

Exploring Anglo-Saxon 'Art' Objects:

A comparison of cast Saucer brooches and
Small-long brooches.

By Zoe Louise Ainsworth

University of Central Lancashire

www.uclan.ac.uk

School of Forensic and Applied Science

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the
degree of MSc by Research of Archaeology**

May 2019

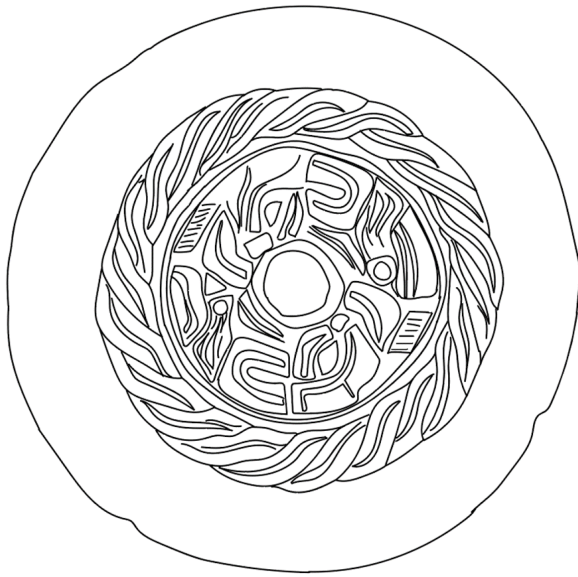


Image 1: Drawing of SF81 cast Saucer brooch from Oakington with eyes highlighted (author's own) (Ainsworth 2017)

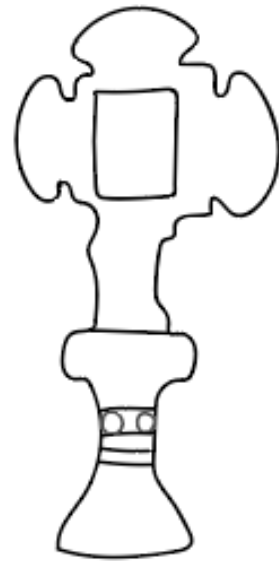


Image 2: Drawing of SF113 Small-long brooch from Oakington (author's own) (Ainsworth 2017)

STUDENT DECLARATION FORM



Concurrent registration for two or more academic awards

✓ Either *I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution

or *I declare that while registered for the research degree, I was with the University's specific permission, a *registered candidate/*enrolled student for the following award:

Material submitted for another award

✓ Either *I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work

or *I declare that the following material contained in the thesis formed part of a submission for the award of

(state award and awarding body and list the material below):

** delete as appropriate*

Collaboration

Where a candidate's research programme is part of a collaborative project, the thesis must indicate in addition clearly the candidate's individual contribution and the extent of the collaboration. Please state below:

Signature of Candidate Zoe Ainsworth

Type of Award Msc by Research

School Forensic and Applied Science



This is the work of a student with specific learning difficulties.

Please mark in accordance with the guidelines.

Name/Student No. (whichever to be used to identify this assignment):

.....

Course:

.....

Subject (if Combined Honours)

.....

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for all their support throughout the duration of this project. Firstly, I would like to thank Dr. Duncan Sayer for his constant guidance and for allowing me to use the mind-blowing Oakington brooches in this thesis. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Richard Peterson and Dr. Vicki Cummings for always having their doors open when any questions arose. I would also thank Thomas Cockcroft, who has encouraged and pushed me. Finally, I would like to thank my amazing parents Michael and Joanne, without their love and support I wouldn't have been able to finish this thesis.

This thesis would not have been possible without the previous work of Tania Dickinson who constructed an in-depth catalogue of Anglo-Saxon finds from the Thames Valley in 1978.

Abstract

This thesis surrounds the archaeology of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries AD, more specifically the Anglo-Saxon 'art'. Rather than using previous historical interpretations of Anglo-Saxon 'art', this study uses a possible theoretical and social framework to answer the question 'what was art in the Anglo-Saxon period?' For this project cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches have been analysed to understand how 'decorated' and 'mundane' objects may have been perceived. Seven cemeteries have been used for the analysis, these cemeteries are located in the eastern and southern extents of the UK. To eventually answer the question, 'what is Anglo-Saxon art?'

Contents

1.	Introduction	8
1.1.	The Time Period	8
1.2.	The Study Region	8
1.3.	Objectives.....	8
2.	Literature Review	9
2.1.	Art	9
2.1.1.	The Theory of Art	9
2.1.2.	Art & Archaeological Research.....	22
2.1.3.	Summary	27
2.2.	Society & Identity.....	28
2.2.1.	Social Theory	28
2.2.2.	Gender	29
2.2.3.	Age	30
2.2.4.	Wealth & Status	32
2.2.5.	Social Grouping	34
2.2.6.	Ethnicity	36
2.2.7.	Trade & Exchange	37
2.2.8.	Religion.....	37
2.2.9.	Summary	40
2.3.	Objects	41
2.3.1.	Material Culture Theories.....	41
2.3.2.	Anglo-Saxon Case Studies	43
2.3.3.	Summary	44
2.4.	Saucer Brooches.....	44
2.4.1.	What is a Saucer Brooch?	44
2.4.2.	Previous Studies.....	47
2.4.3.	Classification	48
2.5.	Small-Long Brooches.....	63
2.5.1.	A Background to Small-Long Brooches	63
3.	Methodology.....	65
3.1.	Aims.....	65
3.2.	Theoretical Framework.....	65
3.2.1.	The Framework	65

3.3.	Research Context	66
3.3.1.	Cemeteries	67
3.4.	Methods	70
3.4.1.	Deciding What to Include.....	70
3.4.2.	Structure	70
4.	Analysis & Results	71
4.1.	The Brooches	71
4.2.	Who? – Skeletal Remains.....	74
4.2.1.	Sex.....	74
4.2.2.	Age	74
4.3.	What? – Finds	80
4.3.1.	Number of Finds.....	80
4.3.2.	Type of Finds	80
4.4.	Where? – Location	83
4.4.1.	Body Location.....	83
4.4.2.	Cemetery Location	83
5.	Discussion.....	93
5.1.	Defining ‘Art’	93
5.2.	Interpreting the Analysis.....	94
5.3.	Summary	99
6.	Limitations.....	101
6.1.	Data Collection.....	101
6.2.	Theoretical Approach.....	101
7.	Conclusion.....	102
	Glossary.....	105
	Bibliography	106
	Appendix A: Maps	113
	Appendix B: The Saucer Brooches	123
	Appendix C: The Small-Long Brooches	185
	Appendix D: Data	192

Image 1: Drawing of SF81 cast Saucer brooch from Oakington with eyes highlighted (author's own) (Ainsworth 2017)	ii
Image 2: Drawing of SF113 Small-long brooch from Oakington (author’s own) (Ainsworth 2017)	ii

Figure 1: Drawing of Plato (<a)<="" a="" href="https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=plato&rlz=1C1GGRV_enGB751GB751&source=Inms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiyuYatkdjaAhWpC8AKHvR6ChIQ_AUICigB&biw=1356&bih=642#imgdii=UUwTy9R5CNrdM:&imgsrc=dd4EloTxRzSzM:">	11
Figure 2: Parthenon frieze (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parthenon_Frieze)	12
Figure 3: Front cover of the English translated Aesthetic Theory (https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/aesthetic-theory-9781846840111/)	12
Figure 4: Image of human evolution (https://www1.wdr.de/radio/wdr5/sendungen/zeitzeichen/evolutionslehredarwin100~_variant-html5.html)	17
Figure 5: Pablo Picasso Cubism, Bowl of Fruit, Violin and Bottle 1914 (http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/c/cubism)	18
Figure 6: African Tribal Art (http://www.tribalartmagazine.com/issue-85-sample-2)	18
Figure 7: Gell's Art Nexus, reads horizontally and vertically (Gell 1998, 26-27).....	21
Figure 8: Upper Palaeolithic 'hands' cave art from Europe (https://www.world-archaeology.com/features/re-dating-ice-age-art/)	23
Figure 9: Portable Palaeolithic art - spear thrower made from reindeer antler, sculpted as a Mammoth - France c. 13,000 - 14,000 (http://antiquity.ac.uk/reviews/ice_age/).....	24
Figure 10: Sutton Hoo belt buckle with Animal Style II iconography (https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/)	26
Figure 11: Great Square-headed brooch with Animal Style I iconography (https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/)	26
Figure 12: (From left to right) young girl associated with the first stage of the female life cycle, and woman associated with the second stage of the female lifecycle (Stoodley 2000, 462)	31
Figure 13: Woman associated with the third stage of the female lifecycle (Stoodley 2000, 462)	32
Figure 14: Table showing the proportion of male adult burials according to social classification from 5th to 7th centuries (Härke 1997, 146).....	34
Figure 15: Table showing the three grades used to categorise grave-goods through wealth and social class (Härke 1997, 143)	34
Figure 16: Examples of Anglo-Saxon buildings 1. Cowdery's Down, 2. Chalton A20, 3. Bishopstone XXVIII, 4. West Stow 2, 5. Mucking, 6. Thirlings G (Karkov 1999, 92)	36
Figure 17: Sutton Hoo purse-lid 7th century gold, garnet and millefiori with Style II iconography (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87215&partId=1).....	38

Figure 18: Reconstruction of Sutton Hoo burial (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sutton.Hoo.Burial.Traedmawr.jpg)	39
Figure 19: The Fuller brooch, dating to 9th century AD (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87155&partId=1).....	40
Figure 20: Portesham mirror, Portesham, Dorset (Joy 2009, 546).	42
Figure 21: The location of weapons and knives from 17 cemeteres: knives (purple), shields (green), spear heads (red) and swords (blue) (Sayer et al. 2018)	44
Figure 22: Saucer brooch position in a grave (Dickinson https://finds.org.uk/documents/conf07/tania.pdf)	45
Figure 23: Saucer brooch finds to 1911 created by Dickinson (https://finds.org.uk/documents/conf07/tania.pdf).....	46
Figure 24: Brooches from Group 1 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	49
Figure 25: Brooches from Group 2 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	50
Figure 26: Brooches from Group 3 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	51
Figure 27: Brooches from Group 4 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	52
Figure 28: Brooches from Group 5 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	53
Figure 29: Brooches from Group 6 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	54
Figure 30: Brooches from Group 7 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	55
Figure 31: Brooch from Group 8 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3).....	56
Figure 32: Brooch from Group 9 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3).....	56
Figure 33: Brooches from Group 10 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	57
Figure 34: Brooches from Group 11 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	58
Figure 35: Brooch from Group 12 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3).....	58
Figure 36: Brooches from Group 13 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	59
Figure 37: Brooches from Group 14 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	60
Figure 38: Brooch from Group 15 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3).....	61
Figure 39: Brooches from Group 16 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	61
Figure 40: Brooch from Group 17 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3).....	62
Figure 41: Brooches from Group 18 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)	62
Figure 42: (L to R) square-headed, tre-foil headed, radiate-headed, and horned-headed Small-long brooches (Welch, 1983).....	64
Figure 43: QGIS closeup map of cemetery location in England (authors own)	69
Figure 44: QGIS overview map of cemetery location in England (authors own).....	69

Figure 45: Number of Saucer brooches that have been repaired, burnt, have file marks, textile or are gilded - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)	73
Figure 46: Percentage of Saucer brooches found according to sex- data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	76
Figure 47: Percentage of Small-long found according to sex – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)	76
Figure 48: Sex of skeletal remains from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)	77
Figure 49: Age of the skeletal remains found in each Saucer burial - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	78
Figure 50: Age of the skeletal remains found in each Small-long brooch burial - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	78
Figure 51: Age of skeletal remains from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	79
Figure 52: Number of other grave-goods/finds found in the Small-long brooch burials – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	81
Figure 53: Number of other grave-goods/finds found in the Saucer brooch burials – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	81
Figure 54: Number of other brooch types found in each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch burials - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)	82
Figure 55: Position of Saucer and Small-long brooches on skeletal remains - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own).....	85
Figure 56: Position of Saucer and Small-long brooches on skeletal remains - data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and (only Saucer) Oakington (image: http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue) (authors own).....	86
Figure 57: Position of Saucer brooches on the skeletal remains - heatmap using data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and Oakington (image: http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue) (authors own).....	87
Figure 58: Position of Small-long brooches on the skeletal remains - heatmap using data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and Oakington (image: http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue) (authors own).....	88
Figure 59: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Blacknall Field (Annable and Eagles 2010, 62 - edited by author)	89
Figure 60: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Great Chesterford (Evison 1994 - edited by author)	90

Figure 61: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Market Lavington (Williams and Newman 2006, 29 - edited by author)	91
Figure 62: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Oakington (Sayer 2013 - edited by author)	92
Table 1: Number of brooches per site (authors own)	72
Map 1: Site map of Blacknall Field (Annable & Eagles 2010)	114
Map 2: Great Chesterford location in UK (Evison 1994).....	117
Map 3: Great Chesterford cemetery location and size (Evison 1994)	118
Map 4: Site map of Great Chesterford (Evison 1994).....	119
Map 5: Site map of Market Lavington (Williams & Newman 2006)	120
Map 6: Map overview of Oakington (Sayer 2013).....	121
Map 7: Site plan of Oakington (Sayer 2013).....	122
Plate 1: Saucer brooches from grave 5 (Dickinson 1978)	124
Plate 2: Saucer brooches from grave 6 (Dickinson 1978)	126
Plate 3: Saucer brooches from grave 31 (Dickinson 1978)	128
Plate 4: Saucer brooches from grave 34 (Dickinson 1978)	130
Plate 5: Saucer brooch from grave 60 (Dickinson 1978).....	132
Plate 6: Saucer brooches from grave 100 (Dickinson 1978)	134
Plate 7: Saucer brooches from grave 102 (Dickinson 1978)	136
Plate 8: Saucer brooches from grave 118 (Dickinson 1978)	138
Plate 9: Saucer brooch from cremation 9 (Dickinson 1978)	140
Plate 10: SF2 & 3 from grave 21 (Annable & Eagles 2010)	142
Plate 11: Drawing of SF2 & 3 from grave 21 (Annable & Eagles 2010).....	142
Plate 12: SF1 & 2 from grave 50 (Annable & Eagles 2010)	144
Plate 13: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 50 (Annable & Eagles 2010).....	144
Plate 14: SF1 & 2 from grave 56 (Annable & Eagles 2010)	146
Plate 15: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 56 (Annable & Eagles 2010).....	146
Plate 16: SF1 & 2 from grave 104 (Annable & Eagles 2010)	148
Plate 17: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 104 (Annable & Eagles 2010)	148
Plate 18: Saucer brooch from grave 22 (Dickinson 1978).....	150

Plate 19: Saucer brooches from grave 63 (Dickinson 1978).....	152
Plate 20: Saucer brooch from grave 77 (Dickinson 1978).....	154
Plate 21: Saucer brooches from grave 21 (Dickinson 1978).....	156
Plate 22: Saucer brooch from grave 107 (Dickinson 1978).....	158
Plate 23: Saucer brooches from grave 51 (Dickinson 1978).....	160
Plate 24: Saucer brooch from grave XVIII (Dickinson 1978).....	162
Plate 25: SF2 and SF3 from grave 2B (Evison 1994).....	164
Plate 26: SF1 and SF2 from grave 97 (Evison 1994).....	166
Plate 27: SF1 and SF2 from grave 120 (Evison 1978).....	168
Plate 28: SF1 and SF2 from grave 126 (Evison 1994).....	170
Plate 29: Drawing of SF33 & 34 from grave 7 (Williams & Newman 2006).....	172
Plate 30: Drawing of SF1 from grave 8 (Williams & Newman 2006).....	174
Plate 31: Drawing of SF1 from grave 24 (Williams & Newman 2006).....	176
Plate 32: Drawing of SF288 & 289 from grave 26 (Williams & Newman 2006).....	178
Plate 33: SF92 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	180
Plate 34: Drawing of SF93 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	181
Plate 35: SF93 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	181
Plate 36: SF81 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	183
Plate 37: SF79 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	183
Plate 38: Drawing of SF79 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	184
Plate 39: Drawing of SF81 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own).....	184
Plate 40: Small-long brooches from Abingdon I graves (Dickinson 1978).....	185
Plate 41: Small-long brooches from Blacknall Field graves (L to R) 15, 19, 27, 74, 85, 93 and 95 (Eagles 2010).....	186
Plate 42: Small-long brooches from East Shefford graves (Dickinson 1978).....	188
Plate 43: Small-long brooches from Great Chesterford graves (Evison 1994).....	189
Plate 44: Small-long brooches from Oakington graves (L to R) 4, 10, 18, 19, 57, 59, 66 (Taylor et al. 1997 & Sayer 2013).....	191

1. Introduction

This study uses the theories surrounding art and society to further understand Anglo-Saxon art. Using the literature discussed, a comparison of cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches will be made. Incorporating both historical and 'new social' approaches to answer the question 'what is Anglo-Saxon art?'

