

Clothes make the man: early medieval textiles from the Netherlands Brandenburgh, C.R.

Citation

Brandenburgh, C. R. (2016, May 10). *Clothes make the man : early medieval textiles from the Netherlands. Archaeological Studies Leiden University*. Leiden University Press, Leiden. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/39627

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/39627

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/39627 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Brandenburgh, C.R. **Title**: Clothes make the man: early medieval textiles from the Netherlands

Issue Date: 2016-05-10

Clothes make the man

Early medieval textiles from the Netherlands

Archaelogical Studies Leiden University is published by Leiden University Press, the Netherlands

Series editors: M.E. R. G. N. Jansen and H. Kamermans

Cover design: Joanne Porck Cover page image: Sjoerd Aarts

Layout: Samira Damato

Illustrations: Joanne Porck, Carl van Hees, Mia Schouten, Ellen Gehring and Chrystel Brandenburgh

ISBN 978 90 8728 260 8 e-ISBN 978 94 0060 257 1 NUR 682

© Chrystel Brandenburgh / Leiden University Press, 2016

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

This book is distributed in North America by the University of Chicago Press

Clothes make the man

Early medieval textiles from the Netherlands

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof.Mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker, volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties te verdedigen op dinsdag 10 mei 2016 klokke 15.00 uur

door

Chrystel Richarda Brandenburgh

geboren te Boxtel in 1975

Promotoren:

Prof. Dr. F.C.W.J. Theuws

Prof. Dr. L. Bender Jørgensen

Members of the opposition commission:

Prof. Dr. C.L. Hoffman

Prof. Dr. A.L. van Gijn

Dr. C. van Driel

Prof. Dr. J. Bazelmans

Prof. Dr. C.C. Bakels

Prof. Dr. J.C.A. Kolen

Prof. Dr. D.E.H. de Boer

Dr. E.B. Andersson Strand

Table of Contents

Preface				
1.	Intro	duction	1	
	1.1	Introduction	1	
	1.2	Research questions	1	
	1.3	Historical and theoretical concepts		
		1.3.1 A short historical framework	3	
		1.3.2 Theoretical framework	5	
		1.3.2.1 The social and symbolic dimensions of dress in early medieval society	5	
		1.3.2.2 Mortuary practice as a social display and ritual performance	7	
		1.3.2.3 Perception of textiles and their qualities	7	
	1.4	Dataset	10	
		1.4.1 The cemeteries	10	
		1.4.1.1 The cemetery of Bergeijk	10	
		1.4.1.2 The cemetery of Posterholt	10	
		1.4.1.3 The cemeteries of Maastricht: Sint-Servaaschurch, Vrijthof and Pandhof	11	
		1.4.1.4 The cemetery of Lent-Lentsveld	11	
		1.4.1.5 The cemetery of Wijchen	12	
		1.4.1.6 The cemetery of Leusden	12	
		1.4.1.7 The cemetery of Rhenen	12	
		1.4.2 The settlements	13	
		1.4.3 Taphonomy, quality and limitations of the dataset	14	
		1.4.3.1 Cemetery textiles	14	
		1.4.3.2 Settlement textiles	16	
	1.5	Methods	17	
		1.5.1 Technical analysis	17	
		1.5.2 Spatial and chronological analysis	18	
	1.6	Textile production, technology and terminology	19	
		1.6.1 Textile production in the early Middle Ages	19	
		1.6.2 Terminology	24	
		1.6.2.1 Tabby weaves	24	
		1.6.2.2 2/2 twills	25	
		1.6.2.3 2/1 twills	25	
		1.6.2.4 3/1 twill and 3/3 twill	25	

