

The South Station Hoard



South Station

FDSDA



The South Station Hoard

Imagining, Creating, and
Empowering Violent Remains



Carlee A. Bradbury
Karie Edwards
Debra Lustig
Katie Sickman
Courtney Weida

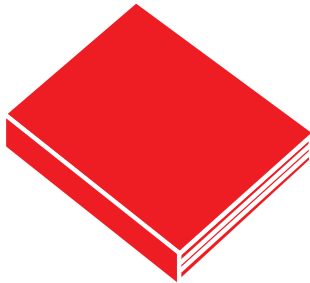




**Academic
Discourse**



**Fictionalized
Records**








**Creative
Process**








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Locker One



On Hoards: Project Introduction

Carlee A. Bradbury





Introduction

This collaborative arts research project compares the landmark discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard, the largest hoard of Anglo-Saxon gold and silver metalwork discovered in 2009, with an imagined hoard from present day pre-adolescent girls. We constructed a subterranean installation, generated speculative historical documents, collected and embellished social networking “artifacts,” and photographed the entire process. In addition to dealing with the notion of a medieval hoard as a signifier of a medieval warrior as both hero and anti-hero, we address contemporary issues relating to gender, youth culture, bullying, adolescent development, iconicity, status symbols, and additional contemporary tween issues.

Our fabricated hoard was stashed away in a long forgotten locker in Boston’s South Station by a group of tween girls in 2012 and found by a group of archaeologists in the year 2812. The hoard is comprised of the trappings of current “tween” girl culture. For example, cell phones decorated with hot pink crystals, necklaces with twinkling pendants, personalized/defaced dolls and religious objects. As our future archaeologists study the objects, the greater context of bullying emerges: the hoard objects were stolen from one group of tween girls by another. This

project suggests reconceptualization of treasure, the acts of hoarding and archiving, and visual cultures of both tween girls and medieval warriors. By comparing the discovery and reception of our new, imaginary find with that of the Staffordshire Hoard, we raise issues to the acceptability and understanding of real and historical violence.

Bloodshed and intense physicality marked the medieval warrior's existence. Weaponry was not just a medieval necessity but also a status symbol. Young girls impose just as much meaning to their specific visual culture, and though they do not rely on physical violence, the act of bullying can be just as devastating. The question of how we deal with violence associated with historical, and gendered, objects is central for us.

Our project confronts the form of the traditional collection of scholarly essays with the intense visuality of an artist book. The photographs and graphic design of our volume are just as important as the content of the essays themselves. Our volume depends on the fruitful collisions between the "scholarly" and "creative" processes. Even the tone of our writing will intentionally travel from fictional accounts to academic scholarship to personal accounts of bullying.

The main objective for this project is to contextualize the inherent violence of Staffordshire Hoard in terms of the shifting emotional responses



to a future imaginary hoard. So often, the gleaming materiality of treasure blinds us to emotional past lives of the objects themselves, along with their original owners and/or hoarders. Part of this contextualization depends on an extended application of the lessons learned from the Staffordshire Hoard, we turn this trove imbued with violence and beauty into a defensive tool.

On Hoards

Buried treasure. Few words illicit such a clear picture. Piles of gold chains pouring over mountains of coin, all twinkling and ready for the taking. Objects from early medieval hoards can be equally awesome, yet there is a clear danger in divorcing objects from their contexts. The word hoard has Old English origins, always meaning “an accumulation or collection of anything valuable hidden away or laid by for preservation or future use; a stock, store, esp. of money; a treasure.” But hoards are much, much more than buried treasure. We are interested in how and when they can be physical manifestations of great emotional violence that can be inherently defensive/protective or offensive/threatening.

The Derry-naflan Hoard is an example of a defensive hoard. Buried in the ground sometime in



the 10th century, this hoard is comprised exclusively of Church plate designed for practice of the Roman liturgy: a paten on a stand, a chalice, a strainer, and a basin. The hoard was found in 1980 by a father and son out metal detecting on the site of the remains of a monastery in Derrynaflan, in County Tipperary. The objects did not show signs of damage other than age and exposure to the elements; they were carefully arranged with the chalice sitting upright and other objects leaning against it.¹

It is impossible to determine when and why these objects were buried but Michael Ryan assumes that sometime in the 10th century the monks at Derrynaflan grew anxious and fearful about Viking raids and local political uprisings and buried their most prized possessions in the ground for safe keeping.² If accounts of Viking raids at Lindisfarne are any indication, the Derrynaflan monks must have been terrified:

Lo, it is nearly 350 years that we and our fathers have inhabited this most lovely land, and never before has such terror appeared in Britain as we have now suffered from a pagan race, nor was it thought that such an inroad from the sea could be made. Behold the church of St. Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God,



despoiled of all its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as a prey to pagan peoples. [. . .] What should be expected for other places, when the divine judgment has not spared this holy place?³

.... since the pagans have desecrated God's sanctuary, shed the blood of saints around the altar, laid waste the house of our hope and trampled the bodies of the saints like dung in the street. I can only cry from my heart before Christ's altar: "O Lord, spare thy people and do not give the Gentiles thine inheritance, lest the heathen say, 'Where is the God of the Christians?'" What assurance can the churches of Britain have, if Saint Cuthbert and so great a company of saints do not defend their own? Is this the beginning of the great suffering, or the outcome of the sins of those who live there? It has not happened by chance, but is the sign of some great guilt.⁴

Here terrible portents came about over the land of Northhumbira, and miserably frightened the people: these were immense flashes of lightning, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A



great famine immediately followed these signs; and a little after that in the same year on 8 January the raiding of heathen men miserably devastated God's church in Lindisfarne island by looting and slaughter.⁵

The visual imagery in these words is immediate. The monks must have felt vulnerable, exposed, and even hunted. Their space and ornaments, outward signs of their fervent spirituality had been violated. Their only defenses were prayer and to hide whatever they could.

Defensive hoards could also be religious or ritualistic in nature. For example, the Frome Hoard, found in 2010, contains over 50,000 Roman coins gathered in a delicate ceramic pot. The coins all date to between 253 and 305. Archaeologists have proven that the pot must have been carefully placed in the ground, then filled with coins, and finally buried. This was not a causal activity, instead the coins were likely meant to serve as some sort of ritual offering.⁶

Considering only these two other hoard contexts, the Staffordshire material starts to look more sinister. Leslie Webster describes it as "very male treasure."⁷ Indeed, of the 3,500 objects all but a handful are parts of inherently military objects. The few pieces not associated with the early medieval



technology of warfare, are Christian objects that have been defaced beyond immediate recognition.

Though speculations may be tempting and tantalizing, it is likely that we will never know who collected and buried the Staffordshire Hoard. We will never know why. Perhaps that is a good thing. The stunning visual beauty of the objects has the power to blind us to the inherent violence present in the objects themselves. Let us consider one of the most widely reproduced objects from the hoard: the folded cross.

The immediacy of the hoarder's intent for the processional cross is clear: to crumple it into a ball as if it were a sheet of paper. Whether the ultimate goal was to fit the object into a smaller place or to deface the symbolism of Christianity, the effect of domination was achieved. Or was it? Really this damage created and made permanent a sense of conflict (present in most of the objects from the hoard). Intentionally or not, the hoarder reformed the formal geometry of the cross into a network of lines that seem to push and pull at each other. He created a new, visually dynamic object that begs closer inspection. Adding to this visual tension and anxiety are the beasts. The zoomorphic interlaces creatures seem to push the folded cross arms back to their original extension, while the gold is forced to hold its mangled shape. Ultimately the emptiness of most of the gem mounts signals us to the

success of the hoarder. The interlace creatures can only point to where garnets or rock crystals must have been.

The physicality of the defacement of this cross should not be underestimated. Whether the cross was attached to a processional mount or to the cover of a book, ripping it free would have been no small task. Even though gold is quite malleable, crushing into its new shape would have required significant physical strength. The folded cross is captivating for the questions it raises. Questions that are impossible to answer. The constant that remains is the physical residue of a violent act.

In the words and images that follow, the discovery and investigation of our imaginary hoard seeks to provide insight into some of the questions we will never be able to answer about the Staffordshire Hoard.



Locker Two

Visual Prologue

Karie Edwards





Constructed South Station Subterranean Installation.





Discovered South Station Hoard.

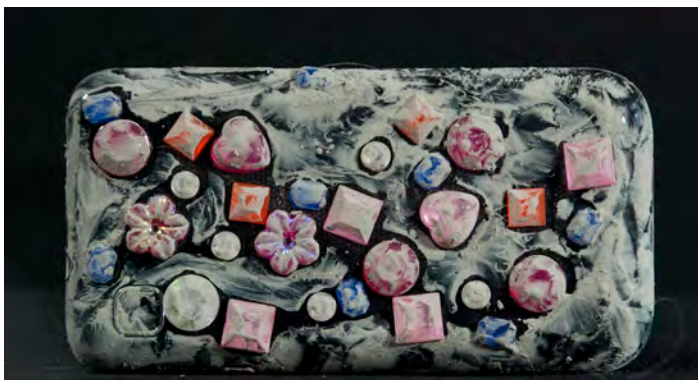




Opposite Page: Top Left, Archaeological find of defaced dolls. **Top Right**, Archaeological find of bible and cellular phone. **Bottom**, Archaeological find of gold coin.

Top, Collections containers. **Bottom**, Sampling of discovered coins.





Opposite Page:
Crystal rosary (before
cleaning).

Top, Personalized
cellular phone (before
cleaning). **Bottom,**
Detail of South Station
Hoard.





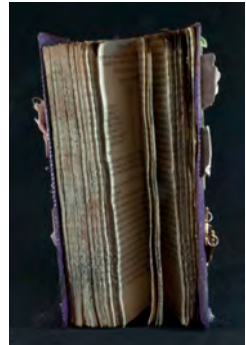
Detail of discovered religious items.





Detail of discovered coin purse.





Opposite Page: Top, Silver guardian angel pendant. **Bottom**, Gold crucifix pendent and green gem necklace.

Top Left, Personalized bible. **Top Right**, Side view of personalized bible. **Bottom**, Ten Commandants bracelet.





Opposite Page: Top, Embellished coin purse. **Middle,** Blue stone bracelet. **Bottom,** Silver charm bracelet.

Top, Religious iconography bracelet. **Middle,** Pewter and blue beaded bracelet with gold angel charm. **Bottom,** Wooden peace symbol bracelet.





Opposite Page: Top, Blue plastic rosary.
Middle, Red crystal rosary.
Bottom, Clear crystal rosary.

Top Left, Gold guardian angel pin. **Top Right,** Gold praying hands pin. **Middle Top,** Pewter finger rosary. **Middle Bottom,** Silver Virgin Mary Immaculate Conception medallion and necklace. **Bottom,** Single gold earring with pink stone.

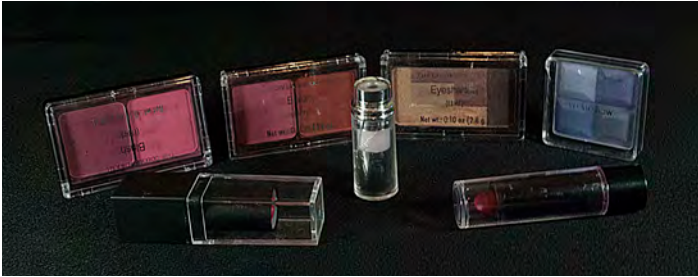




Top, Defaced doll. **Bottom Left**, Defaced doll. **Bottom Right**, Black and white cloth hair adornment.

Opposite Page: Top, Variety of cosmetics. **Middle Top**, Pink and black feather hair barrette. **Middle Bottom Left**, Variegated turquoise and black feather hair barrette. **Middle Bottom Right**, Purple and brown feather head band. **Bottom**, Variegated peacock feather and chain hair adornment.





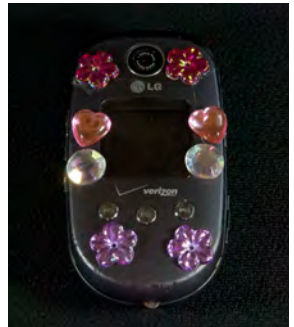
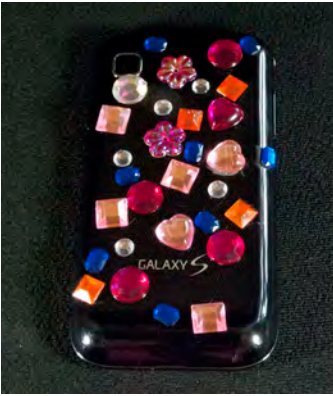


Top, Gold Notre Dame Academy Pin. **Middle**, Gold finish key pin with charms of cross anchor and heart. **Bottom**, Faux crystal diamond.



Opposite Page: Top Left, Personalized Galaxy S cellular smart phone. **Top Right**, Back of personalized Galaxy S cellular smart phone. **Bottom Left**, Personalized T-Mobile cellular smart phone back. **Middle Right**, Personalized LG Verizon cellular flip phone. **Bottom Right**, Personalized T-Mobile cellular smart phone front.







Top, Silver toned crucifix ring. **Bottom**, Silver and gold toned ring with colored stone.





Top, Gold toned ring. **Bottom**, Silver toned ring with green stone.



Top, Susan B. Anthony silver dollar coin. **Middle**, Silver half dollar coin. **Bottom**, Gold Sacagawea gold dollar coin.

Opposite Page: Top, Silver religious medallion. **Middle Top**, Silver religious coin. **Middle Bottom**, Silver religious coin. **Bottom**, Silver religious coin.







Locker Three

**Fictional Narratives,
Archeologist's Notes,
Primary Sources Found
in the Future**

Carlee A. Bradbury





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Notes from Dr. X, Oxford University

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As dictated to StenoLink App

October 14, 2812

Big day! N's team has been working at the old South Station site for months. The citywide destruction from the summer 2012 reactor blast at MIT has been mostly excavated but we've just now reached the lower levels of the station. So much work has continuously yielded nothing, but not today!! Bank of lockers found in a sealed off bathroom on one of the lower concourses. Just now looking at the pictures N just e-mailed He called earlier, breathless "You won't believe it! Phones, jewelry, luxe objects from circa 2000! All mint, just dusty from all the debris! Book your ticket NOW!" I'm set to fly to Boston tomorrow but I can't stop studying the preliminary images from the site – it's a locker filled with glittering objects. Never seen so many shades of pink, all twinkling despite the dust. One by one the objects emerge from the locker – looks like at least a



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couple of communication devices, hard to make out the rest, looks like lots of beads and perhaps some dolls? Can't tell, need to get my hands on this stuff. Will have to miss J's birthday party tomorrow, but this should be worth it!

Initial thoughts: way more stuff here than at the Pleasant Street find from last year. This looks unprecedented. Truly going to change the field – need to get there before the Cambridge goons. Paper needs to come FAST. Want my name on this. Seems like a hoard – random, yet precious – must have been stored away for safekeeping. So much pink, early 21st so specific about gender colored so much be female.