1.1. The Time Period

The Anglo-Saxon period began with the expansion of the Germanic settlers from the Angeln and Saxony regions into Britain between 410 AD and 1066 AD. The establishment of new rulers between the 5th and 9th centuries meant Britain was divided into four kingdoms; Wessex, Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia (Stenton, 1971 & Lapidge et al. 2000). With this division came new regional, political and social groups that would be the very foundation of Anglo-Saxon society. This thesis will focus mostly on the early Anglo-Saxon period (410 AD to 650 AD), which is characterised by inhumation and cremation burials furnished with weapons, jewellery, vessels and other metal objects (Stoodley 1999, 4).

1.2. The Study Region

This study will analyse the Saucer brooches found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries across the UK, these cemeteries are found mostly in the eastern and southern parts of England. Seven cemeteries will be analysed; Abingdon I, Blacknall Field, Dorchester VI, East Shefford, Great Chesterford, Market Lavington and Oakington.

1.3. Objectives

- To critically review and assess the literature surrounding Anglo-Saxon art, society, identity, material culture and Saucer brooches
- To define what an 'art' object is using literature research
- To collect finds data on Anglo-Saxon Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches from cemeteries in England
- To compare and highlight any patterns that may occur between sex, age, number of in situ grave goods and location in correlation to the art objects
- To determine if Saucer brooches should be considered as 'art objects' and to discuss what this reveals about Anglo-Saxon art.

2. Literature Review

This section will look at previous studies of art theory; and how it is applied in an archaeological context to understand prehistoric and historic societies. Theories surrounding society, identity and material culture will also be discussed in regards to how they influence research in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. At the end of this section a brief overview of previous Saucer brooch studies will be explored. The literature reviewed will be used to define the word 'art', to be used later in the thesis.

2.1. Art

Art is often disregarded throughout modern archaeological studies, calling into question the definition of an 'art object' in an archaeological context (Gell 1998, 5). Not all cultures have a category of 'art', and therefore the word 'art' must first be defined (Gosden 2001). To define art in an archaeological context, the definitions used throughout art history and philosophical studies must first be discussed. The definition of art has changed and adapted with society over time; alongside this a number of theoretical debates that are still discussed today (Scott 2006, 629).

2.1.1. The Theory of Art

2.1.1.1. Aesthetics

Most definitions of art have surrounded the idea of cultural aesthetics, that an object must have a sense of universal beauty to be art (Weitz 1956, 35, Morphy 1994, 648-685 & Scott 2006, 636). Greek philosopher Plato, helped create a foundation for aesthetics through his writings on the arts, metaphysics and ethics (see figure 1) (Janaway 2005, 3). Plato uses the word *kalon* which is often translated as 'beautiful' or 'fine' in a purely aesthetic sense 'pleasing through hearing and sight' throughout his work (*Hippias Major 298a* & Janaway 2005, 8). However, Plato's concept of beauty widely differs from 'modern' aesthetic concepts in which he believes "beauty is too serious to be commandeered by art" (Hegel 1993, 3 & Janaway 2005, 8-9).

It wasn't until the eighteenth century with the introduction of 'modern' aesthetics that scholars began to search for the definitions of 'art' and 'aesthetic' (Shelley 2005, 41). Modern aesthetics began with John Locke and the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who provided the empiricist framework that influenced the scholars and theories that followed; 'Good Taste' by Joseph Addison (1712), 'An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design' by Francis Hutcheson (1725) [1725], 'Of The Standard Taste' by David Hume (1757) [1757] and so on... (Shelley 2005, 42). Kant was one of the first scholars to question why people feel the way they do about beauty in general, and in particular about art. Kant's work 'Critique of Judgement' (1790) [1790] emphasises that aesthetic judgement is not a choice, but more of a cognitive activity from the artist to the audience. This subjectivity created a number of questions surrounding aesthetics that impacted art theory (Abhaiin 2009, 6-8). It was Hutcheson's research into

moral and aesthetic judgements through emotion rather than rationality that introduced 'modern' aesthetics into British academia. Hutcheson concerned himself with the relationship between sense perception and critical judgement throughout aesthetics (Kivy 2003, 3). He theorised that everyone has an 'internal sense' in that we take pleasure from beautiful objects, and these beautiful objects encircle both art and natural phenomena (Shelley 2005, 42).

The introduction of modern aesthetics can also be seen throughout archaeological practice. Eighteenth-century art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann played an important role in the development of art and aesthetics in archaeological studies (Scott 2006, 631). He described art as the mechanics of beauty, this definition introduced the Aesthetic theory into archaeological practice, and resulted in 'beautiful' archaeological objects to be regarded as high status works of art. The British Museum was one of several companies that were influenced by Winckelmann's definition, displaying 'pots' as 'vases' in sections labelled classical art rather than archaeology (Scott 2006, 631 & 632). This aesthetic categorisation can be seen throughout Roman and Greek sculpture in the Western world. For example, one of the main exhibits at the British Museum are the Parthenon sculptures; these sculptures are regarded as prime examples of classical art – although they may have not been created for the purpose of being art (see figure 2) (Scott 2006, 629 & Hicks et al. 2010, 272-273). The wave of new research that begun during the eighteenth-century created new aesthetic ideas and eventually introduced a number of aesthetic categories for theoretical analysis (Kivy 2003, 29).

Until the 20th century there was still little interest in philosophical aesthetics, however, today aesthetics plays an important role throughout philosophical research (Gaut & McIver Lopes 2005, xvii). Theodor Adorno was perhaps one of the most influential scholars throughout the philosophy of aesthetics. During 1970 Adorno published '*Aesthetic Theory*' in which he concerned himself with both aesthetics such as beauty, but also the relations between art and society – this was later translated from German into English (see figure 3) (Adorno 2004, xi-xxiii). Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* was created to solve the failings of aesthetics that only focus on the externality of art. The theoretical framework that is employed throughout Adorno's work to define art derives from his previous writings about music "We don't understand music, it understands us" (Adorno 2004, x). The *Aesthetic Theory* uses the historical evolution of art in contrast to modern societies as a foundation for Adorno's framework. He theorises that aesthetics have changed over time and are different today because there is more freedom in 20th century art due to social circumstances. The importance of society is stressed throughout Adorno's work as he believes that modern art has a "truth content" because of social freedom – a specific message created by the artist through self-expression (Adorno 2004, xi-xv & Zuidervaart 1994). The social significance portrayed throughout Adorno's work is what makes it one of the most influential aesthetic pieces of the twentieth century. Most twentieth century art scholars

ignore the social aspects of art throughout their research, and this is what makes Adorno's work so important within the development of aesthetics and art philosophy (Zuidervaart 1994, 67).

According to Adorno the pluralism of 'aesthetics' rests on two reasons; the use of philosophical categories as a means to access the definition of art, and the other is that aesthetic statements have a presupposed idea of knowledge – these reasons separate art theories into two categories; Essentialism and Anti-Essentialism (Adorno 2004, 422)



Figure 1: Drawing of Plato

(https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=plato&rlz=1C1GGRV_enGB751GB751&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiyuYatkjaAhWpC8AKHVr6ChIQ_AUICigB&biw=1356&bih=642#imgdii=UUnwTy9R5CNrdM:&imgrc=dd4EloTxRzSzM:)



Figure 2: Parthenon frieze (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parthenon_Frieze)

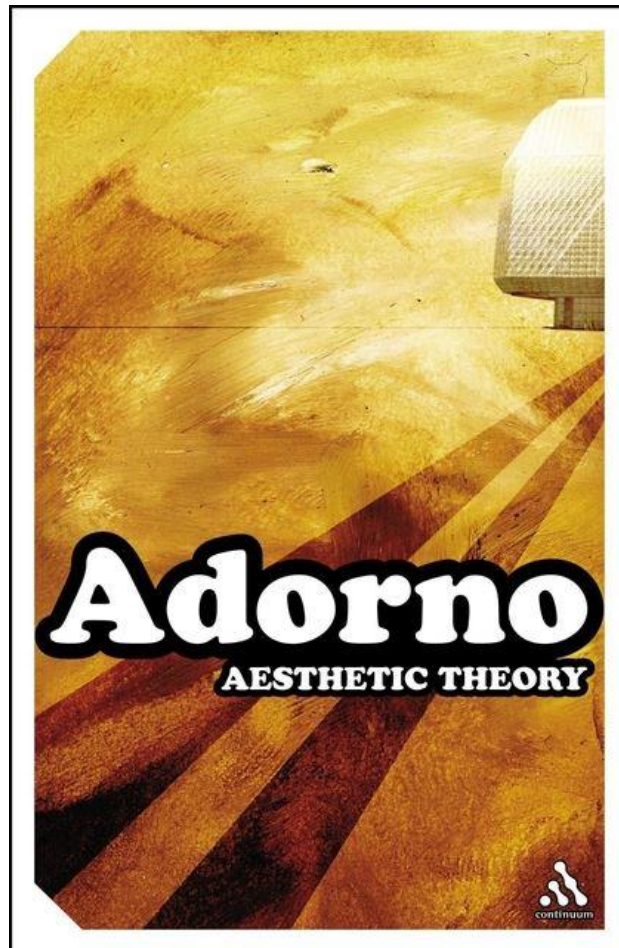


Figure 3: Front cover of the English translated
Aesthetic Theory
(<https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/aesthetic-theory-9781846840111/>)

2.1.1.2. Essentialism & Anti-Essentialism

As mentioned briefly in Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*, art theories are split into two categories according to typology; Essentialist and Anti-Essentialist. Essentialist theories define art through necessary elements, artistic components or 'essence'. The terms 'Essentialism' and 'Essentialist' originate with philosopher Aristotle, in which he claims that everything has an essential nature to it (Matthews 1990, 1-2). Art that portrays more than one element is classed as 'abstract', and objects that portray none of these elements are not art (Strayer 2014, 6). Whereas Anti-Essentialist theories believe that for an object to be art it does not have to portray specific traits or 'essence' – that art cannot be defined (Tillinghast 2004, 167-168).

Weitz (1959) explains in *'The Role of Theory in Aesthetics'* that the Art theory is composed of several different Essentialist theories that all claim to be the true definition of art. Five theories are mentioned by Weitz (1959); Formalist theory, Emotionalist theory, Intuitionist theory, Organicist theory, and Voluntarist theory.

The Formalist theory, supported by art critics such as Bell (1913), define art as a combination of elements; colours, shapes, lines etc. to create a unique and significant form (Weitz 1959, 28). The Formalist Theory was first developed in Britain by painter Roger Fry and writer Clive Bell in his 1913 book *'Art'* (Burke Feldman 1992, 122-124). This theory analyses art through the way it is created and what it looks like instead of its narrative content or meaning (<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/f/formalism>).

In Tolstoy *'What is Art?'* (1897) the modern Aesthetic theory is criticised and replaced with the Emotionalist theory, this theory describes art as a projection of emotion, and if emotion is not expressed then it is not art. Academics that use the Emotionalist theory claim that other art theories miss out the true essential factor of art – emotional expression and response (Weitz 1959, 28).

The Intuitionist theory was developed by Croce in his books; *'Aesthetic'* (1902), *Logic* (1908), and *Philosophy of the Practical* (1908)', this theory surrounds the idea that art is a result of creative, cognitive, and spiritual acts throughout the 'art world' (Weitz 1959, 28 & Croce 1995). Croce explains how the essence of art is defined through the 'first stage' of spiritual life where human beings bring their images and individuality into 'lyrical clarification' or expression (Weitz 1959, 28).

The Organicist theory has been encouraged by art critics such as A. C. Bradley (1909), similar to the Formalist theory; this theory defines art as inseparable components such as; lines, colours or subjects, to create something unique and complex (Weitz 1959, 28-29).

Parker (1953) mentions the Voluntarist theory in *'The Nature of Art'*, explaining that this definition highlights that art should embody social significance, imagination, desires, and harmony. Parker claims that the Voluntarist theory is created as a result of previous 'simple-minded' definitions of aesthetics and art. He believes that a more complex definition is needed to define art rather than a simpler one (Weitz 1959, 29).

All these theories have been used to define art, however, Weitz (1959, 29-30) criticises these theories explaining that some of the definitions are too general and could be applied to all objects, not just art objects.

Weitz (1959) defines art using the Wittgenstein's Family Resemblance theory. This Anti-Essentialist theory argues that things are connected through similarities instead of a specific set of components (Douglas 2014, 3). He explains that Essentialist theories are vain attempts at understanding art, "defining what cannot be defined" and conceiving art as "closed" instead of "open-ended" (Weitz 1959, 27-29). An open-ended concept being subject to change based on a decision, and a closed concept being based on logic that cannot be changed i.e. mathematics (Douglas 2014, 2). He concludes that art is evaluative and descriptive, rather than a set of necessary traits (Weitz 1959, 34-35 & Douglas 2014, 3). He proposes that not all art is artefactual – a result of human activity. Weitz (1959) supports his Anti-Essentialist theories through a theoretical example about a piece of driftwood. If a piece of driftwood is taken from the beach and placed into a museum without human 'creative' interference then it is art, but is not artefactual. Davies (2015) argues against Weitz's driftwood scenario; explaining that if driftwood is taken from the beach and placed into a museum then it has become artefactual through the process of becoming art. Davies (1991 & 2015) describes Weitz as an Anti-Essentialist; identifying and defining art without knowledge of its 'essence' (Davies 1991, 7-8 & Douglas 2014, 4). This Essentialist view of art having 'essence' is stressed throughout Davies work. Theories that define art this way emphasise that there is no single factor that all artworks share in common and therefore the definition of art should rely on 'essence'. The Folk theory uses this Essentialist perspective, employing human instinct and 'folk' experience to identify art through its 'essence', rather than using philosophical definitions or criteria (Davies 2015, 28).

Essentialist Dickie (1974) defined art through the Institutional theory. This theory rejects Weitz's Wittgenstein's Family Resemblance argument that art cannot be defined because it is "open-ended" (Carroll 2000, 12-13). Dickie's Institutional Theory uses previous Essentialist theories to construct an 'institutional art world'. The 'institutional art world' describes the use of the same social practices throughout different societies that makes an object art, it does not matter if these art objects have no common features. Throughout the Institutional theory aesthetics are believed not to originate in

the art object, but are a result of human experience and are socially determined (Abhainn 37-38, 2009).

Cluster theory is another example of an attempt to define art from an Anti-Essentialist viewpoint. In 'Art as a Cluster Concept' (2000) Gaut supports a new theory called Cluster theory. He believes that one theory cannot be used to define art, so uses the previous theories to create a list of 'art characteristics' for a range of interpretations. Other versions of Cluster theory have been created previously by art critics such as; E. J. Bond, M. H. Snoeyenbos, E. Dissanayake etc (Davies 2004, 1-5). Gaut's Cluster theory consists of ten features that define what art is:

- 1) *Possessing positive aesthetic properties*
- 2) *Being expressive of emotion*
- 3) *Being intellectually challenging*
- 4) *Being formally complex and coherent*
- 5) *Having the capacity to convey complex meanings*
- 6) *Exhibiting an individual point of view*
- 7) *Being an exercise of imagination*
- 8) *Requiring a high degree of skill*
- 9) *Belonging to an established art form*
- 10) *The intention to be a piece of art*

Gaut believes that the Cluster theory is superior to Essentialist theories as it allows art to be interpreted through a number of different combinations. He explains that for an object to be art only one of the ten features need to be present. Gaut's Cluster Theory is like Weitz Family Resemblance Theory; that art has similarities that can be used as criteria for definition. However, Davies (2004) argues against this theory by stating that if the Cluster theory was used; there would be fifty-six ways of defining art and so all objects fall under this definition of 'art'. Therefore, the Cluster Theory is a weak example and is not inherently Anti-Essentialist. Davies suggests that Cluster Theory cannot be used if it is counting against Essentialism, instead if used, it should indicate another way for Essentialism to be true as it draws from previous Essentialist theories. However, overall Davies believes that the general form of Cluster Theory is too complicated and long to be accepted as a definition (Davies 2004, 5-6).

