intentions in ethnographic accounts. Many of these examples focus on the non-verbal communication involved in signaling the persons' situational needs using the

culturally specific cues of particular dress and body modification. For example, the Sepik of Papua New Guinea signal their aggressive intentions toward neighboring tribes by donning certain clothing and ornamentation, as well as specific body modifications (Fontijn 2008:115). Fontijn (2008:115) suggests that a similar system could have been used during the Bronze Age to signal martial intentions, which might explain the close association between personal hygiene paraphernalia and warrior identity. Another example comes from Ireland, where during times of mourning women traditionally wear their hair down (Ó Hógáin 2002:107). Hair and personal appearance become visual forms of communication and allow the audience to respond properly without the need for verbal explanation.

Identity changes throughout a person's lifecycle often involve the need to express that identity. One of the first signs of puberty is the growth of pubic and body hair (including facial hair for males). Body hair becomes a symbol of adulthood and the presence and growth of body hair in a child would signal that they were ready for the rites of passage into adulthood (Cooper 1971:43). Other examples of hair used to show stages in the life cycle come from Inuit contexts (Cooper 1971:143), where young women wear their hair in two large buns on either side of their head to signal that they are unmarried. Once a woman is married she wears her hair in two long pig tails. The highly visible nature of hair lends itself well to signaling a person's identity during the life-cycle.

The use of hair in association with group membership includes kinship, community, and religious affiliation. Sikh men are required not to cut their hair or beard during their lifetime as one of five obligations (Dowd 2010:38). Their long hair is styled

under a turban and beards are twisted and wound around the ears to keep them out of the way of daily activities. A Sikh man's hair, along with the other four obligations, represent his commitment to his religious beliefs and symbolize his identity as a Sikh. The Pialla of Papua New Guinea use the hair of deceased relatives to create large wigs to signal the kinship relationships between the living and the deceased (Cooper 1971:114). Victorian mourning jewelry and decorations that used hair from deceased family members as a form of remembrance are likewise linking the dead and the living (Cooper 1971:232) (Figure 4.7). These examples from ethnographic sources highlight the ways the visibility and malleability of hair can be used to express identity and the different ways different cultures manipulate hair to express identity.

Other examples of hair in ethnographic examples illustrates the use of hair in magico-religious contexts. A "cow-lick" on a child's forehead is said to foretell intelligence and good health in Ireland while red hair is a sign of a fiery temper (Ó Hógáin 2002:20). There are many Irish superstitions that use hair to foretell a person's temperament or destiny. Most ethnographic examples of the magico-religious uses of hair are related to the removal of hair to weaken the individual. In Ireland, it is unlucky to have a woman cut a man's hair for he will lose his strength and virility (Ó Hógáin 2002:18).

Figure 4.7: Hair from Sophie Henry, Deceased, Age 21, (1881) Creating a French Cemetery Scene (Collection of John Whitenight; http://wagnerfreeinstitute.org/syllabi%202011-12/UnderGlass.htm).

Hair and nail cuttings have to be disposed of in a particular manner in many traditional cultures, including Ireland; hair must not be burned or the individual will spend Judgment Day getting their fingertips blistered as they try to retrieve their hair from the fire. Burning hair can also lead to weakening of the individual and if a bird uses head hair to make a nest it will cause the owner of the hair to have headaches. Hair and nails removed from the body must be buried in the ground or placed in a hole in the wall, lest they falls into the hands of someone who might use them in a curse (Ó Hógáin 2002:21 and 30). This association between hair and witchcraft is not only found in Europe; Australian Aborigines' "bone pointing" magic uses human hair as well as bone to curse enemies from a distance (Cooper 1971:217).

These ethnohistorical and ethnographic examples show that hair, personal appearance, and body modification can be used to express different kinds of identity throughout a person's life. Back Danielsson (2008) writes that it is the body that is used to express and craft a specific identity through body modification and dress and that such identities need to be continuously negotiated. Because of the visible nature of hair (particularly hair on the head and face), identity can be clearly expressed to the audience while still being easily changed at different stages of the life-cycle. Not only do these ethnohistorical and ethnographic examples show the fluidity and changing aspects of identity they also reference the power associated with human hair. Hair and nails are parts that are easily and painlessly removed from the body and are continuously replaced. This makes hair (and to a lesser extent nails) easily obtainable body parts for use in witchcraft and other sympathetic magic. Thus these ethnohistoric and ethnographic

examples illustrate some of the ways that hair, hair removal, and other body modifications might have been understood in prehistoric Europe.

Discussion

The evidence presented in this chapter is varied and complex. By using direct evidence of razors and preserved hair in the archaeological record in conjunction with indirect evidence of historical written accounts, iconography (both emic and etic), and ethnohistorical and ethnographic examples, we can begin to develop an approach to understanding how personal hygiene paraphernalia and body modification affected the construction and maintenance of male identity from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in northern Europe. The evidence utlized in this thesis also illustrates the complexity surrounding the negotiation and construction of "maleness" during this time. The lack of direct evidence in the archaeological record for body modification and personal appearance required this study to use razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia as proxies for masculine identity construction as an underlying element of the larger social system.

Limitations

The direct evidence represented by razors in the archaeological record and the few examples of preserved hair are temporally and regionally incongruent. There are a handful of examples of hair preserved in the archaeological record that are directly related to razors (i.e. Winterslow cremation burial, Scandinavian oak-coffin burials), but the other examples, particularly bog bodies, are dated to the Iron Age when razors are less common in the archaeological record of northern Europe. The most abundant direct evidence of razors being used to prepare the body of the deceased is found when there is

little or no direct evidence of razors themselves. This disparity between razors existing in the archaeological record and evidence of razors being used suggests that the absence of razors in the archaeological record does not mean that razors were not a part of the material culture of northern Europe during the Iron Age. In fact, the indirect evidence, including the historical accounts of Caesar and Diodorus as well as the iconography from emic and etic sources, supports this position, suggesting that Iron Age men in northern European continued to make use of a wide range of facial hair manipulation, possibly related to social status and specific identity expression. However the iconographic and historical accounts suggest that men had beards and/or mustaches in life while the bog bodies suggest that men were clean shaven. This could show that in life men wore facial hair, while shaving the deceased was an important part of preparing the body during mortuary ritual. However, bog bodies should not be considered representative of "normal" burial practices and the fact that most were clean shaven might have been specific to the sacrificial rituals associated with preparing these individuals for death. However, when compared with the Early/Middle Bronze Age oak-coffin burials in Denmark, in which men were clean shaven before interment, the shaving of men's facial hair, at least in Denmark, might have been seen as an important part of preparing the body for the next life in all contexts.

Chapter 5:

Conclusion

Based on the evidence so far, razors representated a specific type of "maleness" and status in Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe. They were not only important as objects, but also served as a highly visual non-verbal form of communication for their owners/users. The removal and/or shaping of facial hair in itself represented the razor even in the absence of the object itself. This unique property of razors allowed individuals to express their identity publically even in the physical absence of the object in question. However, in some cases burials did include razors as physical representations of identity, most likely an identity of "maleness", and razors were deposited in hoards in rituals of wealth destruction. In these contexts, razors serve as strong symbols of identity and status (Fontijn 2008; Treherne 1995).

During the Bronze Age, razors appear to have been physically and visibly present on the body, reinforcing a male and/or warrior elite identity. Many Class II razors have perforations near the top of the blade (Piggott 1948:135) that could have been used to suspend the razors from men's belts (Figure 5.1 c). Other razors have or might have had handles that could have been used for suspension, while there are a few examples of leather wrapping the blades of razors in burials, which have been use to attach them to the belt (Figure 5.1 f). Wooden boxes that covered the entire razor could not have been carried on the person and are usually found in graves(Figure 5.1 e). In this context, razors themselves become synonymous with maleness and can be used to represent masculinity.