October 15, 2812

Dead tired – got to the site this morning. Still radioactive, had to wear one of those suits, hate them: hot and smelly. The site seemed hallowed, so still and empty of all life except our one locker. Thoroughly documented and emptied, I'm the first to get my hands on the objects at the Harvard Lab. Beat H's team from Cambridge, this project is mine! And

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it's going to change EVERYTHING!! 30 major objects and about a hundred secondary ones. Everything is personalized, definitely stuff made by and for girls, guessing about 10-15 years old.

October 20, 2812

Whirlwind! All objects catalogued. Main discovery, what I thought was just jewelry are religious objects: rosaries, rings, saint's medals, etc. These girls definitely were Catholic. Then there's tech stuff – all top quality and made personal. Still can't figure out why – meeting with team of archival data miners at Harvard tomorrow. Need some answers. Also need to get home, J's birthday has come and gone, she's now 13 and I'm overwhelmed!

Questions: Why did they keep such valuables in a locker? Why not a safer place? Why are the objects either pristine or intentionally damaged? Why girls' stuff? Why so many of the same thing? Why? Why? Why? Why?

October 21, 2812

Frustrated. Miners last call dates from the



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phones: April 16, 2012. All the same date and calling the same 911 number. MIT blast didn't happen until May 12th – the goods were stowed in the locker by then. WHY? Booked a ticket home for next week.

October 23, 2812

New – the miners pulled some names from the phones. KK, LL, and MM from Worcester, MA. They would have been 12 years old in April 2012. They attended St. Mungo's Catholic School for Girls. Found details in the census and they are now mining through data from Twitter and Facebook. Census tells us good, upper middle class families. But how did they get to Boston and why did they stash their stuff in South Station? This makes no sense. The objects are so revealing but I am starting to get a bad feeling.

October 30, 2812

Sick. Twitter and Facebook revealed my girls were robbed. Globe article has interviews with them about how they were attacked by a young black man wearing a gray hoodie on their way home from school. It doesn't add up – forensics experts still

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working on a number of partial fingerprints, meeting them tomorrow.

But the objects are so beautiful, so tantalizing, my colleague just sent these notes about the fake crystal, it's plastic but so compelling:

Attached File: Colleague's Notes

“Shimmering beneath dust and debris, a brilliantly clear gem awaits our discovery. We know from geological records that there was once an abundance of precious gemstones that were created by the earth itself. Geodes, crystals, caverns, and other geological conditions formed natural treasures of great value. Diamonds forged from carbon deposits at high density or temperature would have been particularly precious and often included in historic treasures like engagement rings or adornments for royalty. However, the artifact we have found is man-made, likely created from a synthetic material once known as a plastic or polymer in a mold. We believe it was modeled after those natural gemstones.”



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I have come to believe that the diamond object was very precious to its owners. The pre-adolescent girl who initially had this gem apparently carried it with her nearly everywhere within her purse. We believe it served as a sort of talisman or good luck charm to her. Several popular stores or boutiques of the time period geared towards teen buyers include jewelry and objects with similarly large jewels that simulated rarer objects. We found similar smaller synthetic gems on the portable “cellular” phones belonging to the teens, which were decorated by hand with these symbols of treasure. We speculate that these gems came to symbolize not only material wealth, but also perhaps aspirations of beauty, even marriage rituals of the time. Or maybe a purer concept of treasure, of aesthetics.

October 31, 2812

Sicker. The fingerprints from the objects and the locker are from 3 new girls: NN, OO, and PP. Also from Worcester but went to a different school, St. Peter Marian. Each were expelled in early May 2012 for bad behavior. Miners are on the case.

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November 2, 2012

Home. Exhausted. Overwhelmed. Miners did major work and found all sorts of material in the twitter archives. NN, OO, and PP taunted and tormented KK, LL, and MM for months. Brutal words. Vicious. They were true bullies: they got to know their victims well enough to exploit their "secrets." KK's father was Jewish, LL struggled with anorexia, and MM's family was on welfare.

Horrified. My girls were prey, and their objects were no more that loot.

Here are just two of the Facebook posts:

Attached Files (3): Facebook-1, Facebook-2, Twitter-1

"I'm so glad I took that bratty popular girls most loved possession--this silly childish doll. Why would anyone even play with a doll? They are so dumb, you get to dress them up in cool clothes, and do their hair and play make believe with all your other friends that have dolls. How stupid is it to spend the night at each others house and play with these dumb dolls and pretend to go out to lunch,



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meet boys, go to balls-S-T-U-P-I-D. Being popular and hanging out with all your friends is useless and a total waste of time. Who wants to play with toys and act out all your secret dreams and desires? That is just foolish girl stuff! Well, let us just see how they like it if I chop off their dolls beautiful hair (because their mother can't afford to take them to the salon)? Maybe I should put some makeup on the eyes (which is really a black eye because they asked "What's for dinner?"). How about tattoos all over the dolls body (not real tattoos just cigarette burns)? Not that I would know about anything like that."

Facebook-1

Facebook-2

Twitter-1

"Awesome, look at all this silver and gold, I feel like a pirate with my stolen booty! What a feeling it will be to go into a store with money in my pocket. I won't have that sinking feeling of the store clerk watching me and thinking I'm going to steal something—which I usually

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do, but this time I won't have to. That rich Catholic girl won't even notice it's gone and if she does, her Daddy will just give her more. Wow, some of these coins are cool, I wonder where they come from? I've seen the gold Sacajawea coins before, well I've never had one of my own but I've just seen other peoples before. Cool, there are silver dollars, fifty-cent pieces, and some that have the Pope on them, those must be special. This is such a great collection, maybe I will spend some of it but keep most of it because I feel important having them."

Facebook-1 Facebook-2 Twitter-1

The last tweet talks about the bullies running away to New York City.

"After school tomorrow, we get the stash + sell it all in Chinatown. Then we camp out for tickets to see Justin Beiber. So excited! OMG!"

Facebook-1 Facebook-2 Twitter-1



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I'm happy they didn't make it. But thinking about my J turning 13 ... which girl will she be? Will she tell me if something like this happens to her? Will I be able to step in early enough before it gets to this level?

Meanwhile, the British Museum wants the objects. Great. Shouldn't have made such a big deal of the find. Don't even want to tell them the whole story but what can I say, the past was so violent. Girls hunting girls. What can I tell them?

End of

Notes from Dr. X, Oxford University

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Locker Four

Warrior Heroes or Warrior Bullies?

Debra Lustig and Carlee A. Bradbury





Ritual consistency of conflict during the early Middle Ages forced young men to conform to an image of heroism based almost entirely on deeds performed in battle. In this chapter, we will broadly outline and discuss key, and often conflicting, elements of the medieval warrior hero's identity and the visual culture it required and inspired. Our primary role model is Beowulf. This will lead to a discussion of key pieces from the Staffordshire Hoard and how they (and their mutilations) make these ideas of warriorhood manifest. Ultimately, we see the warrior hero as a potential monster figure, just as a young girl can devolve into a bully in our own contemporary culture.

Physical violence often defined manhood for early medieval warriors who sought to assert themselves by defeating powerful foes, elevating themselves as leaders, and acquiring resources to gain prestige. Opportunities for self-aggrandizement in battle proved powerful tools for increasing social status. But as the political atmosphere of the period changed and small, local chiefdoms consolidated into larger, regional seats of power, the nature of war changed as well, demanding new skills from warriors across the board, changing the definition of manhood.

Self-control was essential to success in early medieval warfare, to the extent that warriors sought to rid themselves of emotions that could hinder action in





battle. Deborah Shepherd calls this ‘dehumanization’ – the shedding of human qualities to attain greater value as a warrior. Dehumanization by purging fear, guilt, and anger delivered the necessary regulation of self warriors needed in order to maintain battle lines in a time when group discipline meant the difference between winning and losing.¹ As J.J. Cohen summarized, “Society requires heroes, so it constructs them; construction is a dangerous process, producing both embodied subjects and monsters. Society needs heroes, but it must fear them with the deepest kind of love.”²

This extended into early medieval literature, wherein the perfect man is Beowulf, the Hero of Heroes, the ultimate warrior. He leads the Geats as both their prince and their brother in arms, constructing the perfect warband. As a warrior, Beowulf is courageous, noble, and physically powerful; throughout in the epic, he proves he is willing to die fighting for an ideal, demonstrating a rare depth of character. He represents the most complete image of a warrior’s personality that we have today, typifying physical and emotional traits that would have been upheld in warrior societies of that time.

While Beowulf exemplifies warrior behavior, his tragic flaw – his irrational and emotional judgment – leads to his ultimate destruction: a descent into



monstrosity. This dehumanization trends in the opposite direction of Shepherd's meaning; instead of losing touch with emotions during battle, Beowulf lost his sensibility, his masculinity, and his ability to relate to the other members of his warrior band.³ As he devolved further away from humanity, rather than becoming more heroic, he became villainous.

Beowulf enters the epic as the greatest of heroes among men. By his clothes and weapons alone, the coastguard recognized Beowulf as a warrior beyond compare and asked of his origins:

Where do you come from, carrying these decorated shields and shirts of mail, these cheek-hinged helmets and javelins? I am Hrothgar's herald and officer. I have never seen so impressive or large an assembly of strangers. Stoutness of heart, bravery not banishment, must have brought you to Hrothgar.⁴

Later, however, in preparing for the fight against Grendel, he chose not to fight in accordance with warrior code, removing his weapons to lower himself to Grendel's level. Instead of thinking rationally, he made an emotional decision that critically altered his behavior from that point on. This is the first step in the dehumanization of Beowulf.





While he returns with the hand of his foe as a trophy, he continues to devolve. Beowulf slowly loses touch with his human connection to the rest of the warband; even though he returns victorious, he fails to exploit this by bragging. While some believe his removal from the sport of boasting expresses a level of piety, in truth, he is suffering the consequences of his irrational behavior by experiencing an inability to reinforce the bonds that were vital to success in early medieval warbands. Communal activities – feasting, storytelling, drinking, and boasting – appear frequently in Anglo-Saxon epics. This is in great part due to the nature of early medieval warfare, wherein bonds between warrior-brothers were paramount to victory.⁵

The effects of his key, pivotal decision are reinforced again and again as he follows that path of irrationality. His emotional behavior has degraded his performance as a warrior; he stands at the edge of the monstrous.

In the following segments of the epic, Grendel's mother steals the hand-trophy – metaphorically stealing Beowulf's manhood. In his fight to regain his triumph, Beowulf dons his armor again to symbolically affirm his humanity before the battle, but it is a false façade, as seen by the rejection from Hrunting, the sword that had never failed a man in battle. As the



narrator relates,

...the shining blade refused to bite. It spared her and failed the man in his need. It had gone through many hand-to-hand fights, had hewed the armor and helmets of the doomed, but here at last the fabulous powers of that heirloom failed.⁶

Hrunting is a man's weapon; its betrayal of Beowulf clearly marks him as something unworthy. His irrational decisions continue to impact him. Here, the sword is the equivalent to society; the sword has judged him and condemned his status as a warrior, leading to dire consequences. He is then forced to take up the sword of Grendel's mother. Using a female's weapon effectively castrates Beowulf as a man, dismantling his manhood completely. At the end of the epic, as Beowulf faces down the dragon, his weakness fractures the confidence and loyalties of his men and, as a result, they flee, abandoning him to his death.

Beowulf began as the ultimate hero and, indeed, the descriptions of his bravery and resolve to serve his people demonstrate the narrator's unfaltering confidence in Beowulf as the epitome of warriorhood despite his obvious flaws.⁷ Even as Beowulf fell into





the throes of anti-heroism, repeatedly committing transgressions against the tenets of societal morality, he continued to represent the ideal in a highly war-oriented society. This development illustrates that perceptions of early medieval heroes were not black and white, even within their own communities. Regardless of the internal and external transformations that take place, there is a persistent need, in every culture, to believe in the excellence and supremacy of heroes; we propose that, within societies that are driven by violence and a need to assert identity, there is even a closeted desire to indulge in perversions of heroism and pursue the twisted susceptibilities of human nature into the depths of monstrosity. Even the narrator, who remained faithful to Beowulf's image throughout the epic, referred to him as *aglaecan*, a word that can mean both 'monster' and 'fierce warrior.' The word is also used to describe Grendel and the dragon.⁸ Despite this blurring of lines, the narrator upheld the warrior as an archetype until the very end. Moreover, perhaps it is because of Beowulf's vulnerability, his depth of character, that his story is so compelling and represents a truer image of early medieval heroism.

As demonstrated at the beginning of the epic, Beowulf's heroism was immediately apparent by means of his armor and weapons and the way he presented himself. For example, take the sword *Hrunting*, given

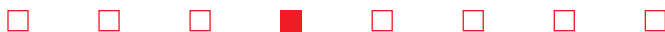


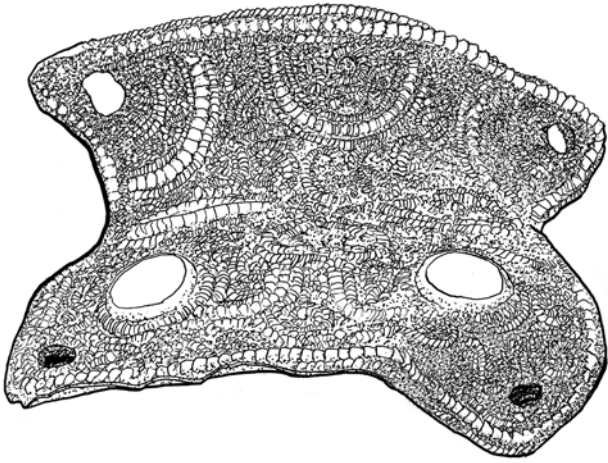
to Beowulf by Unferth as he prepared for battle:

At that moment was of no small importance: the brehon handed him a hilted weapon, a rare and ancient sword named Hrunting. The iron blade with its ill-boding patterns had been tempered in blood. It had never failed the hand of anyone who had hefted it in battle, anyone who had fought and faced the worst in the gap of danger. This was not the first time it had been called to perform heroic feats.⁹

Swords like Hrunting were generally worn at the waist, easily accessed and proudly displayed. The gold and garnet hilt collars, gilded pommels, and filigree pommel caps with interlace found in the Staffordshire Hoard speak of a culture that relied, in large part, on visual display for control and influence. A pair of gold hilt plates exemplifies this nicely.¹⁰ The surface of each plate is delicately patterned with curving lines of filigree that almost seem to dance and move. Each plate is set with two discs of polished garnet that twinkle in the right light. Presented importantly at the waist, the complete sword would have been a magnificent sight.

Swordsmen, with their expensively crafted weapons, were likely elites in society from families of high status. Like the fictional hero Beowulf, they





10. Top, Drawing of K1000: © Debra Lustig. Above, K454: © Birmingham Museums Trust.



would have been brought up in a lifestyle prepared at all times for war, wherein battle itself could be used as a way to prove individual worth.¹¹

Good quality helmets – or any helmets period – were generally reserved for those who fought enemy swordsmen, which implies that warriors who wore helmets were swordsmen themselves.¹²

Beowulf's helmet was equipped with a 'wale' or wala, a wire ridge across the cap designed to deflect sword blows from above; given that most strikes would come down at an angle, the ridge's placement deterred the blade, making it slide off. The presence of a wale implies that the wearer intended to see intense sword combat, suggesting some amount of proficiency on the part of the wearer. The Sutton Hoo helmet bore a wale and while it clearly would not have been used in battle, its presence indicates the owner of the helmet as one worthy of the title of hero.