2.	The t	textiles from the cemetery of Bergeijk	2'	
	2.1	Introduction	28	
	2.2	Research questions and methods	28	
	2.3	Dataset	29	
	2.4	Cemetery textiles as a source for textile research		
	2.5	Results	3	
		2.5.1 The textiles from Bergeijk	3	
		2.5.1.1 Tabby weaves	3	
		2.5.1.2 2/2 twills	3	
		2.5.2 Quality of the fabrics	32	
		2.5.3 Developments of textiles	32	
		2.5.4 Textiles from graves of men and women	34	
		2.5.5 Graves rich in textiles	3.5	
		2.5.5.1 Grave 24	3.5	
		2.5.5.2 Grave 56	3.5	
		2.5.5.3 Grave 77	3′	
		2.5.5.4 Grave 89	3′	
	2.6	Some preliminary trends in burial textiles	38	
3.	Texti	les from the Posterholt cemetery	4	
	3.1	Introduction	42	
	3.2	Dataset	42	
	3.3	Results	42	
		3.3.1 The textiles from Posterholt	42	
		3.3.1.1 Tabby weaves	42	
		3.3.1.2 2/2 twills	44	
		3.3.2 Quality of the fabrics	44	
		3.3.3 Textiles throughout time	44	
		3.3.4 Textiles from graves of men, women and children	4:	
		3.3.5 Textiles related to belt parts	40	
	3.4	The textiles from Posterholt in a broader context	40	
4.		textiles from the early medieval cemeteries of the Sint-Servaas church in Maastricht mparative study of the cemeteries of the church, Pandhof and Vrijthof	49	
	4.1	Introduction	50	
	4.2	A short history of Maastricht and the cemeteries of the Sint-Servaas church	52	
	4.3	Research aims and questions	52	
	4.4	Dataset	53	
	4.5	Results	50	
		4.5.1 The types of textiles from the Sint-Servaas church, Pandhof and Vrijthof cemeteries	50	
		4.5.1.1 Tabby weaves	50	
		4.5.1.2 2/2 twills	5	
			- '	

		4.5.1.3 Rippenköper	58
	4.5.2	Gold thread	58
	4.5.3	Remains of sewing	61
	4.5.4	Distribution of the textiles among the cemeteries	61
	4.5.5	The use of textiles in the burial	62
		4.5.5.1 Textiles associated with the belt	62
		4.5.5.2 Textiles associated with the lower body	65
		4.5.5.3 Textiles associated with the upper body: brooches	66
		4.5.5.4 Textiles associated with headwear	69
		4.5.5.5 Textiles associated with weapons	69
	4.5.6	Textile quality	69
		4.5.6.1 Quality of textiles based on thread count	69
		4.5.6.2 Quality of textiles based on texture	70
		4.5.6.3 Quality over time	72
	4.5.7	Textiles associated with gender	72
4.6		xtiles from Maastricht in a broader geographical context	72
4.7	Discus	sion	74
5.1	Introdu	action	80
5.2		meteries of Lent-Lentseveld and Wijchen	80
5.3		rch questions and aims	80
5.4	Datase	•	81
5.5	Result		83
	5.5.1	The types of textiles from the cemeteries of Len-Lentseveld and Wijchen	83
		5.5.1.1 Tabby weaves	83
		5.5.1.2 Twills	84
	5.5.2	Textile quality	85
		5.5.2.1 Quality of textiles based on thread count	85
		5.5.2.2 Quality of textiles based on texture	86
	5.5.3	The use of textiles in the burial	87
		5.5.3.1 Textiles associated with the belt	87
		5.5.3.2 Textiles associated with the lower body	89
		5.5.3.3 Textiles associated with brooches	89
		5.5.3.4 Textiles associated with weapons	91
		5.5.3.5 Reconstructing men's dress in the period 300-350; Wijchen grave 183	92
	1	5.5.3.6 Reconstructing women's dress in the period 450-555; Wijchen grave 235	92
5.6	5.5.4	Textiles associated with men, women and children	93
5.6	Discus	sion	93