2.1.1.3. The Influence of Western Culture

Throughout the study of art and aesthetics the influence of Western culture plays a large role in how art is defined and interpreted (Boyd 2005, 1-2). The influence of Western society created a number of theories that have also been used in an attempt to understand foreign or archaeological art.

The Evolutionist theory begun with the work of Charles R. Darwin in 1857 and the new concept of 'Evolution' (see figure 4). This concept gained favour with not only scientists, but art historians in an attempt to further understand art (Fingesten 1954, 302 & Amselle et al. 2003, 974). With the use of the Evolution theory came the use of new terms such as; 'western tradition', 'eastern tradition', and 'golden age' to highlight the peak of a societies 'art form'. The Evolutionist theory organises art from prehistoric or 'primitive' to contemporary; implying that prehistoric art evolved from simple to more complex over time as society advanced (Fingesten 1954, 303 & Bradley 2009, 6-7).

With the introduction of the Evolutionist theory came a sudden interest in 'primitive' art by early modern European artists. This 'primitive' art included tribal art from Indonesia, Africa and the South Pacific, alongside prehistoric art and folk art. This type of art had a huge impact on Western art and was adapted by artists such as Picasso in 1906 (see figure 5 & 6) (Amselle et al. 2003 & <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/p/primitivism>). The rapid interest in primitive art led to an emergence of the Post-Colonial theory during the 1980's. The Post-Colonial theory describes the 'positive' impact on 'simple' art as a result of colonial rule and uses a 'cultural hierarchy' to separate societies into primate and contemporary (Dodwell, 1982 & Amselle 2003, 974-977). With the Evolutionist theory and Post-Colonial theory came scholars that disagreed with cultural hierarchy and Westernised views. These scholars described art as 'changing' throughout all societies, instead of using words such as 'evolution' that support the 'simple vs complex' and 'primitive art' ideologies (Amselle 2003 974-977 & Boyd 2005, 1-5).

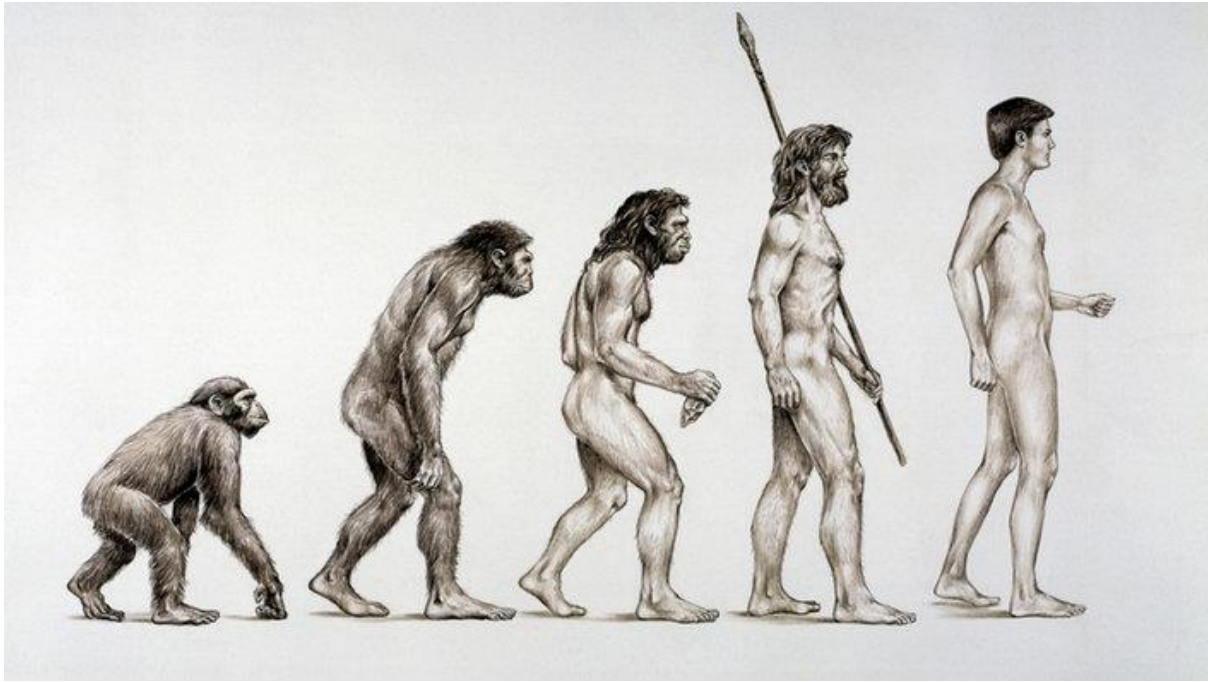


Figure 4: Image of human evolution
(https://www1.wdr.de/radio/wdr5/sendungen/zeitzeichen/evolutionslehredarwin100~_variant.html5.html)



Figure 5: Pablo Picasso Cubism, Bowl of Fruit, Violin and Bottle 1914 (<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/c/cubism>)



Figure 6: African Tribal Art (<http://www.tribalartmagazine.com/issue-85-sample-2>)

2.1.1.4. Agency

Since then, recent approaches in art theory have highlighted that studies surrounding art objects should focus on the social impact that they may have had instead of focusing on aesthetics (Gell 1998, 5 & Scott 2006, 636). Scott (2006) explains that westernised aesthetic definitions are a result of being able to compare different time periods and places. Therefore, we should not assume the visual or intellectual impact of art objects based on our wider knowledge of art; because the person creating the art would most likely not have possessed knowledge beyond their immediate locality (Scott 2006, 636). “While it is important to evaluate art as part of a worldwide phenomenon, this must also be supplemented by an approach that takes into account the local significance it might have had” Scott (2006 637-638).

Alfred Gell (1998) criticises the aesthetic theory in *Art and Agency* by saying that a warrior on a battlefield is unlikely to be ‘aesthetically’ interested in the design on an opposing warrior’s shield. He then explains how it is more likely that art is a result of social and emotional responses: terror, desire, fascination, etc (Gell 1998, 5-6). This definition identifies art as ‘social agents’, believing that a social relationship does not have to be between two human beings, but can be between an object and a person. Gell (1998, 18) compares the social agency of art to the relationship between a little girl and her doll. He explains how through human interaction with the little girl; the doll develops its own social identity and therefore becomes a social agent. So, if it is possible for a child to have a social relationship with a doll, then it is possible for an adult to have a social relationship with art. Gell uses his example in comparison to the relationship people have with Michelangelo’s *David*, believing that human interaction gives such art objects social agency (Gell 1998, 18). These objects create social interaction and influence that would not occur if those objects did not exist (Gosden et al. 1999, 173-174). Throughout Gell’s work social agents are split into primary and secondary agents depending on what they are. Primary agents are unique beings that can be distinguished from the normal, whereas secondary agents are artefacts such as art, dolls, cars etc. So, if applied to the example mentioned previously; the little girl is the primary agent and the doll is the secondary agent. The primary and secondary agents are then categorised as either an ‘Agent’ the action or ‘Patient’ the passive thing that’s affected by the action (Gell 1998, 22-24). Academics that have defined art in this way have raised the issue that the term ‘art’ is often misleading, and use words such as; agency, intention, and transformation to define it (Shanks 1996, Gell 1998, 4-5 & Scott 2006, 632). From this Gell creates the ‘Art Nexus’ a table that demonstrates the social relationships between art (Index), visual imagery (Prototype), the artist (Artist), and the audience (Recipient) (see figure 7). Gell’s Art Nexus is a theory to which art can be classified through a number of social relationships between agents, rather than using ‘law-like generalisations’ from previous aesthetic art theories (Gell 1998, 26-29). The Nexus

reads similar to a chart vertical then horizontal. The first box (upper left-hand corner) is the result of the Artist being the action (Agent) and the passive thing (Patient). Because the Artist is both the Agent and the Patient there are two results to what art is; 'Artist as witness to the act of creation' and 'Artist as the source of the creative act'. In one scenario the Patient Artist witnesses the act of creation, and in the other the Agent Artist is the source of the creative act. Not all boxes require two scenarios, down a box the Artist is the action (Agent) again, but this time the passive thing (Patient) is the Art. Therefore, there is only one result 'material stuff shaped by the Artists agency and intention'. So, the act of the Artist plus the passive Art equals the creation of Art by the Artist (see figure 7). Using the Nexus there are 20 ways of defining art, similar to the Cluster Theory but with less ways of an object being art and this theory also takes into consideration the artist, the visual imagery and the audience (Gell 1998, 26-29).

Anthropologists such as Bowden (2015) have critiqued Gell's work. Bowden argues against Gell in his critique noting that although Gell's work is revolutionary and is used by archaeologists and anthropologists alike, it has its faults. Bowden begins by explaining that while Gell focuses on social agency, he completely dismisses the role aesthetic/decoration plays in art. Gell doesn't consider the criteria people use in society to judge the quality of art, and therefore the book provides no account of aesthetic values. Alongside this, Bowden also highlights that Gell's definition of 'art' fails in terms of how it should be used to analyse 'art' cross-culturally. Gell explains that his 'art' concept can only be used for societies such as a modern Western society. Ultimately Bowden disagrees with Gell's concept as it fails to distinguish art from other objects.

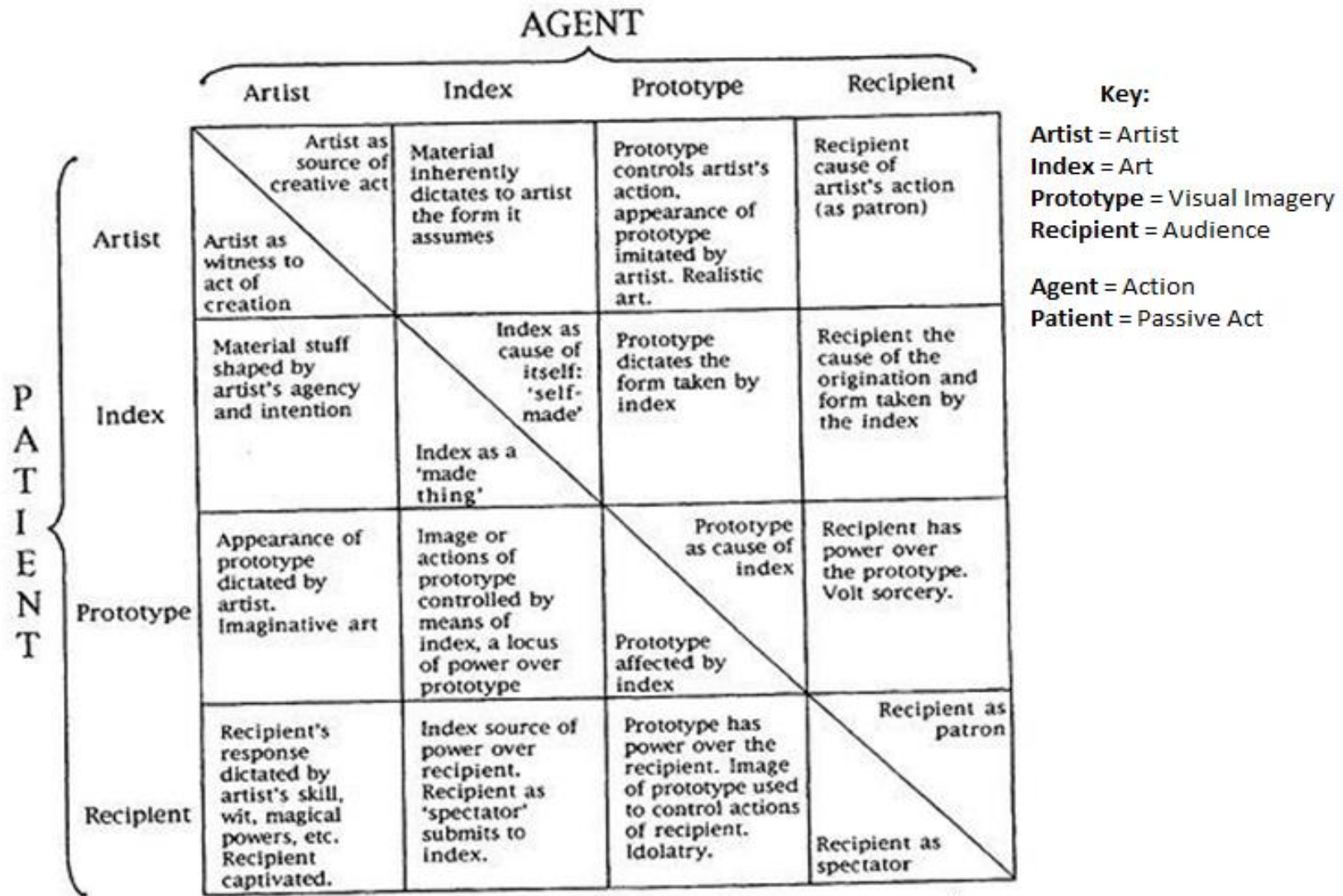


Figure 7: Gell's Art Nexus, reads horizontally and vertically (Gell 1998, 26-27)

2.1.2. Art & Archaeological Research

Due to the development of modern art history, archaeological art objects are frequently placed in an 'artificial' category that does not take into consideration the circumstances of which the object was created or viewed. As mentioned above; new art theories are slowly developing throughout the art world. However, most art theories that have been introduced into archaeological practice have focused on prehistory. The importance of art and society in prehistoric archaeology has created a gap in theoretical research regarding art and the historic period. The Anglo-Saxon period is one of the historic periods that lacks the theoretical research in understanding what art is in relation to past societies. To further understand this theoretical gap, this section will compare and contrast the art theories that surround both the prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon period.

2.1.2.1. Prehistoric Archaeology & Art

Theories about art began to develop throughout prehistoric archaeology during the 1860's, with a focus on the Palaeolithic period. To examine Palaeolithic art; scholars in anthropology and art history worked together to create a number of models and paradigms for analysis (Moro Abadia 2015, 6-8). Palaeolithic art was first defined by a set of ideas that were used to separate craft from 'fine' art (Moro Abadia 2006, 123-124). Fine art was described as creative and beautiful, whereas craft was described as decoration that only required manual skill (Moro Abadia 2015, 7). These ideas derived from Evolutionist theories that believed societies could be organised from simple to complex. Therefore, art was also believed to have evolved from simple forms to more complex ones (Bradley 2009, 6-7). The Evolutionist theories meant art could be judged according to its simple or complex characteristics (Moro Abadia 2006, 123-125). These theories resulted in Palaeolithic art to be regarded as simplistic, and therefore craft not art (see figures 8 & 9).

It wasn't until the turn of the 20th century with the weakening of the Evolutionist theory, that a more complex image of prehistoric people developed throughout archaeological and anthropological studies (Moro Abadia 2006, 124-126). This new complex image of prehistoric societies became more prominent after the discovery of Palaeolithic burials revealing 'complex' burial rites. Westernised views of non-western societies were challenged, and Palaeolithic 'craft' was now accepted as art (Bradley 2009, 6-7). Although it was now recognised that 'primitive' societies could produce art, a number of problems arose concerning the definition of 'art' when applied to prehistoric archaeology. Since then archaeologists have debated whether the word 'art' should be rejected altogether due to its westernised aesthetic implications. However, many prehistoric scholars still use the word 'art' but describe it as visual communication through conscious human interaction opposed to natural phenomenon's (Bahn 1998, ix-xiii).

Social art theories now dominate prehistoric research with scholars analysing time, place and identity in regards to visual imagery. Most theories are created using ethnographic parallels which help archaeologists compare past societies to modern ones (Sanz et al. 2016, 22-23). Social art theories have allowed archaeologists to recognise stylistic differences between art that can be used to assume group identities. These stylistic differences reveal the nature and intentions of the artists, as either an individual or group identity (Sanz et al. 2016, 23-24). The idea that art is closely involved in the construction of identity is emphasised throughout prehistoric research (Sanz et al. 2016, 25). It is believed that traces of an individual's identity are imprinted on material culture, and that these traces can be analysed to construct past identities (Sanz et al. 2016, 26). Examples of the use social theories throughout prehistoric research can be seen in papers such as Jody Joy's (2011) *'Fancy Objects' in the British Iron Age: Why Decorate?'* Where Joy examines the social difference between Iron Age objects with decoration compared to undecorated objects.