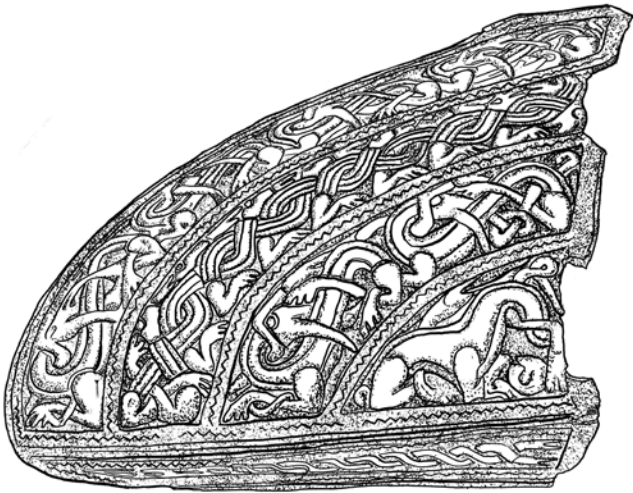
The crossband style, seen in both the Benty Grange helmet and the Coppergate helmet, was a common type in the Early Middle Ages. The Coppergate helmet also has a wale. Two highly decorated bands of copper-alloy cross the Coppergate helmet front-to-back and ear-to-ear, hence the name 'crossband.' The nose guard is brass, as are the eyebrows, all of which have been meticulously engraved with elaborate lines and interlace so delicate, they almost seem out of place



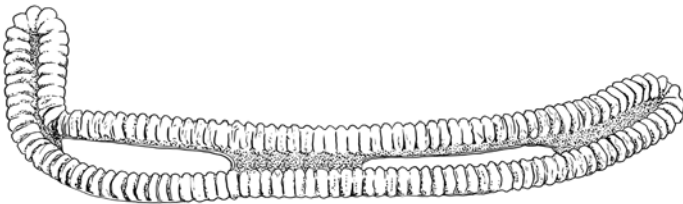
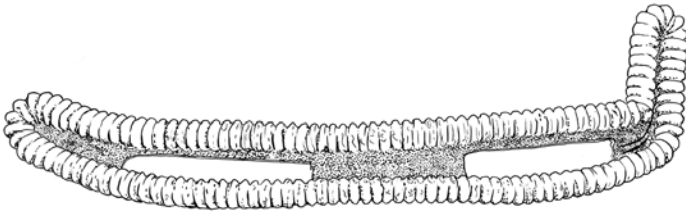
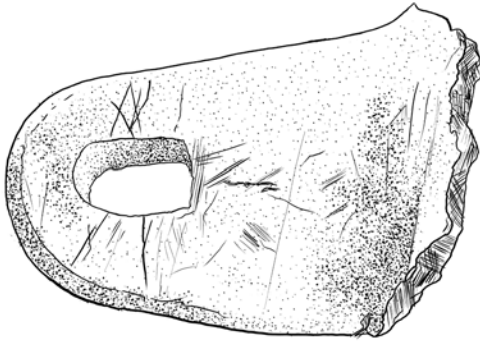


on such a hefty piece of armor. The copper bands across the top contain Latin inscriptions, including the name 'Oshere.' If Oshere was the owner, he was indeed a very important man to have owned such a helmet.

Similarly, a cheekpiece¹³ from the Staffordshire Hoard demonstrates the extreme wealth and status of the possessor of the helmet. Made of gold and niello, the cheekpiece contains four registers of Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic interlace sweeping up around the warrior's jaw in a curved diagonal line to where the fittings¹⁴ once attached. It is a beautiful piece. Conservationists



13. Drawing of K453: © Debra Lustig.



14. Drawings of: Top, K1509; Middle, K772; Above, K288; © Debra Lustig.





have cleared away the dirt so the edges of the golden interlace catch the light and gleam. The nooks and crannies of the panel are crisp and well-defined; even the image seems to have mass and texture. Given the incredible detail of this one piece, the helmet in its entirety must have been an impressive sight, especially since it would have been a part of a full set of similarly remarkable armor.

Unlike helmets and swords, shields were used rather widely.¹⁵ With the development of group formation tactics like the shield-castle, wielding a shield on the frontline required bravery and strong bonds of loyalty. In order to hold up larger shields – which other warriors would sometimes clamber over – shield-castle men needed to be incredibly strong and they often forewent armor, which could be heavy, leading to great loss of life on the forward line. In spite of the fact that these frontline warriors would have been disposable (compared to an elite swordsman, for example), a piece from the Staffordshire Hoard suggests that the shield played an important role in signifying the status of the warrior who bore it.

At first glance, K652 doesn't look like much more than a twisted bit of scrap metal (for all that gold can be called 'scrap'). Upon closer inspection, beyond the frayed edges and crumpled parts, shapes begin to emerge: the heads of birds and scales of fish, curving



16. K652: © Birmingham Museums Trust.

rows of lines and sharp, linear angles. Early speculation from the team conducting conservation and research on the hoard suggests the piece might have been a shield mount.¹⁶ The curved tip of the eagles' beaks, the perfectly circular eyes, and strong legs, bent as if the animal is perched, echo the style of the raven shield-mount from Sutton Hoo. Each bird is separated by fish with elongated bodies and symmetric rows of scales. A great deal of time was taken to ensure this shield appeared worthy of high regard.

Behind the proud displays of weapons and armor, the duality of medieval warriors returns us



to Shepherd's concept of dehumanization and we expand it to investigate the development of warbands and retinues. As early medieval war changed to reflect large-scale, institutionalized battle structures, warriors increasingly fought as cohesive units. Nonetheless, the growing importance of units did not downgrade the weight of single individuals. In other words, the individual warrior was still a critical component on the battlefield. Like a machine, the group required each cog – each member – to function appropriately. Even though battles were won or lost as units, the vital decisions of each single person to act as a group or not could turn the tide of a conflict.

The shield-castle, a war tactic used widely across Britain and continental Europe throughout the Early Middle Ages, required strong unity to be effective. Breaking the formation led to holes in the defensive line that could be exploited by the enemy.

At the Battle of Stamford Bridge, 1066 CE, King Harald Sigutharson of Norway used the shield-castle against his foe, King Harold Godwinson of England. Stirred into a battle rage and tricked into the offensive, the king of Norway broke his battle-line to launch into the midst of his enemies, fighting in a frenzy without armor. His actions disrupted the ranks of his men, causing the machine to fall apart. As Snorri Sturluson recounted of the battle, "...but when they [the English]



had broken their [the Norwegians'] shield-rampart the Englishmen rode up from all sides, and threw arrows and spears on them."¹⁷ The king of Norway went down with an arrow to the throat, leaving his men leaderless and scattered.

The contribution of individuals to the group appeared similarly at the Battle of Maldon in 991. The poem compares heroes to cowards to exemplify virtuous character in the face of unfavorable circumstances, again highlighting dehumanization as a key to group success. It begins with the battle's staging:

Then Byrhtnoth marshaled his soldiers, riding and instructing, directing his warriors how they should stand and the positions they should keep, and ordering that their shields properly stand firm with steady hands and not be afraid.¹⁸

Despite this excellent preparation, the English lost to the Vikings. The loss was suffered, for the most part, due to the flight of a large portion of the English army. Some stood and died valiantly, maintaining the line and winning glory and honor for their homeland. Other warriors fled in terror, breaking from their positions and abandoning their brothers to their deaths. In this case, as we saw in the end of Beowulf



as he fights the dragon, the war machine broke down, leaving a scattered few individuals to be crushed by the invading menace.

Based on these military accounts, it is plain to see how definitively actions in battle could paint a man's image as heroic or otherwise. It would seem that those who fell on the field, having performed admirably in the service of the king and society, would receive burials fitting of their conduct. And while it is common to look to a society's burial practices to determine aspects of culture in life, Heinrich Härke has shown that for Anglo-Saxon warrior culture, that simply cannot be done. In his studies of warrior graves, Härke discovered men with disabilities, genetic anomalies, and even some children (ages 12 months to 14 years) were buried with weapons. Yet there were men who had clearly received injuries in battle who went to the grave without any weapons. In addition, men with weapons were twice as likely to have been placed in coffins, which correlated with a demonstration of wealth. In conclusion, Härke summarized:

The Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite was independent of the intensity of warfare; it did not always reflect functional fighting equipment; it was not determined by the individual's ability to fight nor by the actual participation in combat.



Weapon burial was positively correlated with burial wealth, with labor investment into the burial, and with stature; and it was, in some places at least, determined by descent.¹⁹

Thus, it seems that (as in many complex societies) the individual male's military rank or physical fitness did not reflect his right to be buried with weapons so much as his family's status.

A possible explanation for this behavior is that warriors as a group, while highly regarded for their honorable deeds, did not begin as social elites. Early warring bands of men would have been pushed out of society as functional outcasts, serving no other purpose but to fight.²⁰ While swordsmen like Beowulf in the epic might have risen from an elite class, not all warriors possessed such a high status in society.

Indeed, for all their control, warriors seemed to have been fringe-characters, at least up through the 5th century. Roving around and waging war on enemy groups kept the warbands occupied enough to separate them from the rest of society, a twofold benefit. Despite their ability to dehumanize, the violence capable of warriors was something most civilians did not trust.²¹

At one point, not long before, the epitome of warriorhood could be summarized in word: berserk. Snorri Sturluson in the 13th century recounted,





“[Odin’s] men rushed forwards without armour, were as mad as dogs or wolves, bit their shields, and were strong as bears or wild bulls, and killed people at a blow, but neither fire nor iron told upon themselves. These were called Berserker.”²² For certain, the role of the berserk was solitary, not team-based, which explains why berserk warriors quickly went out of fashion as newer battle tactics favoring group unity came to the fore. Berserks, once heroes of Sagas, became outcasts and marauders as the demands of warfare changed, lowered to harassing peasants and townsfolk.²³ The lingering remnants of the potential for warriors to fall into this kind of behavior were likely what terrified normal citizens so much.

The Anglo-Saxon poem “Wulf and Eadwacer” illuminates an early society that seemed to have found a way to segregate, and yet tolerate, its warband. The narrator is a young woman who has given birth to a child or will soon and the father is a young man living nearby, “on a separate island in the fens inhabited by men ‘fierce in slaughter.’” The woman mourns because she cannot marry her lover; if he approaches with a group of his men, the community will try to trap him.²⁴ This poem could be a reflection of an earlier anthropological time when Anglo-Saxon tribal societies lived in fear of the capabilities of their warriors and best handled that fear by sending them



away.²⁵ As time progressed, these warbands would have been integrated as thanes and further stratified in the later medieval eras.²⁶

If we take the data gathered by Härke and the changing structure of community during the Early Middle Ages, it is reasonable to assume that warriors were becoming integrated closer into the heart of society. A man with battle wounds, buried with a sword, inside a coffin, very well could have been both a warrior and an elite. Into the 7th century, Anglo-Saxon Britain saw a climate of peace. Warriors – perhaps entire families of warriors, if we believe the role was hereditary – hung up their shields for more prosperous work to benefit their tribes. It is entirely plausible that during this time, social outcasts could have transformed into functioning members of a community. During the time of integration, the warband would have still been singled out as a sub-culture.²⁷ By the 7th century, individuals would have been recognized as having inherent, hereditary rights to leadership – such as affiliation with a powerful god and prestige from acts in battle. Härke’s studies of weapons graves up through the 5th and 6th centuries indicate changes in the sociopolitical atmosphere might have been leading in this direction.

The early medieval warrior had one goal: to provide for and protect his society by fighting and



controlling resources. In the end, dying in battle represented the ultimate triumph. Excellent progress towards this goal strengthened a warrior's manhood by granting him prestige among his fellows. His deeds in war had to reflect the highest standard of honorable conduct, as warriors acted as an arm of society. During the Early Middle Ages, groups identified more with regional strongholds than national seats of power. Each group developed its own definition of virtuous conduct and when those groups clashed, their differences sparked moral conflicts.

The combination of diverse power systems and regional cultures led to a highly structured Home v. Outside perception. A warrior's strict duty to his warrior-brothers, his king, and his society pressurized this antagonistic way of thinking, allowing for intense conflicts to begin when the homeland was threatened:

Sea-thieves messenger, deliver back in reply, tell your people this spiteful message, that here stand undaunted an Earl with his band of men who will defend our homeland, Aethelred's country, the lord of my people and land... To us it would be shameful that you with our coin to your ships should get away without a fight, now you thus far into our homeland have come.²⁸





This excerpt from the *Battle of Maldon* demonstrates the sweeping disconnectedness and shared hostility of groups in the early medieval north.

According to Shepherd's understanding, "Since resources on the Outside by definition belong to no human, the claims of the possessors of such resources have no validity."²⁹ The pressure to acquire war goods was so strong in society that a man's inability to loot and plunder tarnished his image as a warrior. Indeed, "a hero who [did] not win treasure [did] not deserve to be called a hero, a king who [did] not distribute treasure scarcely deserve[d] the title of king."³⁰ This line of thought allowed for pillaging, raiding of livestock, ambushing, pirating, and other previously 'dishonorable' behaviors to be seen as honorable and even heroic as long as such actions provided for the good of the Home and to the detriment of the Outside. Julius Caesar explained a similar phenomenon in *The Gallic Wars*:

Robberies which are committed beyond the boundaries of each state bear no infamy, and they avow that these are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth.³¹

Roving bands of young Irishmen in tales connected with Finn MacCumail were said to have





robbed and snatched women in the winter. Their behaviors were expected – even tolerated – because their presence ensured the continued success of the community as a whole. In addition, the bands saw fit to attack the community’s rivals – a benefit worth the sacrifice, no doubt.³²

The Vikings had a distinct advantage when they came into contact with insular warriors, as their morals and codes of ethics reflected a vastly different society. As such, the Anglo-Saxons saw their tactics as despicable: “...and so began to use guile, the hateful strangers...”³³

Ironically, had the Anglo-Saxons been the ones to employ such tactics, they would have seen the schemes as incredibly clever and heroic.