		al textile remains from settlements in the Netherlands of textile production	99	
6.1	Introd	uction and research problem	100	
6.2		rch question, data and methods	100	
0.2	6.2.1 Research question			
	6.2.2	Data	100 101	
	0.2.2	6.2.2.1 Quality	101	
		6.2.2.2 Dataset	103	
	6.2.3	Methods	103	
	0.2.0	6.2.3.1 Some central concepts: skill and quality	103	
		6.2.3.2 Chaîne opératoire	104	
		6.2.3.3 Production relating to society	105	
		6.2.3.4 Theory turned into practice	105	
6.3	Textile	e production	105	
	6.3.1	Fleece processing	105	
	6.3.2	Spinning	109	
		6.3.2.1 Quality of spinning	110	
	6.3.3	Dyeing	112	
	6.3.4	Weaving	116	
		6.3.4.1 Looms and their characteristics	116	
		6.3.4.2 The fabrics from Dutch settlements	116	
		6.3.4.3 Signs of specialization in weaving	119	
	6.3.5	Felting	119	
6.4	Functi	on and use of textiles	122	
	6.4.1	The function of the textiles	123	
	6.4.2	Needlework	127	
6.5	Craft s	specialisation in textiles	129	
		discovered: Two Early Medieval Headdresses from the eum of Antiquities, Leiden, the Netherlands	131	
7.1	Introd	uction	132	
	7.1.1	The Frisians and their settlements in the northern coastal	132	
		area of the Netherlands		
	7.1.2	Archaeological research in the terpen-area	132	
7.2		ations and habitation of the settlement in Leens	133	
7.3	The pi	illbox cap from Leens	133	
	7.3.1	Fabric	133	
	7.3.2	Construction	134	
	7.3.3	Colors	135	
7.4	The re	esearch and habitation of Dokkum-Berg Sion	135	
7.5		eaddress from Dokkum-Berg Sion	136	
	7.5.1	Fabric	136	
	7.5.2	Construction	137	
	7.5.3	Colors	138	
	7.5.4	Ways to wear the headdress	138	

	7.6	Histori	cal context	139		
	7.7	Colors	and decorative stitches: a sign of wealth?	142		
	7.8	Conclu		142		
8.	Discu	ission		145		
	8.1	Introdu	uction	145		
	8.2		cal characteristics of the textiles from the cemeteries	145		
	0.2	8.2.1	Fiber types	145		
		8.2.2	Dyes	145		
		8.2.3	The types of weaves	146		
		0.2.3	8.2.3.1 Tabby weaves	146		
			8.2.3.2 2/2 twills	146		
			8.2.3.3 Other types of twill	147		
			8.2.3.4 Tablet weave	147		
			8.2.3.5 Conclusions regarding the fabric types	147		
	8.3	Ouality	y of the textiles from the cemeteries	150		
		8.3.1	Quality of textiles based on thread count	150		
		8.3.2	Quality of textiles based on texture	151		
		8.3.3	Quality of textiles: glittering objects	151		
		8.3.4	Quality of textiles over time	155		
		8.3.5	Conclusions regarding textile quality	155		
	8.4	ε				
		8.4.1	Reconstruction of early medieval dress based on previous research	160		
			8.4.1.1 Women's clothing	160		
			8.4.1.2 Men's clothing	163		
			8.4.1.3 Headwear for men and women	164		
		8.4.2	Evidence of early medieval dress in the burials in the Netherlands	165		
			8.4.2.1 Textiles associated with the lower body (of both men and women)	165		
			8.4.2.2 Textiles associated with the belt	166		
			8.4.2.3 Textiles associated with brooches	169		
			8.4.2.4 Textiles associated with women's headwear	171		
		8.4.3	Conclusions regarding dress in the Merovingian graves	171		
	8.5		ng objects in graves	173		
	8.6	Mattresses, pillows and other materials on the bottom of the grave				
	8.7	Gender and age differentiation in burial textiles				
	8.8		s from the settlements	180 181		
	8.9	Discussion				
Refe	rences			185		

Summary / Samenvatting	198
About the Author	201
Appendices	206
Appendix I. The textiles from the cemetery of Bergeijk	206
Appendix II. The textiles from the cemetery of Posterholt	212
Appendix III. The textiles from the cemeteries of Maastricht	216
Appendix IV. The textiles from the cemeteries of Nijmegen	230
Appendix V. The textiles from the settlements	252

Preface

In the autumn of 2008, after having worked as a municipality archaeologist for more than 10 years, I decided it was time for a new challenge. A PhDresearch had been in the top 3 of my bucket list for many years, so I wrote a research proposal to investigate the early medieval textiles that had been found in The Netherlands during the last few decades and submitted it at Leiden University. After a few discussions with Prof. Dr. Willem Willems († 2014) my project was approved and I started a research that eventually continued until 2015 and took me towards nearly every corner of the country.