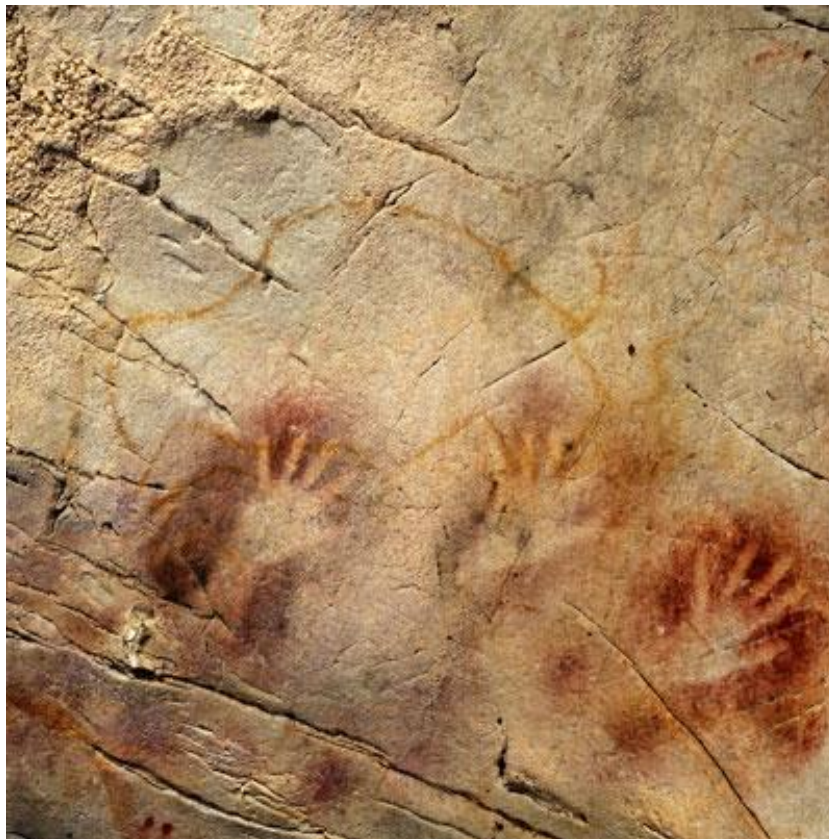


Figure 8: Upper Palaeolithic 'hands' cave art from Europe (<https://www.world-archaeology.com/features/re-dating-ice-age-art/>)



Figure 9: Portable Palaeolithic art - spear thrower made from reindeer antler, sculpted as a Mammoth - France c. 13,000 - 14,000 (http://antiquity.ac.uk/reviews/ice_age/)

2.1.2.2. Anglo-Saxon Archaeology & Art

Theoretical studies on Anglo-Saxon art are lacking when compared to prehistoric art theory. Most studies use the post-colonial theory to understand the Anglo-Saxon period. The post-colonial theory uses a 'culture hierarchy' encouraging the idea that more advanced cultures have a positive impact on 'primitive' art (Dodwell, 1982). Most Anglo-Saxon scholars that have used the post-colonial theory focus on how political and ethnic influences from Rome and Scandinavia 'positively' impacted art (Hamerow et al. 2011, 1020). Because of the interest in foreign influences, Anglo-Saxon art is separated into 'styles' according to iconography and production dates. These styles; known as Animal Style I and Animal Style II, were introduced into archaeological practice by Swedish scholar B. Salin. Animal Style I describes the 'art' that originated in the early 5th century Scandinavia and is believed to have been influenced by late Roman chip carving. This 'art' consists of zoomorphic designs e.g. animals, humans, and animal masks, and is found on metalwork such as brooches and wrist-clasps. Almost all evidence of Animal Style I is found on metalwork in female burials (see figure 10). Animal Style II describes the 'art' that occurs after the mid-6th century and is believed to have been manufactured in Kent or imported from Scandinavia. Animal Style II uses symmetrical patterns with Roman and Byzantine influences (Webster 2014, 49-68). Examples of Animal Style II can be seen on the Sutton Hoo belt buckle (see figure 11). Over the years more detailed categories have been created by archaeologists such as Toby Martin. Martin's work surrounds Cruciform brooches. After analysing 2,075 Cruciform brooches Martin created four major stylistic types with a series of sub-types according to site location. These types look at size, shape and decoration alongside parallels in Germany,

Denmark and Norway (Martin 2015). This type of analysis is often used throughout the study of Anglo-Saxon brooches.

The aesthetic definition of art is still often used throughout Anglo-Saxon archaeology, Webster (2012) uses the term 'art' to describe decorated Anglo-Saxon objects such as; brooches, wrist-clasps etc... It is common practice throughout Anglo-Saxon studies to define art through decoration or the material an object is made from. Most of these definitions focus on 'religious' or 'homeland' influences rather than social or native political meaning. These definitions describe Anglo-Saxon art as 'reflecting', 'copying', or 'illustrating' referring back to Post-Colonial beliefs of 'positive' foreign influences from Scandinavia (Karkov 2011, 2).

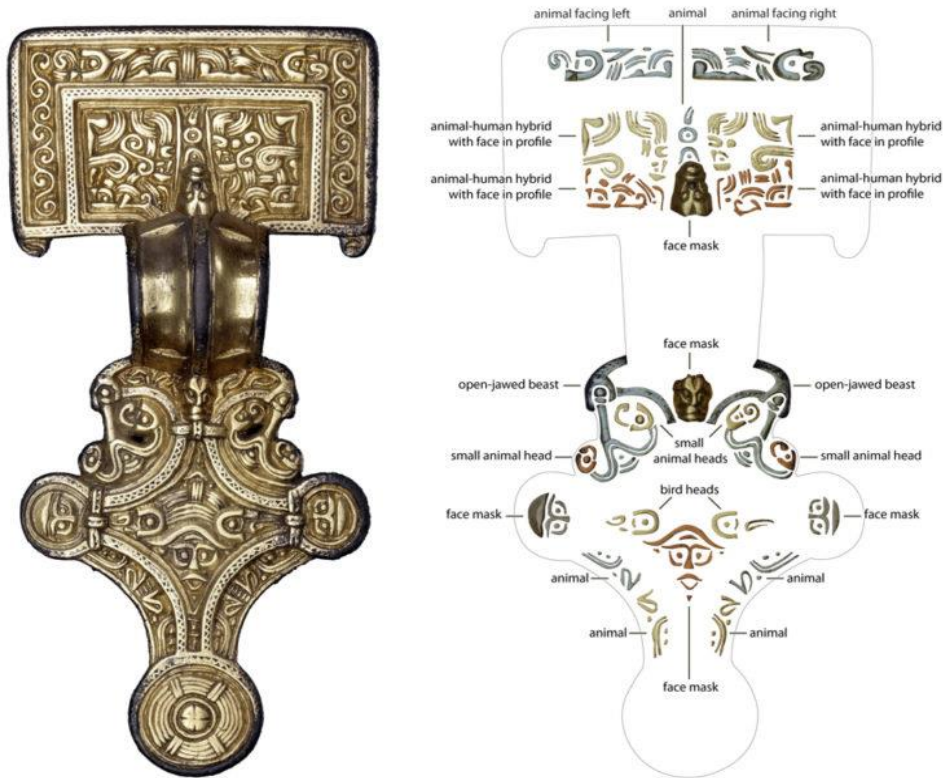


Figure 11: Great Square-headed brooch with Animal Style I iconography (<https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/>)

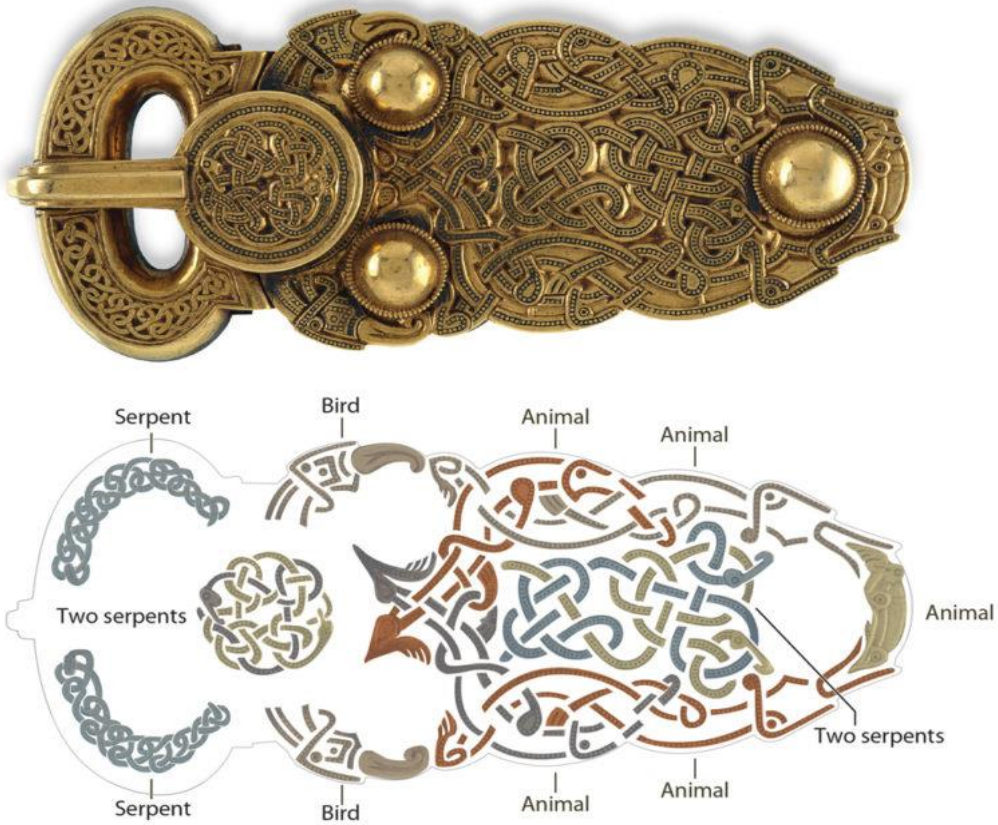


Figure 10: Sutton Hoo belt buckle with Animal Style II iconography (<https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/>)

2.1.3. Summary

The theories briefly mentioned above have all attempted to define art through either a set of characteristics or believe that there is no true definition. Since the eighteenth century these theories developed throughout art and philosophy. Theories moved from focusing on cultural aesthetics to the social value and purpose of art. Fifty years later the same theories were introduced into archaeological practice through prehistoric art studies. These studies focus on art in relation to society and identity. However, this type of theoretical research is only used to define art from the prehistoric periods, rather than the historic ones.

From reading the theories above it is clear that a true definition of 'art' can never be established, however if the term 'art' is being used for analysis then it should be defined by the person using it. The definition of 'art' used throughout this project uses all of the previous definitions of 'art' mentioned above to create a fluid and open-ended concept. This concept defines 'art' as being separate/different from non-art objects, closely linked to 'essence', 'identity' and 'agency'.

As previously mentioned, in Anglo-Saxon studies the definition of art still heavily relies on historic views such as the Post-colonial and Aesthetic theories. These theories do not take into consideration the social background or agency of art objects. Although social theories aren't applied to Anglo-Saxon art objects; society and Identity play an important role throughout the interpretation of Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

2.2. Society & Identity

Issues of identity have been the foundation for archaeological interpretation since the beginning of antiquarianism (Smith 2014). However, it wasn't until the early 1970's, that social structure and identity became an important topic for research and discussion (Stoodley 1999, 5). This section will look at society and identity theories, and how they are used in Anglo-Saxon archaeological studies.

2.2.1. Social Theory

2.2.1.1. *'Traditional' Archaeology*

The relationship between material culture and society was first addressed in 'traditional' archaeology through the establishment of typologies and artefact classifications based on biological analogies. These typologies represented 'culture traits' and attempted to define the mechanical and aesthetic workings of societies (Kreiger 1944, 272-278 & Shanks et al. 1987, 80). This Social theory was based upon the Evolutionist theory and Post-Colonial theory to which material culture could be arranged in sequences to determine the 'progressive' development of a society. The belief that societies are either simple or complex (Shanks et al. 1987, 78-80).

2.2.1.2. *'New' Archaeology*

Between the late 1960's and early 1970's came the development of 'new' archaeology with a number of debates taking place concerning Social theory and material culture. Binford (1962), unsatisfied with the current archaeological practice within 'traditional' archaeology, redefined culture as an external human adaptation. This new definition resulted in material culture to be regarded as an interface between people, society and the environment. Culture was now regarded as an individual social experience rather than a shared one. With this new Social theory, a number of unavoidable questions arose that couldn't receive any simple answers without archaeological practice (Shanks et al. 1987, 78-80):

- How is society created and structured?
- What is the place of archaeological material culture within said social structure?
- How is this society related to time; how and why does society change?

- What is the meaning and form of gaining knowledge of past societies?

It wasn't until 1972 when Renfrew set out to answer these questions through the application of a Systems theory in *'Emergence of Civilisation'*. Renfrew's aim was to use Clarke's (1968) statement that referred to "society as an intercommunicating network" to theorize and understand the workings of Aegean society. Renfrew's System theory separates society into a number of subsystems such as; crafts, social, trade, communication, subsistence etc... For each subsystem he outlines the general patterns e.g. the development of craft, metalworking → new tools and weapons → new forms of wealth → transformation of a tribe into a chiefdom, principality or state (Shanks et al. 1987, 32-33). Each subsystem can then be independent or have relations with other subsystems positively or negatively. Renfrew's System theory influenced the developments that followed throughout archaeological theory (Shanks et al. 1987, 36 & Renfrew 1972):

- **Process of using social theories to understand archaeological data**
- **Analysis of archaeological remains and patterns to understand complex interaction**
- Use of social typologies to understand the progress of societies; bands, tribes, chiefdoms etc...
- **A focus on social structure and social identity**
- **An emphasis on social control of material resources and economy**
- A focus on mortuary remains from a structural-functionalist perspective
- The development of research in trade and exchange
- Use of ethnographic parallels
- Use of the notion of prestige goods economies

Archaeologists began concerning themselves with the expression of an individual's identity, group identities, and how these identities form communities, hierarchies or kingdoms. This type of social analysis began using prehistoric data, however, prolific burial evidence from the early Anglo-Saxon period has encouraged both theoretical and practical research (Arnold 2005, 173). Since then; gender, age, social status, kinship/community, ethnicity and religion have become a concern throughout Anglo-Saxon studies and archaeological research internationally (Gilchrist 2009, 1).

2.2.2. Gender

Gender (Oxford English Dictionary 2017): "Either of the two sexes (male and female), with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones".

2.2.2.1. 'Sex Roles'

Before gender theory was introduced into archaeological studies, the term 'sex roles' was used to categorise material culture. The term was developed from the 1940's onwards with authors such as

Mirra Komarovsky (1950) exploring the roles of 'men' and 'women' in association with social structure (Delphy 1993, 1-2). Over the next twenty-years academics began to believe that 'sex roles' were not only natural consequences, but were a result of cultural influence (Oakley 1985, 16 & Delphy 1993, 2). With this realisation came the concept of 'gender', an inconsistent identity throughout civilisation, but a permanent part of society (Sørensen 1988, 17 & Sørensen 2013, 1755). During the 1980's gender theory took on a feminist viewpoint; with the publishing of papers such as Conkey and Spector's (1984) 'Archaeology and the Study of Gender', that focused on the role of women. Since then, gender research has focused on three main areas: 1. The role of women in past societies, 2. The position of women in professional archaeology, and 3. The development of gender theory (Stoodley 1999, 1).

2.2.2.2. Gender & Sex

Theories surrounding gender are continually growing, and now play an important role in the field of archaeological research in relation to the structure of past social systems (Stoodley 1999, 1 & Sorensen 2013, 1755). But, as Stoodley (1999, 5) mentions; compared to other time periods, studies on the role gender played in early Anglo-Saxon society are limited. Most studies surrounding Anglo-Saxon archaeology have focused on the artefacts found in burials. Academics such as Hirst (1985) and Evison (1987), have attempted to assume gender through the interpretation of material culture, placing men with weaponry and women with jewellery. However, these stereotypes discourage critical analysis, and promote identifying the sex of a burial solely through grave-good typology (Stoodley 1999, 5). The term gender is often used as an interpretation of sexual difference, when in reality; gender and sex are two separate identities controlled by an individual and their social surroundings (Gilchrist 1994, 1 & Stoodley 1999, 1). The difference in grave-good assemblages between men and women suggests that they were viewed as two distinct social identities. Although gender and sex are separate, it is impossible to ignore the fact that a strong correlation exists between them (Brush 1993 & Stoodley 1999, 5). It is also important to remember that sex determines gender in most societies (Stoodley 1999, 5).