Endemic warfare demanded a unified and highly prejudiced front against the Outside, cultivating strong bonds of loyalty within warbands to get the job done. Warriors were naturally reliant on social engagements to build connections that would serve them on the battlefield. Storytelling and boasting poured the foundations of epics like Beowulf, emphasizing the importance of recitation in communal atmospheres. Exaltation of one’s own actions in battle reinforced ‘martial reliability’ and encouraged camaraderie.³⁴

In addition to boasting and feasting, warriors depended on plunder for prestige. Loot served a strong



purpose in affirming a man's warrior status and his ability as a hero to supply resources for his community. As seen in *Beowulf*, a system of reciprocity became the norm, wherein the leader gave weapons and armor and in return, the thanes collected and brought back war plunder "as proof of glory."³⁵ Gathering prestige was, as previously mentioned, a key aspect of a warrior's main goal; loot from the Outside helped to facilitate elevation in status amongst warrior peers. As gathering resources was such a strong part of the definition of being a warrior at this time, it is possible to equate the ownership of prestige goods with more intangible concepts of warrior heroism.³⁶

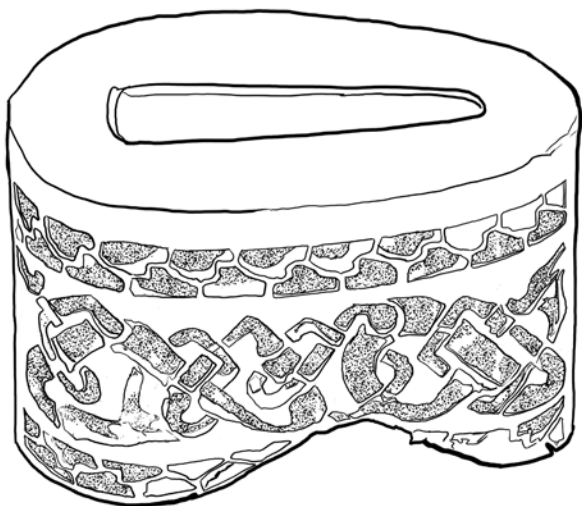
Because of a his nature, the trends of the time, and his society, a warrior's identity was wrought in part by what happened when he was challenged. Under the threat of being challenged, a warrior would go out of his way to demonstrate his own superiority and strength by destroying the relics of other warriors and cultures. In order to elevate and prove themselves, warriors needed to tear down others.

Aside from boasting and acquiring prestige through loot, warriors turned to visual demonstrations of power to dominate others and assert status. A warrior's weapons were as much a canvas to show wealth and standing, as they were functional martial tools. Evidence exists within the Staffordshire Hoard



to suggest the purposeful mutilation of beautifully crafted martial and religious metalwork. Instead of presenting a catalogue of objects from the hoard, we analyze a small selection in which we see examples of the epitome of early medieval craftsmanship that have been torn, broken, bent, and defaced. These objects are marked by a horrible need to injure the identity of their former owners.

The seax, a single-edged blade used widely during this time, was often decorated with grooves, lines, and inlays and sometimes inscriptions, which occurred far less frequently. Several seax parts were found in the Staffordshire Hoard. One, an oblong hilt fitting,³⁷ was produced with stunning craftsmanship. The entire piece is made of gold, with garnet inlays that were perfectly cut to fit into the decorative animal interlace that forms a band around the exterior. On three sides, the edges and lines appear perfectly clean, seeming to have defied age and burial conditions. But on the fourth side, a massive dent has caved in the base, as if some massive force had crushed it at one point. Some garnet pieces are missing, knocked from their fittings by some brutal strength. Early medieval sculptures reveal that seaxes were generally worn across the stomach, with the pommel positioned diagonally near the right hand. Given the blade and hilt ornamentations, it is unlikely the seaxe was a



37. Drawing of K449: © Debra Lustig.

major weapon; a single blow and the inlays would have been ruined. Both the Repton rider and Middleton B, sculptures of early medieval warriors, display the seax as part of a noble's complete image.³⁸ It is likely these blades were used to demonstrate status as well as skill in war and the mutilated remnants found in the Staffordshire Hoard paint a very clear picture of the ways in which the defilers (for lack of a better term) wished to destroy those exact qualities in their enemies.

In addition to seaxes, warriors were often equipped with a combination of barbed spears, which



were most useful against unarmored foes and horses, and smooth spears, which were used in close-quarters combat.³⁹ Spears were the most common offensive weapon to accompany men to the grave, occurring in four out of five cases. Other weapons occurred with an average frequency of one in ten.⁴⁰ Long spears remained in use up through the 6th century, but as shield-formations developed further, frontline-men switched to shorter spears, which were easier to use as thrusting weapons from behind a shield-wall.⁴¹ The development of the hauberk led to a change in spear-types; injuring a mounted warrior wearing a chainmail hauberk required stronger equipment. Sturdier, heavier spears designed specifically for this purpose were limited – they could only be thrown or thrust once.⁴²

While there were no spears or spear parts found in the Staffordshire Hoard – and certainly, no functional spear would be glitzed up in gold and garnet inlays if it were to be used in battle – a variety of mystery objects from the Hoard more clearly exemplify the aggressive manifestations of early medieval warrior prejudices against one another. For all its fine craftsmanship, one of these mystery objects truly does define the word ‘scrap.’⁴³ At one point, it might have been some kind of circular disk, with garnet inlays and alternating sections of interlace, as we have seen in other objects



43-44. K130 + K1055 + K545: © Birmingham Museums Trust.

from the Hoard. What remains of it now, however, is almost hard to look at. The disk has been crumpled into a misshapen mockery of what clearly was once quite beautiful. The edges are so badly torn that the gold almost looks like jagged aluminum foil. Entire sections of gem-and-interlace patterns have been removed in such a brutal fashion that the contours





surrounding these voids are bent back and ripped. In truth, this is only one portion of the object. The other two segments – a cylindrical fitting similarly outfitted with garnet inlays and a small, wheel-shaped top boasting a millefiori glass stud⁴⁴ – were likely twisted until they came apart.

Guy Halsall proposes that Anglo-Saxon England was shaped by the dynamic flux of violence exhibited by the warrior cultures of that age, an ebb and flow of ritual and non-ritual warfare. Ritual wars, or endemic wars, would have served to ease intra-societal pressures by isolating an outside source against which the society can justify conflict, reasserting group unity. Marvin Harris has pointed out, warfare in this style was more like ‘overenthusiastic football,’ wherein both sides engaged with enthusiasm, not needing to fear severe injury or death so long as precautions were taken.⁴⁵ Most notably, this led to more focused veneration of the warrior, like modern sports heroes.⁴⁶ Non-ritual warfare occurred on a larger scale when ritual war failed to re-establish balance between groups. These were wars of conquest, signified by times of social stress wherein the rules of ritual warfare were typically not followed, people were slaughtered, and politics played an important role in the transfer of land.⁴⁷

If the Home felt its identity was threatened and endemic warfare failed to return internal equilibrium,



the need to reassert personhood could drive warriors to commit acts of dominance, or – put simply – bullying. Heroism, like monstrosity, is simply a garment to be donned; despite its invulnerable appearance, heroism – and masculinity, as far as they are synonymous – can be deconstructed and fractured as easily as any façade.⁴⁸ When the cultural appearance that is the armor of heroism is broken, the individual wearing it would do almost anything to rebuild the artifice; at this level, when an entire livelihood is threatened, unheroic behavior emerges. In the case of the Staffordshire Hoard, sumptuously crafted martial objects were purposefully defaced and mutilated. The destruction of property to rebuild self-assurance exists as a common element of bullying behavior event today. Given the aggressively expansionistic climate of 7th century Anglo-Saxon England – approximately when the Staffordshire Hoard was buried – it is well within the realm of reasonable to consider this as an extension of non-ritual warfare as political boundaries were pushed and tested and the Home was pitted again and again against the ever-strengthening and unsettling Outside.

The Early Middle Ages have been categorized as a time of change. Politically, local chiefdoms amalgamated into larger, regional seats of power while still remaining separate and diverse enough to provoke





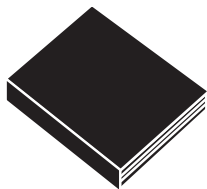
conflict. The need for more standardized warfare tactics led to a new breed of warrior: the professional. Men in battle were expected to wield both their weapons and their bodies with strict discipline and control, enforced by new strategies on the field that favored team solidarity over individual strengths. Warfare became somewhat of a ritual to regulate societal pressures, providing opportunities for young men to prove their heroism. Warriors formed warbands, acting as an arm of society to protect the Home from outsiders and collect resources. Acquiring prestige goods and self-exaltation were important facets of warfare, ultimately leading to the glorification of the warrior as a hero. When endemic warfare failed to bring about societal equilibrium, wars of conquest emerged to fill the gap, pushing warriors into new situations. Facing threats to their masculine identities, warriors resorted to bullying tactics, leading to the purposeful destruction evidenced in the Staffordshire Hoard.



Locker Five

**Making South
Station: Processes
for Visualization and
Construction**

Karie Edwards





Photography encompasses much more than just a click of the shutter.

It involves physical work constructing, collecting, scrounging, and staging items. Though my medium is photography, process is my passion. All of my art includes periods of conception, collection, and creation. For me, conception is a mental construction of what the work will be aesthetically, emotionally, and physically. The collecting aspect is where I derive the most pleasure. During the hunt for specific elements of the work, I constantly adapt or change my concept to work with the objects I am finding. When I finally find those perfect items, it is a feeling of puzzle pieces falling into place. I gather objects that become my treasures and the visualized piece of work begins to come to life. Putting all my pieces together and creating my vision is the most exciting aspect. This is complete satisfaction and enjoyment—literally, making what I find work in the art I am making.

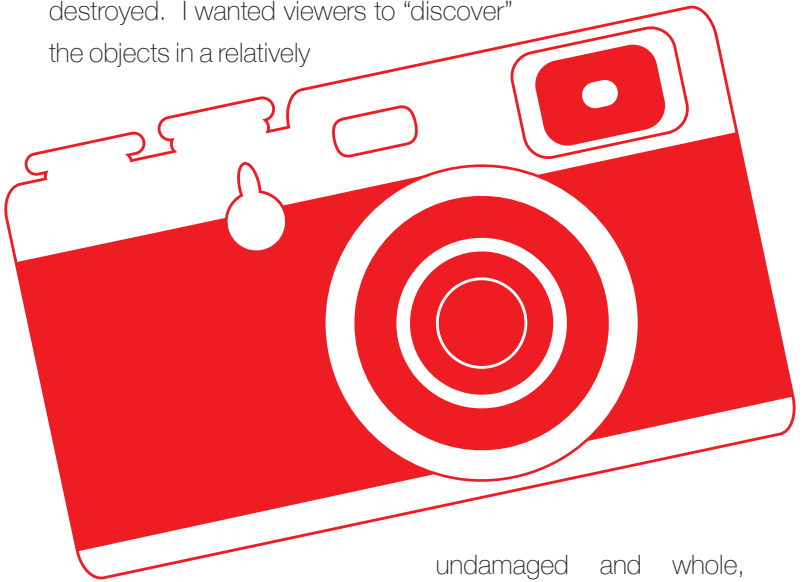
My role in this project was to visualize and construct a subterranean archaeological site. I compiled a hoard of objects that tween girls would want to own, to covet and to steal. The items needed to be a variety of objects that held religious meaning, were shiny and “blingy,” evoke a feeling of power and value, and most importantly show social status. I also included items that emphasized the **internal struggle tweens experience during adolescence**, giving up the childish items and progress to becoming young women.

I first needed to realize and create a dark, dreary, subterranean environment that had been untouched for hundreds





of years. Our fictional narrative was a nuclear explosion at MIT in Cambridge, MA that left Boston in rubble. After about 800 years archaeologists from Oxford begin excavation of South Station Subway Station and discover a bank of lockers that yield a hoard of luxury objects. Our scene needed to look old and dusty, but relatively intact. Careful consideration was needed to give the illusion this space had been buried, but not totally destroyed. I wanted viewers to “discover” the objects in a relatively

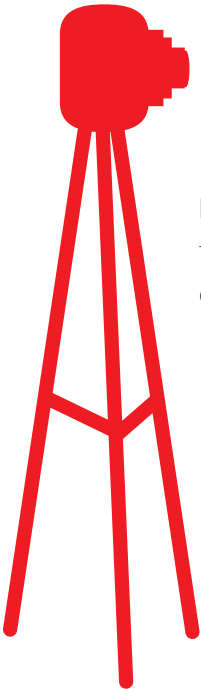


undamaged and whole, rather perfect state, which was in direct opposition to how the individual objects from Staffordshire Hoard were found. The medieval warrior hoarders left items to fend for themselves against the natural elements; as well, they destroyed other pieces beyond recognition. Our objects needed to show mild physical violence of bullying not warrior



driven rage. Our objects needed to convey a more subtle, internalized viciousness.

We had very particular criteria for the hoarded items. We wanted to address issues of money, status, power, gender, and religion through the layered and complex problem of bullying. Our objects needed to be small, easily taken, and have monetary value.



The items
needed to have emotional
significance but also appeal as a glittering
treasure amassed, and valued
by tween girls

Everything had to be decorated, brightly colored objects that gave the implication of desirability, preciousness, and personalization. A smart phone is the perfect example. They are small, valuable, and easy to steal. Phones are tangible objects of importance, popularity, and prestige and are the desire of every tween. They are coveted items that tweens personalize to ensure everyone knows whose it is. These embellishments hold as much importance to tween's youth culture as **initiation tattoos do to gang members**. If a tween's smart phone were stolen, it would be like losing their own identity.



The majority of the objects were overtly religious because the girls in our narrative were from a Catholic school. This collection needed to represent the

struggles of adolescents and the wide gamut of emotions, positive as well as negative, associated with this stage in life. Some items needed to carry some juvenile appeal to the “little girl” still present in our tweens, i.e. the dolls, the troll, the purse. The defacement of the dolls represented the internal struggle of needing to grow-up and wanting stay a little girl. Using eye shadow, make-up, lip-gloss, and hair adornments as visual fillers gave the locker the feeling of an overflowing

treasure trunk. **Even these small objects would have held importance** for our tween girls, as badges of evolution from girl to tween. The overabundance of items was to represent a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment for the bully tweens, conveying that their efforts had paid off and they had been successful. The fundamental goal was that all objects held a comparative relationship,





socially, emotionally, and defensively, to the items found in the Staffordshire Hoard.

I created the South Station locker bank in my basement studio. The subterranean scene was a plastic rock wall background so it would look like somewhere in the sprawling subway station. Banks of lockers from Radford University's darkroom were the focal point of the installation. The cinder blocks added a look of disorder rather destruction, leaving our bank of lockers with minimum damage. The old chair added color and the recessed lighting hanging from the ceiling to make it look like this space had undergone some serious shaking. I lit the entire scene with studio lights as if it were a stage.

The placement of our hoard items in locker was very precise. I did not want it to look as if things were just thrown in there:

our bullies took pains to collect these objects,

so I wanted to show care in their placement, as well as having as many items as visibly possible. This is evident by the storage containers the items were found in, for example all the coins were placed in a small purse, give the impression that they needed to be kept together and not scattered throughout the locker. The make-up was placed in a simple decorative tin but the religious objects were kept in a silver heart shaped jewelry box. Having such drastically different storage vessels shows the importance





the bullies placed on the items held in these reliquaries.

For the appearance of time passage, I used dryer lint to create the dust bunnies and wood ash for dust. The arrangements of these props were key to creating the illusion that this space had undergone a disaster. Banks of lockers leaning to the side, lights and wires hanging from the ceiling, cinder blocks juxtaposed around the scene produced an illusion of mild disorder rather than destruction.