Age appears to have played an important part in the burials with razors in northern Europe. Most of the burials that could be aged were those of adults. However, many of the burials that include razors from the Late Bronze Age are cremations and could only be tentatively aged at best. While the role of chronological age in the use and ownership of razors is not always accessible, social age might be easier to identify. "Social age involves notions about the appropriate timing of major events or rites of passage in the life cycle" and "may depend on changes to individuals linked to the experiences of a peer group moving through life stages together" (Sofaer 2001:296). The *fianna* in Ireland are a good example of an all-male peer group moving through a particular life stage. Likewise, changes in a boy's voice or the first appearance of facial hair signal the need for rites of passage into adulthood. The onset of puberty in humans

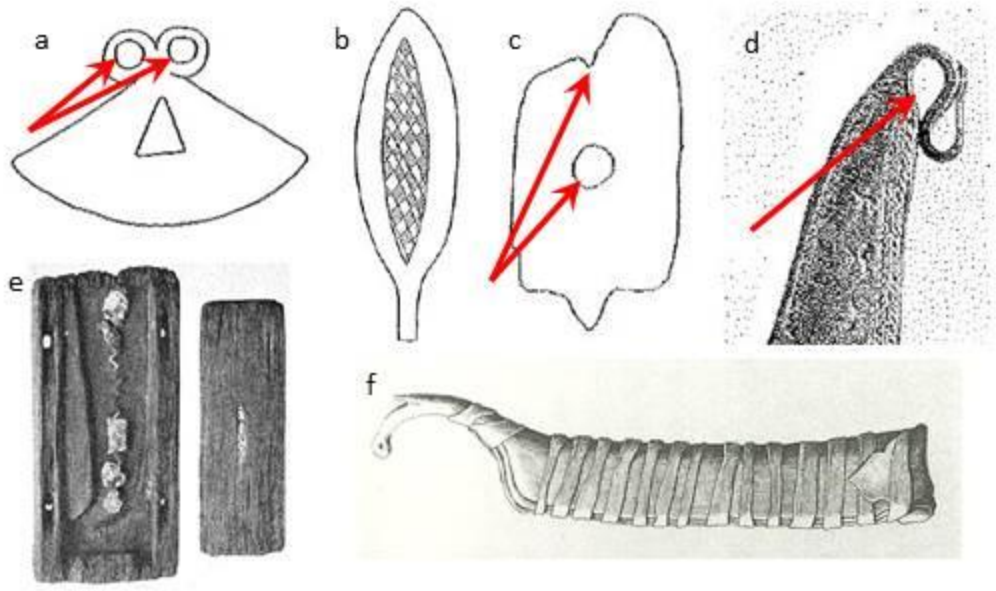

Figure 5.1: Possible suspension of razors a) Class III razors from Llyn Fawr Hoard (Piggott 1946:134) b) Class I razors from cremation burial in Sutherland, England (Piggott 1946:130) c) Class II razor from Middlesex, England (Piggott 1946:133) d) Danish razor from Snedsted, Denmark (Broholm 1947:45) e) Wooden case for razor from Vester Skjerninge (razor missing but gold inlay remains) (Broholm 1947:41) f) Razor wrapped in leather from Hvidegard oak-coffin grave (Kaul 1997:17).

does not correspond directly to the chronological age, but happens within an age range, so age is not necessarily measured in years but according to major events dictated by the cultural biographies of "what goals are appropriate for different kinds of persons at different points in their lifespans" (Robb 2007:288). With this in mind, razors were most likely associated not only with the warrior class, but with men who had gone through specific rites of passage and passed into adulthood.

The death of a young child who had not passed through later milestones of the life cycle might have had particular concerns for the surviving adults. Williams (2007) highlights a stark contrast between early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials with personal hygiene equipment and cremations in southern Britain. While adults are most likely to include personal hygiene equipment in inhumation burials, cremation burials are more likely to include infants and sub-adults. Razors are only found in cremation burials during this time (Williams 2007:77). Williams concludes that the personal hygiene paraphernalia were used to create an "idealized or even an aspired identity that was only partially or never fully achieved in life" (2007:80). In the cremation burials these objects were used to "emphasize the posthumous achievement of personhood" (ibid.) that might not have been experienced in life. This might explain Kilmore (Burial C), Ireland, which includes the cremated remains of an adult, child, and infant with two razors (Binchy 1967:59; Waddell 1990:150) as well as the presence of a flint blade associated with an infant in the Mesolithic double burial in Vedbaek, Denmark (Mithen 1998:132). Since almost every burial that includes a razor contains only one, the Kilmore burial could be interpreted as one razor belonging to the adult and the other to one of the children. Much like the flint daggers in Scandinavia during the Neolithic (Sarauw 2009), the razor could

have marked maleness as well as an idealized identity that was not achieved in life in these burials. In this light, the razors found in Kilmore (Burial C) might represent not only what was but what could have been or will be in the next life.

At the start of the Iron Age there is a change in depositional practices with regard to razors in northern Europe. Razors are no longer found in burials or hoards and there is a decrease in all selective deposits and a change in the artifact categories that are placed in the few examples of selective depositions that exist. The absence of razors in the archaeological record at the start of the Iron Age has not been discussed in depth nor have possible changes in the construction of a masculine identity in northern Europe been explored.

Interpretation of the Material

The synthesis of indirect evidence and direct evidence found in the archaeological record shows that there is a change in the deposition of razors from the Bronze to Iron Age in northern Europe even though other evidence shows razors continued to be used. By using historical accounts, iconography, and ethnohistorical and ethnographic examples to inform the direct evidence, this thesis has been able to explore several possible reasons for why the razors stopped being placed in burials and hoards during the start of the Iron Age but were still being used to shape a masculine identity during that time. It would be remiss to imply that there is a definitive answer to these questions; however it is possible to suggest some possible hypotheses regarding the disappearance of razors during the northern European Iron Age.

Taking into account changes in the economy, heightened regionalization, expansion of wetlands and bogs leading to less land for farming and grazing, and

increased Mediterranean influence in the Early Iron Age in some areas (Cunliffe 2008:300-302), I suggest the following hypotheses for changes in razor deposition with the provision that maleness itself might have undergone a transformation in how it was marked if not in its significance in society at this time.

Iron Age Shaving

Based on the evidence of the historical written sources, emic and etic iconography and bog bodies, it is highly unlikely that no one shaved in the northern European Iron Age, although it is possible that more men during the Iron Age wore full beards than during the Bronze Age. However, the iconographic representations of northern European men with mustaches and/or beards indicates that at least some men shaved their cheeks and chins in the Iron Age. The accounts of Caesar and Diodorus Siculus indicate that somemen had beards while Diodorus observed that men of different statuses had different types of facial hair at this time. Most male bog bodies found in Denmark, Britain, and Ireland show little evidence of facial hair and are assumed to have been clean shaven before interment. There is no evidence of any small cuts on the faces of male bog bodies that might suggest that they were cut during shaving. This implies that the skill and knowledge necessary to shcave with metal razors were both still present in the Iron Age.

Knives and Other Multi-Use Tools

The introduction of a more utilitarian tool for shaving is a more likely interpretation of the material culture patterns discussed here. With the collapse of the Bronze Age trade routes at the beginning of the Iron Age, bronze and other imported materials might have become rarer especially in Scandinavia. A tool that had multiple uses would have been better and more desirable than a tool used specifically to remove

hair. Knives or other smaller blades might have replaced razors or only a few individuals (part-time specialists/barbers) may have used razors reducing the number of specialized shaving implements in circulation over time.

There are a few examples of knives tht could have been used as razors in burials during the Iron Age in the British Isles. Iron Age burials R45, R50, and R141 from Rudston, Yorkshire in England as well as other burials from Winchester, Battery Hill and Burton Fleming, Yorkshire (BF63) all include knives that are about 10 cm long. These knives are larger than the Bronze Age razors, but could still have been used to achieve the same results. Other burials that include knives together with additional personal hygiene paraphernalia, includes a double burial at Maiden Castle (burials P.22 and P.23) in southern England, which contained a knife and an ear scoop (Whimster 1981: 268) another cremation burial at Little Amwell, Hertford Heath in England, that contained, togeth with a large amount of pottery, a knife and a pair of shears (Whimster 1981:375). It should be noted that in Denmark during the Bronze Age there was close association between razors and knives suggesting that in that context at least these implements probably served different purposes. However, there are no pre-Roman Iron Age burials with knives and other personal hygiene paraphernalia in Denmark. Furthermore, all of the burials containing razors during the Early Roman Period in Denmark include iron knives as well, which could suggest that knives were associated with razors and hair removal at least in Scandinavia. Although these are only a few examples of burials with knives and other types of personal hygiene paraphernalia, it is possible that knives eventually replaced razors in these contexts.

Bronze Age to Iron Age Shift in Depositional Practices

The transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in both regions saw an overall decrease in burial grave goods as well as changes in selective deposition of wealth. Bronze Age trade routes changed and economic and cultural power shifted to regions that had access to new deposits of iron. Denmark, Ireland, and Britain during the Bronze Age greatly benefitted from these trade routes; Denmark was the cultural and economic center of the Nordic Zone (Cunliffe 2008:302). However, changes in economic and cultural power during the Iron Age lead to greater regionalization in northern Europe. The decrease in luxury goods moving into the area would have had an effect on how wealth was viewed in these areas; in fact, the frequency of selective depositions of wealth drastically dropped from the beginning of the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age (Bradley 1990:168; Cunliffe 2008:349). Thus the economic and cultural changes at the beginning of the Iron Age could have had an impact on the symbolic value of personal hygiene paraphernalia and other objects used in identity expression.