Why textiles? That question has been asked more often than I can remember. The short version of my answer always was: "I have this thing with threads...", followed by a (often) longer explanation why it would be useful to look into the way people made and used cloth and clothing in this period of our history. Textiles and clothing provide information about the identity of people (or the identity they want to have), their status, their age and their social contexts to name a few. Because clothes act as a social messenger even today, it brings us very close to the people, whose past archaeologists try to unravel.

Since no comprehensive research had been conducted into early medieval textiles from The Netherlands it seemed a good idea to fill this gap in our knowledge.

At the outset of my research some publications were available in which textiles from the early middle ages were described in more or less detail. However it soon became evident that several museums and depots still contained many textiles that had never been published before. These textiles were hidden in boxes of which the exact content was often not known. Therefore, I had to undertake miniature excavations within the storage rooms of the museums to (re)discover unique finds. The research has resulted in the

publication of eight articles of case studies covering textiles from both settlements and cemeteries. These case studies have been included in this thesis as chapters and can all be read individually. The first and final chapters of the thesis summarise the results of the case studies and place them into a broader geographical and theoretical context.

Having finished my research I now come to the pleasant part of being able to thank all those who have helped me in the last years. First of all I would like to thank the late Prof. Willem Willems for guiding me in the first years of my PhD-research. From the early days I had also received help from Prof. Dr. Frans Theuws and thankfully he agreed to take over the role of Willem Willems after his demise. I thank him for the way he acknowledged my research as an important contribution to his own cemetery-project and for involving me in the discussions regarding burial practices. His guidance during the final phases of my research has been of great help. A special thanks is due to Prof. Dr. Lise Bender Jørgensen for sharing her knowledge on textile research, discussing the theoretical and practical dilemmas of the topic, for her guidance and for her supportive and kind comments on earlier drafts of my texts.

Special thanks are due to my paranymphs Dr. Yvonne Lammers and Irene Gerrits. Yvonne, thank you for your critical review of my texts and guidance in the do's and don'ts of defending a thesis. Irene, dear friend, I thank you for your friendship and your help over the years.

This thesis could not have been written without the generous help of many people who shared their knowledge and provided access to the textiles. I am indebted to Dr. Gillian Vogelsang (Textile research Centre Leiden) and Sandra Comis for sharing their knowledge about textile research and for opening their libraries on archaeological textiles.

Furthermore, many thanks are due to Dr. Penelope Walton Rogers of the Anglo-Saxon Laboratory, York, for conducting the necessary analyses on fiber and dye samples and for sharing her knowledge built up in many years of textile research of the early medieval period.

I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Mirjam Kars, Maaike de Haas en Martine van Haperen for their discussions on burial practice and chronology; Dr. Piet van der Velde for his theoretical contribution: Paul Rossel who shared his documentation of the textiles from Sint-Servaas church; Wim Dijkman, Sjoerd Aarts and Dr. Titus Panhuysen for providing access to the textiles and documentation of the textiles from Maastricht and Dr. Raphael Panhuysen for providing the physical anthropological data on the burials. Likewise I would like to thank Dr. Annemarieke Willemsen, Marianne Stouthamer, and Robert Ritter for the opportunity to analyze the finds in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Egge Knol (Groninger Museum), Evert Kramer (Fries Museum), Dr. Ernst Taayke (provinciaal depot Nuis), Vincent van Vilsteren (Drents Museum) and Henk Hendrikse (Stichting Cultureel Erfgoed Zeeland) for providing access to the textiles in their collections as well. Lastly I thank Dr. Stijn Heeren, Joep Hendriks, Floris Reijnen and Ronny Meijers for enabling me to analyse the textile finds from Nijmegen.

My colleagues from Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken deserve a special word of thanks. It would demand too much paper here to thank you all personally, so thank you all for your support and our refreshing and often hilarious discussions regarding the subject of my thesis.

Nick and Julie, thank you! You know why...

I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional love and support, throughout my studies and career.

Dear Eeke, Aeneas en Leander, writing this dissertation has lasted most of your childhood. Instead of complaining about having an absent-minded or busy mother you were happy and loving whenever we were together. From now on time will be undivided for you.

Lastly, and most importantly, I thank my dear husband Job for his infinite support throughout the years and for keeping the family running while I was busy writing this thesis.