Because we could not venture a guess as to what the style of clothing would be in 2812, I chose HAZMAT suits, hard hats, gloves, and goggles as the apparel. This served to protect our archaeological team against the “possibility” of radioactivity as well as solved the costume conundrum. Finding the HAZMAT suits was quite an exciting day for the collaboration team. Here is an email excerpt regarding this amazing discovery:

Subject: Thrift store find

Carlee,

You won't believe this, but I found HAZMAT suits at the thrift store for 50 cents. I bought 4; do you think we'll need more?

Karie

RE: Thrift store find

Karie,

AMAZING!! 4 should be plenty - more soon - can't believe that!!!!

**Take care,
Carlee**



The archaeologists were played my neighbor's teenage sons, Austin Acord and Matt Acord, who were totally psyched to participate! When they found out they were wearing HAZMAT suits, they could hardly contain themselves. Austin said he was going to wear his to school. I had them dress up and discover the hoard in a painfully slow process, wanting to catalog each item as it was "discovered." As each item was taken out of the locker I had them show me, for the "original" find shot, then they looked at each item in a questioning way, to give the illusion that these items were totally foreign and fascinating to them, objects that belonged to the past. Each time they picked an object they had to act like they had never before seen objects of this kind. And make a perplexing face in order convey this sentiment in the photograph.

It was an amazingly creative endeavor and I believe the boys enjoyed taking center stage.

This entire project was produced in reverse. The post-clean shots were done first, the items were already clean and so I shot those photographs first. Then I set up the scene and created the find of the lockers. I dusted the entire set to show that there had been no human presence since the accident. These were the original shots of the lockers, closed and awaiting discovery. Then I opened the locker and shot detail images of the locker contents. After that, I re-dusted the entire scene, removing the footprints with dryer lint and fireplace ash and had the boys act out the excavation of the locker. I shot the catalog pictures of each item as it was discovered. For the





documentary shots of the dirty objects I again dusted them with dryer lint and fireplace ash. I defaced or altered the objects for these documentary shots.

For every image included in this body of work, an average of 8-10 images were shot per item. There were 50 different items in the locker, between the post-clean shots; the discovery shots, the dirty/documentary inventory shots, there were over 1200 photos taken.

These images provided visual representations of a glittering treasure that addressed issues of money, status, power, gender, religion, and the problem of bullying of tweens during the 21st Century. This was a thrilling collaborative project of treasure hunting, artistic work, and brainstorming that addressed serious emotional issue our young women face every day.



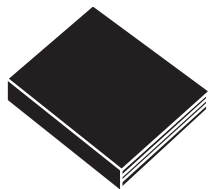


Locker Six

Opening the Locker: Constructing the Design Identity



Katie Sickman





Graphic design is a powerful *yet often overlooked* medium to enhance, strengthen, and amplify communication. Given the varied and unique content of this book, I knew my part would be a tricky but vitally important component. When I was brought in on this project it was well beyond the conceptual stage and near full maturity and completion. As such my creative connection had to be created rather than naturally developed alongside the structural framework guiding the work. I read through the available material and listened to the project collaborators' descriptions with attentive interest in order to gain a creative foothold. Slowly, the artistic and visual organization began to materialize.

The first draft was, admittedly, somewhat plain and derived from a traditional outlook on book design and layout. Some of this was simply trying to arrange larger details—typefaces, leading, margins, etc.—before approaching the more intimate details for each chapter. Some of this was also an uncertainty of the collaborators' expectations and already formed visions of the final product. The first draft was met with helpful critique and more insight into the aesthetic. Sometimes, when a client is unable to express their envisioned visual outcome, it helps to show them what they don't want so as to reveal what they do want. Armed with new creative direction I continued development.

What stood out from the first critique was identifying this book as an *artist's book*. Though it contains much academic discourse, there were also more loosely created





represents creative perspective on the project structure, indicating recorded material. It was inspired by the idea of StenoLink recording audio, but symbolizes any recording, both **visual** and audio, related to our fictionalized hoard. The book symbol indicates the information is about the making of the book or project, not a structured part of the project itself, like this chapter. These symbols appear on almost every page reminding the audience of the type of content as well **creating**

visual consistency
South Station Hoard

The color red is also a major unifying element. I chose red boldly contrasted with white and black as a reflection of civic infrastructure and gender neutrality. Red equally became a strong visual component, which emboldened the content's tone, as well as a complementary detail to enhance but not overpower. Considering the intricacies of the project, it is this

spectrum of utility which makes red a befitting color choice. Along with stylized, "flat" iconography and other design elements, the contrasting red, white, and black





palette offer simple, informative content through artistic form.

Within each chapter I tailored the design to match the nature of its context. Scholarly papers feature less ornamentation and consistency among themselves as compared to other chapters. Hints of red appear in emphasizing long quotes, superscript text, and chapter divisions if applicable. The text is a traditional serif, black typeface. The focus of these parts is academic conjecture and historical framework; therefore they do not require and are not complemented by excessive creative decoration. They need an authoritative tone not only to reflect their content but to provide visual distinction with the more creative chapters.

The fictionalized journal entries/narratives proved to be





the most difficult creating an identity. Set in the future, it required imagining just ***how archaeologists and scientists might take notes because surely simple pen and paper will likely be, if not phased out, secondary to a more technologically advanced option.***

Conceived was StenoLink, an app which dictates your vocal recordings into digital format for storage or later revision. I took “steno,” referring to the art of writing and shortening dictation and added “link” to establish a bridge to a more technologically fluent and dependent community. Beyond this basic idea was that the operator could then attach in other files as needed, export entries, start new collections, etc. To visually communicate this, I constructed a layout which gives the illusion of reading the entries directly from the StenoLink interface,



seeing the documents in raw format just as the archaeologist Dr. X would. I added basic command, viewing, and navigation “buttons.” Keeping in mind that this would ultimately appear in a





paper-printed book I chose to not attempt a photo-realistic screen shot of the app on a digital device but rather suggest it with the elements included in the final version, also mirroring the **“flat” illustration style** used elsewhere in the book.

Writings about the making of the project were **another type of voice** in this project calling for their own visual identity still contained within the whole. Karie Edward's chapter was about her creative process in executing the photography accompanying the project. I decided it, along with this one, should

**reflect conceptual process
with a highly creative and
expressive visual organization.**

I created large representational illustrations to break up the flow of text and page balance. Highlighted content appears with red emphasis and sometimes in larger and/or bolder size. The typeface is a modern sans serif to break further from academic parts and ends with the padlock symbol unlocked in representation of revealing or **“unlocking” the creative process** behind creating the South Station Hoard.



About halfway through the design of this book it occurred to me that each chapter was





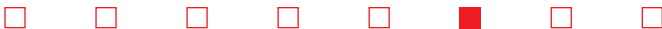
like a locker itself, opening to reveal its contents to a reader or curious mind, and, though grouped with similar others, contains a unique identity within. Each section invokes curiosity and a sense of exploration in delving farther into the project. Such varied content really gives the reader an uncertainty of what's coming next: reflective of unlocking a mystery locker. I



changed all the “chapter” text to “lockers” and decided an additional visual was needed to make the connection. I created an abstract locker with an opened door within a column of eight: one for each “chapter.” At each “chapter” beginning, the chronologically appropriate locker in the column opens to

reveal its contents. Continuing this idea, along the bottom of the pages are eight small boxes to represent the “chapters.” Starting from the outside moving inward, the filled in box indicates the numeric “chapter” within the book.

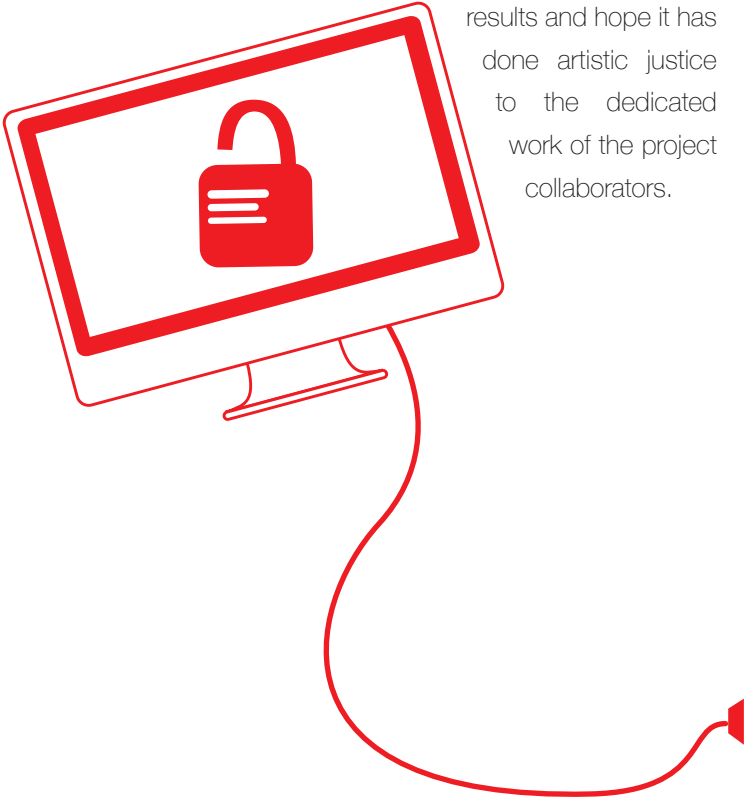
The creative graphic design process can sometimes be difficult to write about even if you are the designer. **There is reasoning behind every decision**—*no detail is left without deliberate intention of its existence*—but there are so many of these made throughout the process that to go back at the end to explain beyond large concepts is often not easy. Frequently one idea quickly inspires another and still





another and so on that so far down the visually creative line it is nearly impossible to trace back to the original inspiring thought. I have tried to give insight into my own creative process here with this book and visually organizing the material in an artistic yet functional aesthetic, but undoubtedly some details have been overlooked. For those left still curious about design decisions I do apologize. For those who are not, you may be pleased I am at my final words. Though challenged in conceptualizing and creating the look of this project, I am pleased with the

results and hope it has done artistic justice to the dedicated work of the project collaborators.

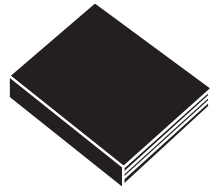




Locker Seven

**Gendering the Hoard:
The Visual Culture of
Tween Girls**

Courtney L Weida





An earlier version of this paper appeared in the Journal of Visual Culture and Gender, see

<http://vcg.emitto.net/8vol/Wedia.pdf> for full text.

Artists, Art Historians, and Art Educators as Hoarders: Introductions

Art and art education projects can be cross disciplinary, experimental, and provocative. In teaching and researching within the field of art education, my collaborations with art historians and studio artists enrich my sense of documentation and analysis of visual cultures. For this reason, I was intrigued when my colleague mentioned her exciting project idea inspired by the Staffordshire Hoard, a magnificent collection of gold jewelry and weapons discovered in the summer of 2009. Leahy and Bland note the Staffordshire Hoard collection was conspicuously missing “feminine objects, such as dress fitting, pendants, and broaches.”¹ This lack of female visual culture in the treasury puzzled and inspired us. My colleague (an art historian) was not simply studying the historic hoard, but imagining and creating female tween treasures with a photographer in order to juxtapose contemporary girlhood culture with that of medieval warriors. Working together, we hoped to theorize hoards and hoarding of young women





productively through our varied artistic lenses.² Our research explored the following questions:

- 1.** What if today's warriors were 12-year-olds, or tween girls?
- 2.** What tween objects might be considered secret treasure or hoards (bejeweled cell phones, shimmering jewelry, and colorful accessories)?
- 3.** How might archaeologists and art historians interpret aspects of sexuality, sweetness, and violence through various digital/social networking artifacts youth culture?

I became consumed by investigating how one might position the personal objects of young people as precious artifacts. I eagerly sought to join the endeavor of creating a hoard narrative, collecting and photographing teen treasures, and comparatively analyzing a theoretical collection of visual culture with my collaborators. As a newly formed group, we began to envision our project as a form of arts-based research that makes art history active and imaginative, probes and reflects issues of gender and youth, and models artistic investigations in the studio.



Hoard Curating

Crafting the hoard itself was a process of collecting from day-to-day life, curating over our computers and in conversations, and creating in our studios. We began with a rather organic planning period of communicating by phone, Skype®, and email to begin discussing how we would create the hoard. We proceeded by collecting borrowed and saved objects from pre-adolescent girls we knew from teaching, parenting, and research experiences. Our hoard included belongings that we observed as common among tweens: cellular phones, jewelry, charms, dolls, books, and ephemera such as subway passes, notes, and receipts. In some cases, we used replicas, so as to not deprive the tweens of especially treasured artifacts, particularly phones. In the case of cell phones, we invited the pre-teens to decorate discarded skins or cases in the style they had adorned their actual phones. We wanted to explore the meanings of these personal, personalized objects by creating a sort of backdrop or set of the archaeological dig (Figure 1) where the treasures are buried.

Our discussions and photographs were generative and evocative of tweens, girlhood literature, and our collaborative memories of pre-adolescence. Sociologist Patricia Leavey suggests that arts-based research





promotes dialogue that “evokes meanings.”³ She goes on to assert that arts-based researchers actually carve out, rather than simply discover, new research tools and spaces. So too, our project sought to illuminate art historical contexts of hoards, artifacts, and gender by creating and discussing a new hoard, even new representations of hoarders and archaeologists in digital spaces. We wanted to investigate issues of tween gender and violence by creating and annotating a collection of treasures inspired by the Staffordshire

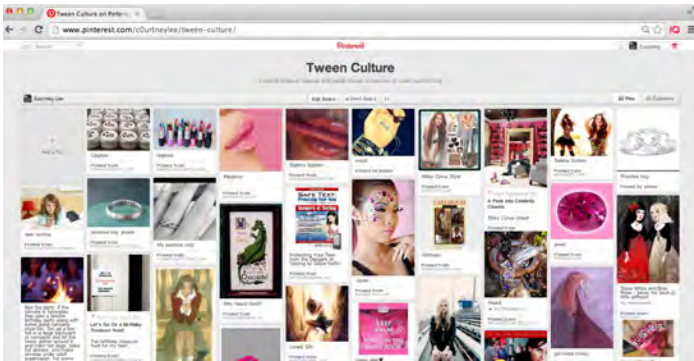


Figure 2. Pinterest board relating to tween culture.

Hoard discovery. In place of gold crosses and jeweled swords, we collected and photographed kitschy teen rosaries and glittery lip-gloss. We also curated digital collections of tween treasures in teen-friendly digital





spaces like Pinterest.⁴ (See <http://pinterest.com/courtneylee/tween-culture/> and Figure 2.)

The items in our fictional hoard included cosmetics, cellular phones, jewelry, accessories, and other objects likely to be found in a pre-teen's purse, messenger bag, or backpack. As we researched literature relating to hoards, we considered a range of pre-teen's tendencies in collecting, borrowing, stealing, and defacing personal effects from friends and rivals. Experimental psychologist Steven Pinker has thoughtfully juxtaposed various forms of aggression in his history of violence, observing that "women's competitive tactics consist in less physically perilous relational aggression such as gossip and ostracism."⁵ So too, we looked at forms of clans, fighting, and aggression in contemporary youth culture, often masked as seemingly non-violent social behaviors through social media and personal devices (sarcastic text messages, passive aggressive Facebook® wall posts, anonymous latrinalia or bathroom-stall graffiti, etc.). When we consider such aggression among friends and enemies, cellular phones and tablets can become like swords (and makeup like war paint or camouflage). We began to craft a historical fiction in which a group of girls and their rivals steal and stash belongings such as purses, jewelry, and cell phones from one another in symbolic battle.