During the Bronze Age, razors were placed in selective deposits and were intentionally placed in the archaeological record as a performance of identity, status, and/or religious beliefs (Fontijn 2008). As Williams and Sayers write "identities are rooted in practice" (2009:2), implying that it is the practice and action of using objects that create and maintain identity. Applying Woodward's material culture theory to this case study, objects can be used in place of interpersonal interactions to visually express a particular identity. In this sense objects "do 'social work'" (Woodward 2007:135) as well as having a performative capacity for conveying identity non-verbally (Woodward

2007:152). In addition to the non-verbal communication potential and the interdependence of objects, the concept of symbolic value allows the performative capacity of objects for different audiences to be considered. Using cultural value to help visualize these connections and relationships between humans and material culture enables us to apply Woodward's and Hodder's theories about the transformative relationships between identity and objects to this data set.

Bronze Age razors clearly had a high cultural value personally, communally, and possibly even regionally in northern Europe. We can see this in the selective deposition of razors with other objects that are interpreted as high status items, such as weapons and torcs. Estimations of the amounts of bronze in circulation during the Bronze Age indicates that only a small amount of bronze has survived in the archaeological record. Most of the bronze objects were melted down and recycled into new objects; thus making deposition of bronze relatively rare (Fontijn 2008:148). The objects selected for such deposits, including razors, must have had a symbolic significance that outweighed their economic value. Razors can be presumed to have had symbolic significance, or cultural value, based on their frequent appearance in selective deposits. When they stop being placed in selective deposits during the Iron Age, a change or shift in the cultural value of razors can also be assumed. I will explore some working hypotheses to explain this shift below.

Razors Shift into Different Spheres of Exchange

As seen above, the amount of metal that was placed in selective deposits during the Bronze Age is estimated to only represent a very small percentage of the metal in circulation at this time. This means that the symbolic value of the objects being placed in

these selective deposits would have been greater than their economic value. However, economic changes at the beginning of the Iron Age might have made the value of metal the razors were made of greater than their symbolic value.

With the changes in trade routes, bronze became a rarer material in northern Europe during the Iron Age. This would have raised the value of objects made out of this material, making razors along with other metal objects more likely to be recycled than placed into selective deposits. However, this hypothesis, while plausible, does not explain the changes in the symbolism of identity that were also taking place in northern Europe at this time. The next two hypotheses take the higher value of bronze within the community into account but also try to deal with the changes in the expression of maleness that may have allowed the value of the metal to supersede the symbolic value of razors.

Razors as "Maleness" or "Warrior Elite" Markers

There also might have been a change in how "maleness" and the warrior elite expressed their identity using objects. Fontijn (2008) explores the possibility that warrior identity during the Bronze Age was seen less as a "life-style" and more as a particular identity expressed in a particular context. His examination of weapons in burials and hoards found near or in water results in a different understanding of what swords may have symbolized and represented in Bronze Age Scandinavian community. Fontijn believes that the common assumption that warriors were prevalent in a predominantly egalitarian society is over emphasized. Swords are not a versatile tool but are used only in close-range combat possibly guided by specific rules and codes (Frontijn 2008:146-47). These weapons were held in high esteem and signaled the existence of a warrior-

elite and a non-local identity to the community. The razors, tweezers, and ornaments found along with swords show that bodily adornment was an important part of the warrior appearance (Frontijn 2008:147; Trehern 1995). Indeed, the warrior identity was not only expressed through weapons, but with the entire sets of objects that were used to indicate this identity (i.e. razors, tweezers, torcs, etc.). However, this does not account for razors found in burials without swords or other weapons.

Fontijn examines the two depositional context in which swords are found (burials and hoards in water) to interpret of the selective depositional practices of martial weapons. He believes that these deposits of swords represent the "deconstruction of martial identities" and were used as a "deliberate removal of warrior paraphernalia in a ritualized way" (2008:152). Fontijn compares the construction of a warrior identity with the shift in identity to be able to meet neighbors as enemies by the Sepik in Papua New Guinea. This shift in identity is visualized by specific bodily ornamentation and personal appearance. Fontijn believes that a similar process can be seen in the Bronze Age and might explain the association between warrior identity, razors, tweezers, and particular ornaments (2008:152). This means that the warrior identity during the Bronze Age was not fixed, but rather a temporary one expressed by weapons, personal hygiene paraphernalia, and ornamentation and suggests that men usually worn beards during peace time. Although Fontijn's interpretations of a temporary warrior identity is intriguing, it does not explain why razors are not strictly associated with weapons in Scandinavia.

Still, this malleability of identity in the Bronze Age could mean that razors were more important to the construction of martial maleness during this period than at the

beginning of the Iron Age, which sees a change in the expression of the warrior identity. The warrior identity becomes more of a "life-style", or becomes more consistent and fixed, which could lead to a decrease in the cultural value of razors to construct the warrior identity. This might mean that razors lost some or all of their symbolic association for the warrior elite. However this should not insinuate that razors were never used; rather, their cultural value may have been changed and they could have been considered a tool to maintain male identity without representing or symbolizing preparation for warfare as they may have done during the Bronze Age. With the warrior identity being one that is more permanent and static, razors would have lost their symbolic link with the warrior elite, thus making them less likely to be used in public displays of identity such as burials and hoards.

Cultural Value Shifts

The rarity of bronze in northern Europe during the Iron Age made it less likely that the large deposits found in the Bronze Age continue once the metal became more scarce. Metal objects would have been kept in circulation longer rather than being placed in selective deposits. Instead of being buried with the deceased or placed in hoards, razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia might have been passed on to the next generation after the owner died. The shift in depositions of razors from symbols of warrior identity for the community to family heirlooms may highlight an emphasis on the higher cultural association between razors during the Iron Age and individuals and kin groups.

Wells argues that "content of the burial and the ceremony were calculated to serve the purposes of the community" (2012:135). Following this argument, Bronze Age

burials with razors and, I would argue, hoards served the purposes of the community and the performative capacity of particular object categories was used to achieve the proper symbolism and meaning in the ritual. The razors in burials and hoards were intended for an audience consisting of the larger community and not just the family of the deceased or person sacrificing the object. During the Iron Age, burials and hoards do not include razors for they may no longer have served the purposes of the community as they did during the Bronze Age. However, there is still evidence of razors being used in the archaeological record, iconography, and etic written accounts, which suggests that razors are still present but are no longer deposited in the archaeological record in the same ways. This suggests that a shift from a communally significant symbolic value in the Bronze Age to a more personal/familial identity in the Iron Age.

This also indicates that the cultural value of razors became lower in the public sphere but might have gained value in the private sphere. Razors could have been associated with a family or kin group's identity as opposed to a single individual's identity. However due to the consistent re-sharpening necessary to keep the edge keen, such razors would probably wear out after a few generations. If razors were used over decades then there would be a need to replace or repair them. Many of the Bronze Age razors show considerable wear and repair, which might suggest that some razors were family heirlooms passed down through the family during this time as well. However, these worn razors are more often found in settlements and may not have had the symbolic value of those deposited in burials and hoards. These razors, if passed down through families or kin groups, might have gained a magico-religious power from being used by previous generations.

Melanie Giles's article "Making Metal and Forging Relations" (2007) examines some of the possible supernatural aspects of metal and smelting during the Iron Age in Britain. She proposes that burial mounds that show evidence of looting during prehistoric times might have been used to collect the bones of the deceased to create a special kind of bone charcoal. The bone charcoal could then have been used to carbonize the iron of a sword or other weapons to transfer the physical process or essence of the deceased into the metal (2007:405). Razors might have been treated in a similar manner. Shaving facial hair is a personal act and thus the razor is a personal item; ancestors who used the razors might have imbued these objects with their essence to be preserved by the metal of the razor and passed onto future generations. It might be because of this power that was put into the razor that they needed to be properly removed from circulation during the Bronze Age in the form of burials and hoards. During the Iron Age with more limited bronze resources, old razors in poor condition could have been melted down to create a new razors, but the new razor might still retain its special ancestral power.

Whether or not razors were an assigned ancestral essence, there is evidence that late Bronze Age razors were kept in circulation during the Iron Age. There are three examples of razors of late Bronze Age type in Iron Age contexts in Britain and Ireland (Piggott 1948:137-140). Although these razors might not be directly related to the Iron Age contexts in which they were found, it suggests that some Bronze Age razors were kept in circulation throughout the Iron Age instead of being placed in selective deposits. This evidence, along with that of the Iron Age bog bodies, iconography, and historical sources, suggests that hair removal was still practiced during the Iron Age, most likely using iron razors or knives. The change in depositional practices for razors at the start of

the Iron Age may have been affected by the higher economic value of bronze, a shift or decrease in cultural value of razors, a change in expressing maleness and warrior identities.