2.2.3. Age

Recently, past societies have been analysed in relation to 'age groups', otherwise known as the human lifecycle (Stoodley 1999, 105). The human lifecycle theory is often used to understand age, in connection with personal and social identities (Gilchrist 2000, 325). The lifecycle stages can vary throughout different studies, with some studies having more stages and some having less. The lifecycle is also interpreted differently depending on sex, as men and women have different 'cultural' and 'biological' age thresholds i.e. puberty (Gilchrist 2000, 325).

2.2.3.1. *The Lifecycle*

Throughout Anglo-Saxon burial rite, gender and age are closely linked in the understanding of grave-goods (Stoodley 2000, 456). Härke (1997, 128) is one of the many archaeologists that have studied the importance of age in Anglo-Saxon burial rite. Throughout his work, Harke investigates the Anglo-Saxon age threshold and lifecycle. After studying males and sub-adults, he suggested that a transition in age occurs for both sexes, between 18-20 years old. Stoodley (2000) built upon Harke's lifecycle theory, but concurs that there is a well-defined difference between male and female lifecycles. In Stoodley (2000, 457) the lifecycle is split into six groups: infant (0-1), young child (1-7), child (7-15), youth (15-20), adult (20-40), and mature (40+). However, he concludes that this lifecycle can change depending on sex. He suggests that the female lifecycle has three stages: 0-10 years old, 10-40/50 years old, 50+ years old, and explains how this could be associated with puberty, the ability to bare children and menopause (see figures 12 and 13). Stoodley's (2000, 457) male lifecycle only consists of one stage that occurs between 12-15 years old.

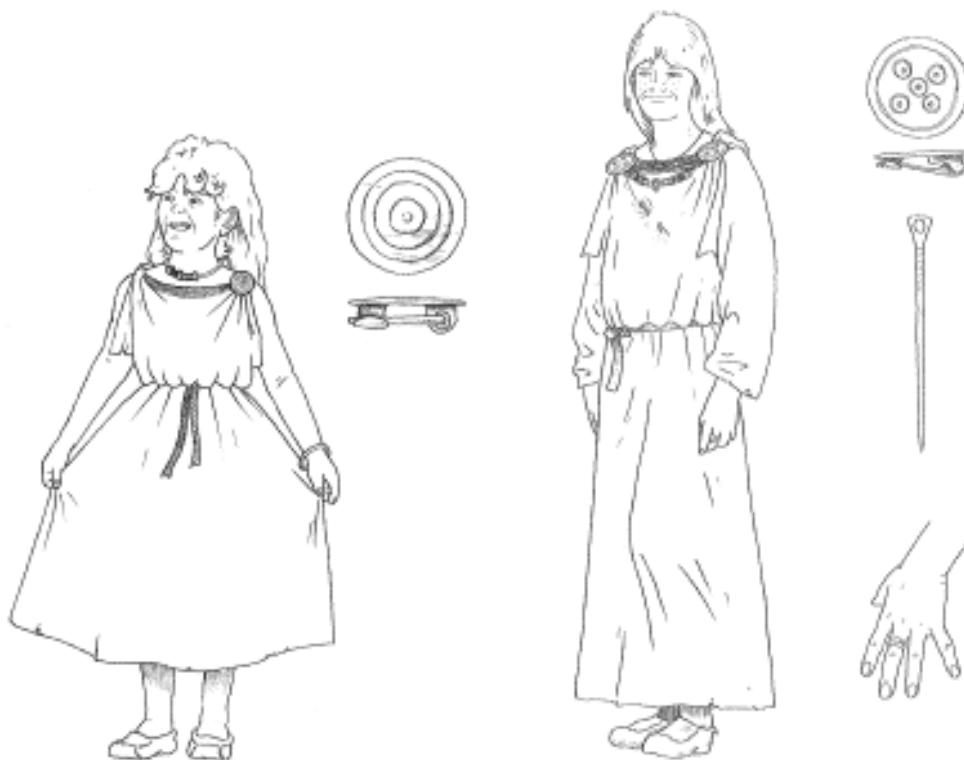


Figure 12: (From left to right) young girl associated with the first stage of the female life cycle, and woman associated with the second stage of the female lifecycle (Stoodley 2000, 462)



Figure 13: Woman associated with the third stage of the female lifecycle (Stoodley 2000, 462)

2.2.3.2. *Infants & Children*

Over the past two decades infants and children have become important topics of discussion throughout archaeological theory and practice. Childhood is now accepted as socially constructed and is used to further understand identity and social structure (Sayer 2014, 78). Anglo-Saxon archaeologists often highlight that children are underrepresented in the archaeological record, representing only 10-15 percent of the Anglo-Saxon mortuary population (Derevenski 2005, 169 & Sayer 2014, 78). Sayer (2014) uses infant mortality to understand community groups and kinship systems. He explains that infant burial patterns in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are a result of female mobility. The expectant mother would travel regionally to marry and reinforce existing social networks. Social, personal and legal maternal family associations would determine the infants' identity. If the infant died in childbirth or during it's early childhood then the mother's identity would establish where the infant would be buried (Sayer 2014, 78).

2.2.4. Wealth & Status

Archaeologists have attempted to understand the link between wealth, social status and identity through the analysis of grave-goods. During the 1970's the idea that quality and quantity of grave-

goods reflected an individual's identity or social status was used throughout archaeological analysis. This type of analysis known as social classification, is still used throughout Anglo-Saxon studies today (Arnold 2005, 175).

2.2.4.1. Social Classification

Social classification separates grave-goods into groups according to 'status'. Hawkes (1973, 186-187) categorised male Anglo-Saxon grave-goods according to status/wealth: sword = high status, seax = intermediate status, spear = ordinary/half-free men, and no weapons = half-free/slaves. Alcock (1981) built on this categorisation using written sources creating a scheme for both males and females. Three grades were created to distinguish between social classes and grave-good typology for both male and female; alpha, beta and gamma (see figures 14 and 15). By this time the social analysis of burials had become popular throughout Anglo-Saxon archaeological practice and research (Härke 1997, 143). These social classifications made it clear that the social elite or wealthy are those buried with 'high status' items such as swords and/or axes found with a large quantity of other grave-goods. These 'high status' burials are usually rare in comparison to burials of the lower social classes. Härke (1997, 145-146) analysed male burials from 47 cemeteries using archaeological evidence to understand the social symbolism of weapons. This analysis looked at the proportion of male adults according to the social classification of items and time period. From this it was clear that a specific small group of males were characterised by 'high status' grave-goods from the fifth to late seventh/eighth century AD, believed to be the social elite.

grade	males	females	social class
alpha	sword	gilt brooches, gold/silver bracelets, amber or crystal beads, bronze bowl, glass vessel, weaving batten	<i>thegn</i>
beta	spear	brooches, necklace	<i>ceorl</i>
gamma	knife	knife or buckle, or 2-3 beads	unfree

Figure 15: Table showing the three grades used to categorise grave-goods through wealth and social class (Härke 1997, 143)

weapons	proportion of male adults in:	
	5th/6th cent. %	7th cent. %
sword axe (5th/6th cent.) seax (6th/7th cent.)	6	6
shield spear	42	17
no weapons	52	77
	100	100

Figure 14: Table showing the proportion of male adult burials according to social classification from 5th to 7th centuries (Härke 1997, 146)

2.2.5. Social Grouping

Since the 19th century archaeologists have attempted to further understand social identity through the analysis of settlements, literature and cemeteries to determine kinship, economies and social structures (Härke 1997, 137).

2.2.5.1. Kinship

Kinship played an important role in the social structure of early Anglo-Saxon societies, with the formation of political and regional groups relying on individual lineages (Härke 1997, 137). Each birth, marriage and death changed the social, political and economic structure of society. These societies as mentioned by Bede (2008) [AD 731] are referred to as small *regiones* within larger provincial kingdoms (Woolf 2001, 91-92).

2.2.5.2. Community

Research surrounding Anglo-Saxon settlements use community to understand the dynamics between group identities and individual identities throughout the *regiones*. The advantage of studying both group identities and individual identities is that it recognises identity as both a natural occurrence and as a production of human interaction (O Frazer 2001, 3).

Most information on the size of local communities comes from Anglo-Saxon inhumation and cremation cemeteries. Cemeteries such as Spong Hill may have contained thousands of cremations suggesting that over several settlements or communities buried their deceased there. The size and chronology of cemeteries can be used to calculate the size of past communities (Härke 1997, 138). Arnold (1984, 125 & 1988, 166) calculated the size of local communities to between fifteen and thirty-six individuals through the analysis of thirteen cemeteries (Härke 1997, 138). Evidence from settlements are also used to understand Anglo-Saxon social structure. Sunken-floor buildings (SFB's) and above-ground timber-built halls are the two main types of buildings found in early Anglo-Saxon settlements. Härke (1997, 138) describes timber-built halls as measuring from 6 to 12 metres long, 3.5 to 7 metres wide, with a floor area of 50 square metres and accommodating around a dozen individuals (see figure 16). Status, gender and age can also be inferred by the partitioning of the hall to provide separate 'sleeping' areas. This type of evidence suggests that societies consisted from a dozen to around fifty individuals of different statuses, with two generations within each household.

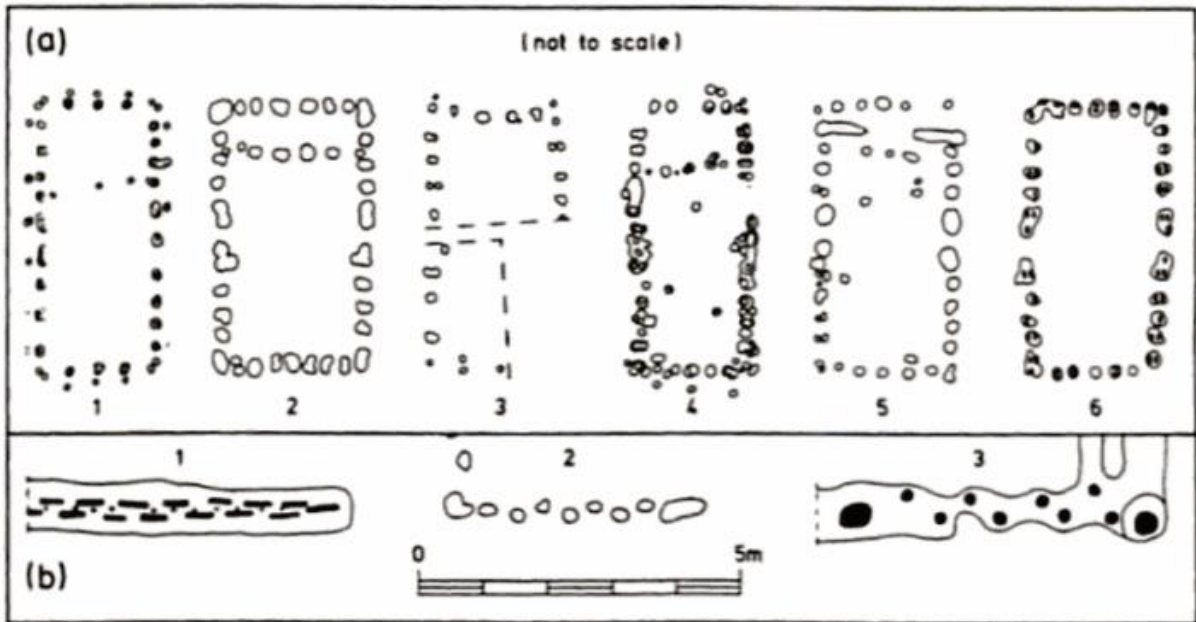


Figure 16: Examples of Anglo-Saxon buildings 1. Cowdery's Down, 2. Chalton A20, 3. Bishopstone XXVIII, 4. West Stow 2, 5. Mucking, 6. Thirlings G (Karkov 1999, 92)

2.2.6. Ethnicity

The term ethnicity is often used throughout archaeology to refer to socio-cultural changes that occur throughout communities. With research in the 1970's and 1980's focusing on both group identity and individual identity the idea of a multi-cultural society became more prevalent (Jones 1997, 29-30).

2.2.6.1. Migration

The migration period is seen as a process that took place over time resulting in chronological and geographical diversity (Härke 2011, 10). To understand the migration period that brought about Anglo-Saxon society, archaeologists study both archaeological and biological data. Using DNA, the biological data traced Anglo-Saxon origins to Dutch Frisia, northern Germany and Denmark (Härke 2011, 8-9). Archaeological data from grave-goods found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is then used in correlation to the biological data to support the migration period. Härke (2011, 6) uses a sample of forty-seven Anglo-Saxon burial sites in Britain between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. These sites exhibited weapons to have been deposited with 47% of the adult male inhumation burials. Härke explains that if all or most of the men without weapons were natives, then the sites with 'Anglo-Saxon' finds display multi-cultural communities. With this data it can be implied that the ratio of British to Anglo-Saxon males is around 1:1 (Härke 2011, 7-8).

2.2.7. Trade & Exchange

Studying artefacts that are not native to a region can provide essential information about the economic and social backgrounds of a society. A number of grave-goods found in Anglo-Saxon burials were imported and can be identified by archaeologists. Examples of imported grave-goods are; amber beads, ivory rings, crystal beads etc... imported from places such as Sicily, Romania and Portugal (Huggett 1998, 63). The distribution of imported grave-goods in burials suggests that exchange was a main factor in the economic and social relationships between Britain and the Continent. This interaction can also be used to further understand the social working of Anglo-Saxon communities (Huggett 1998, 92).

2.2.8. Religion

Religion plays a large role in defining a person's individual and group identity. Psychological needs such as self-belonging and self-esteem are satisfied through religious activities, rituals and traditions (Seul 1999, 1). Archaeological and anthropological studies of religion often analyse the transition from local/tribal religions to larger scale ones through a set of characteristics. This transition can be seen during the Anglo-Saxon period, converting England from Paganism to Christianity (Petts 2011, 30).

2.2.8.1. Paganism

Approaches to understanding pre-Christian religions have developed over the recent years with an emphasis on 'local' and 'world' religions. Paganism is often described as a 'local' religion associated with archaeology and anthropology. Archaeologists define Paganism as small scale, local, kinship groupings engaging in ritual practice; interlinking with agriculture and nature. Studies of religion frequently stereotype Paganism with underdeveloped 'ritual' practice (Petts 2011, 73). One of the key features of Paganism was the emphasis of 'cyclical time' rather than post-Christian 'linear time'. This belief tied in with seasons, agriculture and reproduction, instead of the idea of past and future. These religious beliefs can be seen throughout burial archaeology with cemeteries organised in circular patterns according to chronology or kinship (Petts 2011, 82-84). Religious belief also affects grave-good typology according to status, age, location and time period (see figure 17).



Figure 17: Sutton Hoo purse-lid 7th century gold, garnet and millefiori with Style II iconography
(http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87215&partId=1)

2.2.8.2. *The Conversion Period*

The Conversion period describes the important changes that took place during the early sixth-century AD that slowly introduced Christianity into England. The transition was a gradual one, integrating Christianity into Anglo-Saxon life and death (Chaney 1970, 2). The cemetery of Sutton Hoo in Suffolk has been a major site for Pagan and Christian interpretation (see figure 18). Archaeological material such as silver spoons and military equipment from Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo provided evidence for both Pagan and Christian identities (Petts 2011, 99-100). This type of burial provides evidence of separate religious, personal, and social identities that are closely interlinked during the Anglo-Saxon period. As Petts (2011, 100) queries “the real question is, then, which identities are being expressed or repressed in these burials, and how are these being read?”.



Figure 18: Reconstruction of Sutton Hoo burial
(<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sutton.Hoo.Burial.Traedmawr.jpg>)

2.2.8.3. Christianity

Between the fifth and seventh centuries AD grave-goods were deposited in both inhumation and cremation burials. It wasn't until the seventh century AD during the Conversion period that there were significant changes in the amount and type of grave-goods deposited (Crawford 2004, 88-89). Most burials by this time were inhumations without grave-goods, apart from the 'elite' with a large number of valuable items. With the start of the eighth century AD came the introduction of new cemeteries associated with settlements or churches. Burials containing grave-goods were rare and not a customary tradition throughout burial rite (see figure 19). These changes are closely associated with the introduction of Christianity into England and the establishment of the 'churchyard' (Crawford 2004, 88-89).