Girlhood Culture

Working as an interdisciplinary group, we aimed to meaningfully infuse our youth culture discussions of symbols with inquiries around art history and contemporary art. Another interdisciplinary arts research group: Desai, Hamlin, and Mattson have theorized how the works of contemporary artists help us re-imagine ways we teach histories of the past.⁶ Through artistic re-presentations of objects, archaeological sites, and histories, we too wanted to make the familiar strange and the strange familiar within a contemporary cache as both art and ancient artifact. (Figure 3 is a related passage taken from our preliminary Google Doc[®]⁷ of notes about hoards.)

By focusing on items of girlhood culture that may be seen as shallow at first glance by adults, we searched for new insights about the visual culture of young women, and the ways in which visual, digital, and material cultures can be seriously explored by artists, art historians, and art educators. We also drew inspiration from art collectives of other interdisciplinary researchers. For example, the Material Collective a working group of Medievalists, suggest in their manifesto a useful alternative framework for investigating objects that influenced our research, including practices of cooperation,



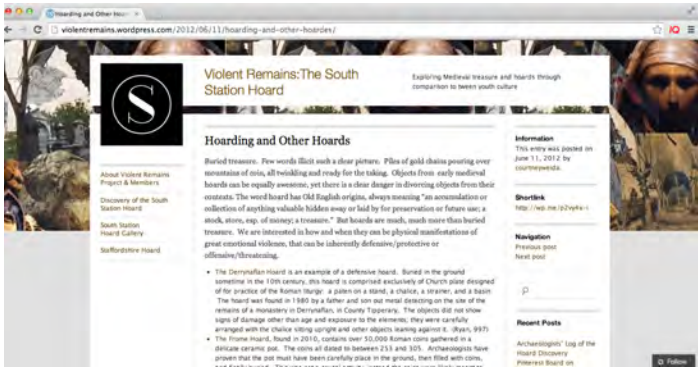


Figure 3. Passage from project notes.

encouragement, sharing, promoting transparency, touching, desiring, destabilizing, amusing, and blundering.⁸ There was a great deal of transparency of process for us in laying bare the various steps of locating, touching, and documenting the artifacts as well as their histories. We particularly enjoyed our fluid processes of blundering (from mishaps in digital technologies to losing artifacts by mailing them back and forth), cooperating across disciplines and geographies, and sharing over email, Google Docs, Skype, and WordPress® which we discuss further in the following sections. Responding to a collective aesthetic of treasure troves and troubling treasures from older tales like *Beowulf* to recent film depictions from the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise, we aimed



to explore parallel ideas of cursed artifacts, but with a crucial distinction of prioritizing the treasure of young women as treasure: valuable, powerful, and worthy of study.

(Trap)pings and Treasures: The Power and Predicaments of Girls

Throughout our processes, we also wanted to draw parallels between contemporary precious devices and electronics as highly personal (and often personalized) artifacts and those pieces of ancient jewelry and weapons that were similarly important medieval resources, which often even served as currency. Our project also aimed to explore how teen artifacts represent middle class status in the United States, as well as gender roles. Looking at girlhood studies literature, we were inspired by definitions of girl power identified by Ivashkevich as a combination of sweetness and femininity with strength and feminism embodied through a mythic, impossible super girl. Her analysis was also useful because she viewed girl power from a case study of two pre-teen girls in summer camp, situated in a Midwestern town. Ivashkevich examines girlpower through the lens of an adult arts researcher who grew up in the Soviet Union, whereas we approached tween and contemporary





culture of the hoard through the removed perspectives of adult researchers from the future.⁹ Through our explorations of popular teen websites, we found objects that were symbolically violent and strong, yet sweetly pink. We were dazzled by a glittering array of heavy gothic crosses, revolvers and guns, razorblades, and impaled, bleeding hearts mixed with girly colors and jewelry objects as we mined stores popular among suburban tweens we knew from teaching or parenthood experiences like Limited Too, Hot Topic, or Claire's. Rather than dismissively assume shallowness in these objects, we wanted to probe and problematize the layers of these symbols further as part of our work within girlhood studies. For example, tween possessions are not quite toys, but they may be toy-like (miniatures, charms, and non-functional versions of functional objects).

Teen artifacts often straddle the line between luxury and necessity, as complex accessories. A 12-year-old girl doesn't actually need a cell phone in the same way food or shelter is required, but we may anticipate that K-12 students frequently have cell phones if living in suburbs of the United States. At the same time, adolescent (and often adult) longing for these items are great. Our own tween students and daughters are fearful of losing access to phones during instructional time, disconnecting them from emailing,



text messages, and social networking. Visual culture researcher Sarah Hentges observes how cell phones and personal items of teens exist in popular culture “as a set of myths and markers for adolescence.”¹⁰ A younger student primarily has a cell phone to contact relatives, whereas a tween may phone or text a growing hoard of acquaintances, all collected in her phone. Further, she may personalize or “dress up” her device, revealing personality and preferences (through colors and symbols of cases and ‘skins,’ as well as sounds and songs serving as ringtones and message indicators).

Girlhood researcher Sophie Wertheimer has meaningfully noted adolescence as “a space where the body becomes a central locale for expression and experimentation with different selves and subjectivities, through the help of technologies such as clothing, toys, and cameras.”¹¹ The self as a sort of canvas, armature, or mannequin for visual culture, and digital accessories (often including cameras) could be likened to creative and documentary tools. Cohen adds, “The personal body is a text across which is written a cultural narrative.”¹² In the case of our hoard, we imagined that the jewelry we found might be understood through the recovered images of the girls in their cell phone devices.

Sociologist William A. Corsaro emphasizes, “children are active, creative social agents who





produce their own unique children's cultures while simultaneously contributing to the production of adult societies."¹³ Along these lines, we also noticed that the objects we associated with children in our homes, our classrooms, and teen and tween clothing stores were in some cases present in our collective and individual memories as adult women. As former (recovering?) adolescents, we noted that a central part of being a tween is being seen, particularly within the various lenses of peers, parents, and educators. Adults often joke that women dress up more for the benefit of friends than romantic partners. Younger girls may primp, pose, and post for a variety of viewers and purposes. In some ways, perhaps, digital and fashion-related possessions are paradoxically markers of adulthood for tweens (relating to visions of independence and consumption), and markers of tween-hood for adults (relating to perceptions of youth, freedom, and youthful transgressions/regressions into Facebook, socially-based texting, Instagram®, etc.).

Beyond the rich symbolism of the artifacts, issues such as the size and scope of the hoard that a group of pre-adolescent girls might collect intrigued and puzzled us. Thinking of hoards in the British Museum and other museum collections, we decided to focus upon about a dozen objects for the sake of our collection and analysis. This choice of scale



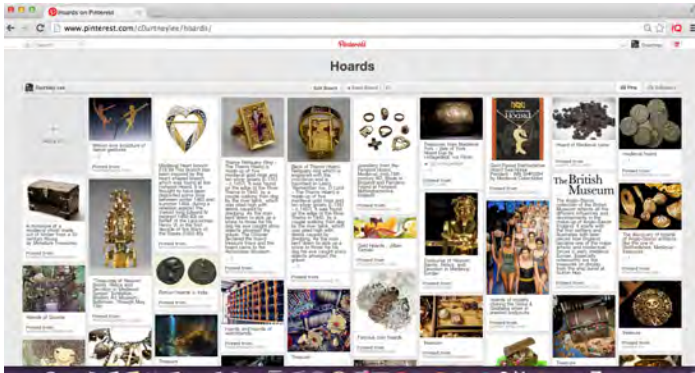


Figure 4. Pinterest board pertaining to hoards.

also reflected our reasoning that the most precious tween hoards tend to be pocket or purse-sized, for portability. Our collection reflected our vision of two rival cliques (or hoards) of girls who would each carry one or two prized objects in their pockets and purses. This framework encouraged investigation of public objects such as cell phones and more private objects like diaries. In examining the Staffordshire hoard, we also drew comparisons between medieval crosses and swords with the objects of protection and religion and those teens might carry. If pre-adolescent bullying could be likened to battle, we wondered how tweens' possessions might be offensive or defensive, representing status, power, and protection. (*See our digital collections of hoard objects from Hoards*





Pinterest Board: <http://pinterest.com/courtneylee/hoards/> and Figure 4.)

We were also concerned with tropes of archaeology, ruins, and caches. Hazardous materials garments, also called hazmat suits (used by scientists to explore archaeological sites) and dust intrigued us (and became thrift store treasure to us). Cultural theorist Carolyn Steedman writes of the allure of the archive, defining its contents as “consciously chosen documentation.”¹⁴ We continuously added and took away from the physical inventory list that formed in our imaginations and conversations—particularly in the case of dolls. We wondered about how tweens might carry and utilize dolls. In our memory of having “worry dolls” as teenagers, we remembered imagining the dolls would somehow allay angst about friendships and peer struggles. The very idea of treasure suggests talismans, prized collections, and personally curated objects of individual need or longing. Yet some transitional, incidental, or even ironic objects that are collected spontaneously (like an old action figure or sexy teen doll) seemed possible, and we observed that some of our tween acquaintances had them, even if often concealed in purses and school desks. In addition, doll-like digital alternatives from Sims, avatars, and other non-physical figurines were possibilities contained within the tweens cellular phone.





We found it intriguing to note which items remained in our shared archive and which ones did not. For example, might one of the girls carry a leatherette bible? Ultimately, we decided not, because it seemed this was more of our own preoccupation. Omitted objects had a ghost presence in our analysis, because they were not realized in the final collection. We catalogued potential hoard objects and functions as a comparison of the medieval warrior and the millennial tween. (See Figure 5.)

Style was a major concern in collecting objects and creating the archaeological aesthetics of their dusty but glittering images in photographs. Style is a value shared by tweens and art historians, albeit in different contexts. Relating to girlhood research, Shauna Pomerantz observes “style fashions the body into a fluid social text that bridges private and public space, or the interiority of the mind and the exteriority of the corporeal self.”¹⁵ Objects such as lip-gloss may be not only about social mores of cosmetic make-up, but also address more personal aesthetic choices of flavor, name, brand, and other components that are personalized to a girl or clique.

We also negotiated religious iconography in the hoard, considering possibilities that young women might be employing crosses and rosaries within popular culture, ironic/Goth or Emo subcultures, and with





	Early Medieval Warrior	Tween Girl
Defense	Weapons: Sword	Cell phone, rosary, Bible
Offense	Armor: Helmet	Pepper spray, cell phone
Apotropeic	Iconography	Religious objects
Religion	Circa Synod of Whitby (not Celtic but also possibly not Roman)	Chastity Jewelry, etc. not Vatican approved - I still need a source on this but there might be a great connection between both visual cultures making their own xian visual culture)
Value	Gold, Silver	Technology, Bling
Placement on Body	Hips, Waist/Belt, Shoulders, Head, Torso	Hips/Pockets, Waist/Belt, Attached to Backpacks
Usage	Daily	Daily
Personalization	Made by "Blacksmiths"	Bought and then personalized
Text		
Iconography	Serpents, Interlace,	
Representative	Beowulf	Selena Gomez or Miley Cyrus??

Figure 5. Chart of objects from the hoard.

more serious ideological/personal stylistic meaning. We looked at how items like cell phones and iPods could be personalized with decorations representing one's personality and favorites in terms of colors, symbols, and ideas. We were also concerned with the





transitional nature of objects of girlhood, the trappings of an ideal girl becoming an ideal woman. Psychologist Sharon Lamb and human development researcher Lyn Brown compare some examples of the reality of girlhood (babysitting, sports, drawing, playing online, etc.) with the imagined/idealized versions of being a teenager as represented in television and other media (fixations on boys, preening, partying, socializing, and shopping).¹⁶ In this way we viewed some objects as sincere talismans and others as tongue-in-cheek props, all of which tweens may approach ambivalently as protective armor, or as a costume/disguise.

Jewelry was a stylistic and symbolic theme for us, as we observed it is often central in the culture of young women. Jewels have a rich history as treasure within the most precious hoards of the wealthy and affluent. As fashion and jewelry historian Anderson Black observes in his history of jewelry: “Since the dawn of civilization, jewels have compensated for three of [hu]man’s basic insecurities: vanity, superstition and the desire for material wealth.”¹⁷ The jeweled accessories we included often addressed these three needs. All the jewelry seemed to express and accentuate the beauty of the wearer, and several accessories related to real or imagined rituals in the case of rosaries for girls (*see* Figure 6 *and* 7) or lip-gloss. Rings and pendants revealed the economic status of the wearer





Figure 6 (left). Red Rosary in the hoard. Figure 7 (right). Blue Rosary in the hoard

through their materials and/or brands. In addition, jewelry remains an obvious symbol of treasure. This symbolism is especially present within gold-plated or gold-painted jewelry and objects encrusted with large plastic gems, evoking past conceptions of jewels and gold with a faux or cubic zirconia style. Meanwhile, we noticed that plastic gems adorning cell phones seem to underscore the preciousness of these mobile communication objects. We may consider the complexities of jewels not worn on the body, but rather decorating the device. As observed by women's studies and art researcher Rebecca Russell, jewelry may indicate "control, honor, and sex," relating to marriage, engagement, and inheritance practices throughout history.¹⁸ For tween girls to decorate their phones with jewels, instead of wearing jewelry, may subvert to-be-looked-at-ness, a term associated with Laura Mulvey's theories of the gaze.¹⁹ The jewels are



not worn to be seen by others, but rather arranged, touched, and seen primarily by the girl herself while the adorned cellular device is being used.

Digital Devices, Digital Natives, and Digital Narratives

These days, many jewelry treasures are perhaps in danger of being superseded by personal electronic devices in terms of economic value as gifts and other purchases. For us, the cell phones in the hoard were not only treasures but also communication devices that might illuminate the nature of the hoard and hoarders. A contemporary hoard, unlike a medieval one, has important differences in its vast digital contents. Foucault usefully defines an archive as “that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in unbroken linearity.”²⁰ In contrast with limited archaeological space for collections, the digital archives of Twitter® and Facebook may be accumulating in this way, making hoarding in electronic formats eerily endless.