These hypotheses are meant to situate razors, personal hygiene, and body modification in relation to identity and "maleness" in the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition in northern Europe. Understanding the complexity of identity and gender provides a deeper insight into the different ways humans use objects in the archaeological record to express who they were. The examination of the material provided has yielded a number of different interpretations for the changes in depositional practices involving razors in northern Europe in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Although the true nature of these changes might not be apparent, it is obvious that there were shifts in the cultural value and symbolism of razors in relation to the construction, maintenance, and facilitation of masculine identity.

Applying the Theoretical Framework

Hodder's Entanglement Theory

Ian Hodder's theoretical concept of the interconnectedness of things and humans suggests material culture is part of a tangled web of human relations. Extrapolating Hodder's equation (Entanglement = HT + TT + TH + HH) (2012:88) into a matrix (Figure 5.2), provides four primary categories by which to analyze the material presented in Chapter 4. Following Treherne's influential work on the warrior package during the Bronze Age, Hodder's understanding of the interconnectedness of things, humans, and culture can be applied to razors as carriers of identity symbolism. However, an in-depth analysis of all of the object categories that make up Treherne's warrior package is beyond the scope of

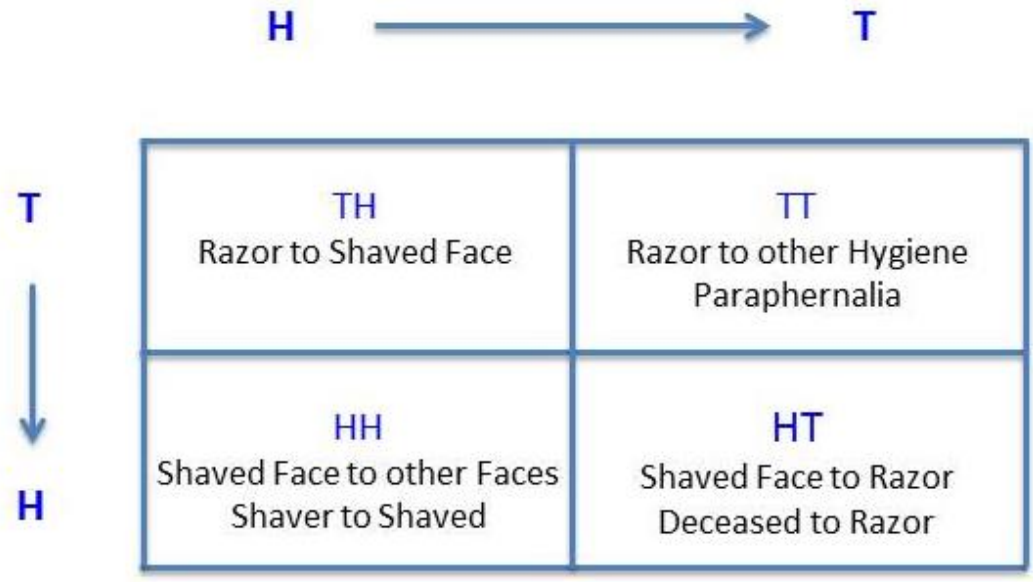

Figure 5.2: Hodder's entanglement equation as a matrix (thanks to William Wood for the suggestions) (2012:88).

this thesis. Focusing on razors as one part of this complicated system, I explore some of the possible applications of Hodder's entanglement theory to prehistoric European society to create a deeper understanding of how objects were used to create, maintain, and facilitate masculine identities.

Razor to Shaved Face (Things Depend on Humans)

To our modern mindset it is obvious that things, as discussed by Hodder, depend on humans; not only do humans create things, but they also use, repair, discard, and repurpose things for their own purposes. A razor depends on humans for a number of reasons. First for its creation a skilled smith would be required. As stated above, some experimental archaeology done on razors shows that they needed to be continually sharpened to get the best shave (Kavanagh 1991:85). Several razors found in the archaeological record in Britain and Ireland also show evidence of repair. Humans would

have to maintain and repair razors to keep them functioning proficiently. Furthermore, humans are needed to give razors the meaning and symbolic representation of the warrior identity that Treherne believes razors and other hygiene paraphernalia signaled (1995). The razor would need humans to transfer it through the spheres of exchange as well as to deposit it in ritual contexts.

Razor to Other Hygiene Paraphernalia (Things Depend on other Things)

Although it would be easy to devolve into a long analysis on razors as dependent on the complete warrior package, I focus here only on other hygiene paraphernalia associated with razors. This is not to say that razors are not dependent on the weapons, horse trappings, and feasting equipment in Treherne's warrior package, but there is considerable regional and temporal variability in this association. Most of the other personal hygiene equipment associated with maleness and found with razors are also tools used for hair removal, such as tweezers especially in Bronze Age Denmark. The consistent link with tweezers suggests that razors and tweezers were part of an associated hair removal process. Researchers have long suggested that razors were used to shave the larger portions of a man's face while tweezers were used for more sensitive or detailed spots (such as the upper lip or cleaning up the edges of a mustache or sideburns). The constant sharpening of razors would require a whet stone and possibly oil or water to keep the edge sharp. There are several examples of whetstones found with razors in Irish burials.

Razors also depend on other materials that were important parts of hygiene kits and were used to protect or store them. Many razors show evidence of being wrapped in leather or cloth to protect the metal and to keep an edge on the blade (Figure 5.1 e).

Several intricate cases and bags are known, including a wooden box with a sliding lid found in a Late Bronze Age burial in Denmark (Figure 5.1 d). If razors were worn on the body, they would have needed cords or thongs for suspension.

However, it is the link between razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia in the creating the warrior package that is key here. Razors on their own could serve as a symbols of maleness or adulthood, but when found along *with* tweezers and awls, as well as weapons, drinking vessels, and horse trappings they create the specific warrior/masculine identity.

Shaved Face to Razor (Humans Depend on Things)

Men needed razors to remove facial and possibly other body hair in prehistory. Razors were also needed to create particular styles of hair and could have been used to trim or cut head hair as well. Body hair could have been removed from an individual to be tattooed or painted. However, these actions could have been carried out with stone scrapers or other multi-use metal tools such as knives, which means that it was not just the function of razors that was important but the symbolism associated with them.

Razors themselves could present particular information. The fact that razors were made out of metal could imply status and wealth. Razors could also highlight a particular type of masculinity, signaling adulthood, warrior capabilities, and possibly other social roles. Not only the physical changes in a man's appearance could signal this identity but the razors themselves might do so, particularly in death. We can see this in the placement of razors in high status male graves (Treherne 1995). The deceased relays on the razor to express his gender, status, and/or role as it is still used to structure "social interaction" between the living and the deceased (Treherne 1995:124). Although this warrior

masculinity was not solely dependent on razors, razors still played a major role in one of the largest temporary physical transformations to a man's appearance that signaled this identity.

Shaved Face to Other Faces (Humans Depend on other Humans)

First and foremost, a shaved face signaled a man's identity in visible form. The quality of a groomed facial hair communicated ownership of or accessibility to a metal razor (as opposed to a flint scraper) and the status that was associated with such access. Facial hair could signal that a man had reached adulthood, but it is the ability to shave with a razor that would highlight a man's status, wealth, and possibly his profession or role in society. Depending on the style of his facial hair, as well as other parts of his costume, a man might show that he was a warrior, ritual practitioner (as Kavanagh suggests [1991]), or possibly even a patriarch or leader. The act of shaving might have involved more than just one individual. Mirrors were not introduced until the Late Iron Age in northern Europe suggesting that shaving done by two people: the shaver and the shaved. This intimate act would have shown a considerable amount of trust between the two individuals. In this the

Figure 5.3: Examples of the range for styling beards (http://www.olaalaa.com/knowledge/mustache-and-beard-styles/)

act of shaving the razor might have been used to a reaffirmation or display of trust between these two individuals.

One of the most important features of a shaved face is that it is recognizable at a distance. This would also dictate the types of interactions that happened between a human with a shaved face and those observing him. The style of facial hair might have been an indicator of a man's status as well as his gender, structuring his interactions with other humans based on that identity (Figure 5.3). Fontijn (2008) explores the possibility that particular changes in costume and appearance were part of the preparations for war. The removing or styling of facial hair, coupled with the presence of weapons, could have been a visual cue to a man's intentions and future participation in a particular activity, such as group violence. The removal of facial hair and/or head hair could also signal periods of mourning, as seen with the Winterslow cremation burial and the braid at Hohmichele tumulus. These different physical manifestations of appearances could have structured interactions and provided detailed information on the individual without verbal communication.