Figure 19: The Fuller brooch, dating to 9th century AD (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87155&partId=1)

2.2.9. Summary

The social theories that developed from the nineteenth century onwards heavily impact how Anglo-Saxon archaeology is interpreted and studied. It is clear that gender, age, social status, kinship/community, ethnicity and religion play an important role in the understanding of Anglo-Saxon social structure and identity. The studies surrounding Anglo-Saxon society and identity have helped answer questions that originally seemed impossible to answer. So, why aren't the same 'social' and 'identity' approaches being used to interpret Anglo-Saxon material culture, more specifically Anglo-Saxon 'Art'?

2.3. Objects

Although previous archaeological approaches to art have been discussed, there are a number of material culture theories that are used to interpret 'special' objects. This section will explore such theories.

2.3.1. Material Culture Theories

At the very centre of archaeological research is the study of objects. Traditional archaeology emphasised the stylistic, function and physical traits of objects. However, over the past couple of decades with the influence of social sciences, the relationship between people, identity and objects has become a major topic for discussion throughout archaeological studies (Joy 2009, 1). The social significance of material culture now influences a number of theoretical and archaeological interpretations (Gosden and Marshall 1999).

2.3.1.1. Object Biographies

To understand the relationship between people and objects some archaeologists have used a biographical approach. Kopytoff (1986) was the first to suggest that it is possible to write object biographies in the same way that the biographies of people are written. This process follows the object from birth → life → death, revealing the relationship between people and objects through its 'life-history' (Joy 2009, 1). During an objects lifetime it is constantly changed through social and cultural interactions, when the object 'dies' it is no longer involved in these interactions (Holtorf 1998 & Joy 2009, 1-2). Interactions such as manufacture, circulation, ownership, damage, repair, discard and perhaps resurrection create meanings and memories that form an object's 'life-history' (Bruning 2017). Object Biography theory has been used by a few individuals over the years to interpret archaeological material culture. Gosden and Marshall were some of the first to apply Object Biography theory in their paper 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', the ideas proposed throughout this paper are still developing today (Joy 2009, 540). The case studies discussed by Gosden and Marshall explore two main themes; long-lived artefacts and the exchange of artefacts. The first theme investigates long-lived artefacts in relation to reincarnation. Whilst the second theme focuses on the exchange of artefacts and how the artefact is perceived through changes that occur over its 'life-history' (Gosden & Marshall, 1999). In 2009 Joy worked on the concept of Object Biography theory to study the Iron Age Portesham mirror (see figure 20). Joy uses the process of 'life-history' (birth, life and death) to describe the manufacturing of the mirror.

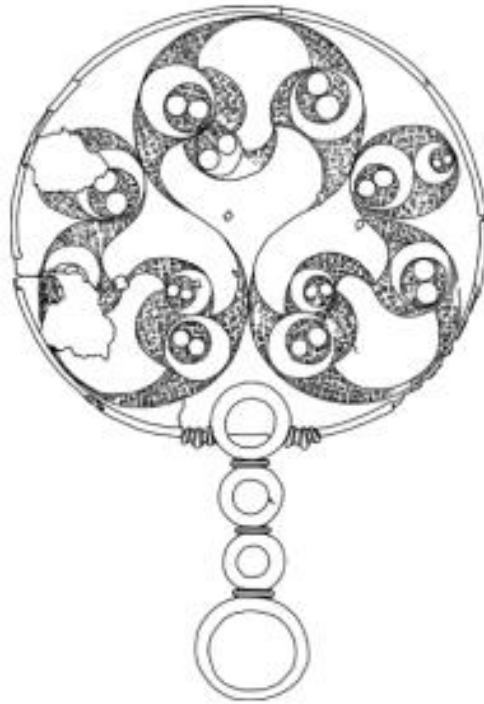


Figure 20: Portesham mirror, Portesham, Dorset (Joy 2009, 546).

2.3.1.2. Metaphor

Metaphor is used to describe objects that have ‘human’ attributes, making sense of the world through the human body. This terminology allows objects to have their own ‘object-like’ terms without categorising them using essentialist realism. Metaphor moves away from empiricist views that a ‘body is a body’ and a ‘pot is a pot’, to more abstract thoughts (Atfield 2000). “Metaphor provides a powerful means of overcoming this fragmented view of the world and examining systematic linkages between different cultural and material domains” – Tilley (1999, 8).

2.3.1.3. Animism

The term Animism is used to describe ‘non-human’ agents i.e. material culture that is believed to possess souls, life-force or qualities of personhood (Tylor 1958 [1871] & Brown et al. 2008, 1). Animism is closely related to Agency, the theory previously mentioned above. However, Animism stresses that certain objects have a ‘life-force’ that makes them identifiable in an archaeological context because of their unique object biographies (Brown et al. 2008, 1-2).

2.3.1.4. Structuralism

Structuralism has influenced a number of archaeological interpretations of material culture. This theory conceptualises the world as a series of relationships between ‘things’, rather than focusing on

the things themselves. Although Structuralism is not used in its original form anymore, it is still used to construct new research; i.e. cognitive archaeology (Preucel 2014).

2.3.2. Anglo-Saxon Case Studies

These case studies are examples of research that have attempted to use the material culture theories above to analyse Anglo-Saxon objects.

2.3.2.1. Case Study I: An Object Biography of Anglo-Saxon Swords

Although Object Biographies are used in archaeological analysis, they are very rarely used to interpret Anglo-Saxon material culture. However, recent approaches could change this, Brunning (2017) attempted to apply the biographical approach to several early Anglo-Saxon swords. Brunning examines the physical signs of wear and modification to understand each sword's life-history. She describes how a sword's form and features changed over time and therefore each sword has its own visual identity similar to a person. From this Brunning defines a sword's identity as 'person-like' explaining that swords and owners shared identities (Brunning 2017, 414).

2.3.2.2. Case Study II: Swords in Relation to the Body

The personhood of Anglo-Saxon swords is also discussed in Sayer, Sebo and Hughes' paper. This paper uses a similar biographical approach to Brunning (2017), but also examines the location of the sword and other objects in the grave. This approach investigates the relationship between objects and the human body. Old English literature and Scandinavian literature were used to understand the significance of swords and other wargear in conjunction with the archaeological evidence. By mapping the location of objects on the body, Sayer et al. discovered that objects such as knives were buried where they were worn (on the hip etc...) whereas swords were buried next to the face/head or would have originally been placed on top of the coffin replicating the position of the body. This pattern suggested that swords seem to have been regarded as 'special objects' relating to identity and personhood (Sayer et al. 2018).

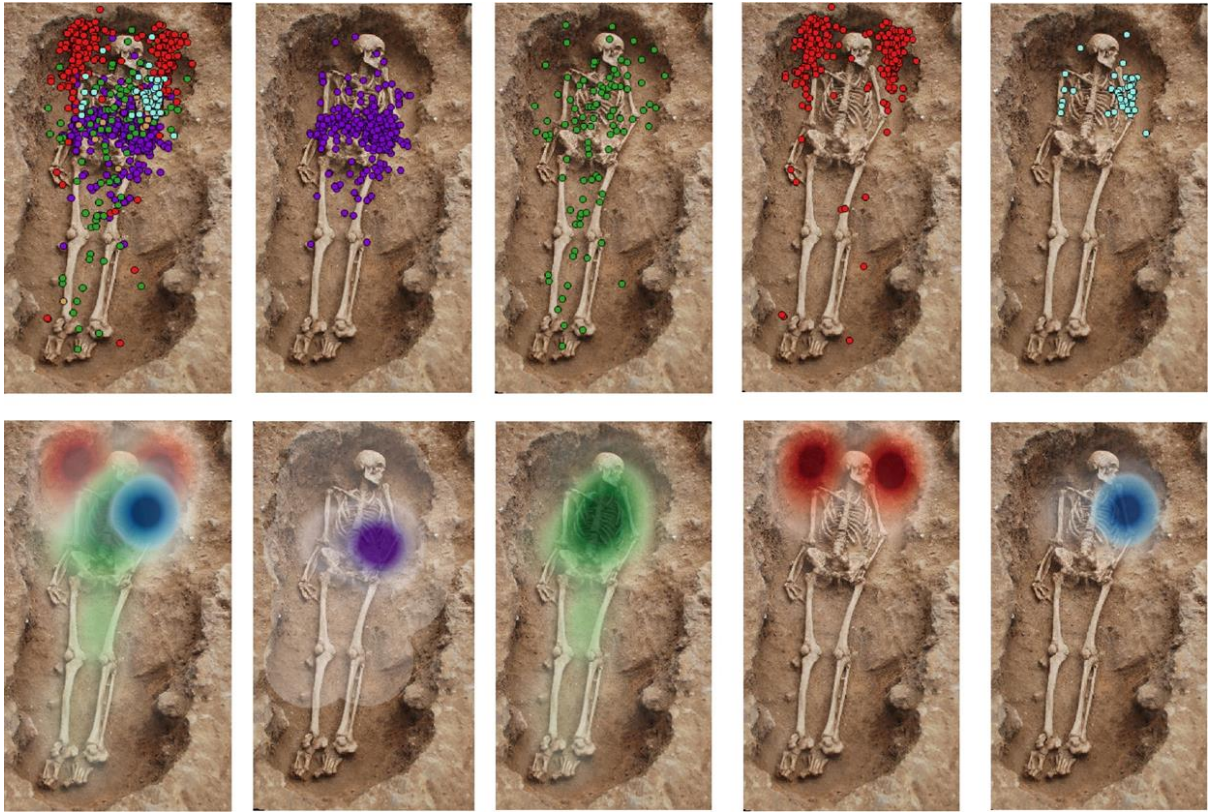


Figure 21: The location of weapons and knives from 17 cemeteres: knives (purple), shields (green), spear heads (red) and swords (blue) (Sayer et al. 2018)

2.3.3. Summary

The material culture theories discussed all identify objects as something more than just an ‘object’. These theories link closely to Gell’s (1998) Agency theory. Identifying an object as an agent, life-force or person to understand its original purpose and life-history. This allows archaeologists to delve deeper into an objects social value and meaning. However, these approaches are still rarely used to interpret Anglo-Saxon material culture.

2.4. Saucer Brooches

For the purpose of this thesis only one type of Anglo-Saxon material culture will be discussed. This type of material culture is cast Saucer brooches. Cast Saucer brooches will be used as they are often regarded as ‘art’ because of their elaborate decoration. This section will discuss what a Saucer brooch is and the previous studies surrounding Saucer brooches.

2.4.1. What is a Saucer Brooch?

One of the most recurrent survivals from the Anglo-Saxon period are small metal objects, more specifically those made from copper-alloys. Metal objects such as; wrist-clasps, rings, buckles,

brooches etc... These metal objects can be dated and are commonly categorised according to their cultural (Anglian, Saxon and Kentish) and stylistic attributes (Animal Style I and II) (Leahy 2010, 135). Brooches are usually categorised as either 'long' or 'circular', although their shape and decoration can vary. A variety of 'circular' brooches are found within the Anglo-Saxon period; Disc, Applied, Saucer, Annular and Penannular. Saucer brooches consist of a decorated circular plate with an outer angled rim, and range in size from 24mm to 82mm (see figure 21) (Owen-Crocker 2004, 40). These brooches are mostly found in the East and South of England (see figure 22). Saucer brooches were made in two ways; applied and cast.

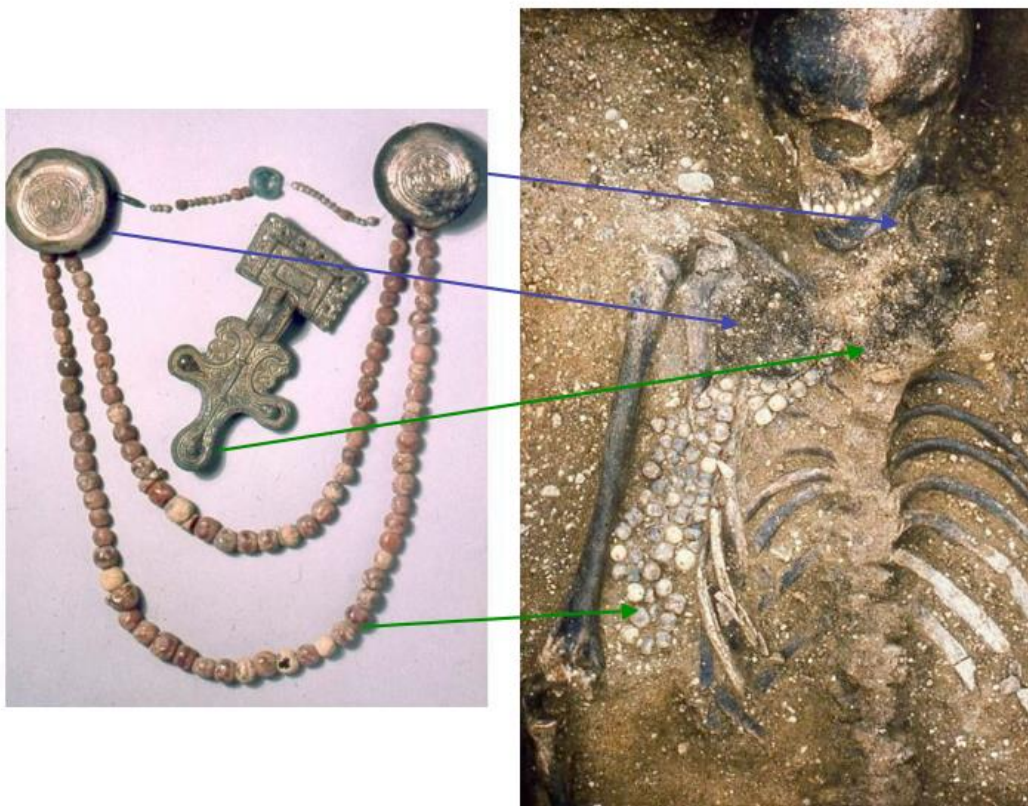
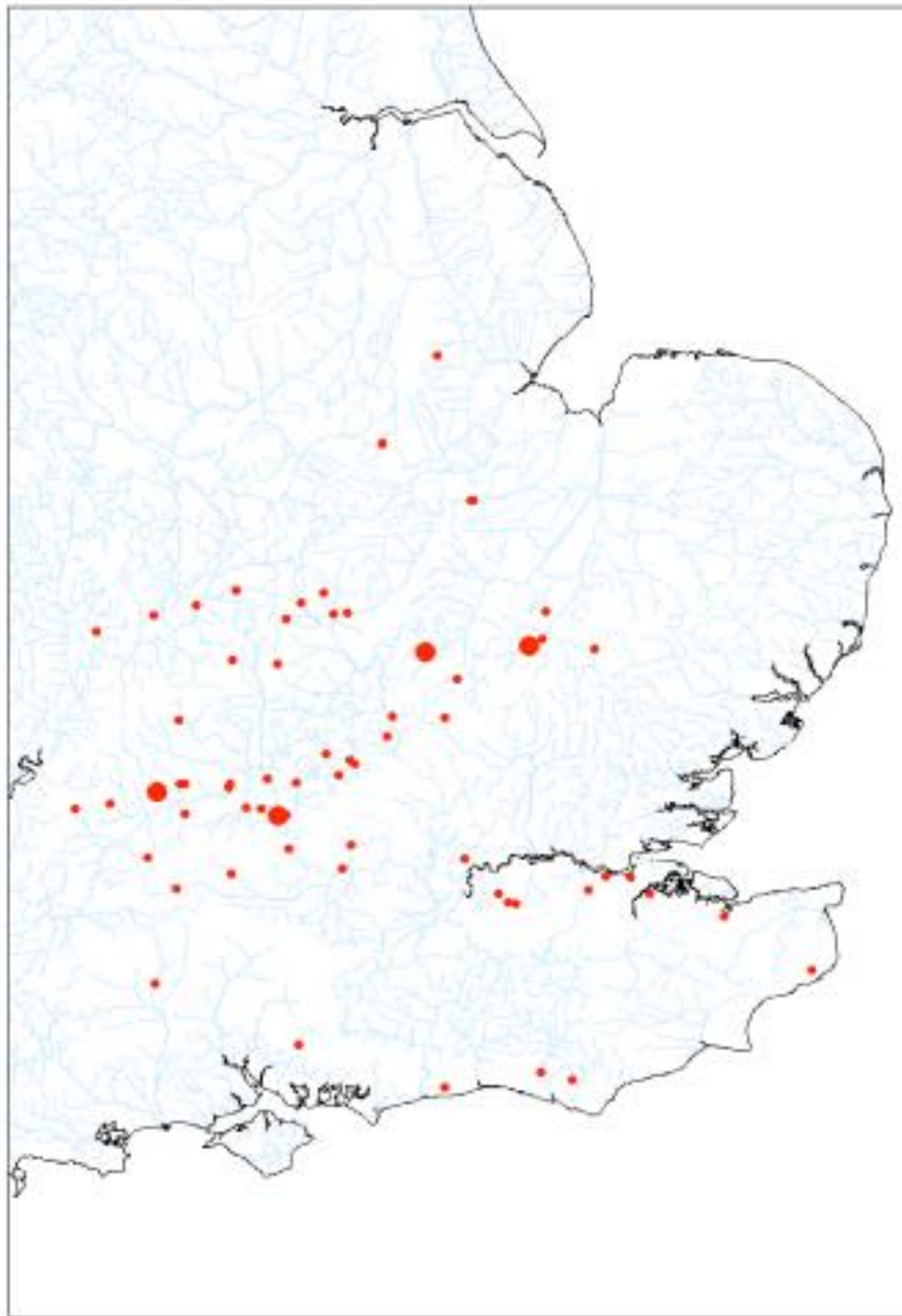