We noticed how our technological considerations of the imagined communications of the girls paralleled our online interactions with one another. MIT researcher Sherry Turkle has observed, “studying





people and their devices is, quite simply, a privileged way to study people.”²¹ As most hoards are not left with documentation, we wanted to explore how digital cultures and artifacts provide unique additional context (ranging from clarification to confusion) of the artifacts and its owners. Turkle (2008) also muses that:

the fantasy of a complete record for all time—a kind of immortality—is part of the seduction of digital capture. But memoir, clinical writing, and ethnography are not only about capturing events but also about remembering and forgetting, choice and interpretation.²²

As we compared experiences of crafting girlhood identities from our own childhoods, those of our students, and in some cases our daughters, we wanted to honor the incompleteness of documentation and the perspectival bias uniquely contained in each document and digital space. However, we felt it was important to examine how young people might understand and represent themselves as collectors, conquerors, and hoarders in digital space. As Hentges notes of adults’ conceptualization of teenage girls, “We gaze, but we rarely listen.”²³ We wanted to theorize several voices, those of the girls themselves in the pages of diaries



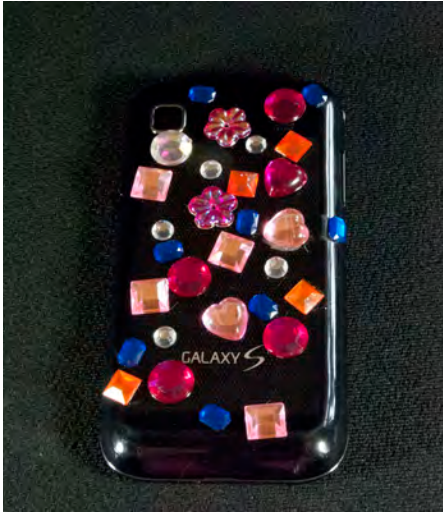


Figure 8. A cell phone decorated by Ella-Grace Antle, Julia Pemberton, and Emily Bastin.

and notes not intended to be shared publicly, those filtered through digital social networks, and those of imagined future archaeologists and art historians. We also invited young women in our lives to share, then to recreate their actual cell phones and decorations. (See Figure 8.)

Lamb and Brown point out a crucial distinction, which we also hoped to illuminate: while a majority of middle school girls are online, they characterize themselves as less technologically savvy than their male counterparts.²⁴ Therefore, the voices of girls online are neglected and minimized in ways we aimed to counter, through our artifacts as well as blog posts





responding to actual news items of girls and teens being cyber-bullied. Given that young women's voices may not always be available publicly or in digital forms to adult viewers due to privacy settings, text-speak, and code-switching available to tweens, we also examined models of girlhood culture from works of art. *A Girl's Life*, by book artists Johanna Drucker and Susan Bee, is an unusual and wonderfully perplexing artist book, comprised of collaged clippings that echo children's primers of the past, along with teen magazine ephemera, and several written references to popular and digital culture. The plot of this somewhat disjointed collaged work takes shape as a "plague of passionate data streamed through the flesh connection" of its pre-teen characters, within various forms of media, including: beepers, tabloids, webcasts, television, movies, and even alternate realities.²⁵ Like Drucker and Bee, we were fascinated by tween stories, and yet limited by our own positions as post-tween adults. We realized that having a similar sort of creative narrative and digital documentation to frame our work was central to attempts to theorize, experience, and connect the objects, the makers/users, and the discoverers/archaeologists. One of our primary creative tasks after collecting the objects themselves was forming a sort of future hoard discovery narrative to frame the hoard. (See Figure 9.)



Figure 9. Hoard discovery narrative.

The violent context of this particular hoarding (as imagined in our narrative in Figure 9) was underscored by our musing that the future societies might become completely peaceful with time. The passage of time would also render dust-covered electronics non-functional, yet their presence would point researchers to old digital sites and textual messages related to the deceased users. Dust, as noted above, also becomes a special temporal consideration in the artistic process and the symbolism of the hoard, serving as a foil to the sleek, digital artifacts. Historian Joseph Amato notes association of dust and magic in fairy tales (which is perhaps not unlike the dusting of treasure in Western consciousness via Indiana Jones films. Amato also observes that dust has a metaphorical quality as an elemental substance that indicates shadowy caves,





Figure 10. Composite image of hoard relic process.

cellars, and corpses, making it a must for our sensibility of treasures and hoards.

For our hoard, we started out with pristine relic objects and added dust through a sort of reverse archaeological process. (See Figure 10.) Our dusting



process not only transformed the objects, but also represented our projected transformation from contemporary arts researchers to an archaeological community in the future. For us, dust also related to a certain aesthetic of antiquity, that a treasure is something that is precious because it is observably ancient, an unequivocal part of the past.

Buying, Bullying, and Burying

In addition to considering tween possessions as ancient artifacts, we hoped to examine how archeologists might elevate the daily activities of girls to the importance of larger historical events. We crafted a narrative that posited girl gang(-like) aggression as a parallel for medieval battles. To parallel medieval warriors, we imagined that one group of girls had stolen and stashed the precious belongings of a rival group. As Lamb and Brown note, “girl meanness is far from new territory. Wicked witches populate most fairy tales, and we have plenty of stories with evil women in powerful positions.”²⁶ Competition and subtle fighting for power and position is a part of mythic and lived relationships among females.

Meanwhile, the related jewelry and accessories at teen stores—while not functional as weapons—do evoke a certain violence and toughness, tempered





by femininity. Inversely, the idea of talismans and defensive precious objects is both idealized and somewhat real for young people. Cell phones are both attractive and practical in times of need, while jewelry can take the form of crosses and rosaries that can relate directly to protective prayer for the devout, or to a more generalized form of spirituality/faith, as well as protection via charms and amulets. We also experienced both curiosity and anxiety around the damage that the objects would encounter from both the fall-out of disaster, as well as earlier destruction resulting from aggressions of the young women who stole them. Our considerations of violence towards the objects included defacing (or de-facing in the case of dolls with actual faces) as well as vandalism, enabling us to take on uncomfortable roles of destructive forces of nature and bullies.

Our explorations resulted in some damaging of the dolls belonging to the girls, reflected from our memories of childhood experiences, archaeological research, and review of girlhood literature. Dolls have a long history of inclusion in girls' hoards, dating back to the 2nd century CE, when dolls with elaborate hairstyles and large breasts were often buried with deceased pre-teenage girls.²⁷ We began noting the ubiquitousness of dolls and doll destruction around us, with the dolls often stripped, divested of long hair,





Figure 11. Stripped and altered doll found in Bronx, NY circa April 2013.

and abandoned on sidewalks. (See Figure 11.)

Tara Kuther and Erin McDonald researched the widespread violent treatment of Barbie® dolls by male and female adolescents—cutting hair, biting heads, melting faces, and placing Barbie dolls in real/simulated danger through play or actual modification of the doll. According to Kuther and McDonald, young people note (and at times mimic parents' concerns) that Barbie's appearance is unrealistic.²⁸ We also wondered if torture play represents, in some cases, a sort of resistance to the idealized Barbie body. Torture play directed towards Barbie also demonstrates





boundary testing; although cutting the hair and changing the clothes is a part of play, more extreme and violent engagement potentially disrupts the possibility for future use of the doll.

Instead of Barbie, we selected a Bratz® doll as part of our hoard. These dolls were sold as child-like figures in skimpy and sexually-provocative clothing. It may be noted that Bratz were recently discontinued after a dispute with Barbie's distributor, Mattel®, not because of the controversy surrounding their clothing, but because the dolls' creator originally conceived of their design while under contract at Mattel.²⁹ We chose the Bratz doll because of its availability, and because its tween-related controversy highlighted some of the tween issues we hoped to explore around dolls and pre-teen's ambivalence. The subtext of Barbie and the Bratz rivalry as dolls was also a parallel for our fictionalized narrative of rival tween girls.

Examining newspaper articles around cyberbullying of young women and research on the subject, we were presented with several provocative examples of bullying and digital media, which we discussed and included on our project blog. Lamb and Brown observe that in such girl aggression,

“Bee-atch” is the fun way to call someone a bitch, and it sends seventh graders into giggles if they





haven't already developed a mock sophistication about such things. "Slut" seems to be used by girls against girls a bit more regularly than by boys. "Lesbo[,] " can be used by boys or girls as a joke to make a girl seriously unhappy, bringing her in line.³⁰

As we looked more deeply at these issues, the meanings and symbolism of words was a matter of concern. To embrace an aesthetic of pink and pretty clothing while bullying a tomboy sends particular symbolic messages about the boundaries and affordances of femininity.

Examining various definitions and complexities of the word bully throughout history, we found that the term sometimes referred to a friend or a lover. This juxtaposition of friend and foe persists in the contemporary friend/enemy role of the frenemy. The association we so frequently use to describe a person who is cruel and intimidating would only come later. These shifts over time perhaps parallel duality in the bullying process, where a supposed BFF (best friend forever) can become a girl's worst tormentor, who usurps social status, steals boyfriends, and deprives her victim of metaphorical booty or treasure. It is frequently a former friend or romantic prospect, who is likely to engage in bullying behavior. In some cases,





the boundaries of bullying and being a friend can be rather murky.

Similarly, the very idea of a hoard is protective, perhaps suggesting its power in both aggressive and defensive situations. Hoarding means to hide, and there is a certain feminine, even corporeal association with a hidden cache and the womb. Saving objects and saving people can be somewhat parallel processes, with both often characterized by care and thoughtfulness. For us, as a parent of a tween girl, parent of toddler girl, and a parent of a newborn girl, hoarding can take on a certain maternal meaning as with time capsules and hoarded heirlooms. Hoards have this interesting duality of hiding and seeking, keeping and giving that is temporal and shifting.

Hiding and Seeking: Concluding Possibilities for Hoarders

In our exploration of hoards and treasures of young people, admittedly through our adult and artistic lenses, we have discovered hoarding and treasuring as multidimensional, relational, and interdisciplinary processes. Certainly, looking at the objects of young people allows adults to reflect (and perhaps to project) much of their own anxieties and joys about objects and relationships. As media researcher Lynn Spigel





comments of youth culture as studied by adults, “the discourse of victimization that surrounds the child might...usefully be renamed and reinvestigated as a discourse of power through which adults express their own disenfranchisement.”³¹ We found it useful to observe how the objects that we celebrated and hated were part of the symbolism of today’s young people (as well as our own histories). When we shared our hoard with other women they too, often spontaneously, exclaimed that they have always saved (or hoarded) a small selection of their own baby dolls, rhinestone jewels, or old diaries curated from childhood.

Our work aimed to illuminate not solely violence and despair, but also some nuances of pleasure and joy in collecting relics of tween culture. As educators, we mused how adolescent girls might interview women in their lives to compare and contrast those ‘girlie’ possessions they had or still have in comparison with those of today. We encourage other educators to examine the parodies, caricatures, symbols, reflections, and idea(l)s associated with personal treasuries instead of preemptively condemning, celebrating, or neglecting them.

A colleague teaching art at the middle school level shared a particularly successful tween project in which she invited teens to collect and arrange belongings that were valuable to them for still-life





projects and as backdrops for their yearbook photos. Our project balanced actual objects of tweens with a sort of imagined posse of young girls, perhaps at times, not unlike the recent YouTube® hoax “lonelygirl15” (supposedly a teen weblog, but revealed as a scripted series actually created by adults), or any fictionalized underdog versus “mean girl” depiction in U.S. films, from *Heathers* (1988) to *Mean Girls* (2004). These imaginative fictions of girlhood provide parodies and parallels with actual young people, often encouraging discussions of pre-teen culture in an admittedly constructed, though artistic and imaginative space.

Although we have focused on a potentially negative tween encounter with bullying, we also explored ways in which pre-adolescent group behavior often involves a dance of more negotiational practices. Corsaro contextualizes tween conflict thoughtfully, observing how “the chief cause [of conflict] may be the increased differentiation in friendship groups in pre-adolescence, but conflict, especially arguments and teasing, can also bring children together and help organize their activities.”³² We might ask ourselves how educators can meaningfully use objects such as these to explore the stories and relational shifts of befriending, bullying, and even re-friending (all of which take on additional meanings in digital social media such as Pinterest®, Facebook®, or Twitter®).





For young people, bullying behaviors may be reconsidered through the objects and devices of their lives in ways that are more meaningful and relevant to them than the adult-imposed anti-bullying initiatives that current exist.

In addition, our research intentionally looked at conflict through objects, and not only young women's interactions of textual messages and digital discussions through social networks. We made this choice to focus on objects not only because of our object-based orientation as makers, historians, and educators, but because transitional items that young people carry around are personal, carefully selected, and variously representational. We realized retrospectively that we contrasted those personal possessions, which girls carry for themselves and with their selves, with those static decorations and public objects of their rooms and shared spaces. Lamb and Brown meaningfully contextualize the items and spaces of many tween girls' rooms "everything . . . is fabulous, dreamy, the cutest, the softest, beautiful, flittery fluttery, pretty, or lovely . . . What is the message? Girls' rooms are their worlds."³³ Instead, we wondered how those select objects obscured from public view but often carried by young women might reconfigure and revise such restrictive notions of both girlhood and girlhood visual culture into a more fluid, moving picture.





For example, we noted that popular cell phones are individually decorated, jewelry may represent both public and personal self, and private messages reveal different selves than shown in public digital media. The digital device can become an artistic tool of identity expression. Earlier in our analysis, we noticed that tweens often aim to be seen, both with and through these devices. Representation through objects can be seen as a way into art education, in ways similar to the art of Cindy Sherman.

It should also be mentioned that spectatorship of teenage girls and their possessions by adults and by peers is omnipresent, and perhaps, suspect. As Lamb and Brown note, other girls comment upon fashion, dress codes regulate apparel and accessories, and a certain visibility and monitoring of girlhood life is both annoying and intoxicating. Particularly in schools, bag checks and bathroom passes in schools regulate girls' movement and belongings. Teachers and parents may impose dress codes to protect girls, their decency, and/or privacy while also limiting their expression. Perhaps our project had a nuanced quality of voyeurism via its focus on tweens and removed stance from actual young women's private possessions and communications. However, we also employed a sense of possibility and creativity that seemed to afford us a criticality and reflexivity.



As researchers, we were able to reflect more personally on youth culture from a creative distance. It was consistently interesting to revisit our own childhoods through the objects and the archive, to briefly peer into the roles of our children and our younger students, and to imagine composite children through this project. Our hoard was not an inquiry into the past, but rather a sustained speculation into the present and future. Museum curator Catherine Johns observes:

The archaeologist draws inferences from a transitory moment in the “lives” of the objects which he/she studies, the moment when the artifacts...were set aside, whether deliberately or inadvertently, until rediscovered much later.... In the case of hoards we see a particular association of objects which passed out of human control at a moment in the past, and from this grouping, we attempt to infer their previous history and the events and intentions which led to their deposition and their continuing sojourn in the ground.³⁴

Indeed, a hoard is a set of belongings that becomes preserved for future use and discovery, making incidental, or spontaneous hoards of history





and more planned, intentional archives, such as our project, not entirely dissimilar.

The acts of discovering and archiving also serve to symbolically reunite owners with their lost treasures, by linking them once more through inquiry and historical narrative. We sensed hopefulness to hoarding that tween suffering and tween treasures will become more memorable and be of greater art historical importance in the future. So too, our imaginative project functions as a special sort of hoard in this manner, aiming to collect and curate in service of more nuanced interpretations of, understandings for, and collaborations with future youth cultures and artifacts.