Lifecycle of a Bronze Age Razor

Hodder's entanglement theory illustrates the ways that humans and things are interconnected with one another within cultural systems. However, Hodder's theory does not explore these webs through time. Many researchers have noticed that razors found in burials are well-worn and some were repaired over time, implying that razors were used for a long period of time before being deposited in burials or hoards. They usually interpret these razors as personal items that followed the deceased through life and then into death. This idea that lifecycles of the razor and the user were intertwined and

overlapped has not been discussed in detail. I have utilized some of the ideas Fontijn develops in his study of weaponry in the Lowlands of the Netherlands (2008) as well as Kopytoff's cultural biography of things in this analysis (Kopytoff 1986). By focusing not only on the trajectory of the life of a Bronze Age man, but also the razor that he used throughout his lifetime, this analysis provides a different perspective on how razors and the men who used them were intertwined to create a "warrior entanglement complex".

The lifecycles of razors in Bronze and Iron Age Europe were just as complex as any person's. The fact that we do not know how long razors were in circulation, whether they were as personal and individualized as other researchers have suggested (Kaul 2013), or how objects were passed down through generations, pose numerous possibilities for the lifecycle of razors. For this project I have focused on two possible lifecycle trajectories: first, razors that were owned by one person during their life time and were buried with the owner, second, razors that were passed down through kinship networks until they could be safely removed from circulation in burials or hoards or recycled.

First the bronze razor is cast in a stone mold by a smith. The razor is then traded to a person who will either use it themselves or possibly gift it to another. The razor is used for years; it becomes worn where the man grips the blade with his fingers and shows wear from years of sharpening with a whetstone. It might need to be repaired by a smith. The razor could have been worn by the person in public and wear may appear on or near the suspension loop or perforation. Next, the man who first used the razor dies and one of two things happen: 1) the razor is deposited with the remains of the man in burial or 2) the razor is passed down the male line until it is recycled or deposed of in a hoard or

burial. Before the razor is deposited in a burial, it might be used to prepare the body (i.e. removing facial and/or body hair), used to remove the hair of mourners, and/or displayed with the body in the grave. If the body was to be cremated the razor might go through the funeral pyre or might be removed from the body and reunited with the cremated remains before being buried. This would signal the cultural death of the razor mirrored by the man who used it. If the razor simply became too worn or damaged, it might have been traded to a smith as scrap metal to be melted down into bronze ingots, or perhaps the razor would be recast into another razor or other bronze object. This would signal the cultural death of the razor as well as a cultural rebirth into a new object.

We have already seen how the razor's lifecycle is intertwined with the user's or users' lifecycles, but let us specifically return to the high status male lifecycle during the Bronze Age in northern Europe. First the male is born and soon grows into an adolescent. He starts to grow facial and body hair during puberty. Bergerbrant's study of Middle Bronze Age costume in southern Scandinavia shows that adolescent burials include the same costume elements as adults (2008:108). She suggests that around age 15, individuals were seen as full adult members of society. Following Bergerbrant's study, a boy of 15 years starting to grow his first beard might have signaled his readiness for initiation rites to become a full adult member to his community. He would be able/allowed to use a razor as part of that process. Through the years he uses the razor (whether daily, every few days, or only in particular circumstances) and the razor becomes worn. The man dies and is buried with a number of objects the mourners used to mark his status and gender, possibly including the razor.

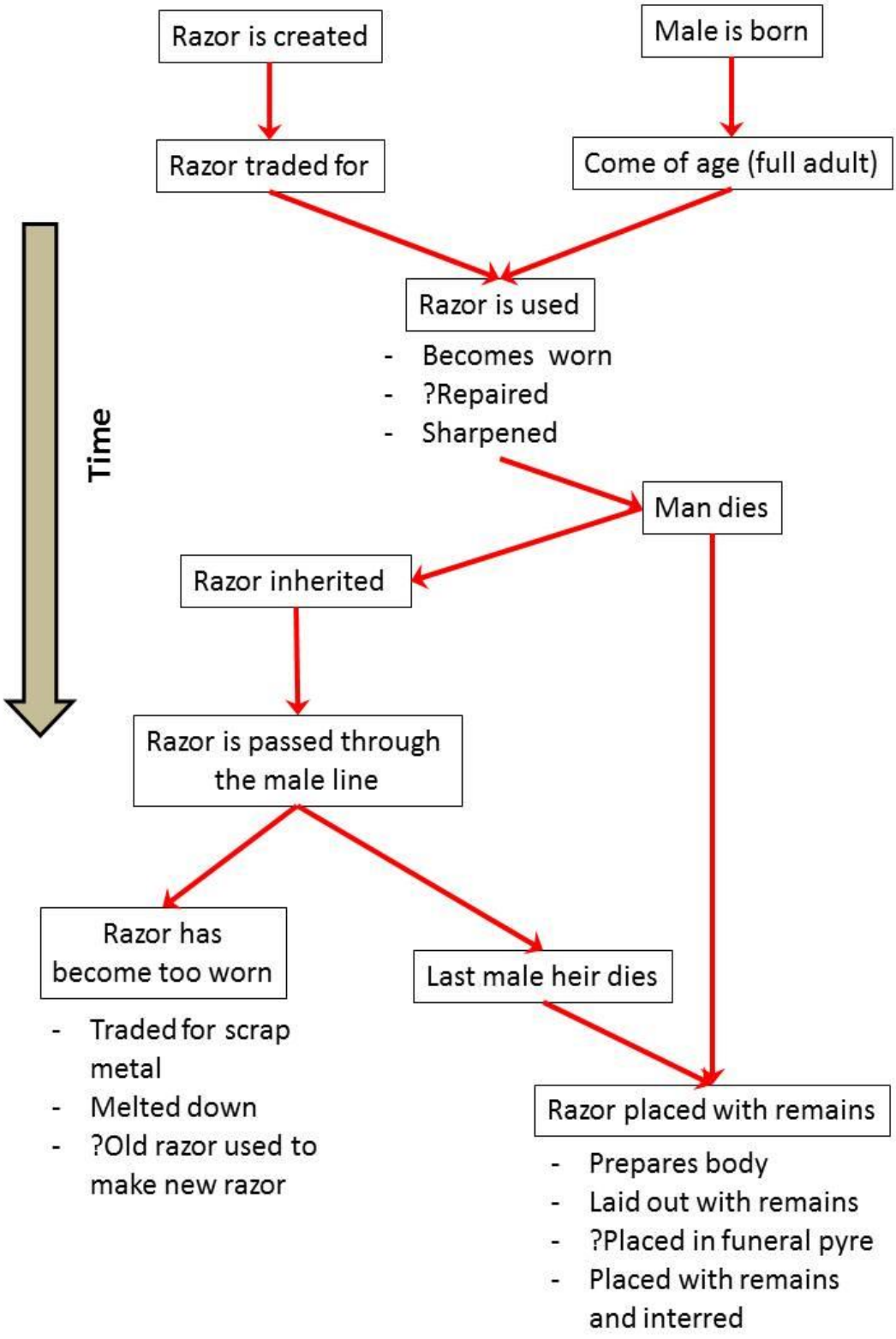

Figure 5.4: Proposed lifecycle for Bronze Age razor and male owner.

Fontijn argues that the "biographies of objects and individuals are fused" (2008:102) and examining razors in relation to the individual(s) that used them creates a deeper understanding about how razors were involved in the identities of the men who used them. This approach is particularly compatible with examining the role of personal hygiene equipment in Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe for the consistent use of the object throughout life as a symbol and a functional tool. The personal connection between razors and the men who used them shows the way that the lifecycles of objects and individuals are fused.

Creating the "Warrior Entanglement" Complex

Combining Hodder's entanglement theory with Kopytoff's cultural biography of things provides a more complete understanding of razors and how they were used to create, maintain, and facilitate masculine identity in prehistoric northern Europe. Hodder's theory contributes a complex approach to the interconnectedness of things and humans in cultural and societal systems. This interwoven dependence of humans and things allows us to explore the different aspects of warrior masculinity during the Bronze and Iron Age in northern Europe. Kopytoff's cultural biography of things and Fontijn's examination of weaponry in burials and hoards provides a way to add change over time to Hodder's entanglement theory. It is clear that the lifecycle of razors and the men who used them follow similar paths and are connected with one another.

Using Hodder's, Kopytoff's, and Fontijn's concepts creates a "warrior entanglement" complex with razors at its center. This approach could have easily been used with other objects associated with the warrior package. My aim was to illustrate the complex and interdependent relationships between personal hygiene paraphernalia and

the creation and maintenance of identity in prehistoric northern Europe. The "warrior entanglement" complex shows not only the interconnectedness of razors and men in Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe but also their entangled biographies. Archaeologists must consider this interconnectedness in their interpretations of such prehistoric material culture categories and focus on more regional analyses to track meaningful changes in these material complexes in the future.

Research Question: Review in Light of Evidence

This thesis has aimed to answer or at least explore five research questions. A discussion of how the evidence presented in this thesis addresses the questions posed in Chapter 1 is presented below.