Figure 22: Saucer brooch position in a grave (Dickinson <https://finds.org.uk/documents/conf07/tania.pdf>)



Saucer brooch finds to 1911

Figure 23: Saucer brooch finds to 1911 created by Dickinson (<https://finds.org.uk/documents/conf07/tania.pdf>)

2.4.1.1. Applied Saucer

Applied brooches or Applied Saucer brooches were fairly simple to manufacture. These brooches consist of separate/composite components of metal fixed together. The backplate, either flat or concave had two axial slots to which the lugs for the pin-holder and catch passed and fastened flat. A disc of thin repousse (hammered/stamped) decorated foil was then attached to the upper surface, with a separate strip fixed to the edge as a rim (Dickinson 1978, 35). Academics such as Welch (1983, 39) and Lucy (2000, 35) use the name 'Applied Saucer', but this phrase is highly debated.

2.4.1.2. Cast Saucer

The cast Saucer brooch is believed to have evolved from the earlier Applied Saucer brooch during the fifth century AD (Hines 1997, 237-239 & Sayer 2007, 58). Casting was the technique used to make most types of Anglo-Saxon brooches. To create a casting; a desired pattern is made (see figure 4 – A) and cut into one half of a block of clay (B & C). The back of the brooch is made first (D), then decoration is added into the mould to create the front of the brooch (E) (Leahy 2010, 139-140). The metal is heated to above melting point and poured into the mould. The mould is then broken and the casting is cleaned once the metal is cool. The site at Mucking in Essex has examples of mould fragments used for the creation of a Great Square-headed brooch dating to the sixth century AD (Leahy 2010, 139). This method of manufacturing meant that there was little scope for development apart from variation in size and decoration (Dickinson 1978, 35).

2.4.2. Previous Studies

In 1912, Leeds listed 219 cast and 177 applied Saucer brooches, grouping them according to ornamental typology. He defined these groups further in 1933, using terms such as 'floriated cross' and 'running dog-legs'. However, it wasn't until 1958 that a systematic classification of Saucer brooches was attempted by Margaret Saunders in her unpublished thesis. Saunders describes 12 classes separated across four main groups (geometric, Kentish garnet-inlaid, zoomorphic and composite) (Dickinson 1978, 32).

Dickinson (1978 Vol 1, 35) building upon previous work, divided forty-seven cast Saucer brooches from the Upper Thames region into eighteen groups. Brooches with a single field or central/dominant motif in combination with a border band/panel were categorised in groups 1 to 9, with more complex forms appearing in groups 10 to 18. As Dickinson states Saucer brooches have no typological evolution, therefore the brooches are categorised from simple to complex. Dickinson follows Saunders suggestion that the smallest brooches derive from the early-sixth century, while the larger brooches derive from the late-sixth century. As well as categorising the Saucer brooches into the eighteen groups, Dickinson also defines five categories of 'variation':

“1.) Differences of a) size and b) angle or alignment of motifs, quantified subjectively on a scale 1 to 5 (minimal to maximum).

2.) Differences in the number of digits in the motif (e.g. dots/wedges in a central rosette, lines in parallel-line blocks, pellets or zigzag points in a border); the number of affected motifs is recorded.

3.) Alterations to one part only of the design, the cause and significance of which may vary.

4.) Alterations of design at several points, again of variable significance; the number of affected motifs is recorded.

5.) Total difference in arrangement and/or design.” – Dickinson (1978, 40-41)

From these categories Dickinson established that only four of the forty-seven brooches were identical, eighteen almost and thirty-two probably derive from one model. The brooches in groups 1 to 9 were characterised by several patterns from the same model and consistency in size, Dickinson suggests that a template may have been used to regulate brooch size. Group 10 to 18 brooches were each original in their designs, but all had features that linked them one to another. Dickinson’s results implied that that moulds normally produced one cast but, the manufacture of brooches from groups 1-9 differed from groups 10-18. She explains that groups 1-9 were most likely produced in a ‘permanent’ workshop, whereas groups 10-18 were most likely produced by travelling craftsmen. Dickinson’s results show that these groups overlap in date, so both types of manufacturing were operating at the same time. But, she does state that the majority of brooches in the Upper Thames region would have been produced in local workshops (Dickinson, 1978 40-42).

2.4.3. Classification

The stylistic and chronological classification of design is often used throughout the analysis of brooches. Scholars such as Leeds (1912), Saunders (1958), Welch (1975) and Hines (1997) have attempted to use this type of analysis (Dickinson 1978, 50-78). One of the best examples of this classification can be seen in Dickinson’s (1978, 50-78) work (previously mentioned above), where Upper Thames Saucer brooch designs are split into eighteen categories based on Leeds (1912 & 1949)’s previous categories. Groups 1 to 9 have one primary motif, whereas groups 10 to 18 have a wide range of motifs and patterns.

- Group 1: Running Scroll

‘Running scrolls’ refers to the popular design found on Saucer brooches; in which connected ‘running’ scrolls form a dominant motif, with simple central and border features. This style is believed to have originated during the fifth century AD, adopting scrollwork decoration used on Late Roman

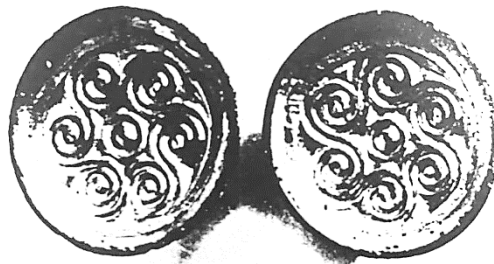
metalwork. Dickinson separates this group into four subgroups based on number of 'running scrolls'; five running scrolls, six running scrolls, seven running scrolls, and eight or more running scrolls (Dickinson 1978, 50-60).



a. Abingdon I, B60



c. Brixhampton 4

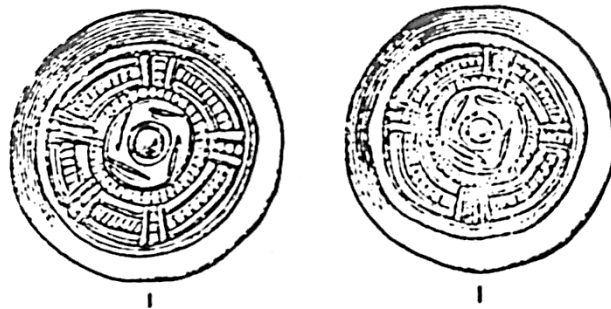


e. Frilford I, 143

Figure 24: Brooches from Group 1 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 2: Central Square, Swastika or Whirligig

Central square, swastika and whirligig are three designs found on Saucer brooches. Dickinson splits these designs into four subgroups; square and four scrolls, inner leg swastika and outer 'egg-and-tongue' panel, inner whirligig and outer radial bars and, inner whirligig and outer basketwork panel (Dickinson 1978, 61-65).



a. Kemble I, LM M.7747



a. Broughton Poggs 16

i

ii

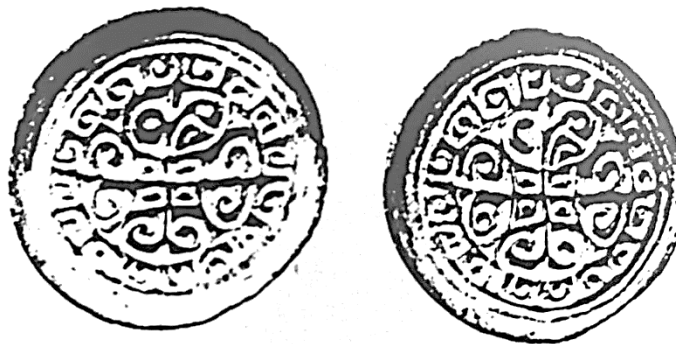
Figure 25: Brooches from Group 2 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 3: Floriate Cross

The floriate cross design is mostly found on Applied Saucer brooches, rather than Cast ones. This design is separated into three subgroups; cross and omega, floriate cross-and-masks and, floriate cross and 'pot-hooks'. The floriate cross designs sometimes have either a basketwork border or zoomorphic border. As Dickinson states, brooches with this design are usually come from Surrey, Sussex and the Upper Thames region (Dickinson 1978, 66-67).



c. Dorchester VI, 107



e. Bishopstone I, Ay.M H1-2

Figure 26: Brooches from Group 3 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 4: Five-point Star

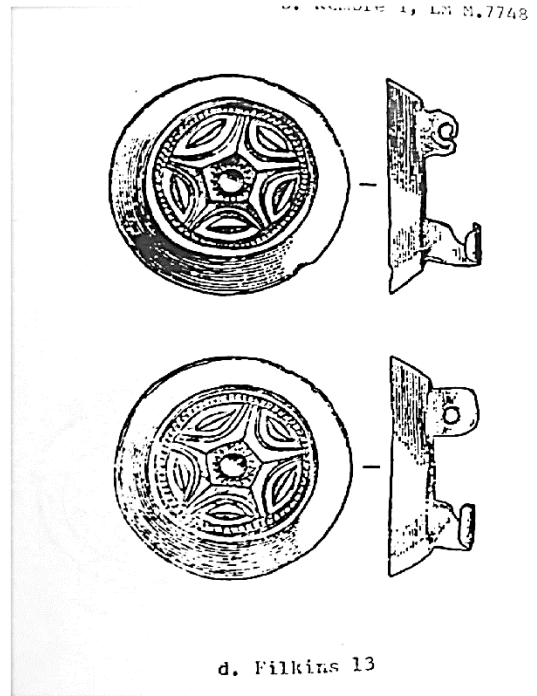
The five-point star design first developed during the early sixth century AD on Applied brooches. Leeds and Saunders first attempted to classify the five-point star brooches. Dickinson created six subgroups; free-standing 'weak' stars with zigzag border, sharp star with inner zigzag and outer zoomorphic border, weak star and basketwork border, weak star and punched annulet border, star with semi-circular arms and zigzag border and, other five-point star designs (Dickinson 1978, 68-70)



c. Abingdon ii, AM 1909.479



a. Fairford 7



d. Filkins 13

Figure 27: Brooches from Group 4 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 5: Other Star-like Designs

This group includes any Saucer brooches that have star-like designs that do not fit into group 4 (Dickinson 1978, 71-72).

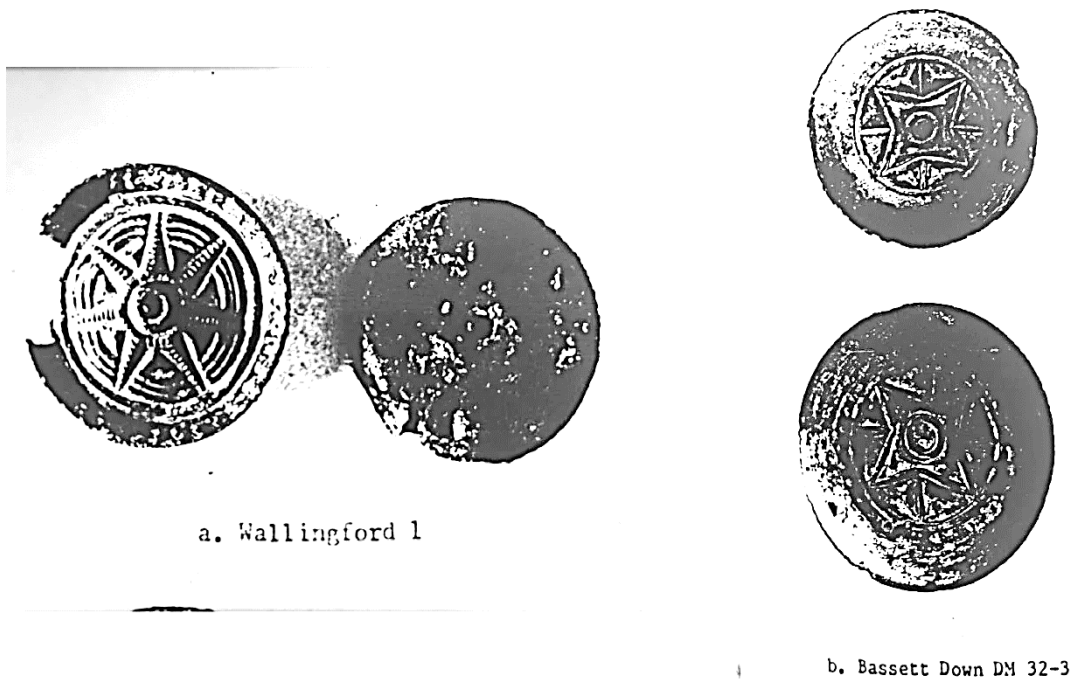


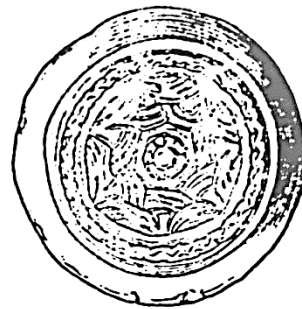
Figure 28: Brooches from Group 5 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 6: Running or Radial Leg

The running or radial leg design is split into two subgroups; seven running dog-legs and zigzag border, and other brooches with radial leg patterns (Dickinson 1978, 73-74).



c. Long Wittenham I, FD38-39



b. Filkins 8



Figure 29: Brooches from Group 6 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 7: Style I Iconography

This design has been mentioned previously, and is often found on other brooch types such as great square-headed and cruciform too (Dickinson 1978, 75).



a. Fairford BM 58,3-3,1



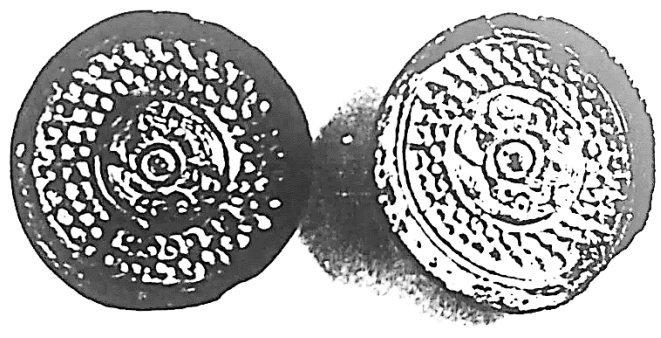
b. 'Winchester' (?Fairford) BM

Figure 30: Brooches from Group 7 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 8: Bipartite Field with One Panel of Zoomorphic Ornament and One of Pot-hooks

This design has Style I 'triple strand' animal bodies. Each brooch design in this group is different, but they do have similar features that form a stylistic group (Dickinson 1978, 76).

D. Win



c. Fairford 15

Figure 31: Brooch from Group 8 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 9: Tripartite Field with Zigzag Rings and Radial Bar Border

(Dickinson 1978, 77-78)



Oxfordshire xi, BM 84,5-20,10

Figure 32: Brooch from Group 9 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 10: Single Field (No Axes and Degenerate Animal Ornament)

The design found on these brooches uses zoomorphic head, body and leg elements without the intention of depicting a specific animal (Dickinson 1978, 84-85).