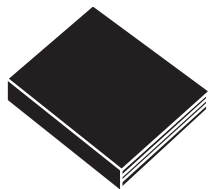




Locker Eight

Closing the Book, Leaving the Locker Open

Carlee A. Bradbury





In creating and studying the South Station Hoard, we set out to examine perceptions and memories of the frequently violent act of treasure taking. Comparing tween girls and their nuanced tactics of surveillance and bullying to those same skills of medieval warriors allowed us to create an intimate circular relationship between precious objects and both their owners and their takers. This relationship is important but so were our own processes of research, object interrogation, visualization and writing.

Ultimately, while studying the past and speculating about the future, we found our own voices.

Scholarly. Creative. *Brave.*

In the Fall of 2009, I was teaching my survey of medieval art when news of the Staffordshire Hoard discovery broke. I was so excited I canceled my planned lecture of the day and my class spent an hour listening to new reports and looking at the Flickr set. I kept saying, "This changes EVERYTHING!" The students were most interested in the sheer volume and value of gold, the luck and sincerity of Terry Herbert, and the audacity of the British Museum. Everything was positive and monumental – in hindsight, it was almost as if I wasn't really looking at the objects. Since that Fall, I've talked about the Hoard in other survey classes and traveled to Washington DC to see a selection of objects at the





National Geographic Museum in November 2011. The luster of the objects has faded and my excitement about the objects has increasingly turned to anxiety.

In my mind, I created a Robin Hood scenario of warriors taking objects with good intentions, hiding them away and then falling victim to some terrible fate. The more time I spent in front of the objects I started to get the sense that my gallant warriors were probably thieves. In the weeks before I saw the objects, the news has been full of accounts of teens tormenting each other to the point of suicide. I began to see those responsible for the Staffordshire Hoard as bullies and the hoard as loot taken from their victims. My daughter was about 5 months old at the time and I was so worried about what the world would be for her as a young teen.

Our Hoard helped us understand the violence of taking but also the importance of making, holding, and hiding precious objects. This project took each of us outside of our comfortable disciplinary boxes and we are better for it. This project has been a true collaboration. Outside of the core group listed on our Table of Contents we owe debts of gratitude to the following kindred souls: Amber Edwards, Ella Grace Antle, Julia Pemberton, Emily Bastin, Austin Acord, Matt Accord, David Rhea, Samarth Swarup, and the Material Collective.

This project has been one so intimately tied with discovery





and we hope it will raise questions on many levels. We also hope that our Hoard will inspire new conversations about our relationship with the objects we treasure as well as the role of power in such relationships. The lesson plan that follows offers many practical exercises for exploring such themes.

Our personal histories shaped the South Station Hoard and being part of this creative collaboration has emboldened us all.







Appendix One

Lesson Plan

Courtney L Weida





Treasure Seeking

Before I started elementary school, I remember being obsessed with the idea of treasure. I loved tales of pirates and jewels, and relished movies including secret compartments and magical amulets. An older sibling bought me beloved kitschy treasure chests from pet store aquarium sections. I also used to dig in the backyard, scour the basement, and sift through my mother's jewelry in hopes to find some ancient, forgotten, secret objects. Treasure, with its preciousness and stories are interesting to children with good reason. The acts of discovering, discussing, defining, and creating treasure are inherently and usefully artistic, for we must decide what qualities of color, shape, luster, history, myth and meaning might render an object to become treasured.

This lesson explores local treasure through visual culture activities and more mythic aspects of treasure in the studio. The hook or essential questions of this lesson include:

What is treasure?

Who decides how treasure is found, preserved, and recorded?





National Standards

1. Content Standard: Understanding and applying media, techniques, and processes

b. intentionally take advantage of the qualities and characteristics of *art media, techniques, and processes to enhance communication of their experiences and ideas

3. Content Standard: Choosing and evaluating a range of subject matter, symbols, and ideas

b. use subjects, themes, and symbols that demonstrate knowledge of contexts, values, and aesthetics that communicate intended meaning in artworks

4. Content Standard: Understanding the visual arts in relation to history and cultures

c. analyze, describe, and demonstrate how factors of time and place (such as climate, resources, ideas, and technology) influence visual characteristics that give meaning and value to a work of art

**Others may be included from Common Core, State Standards, etc.*





Archaeological Practice:

You may wish to start with the following quote:

“Every day someone throws away a fortune because he does not know a lost treasure when he finds one.”

(Jeanne Horne in Hidden Treasure)

Encourage students to think of a trusted adult that they might interview about family heirlooms and personal treasure. It could be someone from their families, a former teacher, a friend’s parent, etc.

(If working with a girl scout troop or all-girls’ group, you may wish to encourage them to speak with a grandmother, aunt, or female mentor.)

Students will be asked to interview the adult about a keepsake, heirloom, or other precious belonging. *(Discussion/recap: what is a heirloom?)* Work with students to develop interview questions such as the following:

What is the most precious possession you own?

Do you have any objects that have been passed down from another person?





Studio Treasure Activities:

The Staffordshire Hoard was first discovered by a metal detector, which uncovered a gold strip from 1300 years ago “set with garnets but still covered with earth.”¹ Create or annotate and personal treasure. Begin by brainstorming what treasures and artifacts are. Discuss physical qualities and meanings of these objects. Discuss gems, gold, glitter, silver, bronze, coins, and other symbols we may associate with treasure. You might even think about how art itself is seen as a form of valuable treasure. A few possibilities for the studio project:

Consider also creating trash from treasure, as ecological or eco-artists often do.

See more here:

[http://www.cnn.com/2012/03/16/world/
environmental-green-art](http://www.cnn.com/2012/03/16/world/environmental-green-art)

Consider creating a collection of treasure through collage.

What objects will be highlighted through scale and color?

How will they be collected or displayed through overlapping and juxtaposition?



**Create a treasure sculpture.**

How could you re-create the Hope Diamond?

A gigantic ruby?

A magical golden key?

Or a precious gemstone growing inside of a cave?

Create a memorial to a famous figure in the African American Memory Jar tradition.

You might create a memorial to Rosa Parks, using objects significant to her life to decorate a bottle or jar.

Reflection

In lieu of an artist statement, create an archaeological record or museum placard that would explain to visitors what this object was in the future.





Resources

Endnotes





Locker One

¹ Michael Ryan, “The Derrynaflan Hoard and Early Irish Art,” *Speculum*, 72, no. 4 (1997): 997.

² Ryan, 998.

³ H.R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977), 55-56.

⁴ Alcuin Of York, *Letter to Higbald*, trans. by S. Allott, *Alcuin of York*, (York: 1974). Reprinted in Paul Edward Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Ontario: 1993).

⁵ Michael J Swanton, *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 55-56.

⁶ The most detailed survey of the hoard is in Sam Moorhead, Anna Booth, and Roger Bland, *The Frome Hoard* (London: British Museum Press, 2010).

⁷ Catherine Hills, Patrick Perin, Christopher Sparey, and Leslie Webster, “The Staffordshire (Ogley Hay) Hoards: Problems of Interpretation.” *Antiquity* (2011): 85-221.

Locker Two

Photography Credit: Karie Edwards





Locker Four

¹ Deborah Shepherd, “Evidence of Violence from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,” 1997 *International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, MI*: 1-2.

² Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “The Armour of Alienating Identity,” *Arthuriana*, 6, no. 4 (1996): 2.

³ S. L. Dragland, “Monster-Man in Beowulf,” *Neophilologus* 61 (1977), 606-8.

⁴ Seamus Heaney, trans., *Beowulf*, (USA: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), lines 336-339.

⁵ Hedenstierna-Jonson, “A Brotherhood of Feasting and Campaigning,” 51.

⁶ Heaney, trans., *Beowulf*, lines 1523-1528.

⁷ The last lines of Beowulf (“He was the man most gracious and fair-minded, kindest to his people and keenest to win fame”) could be taken as a rhetorical device used by the narrator to question whether Beowulf’s desire to win fame was worth the sacrifice of his humanity. If that is the case, then the narrator does show some doubt over Beowulf’s character but showers him with praise nonetheless. It is perhaps even more telling that the narrator is aware of Beowulf’s irrationality and yet continues to believe in his greatness.

⁸ Heaney, trans., *Beowulf*, line 2565.

⁹ Heaney, trans., *Beowulf*, lines 1456-1464.

¹⁰ K1000 and K454; Objects housed in the Birmingham



Museum.

K454: One of a pair of gold hilt collars, decorated with filigree and cabochon garnets. The pair comes from the handle of a sword or knife. ©Birmingham Museums Trust.

¹¹ Hedenstierna-Jonson, “A Brotherhood of Feasting and Campaigning,” 44.

¹² Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors*, 164.

¹³ K453; Object housed in the Birmingham Museum.

¹⁴ K1509, K772, and K228; Objects housed in the Birmingham Museum.

¹⁵ Heinrich Härke, ““Warrior graves”? The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite.” *Past & Present*. no. 126 (1990): 25.

¹⁶ “Zoomorphic Mount,” *Staffordshire Hoard*. Object housed in the Birmingham Museum.

K652: Gold plaque in the shape of two birds of prey and a fish. It may have been fastened to the front of a shield or it may have been used to decorate a saddle. The design represents two birds of prey clutching a fish between them. ©Birmingham Museums Trust.

¹⁷ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla, or the Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, 469.

¹⁸ Douglas B. Killings, trans., “The Battle of Maldon,” lines 17-21.

¹⁹ Härke, “Warrior graves,” 42.

²⁰ Shepherd, “Evidence of Violence from Anglo-Saxon





Cemeteries,” 2.

²¹ C. Scott Littleton, “War and Warriors: Indo-European Beliefs and Practices,” IN *Encyclopedia of Religion*, v. 15, Mircea Eliade, ed.-in-chief, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.), 1987, 345.

²² Snorri Sturluson, “The Ynglinga Saga, or the story of the Yngling family from Odin to Halfdan the Black,” *Internet Sacred Text Archive*, Accessed December 15, 2013. <http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/heim/02ynglga.htm>.

²³ Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, “A Brotherhood of Feasting and Campaigning: The Success of the Northern Warrior,” *From Ephesos to Dalecarlia. Reflections on Body, Space and Time in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (2009): 43.

²⁴ Hilda Davidson, “The Training of Warriors,” IN *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed., Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1989, 17.

²⁵ Shepherd, “Evidence of Violence from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,” 3.

²⁶ Brian Wallace, in his Ph.D. thesis, analyzed a multitude of sources to determine the rough size of warbands in early medieval insular warfare. Sir Ifor Williams, the editor and translator of the first contemporary version of *The Gododdin*, took the poems’ words as gospel in an account of a 300-man warrior force and accepted that 300 warriors made up a typical Welsh *teulu*. Other scholars doubt the validity of this suggestion, claiming that a number-based



superstition surrounding 300 caused the poet to choose that quantity. Some believe 300 refers to the number of chieftains, each of whom would have been accompanied by retinues and thanes, bringing the total number of warriors closer to 1,000. Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, based on the Sutton Hoo excavation, assumed a crew of forty men per ship and multiplied that figure by a factor of two to five according to records from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Scholars studying later fleets suggest that each ship would have been crewed by a confederacy of smaller warbands, numbering between 30 and 60 men each, to make up military forces of hundreds or thousands. Heroic literature seems to use numbers to indicate the importance of a leader; 50 men attend a prince, 300 come to the king, etc. It also seems that poets used numbers to draw connections, often to biblical accounts. As such, the sizes of warbands in literature most likely do not reflect historical actuality. (Brian Wallace, “Warriors and Warfare: Ideal and Reality in Early Insular Texts,” (doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), 17-47.)

²⁷ Shepherd, “Evidence of Violence from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,” 5.

²⁸ Killings, trans., “The Battle of Maldon,” lines 49-58.

²⁹ Shepherd, “Evidence of Violence from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,” 1-2.

³⁰ John D. Niles, *Beowulf: The Poem and Its Traditions*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 215.





³¹ Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, trans. W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn, <http://classics.mit.edu//Caesar/gallic.html>.

³² Davidson, “The Training of Warriors,” 14.

³³ Killings, trans., “The Battle of Maldon,” line 86.

³⁴ Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 34.

³⁵ Niles, *Beowulf*, 29.

³⁶ Niles, *Beowulf*, 214.

³⁷ K449; Object housed in the Birmingham Museum.

³⁸ David A. Gale, “The Seax,” IN *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed., Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1989), 71-80.

³⁹ Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors*, 126.

⁴⁰ Härke, “Warrior graves,” 25.

⁴¹ Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors*, 86.

⁴² Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors*, 22, 128.

⁴³ K130; Object housed in the Birmingham Museum.

K130: The ‘Mystery Object’ decorated with very fine cloisonné garnet work, small gold panels with pairs of biting beasts and, at the top, a glass ‘gem’. Nothing like this has ever been found before and yet no one has been able to suggest a convincing identification for it. Among the suggestions made so far are that it is part of the boss from the centre of a shield, the lid to a Christian chalice, the stopper to a drinking horn, or part of the headgear of a high-ranking priest. ©Birmingham Museums Trust.



⁴⁴ K1055 and K545, respectively. Objects housed in the Birmingham Museum.

⁴⁵ Bryony Orme, *Anthropology for Archaeologists*, (London: Duckworth, 1981), 196.

⁴⁶ Guy Halsall, “Anthropology and the Study of Pre-Conquest Warfare and Society: The Ritual War in Anglo-Saxon England,” IN *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed., Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1989), 158.

⁴⁷ Halsall, “Anthropology and the Study of Pre-Conquest Warfare and Society,” 159.

⁴⁸ Cohen, “The Armour of an Alienating Identity,” 2, 13-14.

Locker Seven

¹ R. Bland and K. Leahy, *The Staffordshire Hoard*, (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 11.

² The use of “we” in this article represents shared discussions and activities of the three main collaborators.

³ Patricia Leavy, *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice* (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2009), 14.

⁴ Pinterest is a large digital community and tool for creating, collecting, and organizing images or *pins* with captions within categories or *boards*, creating visual collages around topics from travel to lesson-planning, wedding-planning, and art history.





- ¹⁵ Shauna Pomerantz, “ ‘Did you see what she was wearing?’ The Power and Politics of Schoolgirl Style.” In Y. Jiwani, C. Steenbergen & C. Mitchell (Eds.), *Girlhood: Redefining the Limits* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2006): 176.
- ¹⁶ M.L. Brown and S. Lamb. *Packaging Girlhood: Rescuing Our Daughters from Marketers’ Schemes*. (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2006).
- ¹⁷ Anderson Black, *A History of Jewelry* (New York, NY: Park Lane, 1981), 13.
- ¹⁸ Rebecca Russell, *Gender and Jewelry: A Feminist Analysis* (North Charleston, NC: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2010), 1.
- ¹⁹ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” *Screen*, 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6–18.
- ²⁰ M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London, 1972), 129.
- ²¹ Sherry Turkle. *The Inner History of Devices* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008), 11.
- ²² Turkle, 26.
- ²³ Hentges, 202.
- ²⁴ Lamb and Brown.
- ²⁵ Bee, S, and J Drucker. *A Girl’s Life*. (New York, NY: Granary Books, 2002).
- ²⁶ Lamb and Brown, 76.
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*South Station Hoard: Imagining, Creating and
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