1) *How did body modification and personal hygiene affect identity construction and the expression of ritually significant lifecycle phases during the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe?*

The use of body modification and personal hygiene as a non-verbal system of communication of gender, age (social or physical), and status can be seen in a number of different cultures. The use of razors to help construct and maintain a particular identity is often part of such practices. Treherne (1995) has described personal hygiene paraphernalia as part of the warrior package used to express a warrior elite identity during the Bronze Age. Fontijn (2008) has proposed that this warrior identity was not consistent and was assumed during particular instances and circumstances. The transformation into a warrior might have involved the use of personal hygiene paraphernalia, which is why razors and personal hygiene kits have a close association with the warrior identity during this time (2008:115).

Many researchers have argued that razors were used during an adult man's lifetime (Kavanagh 1991; Kaul 1998 and 2013). The considerable wear on many razor blades does suggests that razors were used for several years, and possibly generations, before being deposited in selective deposits in northern Europe. In fact, while a razor might not have been attached to a single individual's life course, the life course of the razor itself was significant. Many Late Bronze Age razors found in Iron Age contexts were considerably worn and could have been passed on through several generations. The burials including razors could be aged are all individuals between 20 and 40 and razors might have been seen as important objects in the visual expression of particular social stages of the lifecycle. Although razors could have been used at other times in a man's life, such as cutting the umbilical cord, preparing for war or preparing the dead body, razors appear to be mainly important objects for adult men.

2) *Can direct evidence, combined with indirect evidence for body modification, be used to understand gender and identity construction and maintenance during this time?*

Most of the previous research carried out on razors has focused on direct evidence without much consideration of indirect evidence (Broholm 1947; Binchey 1967; Butler and Smith 1956; Kavanagh 1991; Piggott 1946). Adding indirect evidence provides a more complete understanding of the link between body modification and identity construction. The dearth of razors in the Iron Age based only on direct evidence (bog bodies) suggests that only sacrificial victims were shaved before or soon after death. However, iconography, both emic and etic, and written sources indicates that razors were likely still part of the material culture but were no longer deposited the same way as they

had been in the Bronze Age. The direct evidence for body modification and personal hygiene is limited to the objects presumed to have been used on the body and the few examples of preserved soft tissue. By supplementing the direct evidence with indirect evidence form iconography and ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources, greater depth is possible in the interpretation of the archaeological record.

3) *Can razors in particular be used as a proxy for the significance of other types of body modification in northern Europe where indigenous texts and emic iconography can help interpret this part of the personal hygiene kit and through it the question of how the body was viewed in Iron Age Europe?*

The large number of razors in the archaeological record and literature coupled with the iconographic and written examples of male personal appearance during the Iron Age allows razors to be used as a proxy for the larger personal hygiene kit. Understanding razors from within the cultural concepts of identity and gender allows a more nuanced reconstruction of how personal appearance was used as a non-verbal way of communicating personal identity. More importantly, razors in this thesis show that the material culture of a community can be used to understand expressions of identity, including gender, through objects that facilitate body modification and personal hygiene.

4) *Can the concept of entanglement, as defined by Ian Hodder (2012), be applied to razors and the warrior package in a productive way?*

The newer concepts of material culture theory that Hodder describes have not been applied to many interpretations of material in prehistoric Europe. However, his theory of the interconnectedness of things and humans has provided this study with an interesting new perspective of the traditional interpretations of razors and other personal hygiene

paraphernalia in the archaeological record. Most importantly, Hodder's theory allows razors to gain agency and illuminates the possibilities of razors as the shapers of male and community identities.

5) *Can ethnographic examples of this form of body modification be used to generate possible hypotheses for ways in which hair, and by extension the items used to cut or shave it, might have been viewed in this way?*

In this thesis, I examined the ways personal hygiene paraphernalia were used as gender marking/making in communities, the performativity of body modification, and how the life-cycle was involved in the construction of identity. In the archaeological record, gender marking using objects is usually visible; less visible is performativity of identity and change through the lifecycle. It was important to use indirect evidence to generate possible hypotheses to understand the archaeological evidence of male identity as represented by facial hair signaling in Bronze and Iron Age northern Europe.

The different ways human cultures have used hair or view hair to mark different stages of life shows that hair and nails hold a special significance in magico-religious beliefs and biographical stage marking. Hair and nails are parts of the body that can be easily and painlessly removed from it and consistently grow back. This gives them special properties useful in ritual (as seen in the discussion of the bone pointing ceremony and the "witch bottles" in Chapter 4). Other examples show that hair is a highly visible non-verbal tool for communication of a particular identities or particular life stages (such as the Inuit woman's hairstyle used to signal her marital status). These examples of ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources show the range of ways that hair can be used to express identity as well as life events.

The Construction and Maintenance of Male Identity in European Prehistory

This thesis explored how personal hygiene paraphernalia and body modification contributed to the construction of "maleness" during the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe. Applying Hodder's entanglement theory to examining the interconnectedness of things and humans have helped illustrate the "warrior's entanglement" complex focusing on razors. Kopytoff's cultural biographies added a temporal element to Hodder's new theory. By examining the different ways humans and things interact within cultural systems, highlights the importance of interpreting cultural material as a part of and an actor within larger cultural complex.

The different approaches to understanding personal hygiene and body modification in the archaeological record used in this thesis show how direct and indirect evidence can be combined to inform missing elements in the archaeological record while the expression of identity using personal hygiene paraphernalia had been addressed in pervious studies (i.e. Treherne 1995), the in-depth analysis of how these objects were used in different ways demonstrated not only the how hygiene paraphernalia was used to create identity but also how personal hygiene paraphernalia was used to *represent* specific identities. This thesis aimed to highlight the importance of examining mundane objects in the archaeological record to understand more complex concepts such as identity, including gender, age, and social role.

The concept of maleness in prehistoric Europe is limited to the archaeological record; however, all masculinity at this time was not associated with warriors or elites. Maleness was most likely expressed in several different ways and different types of maleness could have been expressed in different ways using different objects. The

examination of the warrior elite category in this thesis also illustartes the ways identity changes through time, while the absence or reduction of razors in the archaeological record during the Iron Age had been noted perivously (Sørensen 1987), it has usually been discussed in relation to the economic transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. This thesis is represents an attempt to interpret of this shift from an interdisciplinary perspective.

Future Research

A more comprehensive examination of the razor evidence would be necessary to further explore the depositional patterns outlined here. This would make possible a comparison of the relationship between razors and other personal hygiene paraphernalia. Different and more nuanced patterns could be compared to the indirect evidence presented here to create a more in-depth analysis of personal appearance and body modification during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

The understanding of maleness and expressions of masculinity during prehistory in Europe is limited to a specific human identity (males) that was only one part of the community. Researchers should use hygiene and body modification as a way of understanding the construction of different identities including but not limited to gender. By expanding the analysis to include other types of identity, researchers can examine how they related to one another within the community. This could also provide insight into social status, family structure, and expressing occupational identity during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Body modification generally only leaves archaeologically visible traces if it affects the skeleton in some way. Facial hair and head hair are both significant carriers of

significant social information in so-called “traditional societies”, including those of Bronze and Iron Age Europe, and yet neither has been extensively explored to date. In addition, preparation of the human body for death or other rites of passage (birth, puberty, marriage etc.) often involves cutting hair or other body parts with a knife or razor. The tools used for such ritual action are often imbued with symbolic significance themselves. Razors are a material culture category that can provide insight into these more difficult to access areas of prehistory. By employing multiple lines of evidence regarding the use of razors in prehistoric Europe, it is clear that razors, as well as associated hygiene paraphernalia, were objects used in construction of cultural identity. This thesis was a first step in exploring body modification in the archaeological record while contributing to the growing literature on ritual, life cycles, and the body in archaeology more generally.

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Appendix A: British Burials

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Winterslow Hut	England	Cremation (bell-barrow)	Unknown	Yes	1 bronze razor, eyebrow hair, urn, bronze awl, 6 amber buttons	Early Bronze Age	Stoves (1946:126)	No	Razor found in urn with hair
Rudstone, E. R. Yorks	England	Inhumation	Male	Class 1 (parallel-sided blade, 2 5/8" with rounded ends; rivet hole in tang, straight hafting-mark)	Razor and axe-hammer of Beaker type (other inhumations include dagger, jet 'pulley-ring' and V-bored button)	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:50)	Yes	
Barrow No.2, Blanch Group, E. R. York	England	Inhumation	Unknown	Class I	Razor with "doubled up" skeleton	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:51)	Yes	
Stancomb Downs, Lambourn, Berks.	England	Cremation	Unknown	Class I (3 1/8", imperforated tang, blade 3/4" wide)	Razor, battle-axe, antler hammer, incense cup	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:51)	No	Lost in British Museum

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Broughton-in-Craven, Yorks.	England	Cremation (urn inverted)	Unknown	Class Ib (razor-knives) (rivet holes, less than 3" long, 1" wide, tang curves outward on either side)	Razor, stone battle-axe, a perforated hone, and bone pins with perforated heads	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:51)	No	
Ulverston, Lancs.	England	Cremation	Unknown	Class IB	Razor, two pots	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:51)	No	Razor bent and snapped across deliberately or by heat of the pyre
Broughton, Lincs.	England	Cremation (urn inverted)	Unknown	Class 1B	Razor and fragments of flint	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:51)	No	
Ty'n-y-Pwll, Llanddyfnan, Anglesey	Wales	Cremation	Unknown	Class 1A	Razor in Cordoned Urn	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:52)	No	
Dalmore, Alness, Ross-shire	Scotland	Cremation (cist burial in flat cemetery)	Unknown	Class IB	Razor	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:52)	No	

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Shttlefield, Lockerbie, Dumfries-shire	Scotland	Cremation (urn inverted)	Unknown	Class IA	Razor with cordoned urn	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:52)	No	
Laughton's Known, Holm parish Orkney Mainland	Scotland	Cremation (cist burial)	Unknown	Class I/II hybrid	Razor, hazel-wood sheath	Bronze Age	Butler and Smith (1956:52)	No	
Sandmill Farm, Stranraer, Wigtonshire	Scotland	unknown	Unknown	Class I	Bronze Razor, overhanging rim urn, bone bead, stone battle axe, 3 whetstones	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:136 [13])	Yes	
Priddy, Somerset	England	Cist burial (cremation)	Unknown	Class I	Bronze razor with sheath, burnt bones, amber beads and bronze ring	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:137 [30])	No	

Appendix B: Irish Burials

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Gortereghy, Co.Antrim	Ireland	Cremation (pit burial)	Unknown	Yes	Bronze razor, cordoned urn (18th cent. Glass bottle)	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:47)	No	Historic glass might have held holy water to placate spirits (witch bottle?).
Pollacorragune, C. Galway	Ireland	Cremation (mound)	Unknown	Yes	Burial: Bronze razor (ornamented tanged), cordoned urn. Mound: Highest level, animal bones (ox, pig, sheep/goat, horse), dog skeleton with 7 small glass beads	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:96)	Yes (of burial)	Urn was inverted
Cush 1, Co. Limerick	Ireland	Cremation (urn)	Unknown	Yes	Bronze razor, flint fabricator, charcoal frags in urn, cordoned urn	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:108)	Yes (of burial)	Urn was inverted
Cush 2, Co. Limerick	Ireland	Cremation (urn)	Unknown	Yes	Bronze razor, cordoned urn	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:108)	Yes (of burial)	
Glenaree, Co. Limerack	Ireland	Cremation (urn)	Unknown	Yes	Bronze razor, cordoned urn	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:180)	No	Urn was inverted

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Hill of Rath, Co. Louth	Ireland	Cremation (urn)	Unknown	Yes	Bronze razor, bone needle, perforated whetstone, flat polished stone, flint thumb scrapper, cordoned urn	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:111-113)	No	
Burren, Co. Mayo	Ireland	Cremation (tumulus)	Unknown	Possible	Three frags of burnt bronze (poss. Razor) smooth slender piece of stone	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:114)	No	No urn
Reardnogy More, Co. Tipperary	Ireland	Cremation	Probably female, adult	Possible	Small bronze 'razor' with three slabs of stone surrounding cremated remains	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:134)	Yes (of burial)	
Kilmore, Co. Westmeath (Burial C)	Ireland	Cremation (mound)	Adult, youth and infant	Class Ib (razor-knives)	2 bronze razors, U-shape setting of stones	Bronze Age	Waddell (1990:150) and Binchy (1967:59 [31-32])	Yes (of burial)	
Knockast, Coolatore, Co. Westmeath (1)	Ireland	Cremation	Unknown	Class I	Bronze razor, flint slug knife	Late Bronze Age	Piggot (1946:136 [22])	Yes	

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?	Notes
Knockast, Coolatore, Co. Westmeath (2)	Ireland	Cremation	Unknown	Class I	Bronze razor and cordoned urn	Late Bronze Age	Piggot (1946:136 [23])	Yes	
Knockast, Coolatore, Co. Westmeath (3)	Ireland	Cremation	Unknown	Class I	Bronze razor, pot and food-vessel	Late Bronze Age	Piggot (1946:136 [24])	Yes	Razor intentionally flowed and broken before burial
Belclare, Carrowbeg North, Galaway	Ireland	Cremation (primary in tumulus)	Unknown	Class I	Bronze razor and cremation	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:136 [16]) and Willmot and Shea (1939)	Yes	

Appendix C: Danish Burials

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Trindhøj A	Denmark	Inhumation (Oak Coffin)	Male	Yes	(Bronze) razor, sword with wooden scabbard, horn comb, belt, leather shoes?, cattle hide cap, 2 boxes	after c.1358 BC (Period 2)	Randsborg et al. (2006:119)	Yes
Nybøl	Denmark	Inhumation (Oak Coffin)	Male	Yes	(Bronze) razor wrapped in leather, horn comb, belt, wool blanket	c.1266 BC (Period 3)	Randsborg et al. (2006:120)	Yes
Sortehøj	Denmark	Inhumation (Oak Coffin)	Male	Yes	(Bronze) razor, knife, tweezers, pot	(c. 1150 BC) (Period 3)	Randsborg et al. (2006:120)	Yes
Trappendal (Grave 13)	Denmark	Cremation	Male, 30-50 yrs. old (based on razor)	Yes (horse head handle)	Bronze razor, bronze awl (6 cm)	late Early Bronze Age	Boysen and Andersen (1983:118-120, 121)	Yes
Trappendal (Grave 32)	Denmark	Cremation	Male (based on razor), 20-35 yrs. Old (based on remains)	Yes (Class IV)	Bronze razor, bronze tweezers, knife, wooden flakes, and small pieces of leather	late Early Bronze Age	Boysen and Andersen (1983:118-120, 121)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Kælderbjerg-gaard, Grave 15	Denmark (Holbo Herred, Søborg Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	with a bar along the back strip and a number of triangles; handle, ending in a small plate	knife, razor, tweezers, awl, miniature sword	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:11)	Yes
Sperrestrup, Grave 42	Denmark (Lynge-Frederiksborg Herred, Hjørlunde Sogn)	Inhumation	Unknown	handle ending in a stylized horse head	sword, razor, knife, narrow tweezers, double button, bronze piece (knife?), shaped hook, awl, 30 bronze nails with semicircular heads	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:13)	Yes
Lundtofte, Grave 101	Denmark (Sokkelunds Herred, Gentofte Sogn)	Inhumation (Central burial)	Unknown	razor handle shaped some a stylized horse head	miniature sword or dagger, razor, narrow unornamented tweezers, small knife, 2 double buttons	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:18)	Yes
Løve, Grave 203	Denmark (Løve Herred, Gjerslev Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	with a stylized bird's head, at the back an ornament strip	razor, tweezers has a circular portion coated with gold, awl with bronze shaft, knife with a curved back, blade, knife with handle peak	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:26)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Løve, Grave 204	Denmark (Løve Herred, Gjerslev Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	grip is shaped like a highly stylized horse head and wrapped in gold thread	sword, long knife, razor, narrow tweezers	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:26)	Yes
Hønsinge, Grave 231	Denmark (Ods Herred, Vig Sogn)	Inhumation	Unknown	simple flanged grip	long blade, razor, narrow tweezers, 2 awls, double button	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:28)	Yes
Eskebjerg, Grave 233	Denmark (Skippinge Herred, Bregninge Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	worn	razor, frag. a razor, narrow tweezers, 2 double buttons, small flat tutlus, open bangle	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:28)	Yes
Vedskølle, Grave 248	Denmark (Sorø Amt, Tjæreby Sogn)	Inhumation (Central burial)	Unknown	with back bent wire shaped grip	razor, knife with cross-shaped gold-wrapped grip, frag. a knife, unornamented tweezers, awl with molded bronze shaft, awl without shaft, 2 needles	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:30)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Vester Skjerninge, Grave 361	Denmark (Svendborg Amt, Vester Skjerninge Sogn)	unknown	Unknown	almost completely dissolved, it has on its side had an inlaid zigzag line of gold	sword with tang (edges covered with gold sheet), sword, long knife, wooden case with sliding lid for a razor, razor, tweezers of gold, frag. of a bronze tweezers, a small bronze knife?, a flat piece of bronze, 3 double buttons (coated with gold), flat bronzing, flat narrow gold thread that has been wrapped around a bronze piece, fragments of a bronze cauldron with excessive cross-shaped handle bracket	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:40)	Yes
Mollerup Grave 480	Denmark (Morsø Sønder Herred, Mollerup Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	wire is shaped handle has been repaired in ancient times	Horseshoe formed by sharp of a broken sword from the Early Bronze Age, Razor, tweezers	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:50)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Bordjerg, Grave 881	Denmark (Hjerm Herred, Borbjerg Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	unornamented razor	razor, tweezers, lanceolate blade, awl	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:74)	Yes
Rom, Grave 908	Denmark (Skodbord Herred, Rom Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	unornamented razor	razor, tweezers, lancet-shaped blade, awl, 2 double buttons, urn, flat lid	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:75)	Yes
Hedvigslyst, Grave 1033	Denmark (Arts Herred, Aarby Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	wire with molded grip	razor, large knife	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946)	
Ubby, Grave 1055	Denmark (Arts Herred, Ubby Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	razor with molded grip	miniature sword, razor, blade tang flat coiled in a spiral, lanceolate blade	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:85)	Yes
Ved Stege, Grave 1096	Denmark (Mønbo Herred, Fanefjord Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	razor with wire shaped grip, decorated with bow swing	razor, tweezers decorated with a swirl strip, lancet-shaped knife, urn decorated with 4 groups of arches	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:88)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Fjelsted, Grave 1128	Denmark (Vends Herred, Fjelsted Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	wide razor with a handle finished in a large spiral	razor, single-edge knife, lancet-shaped blade, urn with tapered neck with domed lid	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:95)	Yes
Skivum, Grave 1172	Denmark (Aars Herred, Skivium Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	wide razor, decorated with a large, well-executed ship image above a snake with neck top and front legs	razor, wide tweezers, long lancet-shaped blade in a stone covered urn	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:98)	Yes
Gullev, Grave 1209	Denmark (Houlbjerg Herred, Gullev Sogn)	Cremation (in stone circle)	Unknown	wide razor, decorated with 2 ship pictures	wide razor, long lance-shaped blade, broad tweezers suspended from a short chain terminating in a pole button	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:101)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Vester Tørslev, Grave 1255	Denmark (Nørhald Herred, Vester Tørslev)	Cremation	Unknown	razor handle coiled in a spiral (decorated with the bow of a ship and a few ornamental swirl)	razor, awl with molded bronze shaft, tweezers decorated with 2 bosses and a band	Period 5 (c. 700-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:104)	Yes
Pederstrup, Grave 1485	Denmark (Hammer Herred, Mogenstrup Sogn)	Inhumation	Unknown	semicircular razor, with incision in the back	razor, nail with flat head, urn with smoothly curved side and flat lid	Period 6 (c. 700-500)	Broholm (1946:120)	Yes
Hallingskov, Grave 1545	Denmark (Sunds Herred, Kirkeby Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	elongated razor, at each end a head of a horned animal	razor, residue of a timber case, long nail, urn, Frag. of lids	Period 6 (c. 700-500)	Broholm (1946:124)	Yes
Skærvad, Grave 1690	Denmark (Randers Nørre Herred, Ginnerup Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	curved razor at the back 3 eyelets	razor, nail with molded head	Period 6 (c. 700-500)	Broholm (1946:134)	Yes

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Vandel, Grave 1835a	Denmark (Randbøl Sogn)	Cremation	Unknown	large razor with spiral handle decorated with two beautifully crafted ship pictures	razor, wide tweezers (decorated with 3 bosses surrounded by a multi-stressed strip),face urn, with lid in the shape of a dish	Period 6 (c. 700-500)	Broholm (1946:143)	Yes
Bliksbjerg I, Lisbjerg	Denmark	Inhumation (found in cemetery with cremations)	Indeterm.	Yes	Iron brooch, 4 iron pins, iron knife, iron razor, 6 clay pots, textile frag.	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:42)	No
Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg (Grave 4)	Denmark	Inhumation (crouched on right, head W)	Indeterm.	Yes	Bronze brooch, iron razor, bronze pin, iron knife, 8 clay pots, animal bones.	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:45)	No
Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg (Grave 39)	Denmark	Inhumation (crouched on right, head W)	Indeterm. Adult	Yes	Iron razor, iron knife, 7 clay pots, potsherds, animal bones	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:45)	No
Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg (Grave 73)	Denmark	Inhumation (crouched on right, head W)	Probably Male, adult	Yes	Iron razor, iron knife, 7 clay pots	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:46)	No

Site	Location	Type	Sex/ Gender	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg (Grave 94)	Denmark	Inhumation (crouched on right, head W)	Indeterm. Adult	Yes	Bronze ring, iron pin, iron razor, iron knife, 5 clay pots	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:46-7)	No
Bulbjerg, Lisbjerg (Grave 109)	Denmark	Inhumation (crouched on right, head W)	Probably Male, adult	Yes	Iron Razor, iron knife, 9 clay pots	Early Roman Period	Sellevold et al. (1984:47)	No

Appendix D: British Hoards

Site	Location	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Taunton, Somerset	England	Class I (possible hybrid)	Bronze razor, with palstaves, socketed celts, socketed hammer, sickles, torcs, etc.	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:137 [31])	No
Wallingford, Berks.	England	Class II	Bronze razor, and other objects	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:138 [39])	Yes
Heathery Burn, Durham	England	Class II	Bronze razor and other objects	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:138 [43])	Yes
Llangwyllog, Anglesey	Wales	Class II	Bronze razor and other objects	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:139 [56])	Yes
Braes of Gicht, Aberdeenshire	Scotland	Class II	Bronze razor, necklets of continental Halstatt affinities	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:140 [78])	Yes
Glentrool, Kireudbright	Scotland	Class II (2 razors)	2 bronze razors, palstaves, spears, etc.	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:140 [79-80])	Yes
Leckwith, Glamorgan	Wales	Class III	Bronze razor	Late Bronze Age	Piggott (1946:141 [94])	Yes
WILT-E8DA70	Wiltshire, England	2 (tanged bifid [early LBA] and Hastatt C)	c. 114 Objects; including rapier, swords, sword hilts, spearheads, axeheads, gouges, chisels, sickles, knives pins, and some jewelry and buttons	Bronze/Iron Age (800-600 BC)	http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/467433	No

Appendix E: Irish Hoards

Site	Location	Type	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images ?
Cromaghs, Co. Antrim	Ireland	Bog Find	Class II	Razor, leather case for razor, looped socketed axehead, socketed gouge, disc-headed pin, woolen cloth	Late Bronze Age	Eogen (1983:52)	Yes
Killevy, Co. Armagh	Ireland	Bog Find	Class II	Razor, tanged chisel, awl, ring of jet	Late Bronze Age	Eogen (1983:60)	Yes
Booltiaghadine, Co. Clare	Ireland	Bog Find	Class II	Razor, looped socketed axehead, tanged chisel	Late Bronze Age	Eogen (1983:65)	Yes
Dowris, Co. Offaly	Ireland	Bog Find	Class II (3 known)	5 razors (2 lost), 5 swords, 1 sword chapes, 36 spearheads, 35 socketed axes, 1 socketed hammer, 5 gouges, 7 knives, 3 caldrons, 3 buckets, 26 horns, 48 crotals, 2 waste bronze	Late Bronze Age	Eogen (1983:119)	Yes
Monalty Duff, Co. Monaghan	Ireland	Crannog	Class II	Razor (tanged bifid), chape, 2 plain rings, ring with perforations through the body, double ring, flesh-fork, part of tube	Late Bronze Age	Eogen (1983:189)	No

Appendix F: Danish Hoards

Site	Location	Razor?	All material	Date	Reference	Images?
Grisby (M.23)	Denmark (Bog Find)	with horse head handle	Lens Shaped *bøjlenaal* Plain Edge, *bøjlenaal* of similar, *bøjlenaal* , hanger represent a rhombic, plate decorated with keyboard connected Knobs on a rim strip, 4 Spiral Bangles, tutulus with peak, Tutulus with high peak decorated with star pattern wheel-shaped button, greater tutulus of the same type decorated with a recessed star and key related parties, 3 neck rings *hulstøbte* and open rear, 2 neck rings with hook closure, decorated with fluting, 2 neck rings of a smooth, slender bronze rod, 2 celter one decorated with moldings, 1 chisel with socket, a punch, 12 bud sickles, fragment of a dagger blade, a bronze rod, a lump of bronze mass solidified in diglens form, tutulus, 4 awls, an arrowhead with barbs, razor with horse head handle, 2 fragments of a bangle, fragment of one halstring, fragmentation of sickles 3, fragments of several celts, fragments of 3 sword blades, fragments of a number of bronze plates, fragment of tweezers, fragments of 12 plump or square bronze bars, fragment of a thin bronze plate, 2 casting tubers, irregular lump of bronze, 2 oval bronze nuggets, and spiral finger ring of gold thread	Period 4 (c. 950-800 BC)	Broholm (1946:181)	Yes