Figure 33: Brooches from Group 10 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 11: Single Field and Three Axes

This group design derives from garnet-inlayed disc brooches with Style I Saxon influences. Group 11 has four subgroups; imitating avent class a.2, imitating avent class a.3, three chasing animals with diamond wedges as heads and, all-over zoomorphic elements with three border wedges (Dickinson 1978, 85-87).



Figure 34: Brooches from Group 11 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 12: Single Field and Four Axes

This design is split into three subgroups; four wedges and S-motif, four wedges and 'Mr. Chad' masks and, four wedges and triples blocks of parallel lines (Dickinson 1978, 87-88).



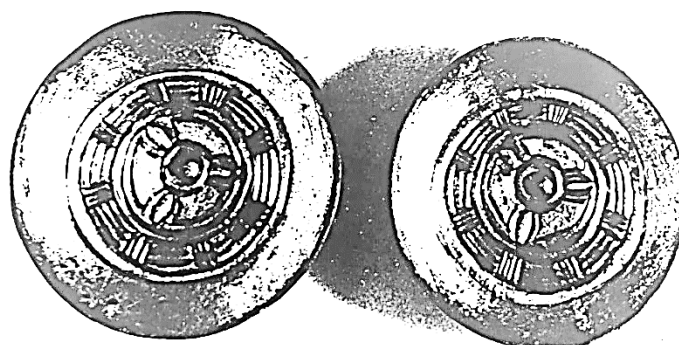
Figure 35: Brooch from Group 12 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 13: Bipartite Field and Three Axes

The bipartite and three axes design is split into three subgroups; central mask and three chasing Style I animals, central triaxial motif and degenerate zoomorphic border and, central trefoil and basketwork border (Dickinson 1978, 89-90).



a. Fairford AM 1961.98-9



d. Cassington I, 7

Figure 36: Brooches from Group 13 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 14: Bipartite Field and Four Axes

This group is similar to group 14. There are six subgroups; central mask and zoomorphic border, central four wedges/masks and basketwork/masks border, central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements, central quatrefoil and twisted strand border, central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border and, central cross and basketwork border (Dickinson 1978, 90-92).

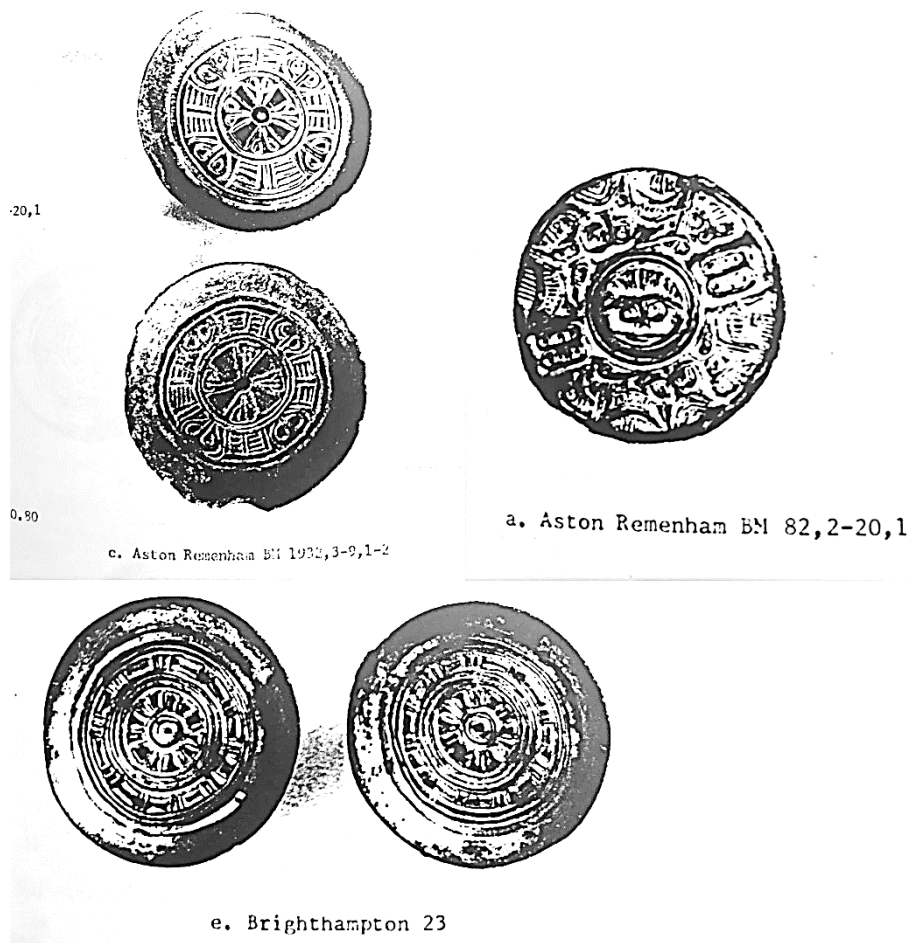
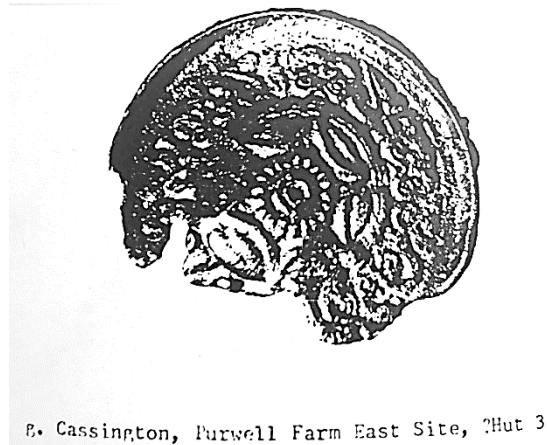


Figure 37: Brooches from Group 14 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 15: Bipartite Field and Multi-axial

This group is split into three subgroups; rosette centre and 'light-and-shade' border, two panels of basketwork and, central hexagon filled with radial lines and border of masks and dog-legs.



B. Cassington, Purwell Farm East Site, ?Hut 3
 Figure 38: Brooch from Group 15 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 16: Tripartite Field and Four Axes

Group 16 is split into five subgroups; central mask - panel of parallel lines and masks outer - panel of six dividing bars - triangular wedges and 'fish-scales', central boss – panel of parallel lines and masks – outer basketwork panel, three basketwork panels – the middle set with four glass inlays and masks, central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges and, central chequered cross – panels of basketwork and 'fish-scales' divided by four triangular wedges (Dickinson 1978, 94-96).



Figure 39: Brooches from Group 16 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 17: Tripartite Field and Multi-axial

This group is split into two subsections; central wedge/radial line rosette – panel of parallel-line blocks – panel of 18 chevrons alternately hatched and, centre panel of four legs – middle panel of five legs and parallel-line blocks and outer chevron band (Dickinson 1978, 97-98).

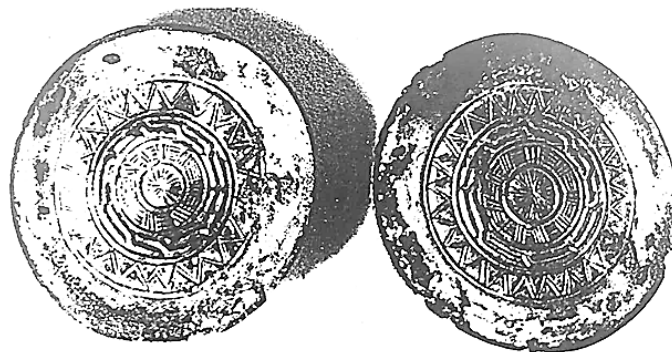


d. East Shefford BM 93,7-16,46

Figure 40: Brooch from Group 17
(Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

- Group 18: Quadripartite Field and Multi-axial

Similar to groups 15 and 18, unique style (Dickinson 1978, 98-99).



a. Dorchester vi, RM

ii

iii

Figure 41: Brooches from Group 18 (Dickinson 1978 vol 3)

2.5. Small-Long Brooches

To understand if Aesthetics (decoration) defined art during the Anglo-Saxon period, decorated Saucer brooches will be compared to a more 'mundane' object. Small-long brooches have been chosen for this purpose as they are also brooches but are often regarded as 'mundane' or 'mass produced' because of their lack of 'elaborate' decoration.

2.5.1. A Background to Small-Long Brooches

Small-long brooches were first classified by Leeds (1945, 5), built on by Dickinson (1976, 174-192) and Welch (1983, 13-25). This typology was divided into four sub-types; square-headed, trefoil, radiate-headed, and horned-headed. The square-headed sub-type contains Small-long brooches with square-head plates with semi-circular notches on either side of the head and base of the bow, with a shovel-shaped foot. Tre-foil headed brooches consist of three rounded or half rounded knobs, with a widened foot. Radiate-headed brooches have a semi-circular head and three elongated knobs. The horned-headed sub-type contains brooches that have a horned or 'pincer' head with a pointed foot (see figure 41) (Dickinson 1976, 174-182 & Welch 1983, 13-25). These brooches date from the late 5th century to the early 6th century AD. However, due to the lack of material studied dating these brooches can be a problem (Sayer 2007, 64).

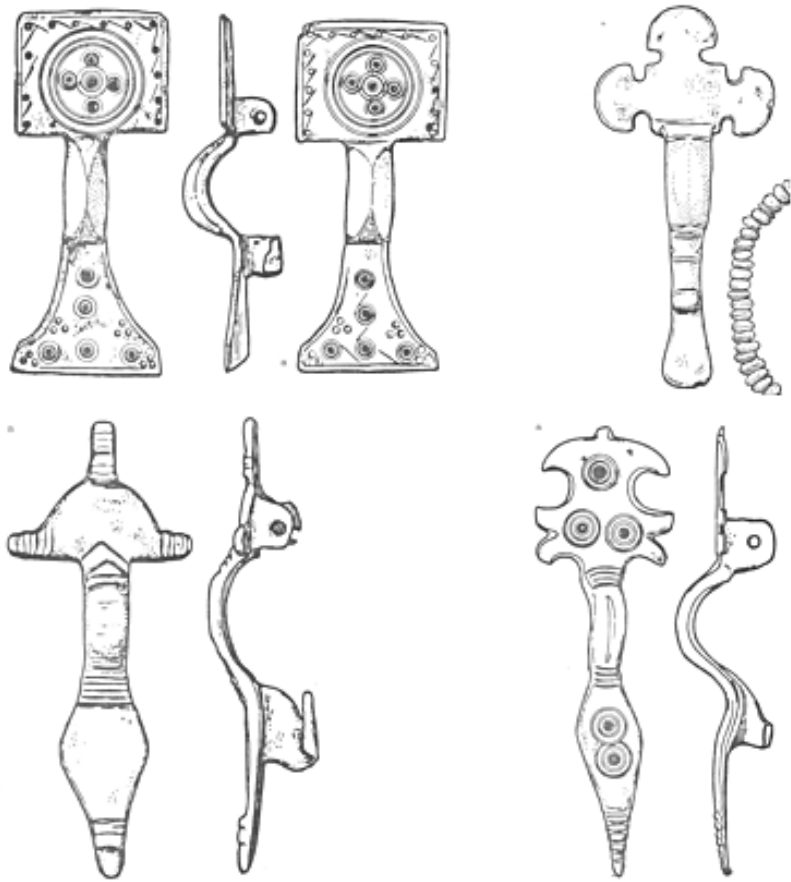


Figure 42: (L to R) square-headed, tre-foil headed, radiate-headed, and horned-headed Small-long brooches (Welch, 1983)

3. Methodology

3.1. Aims

The aim of this study is to incorporate both historical and 'new' social approaches to Anglo-Saxon 'art' in an attempt to understand if Aesthetics (decoration) defined 'art' during the Anglo-Saxon period. To ultimately determine what an Anglo-Saxon 'art object' is.

- Using the literature reviewed define what 'art' is/can be
- Compare decorated Saucer brooches to mundane Small-long brooches
- Use the methods discussed to analyse a group of cemeteries
- What is Anglo-Saxon 'art'? Aesthetics or something more?

3.2. Theoretical Framework

In order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of Anglo-Saxon 'art' objects the approach taken throughout this thesis will be a theoretically centred one. The theoretical framework developed for this thesis is based on the theories previously mentioned above in the Literature Review section. The main aim of this project is to determine what an Anglo-Saxon 'art' object is; therefore art, society, identity and material culture theories have been discussed above. This section will attempt to define the word 'art' and ultimately outline what an 'art' object is or can be. This theoretical framework will then be applied to a sample group Anglo-Saxon brooches.

3.2.1. The Framework

In Anglo-Saxon research the word 'art' is often applied to most objects through a westernised view that art is aesthetically pleasing by design (i.e. elaborately decorated). However, academics such as Gell (1998) have raised the issue that Aesthetics may not have played a role in the creation of 'art' in past societies, and that a more social approach should be taken. This thesis will question whether Anglo-Saxon 'art' should be defined as Aesthetic, or if a more social definition is needed.

After reading through some of the many art theories put forward since the eighteenth century onwards, it is clear that the definition of 'art' changes and adapts with society over time. This makes defining 'art' for a past society difficult, especially societies such as those from the Anglo-Saxon period that do not have ethnographic parallels. With this realisation, similar to what Dickie (1974) said, it is only fitting that the definition of 'art' for this thesis should be fluid and open-ended.

Although the definition of 'art' is constantly changing, each of the definitions discussed in the Literature Review are connected by one similarity. Aesthetic, Essentialist, Anti-Essentialist and Social theories ultimately define 'art' objects as something separate/different from 'non-art' objects. Dickie's

(1974) Institutional theory focuses solely on the idea that art is a result of human interaction and is socially determined. In other words, 'art' objects can look the same physically as 'non-art' objects, it is human interpretation which makes something art. Adorno said something similar when he compared 'art' to music "we don't understand music, music understands us". This idea of art stemming from essence and human interpretation is an earlier version of Gell's (1998) Agency theory, that art is an agent interacting with society. Why is Vincent van Gogh's 'Sunflowers' art? Not because of its aesthetics or material properties, but because of its social identity or 'fame'. Building upon the idea that 'art' is separate/different from 'non-art' objects but can physically look the same, it is possible to use the framework put forward by the Object Biography theory to build each object's 'life-history'. By doing so, any differences that may occur between the objects can be discussed e.g. indications that an object is in fact 'art' because of its unique 'life-history'/Agency. For this thesis, the 'life-history' of each decorated cast Saucer brooch and 'mundane' Small-long brooch will be analysed – who and what were they buried with, and where were they buried? Birth, damage, repair etc... Revealing any patterns in regards to 'decorated' and 'mundane' brooches; indicating whether Aesthetics does define Anglo-Saxon 'art', or if a deeper social definition is needed. From this it may then be possible to suggest what art was in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The first question that must be answered is 'did Aesthetics play a role in the creation of Anglo-Saxon 'art'?' To do so, previous interpretations that elaborate decoration defines Anglo-Saxon 'art' will be challenged, by analysing what is regarded as 'art' 'decorated' cast Saucer brooches in comparison to 'mundane' Small-long brooches. Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches are often seen as different level status items throughout Anglo-Saxon research. Harke (1997, 143) labels gilt brooches (i.e. Saucer, Great Square-headed...) as alpha grave-goods associated with high status individuals, and label brooches (i.e. Small-long...) as beta grave-goods associated with low status individuals (above unfree individuals). But, after reading through the theories put forward by scholars such as Dickie and Gell, it seems that perhaps the social classification of grave-goods is affecting how Anglo-Saxon 'art' is interpreted. Therefore, it is important to prove whether or not there is a distinct difference between 'decorated' and 'mundane' brooches in how they were buried.

3.3. Research Context

As mentioned previously, throughout this thesis Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries across England will be analysed. Most Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are located in the Eastern and Southern extents of England.

3.3.1. Cemeteries

This analysis will use seven cemeteries, with the lack of detailed written site reports and the need for specific brooch typologies meant that only seven cemeteries could be used. The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries included in this analysis are;

1. Abingdon I, Berkshire (Oxfordshire) SU490963 – (figure 42 & 43 – GREEN)

Abingdon I cemetery is situated to the south of Abingdon town, between the Thames and Ock junction. The cemetery was first discovered during building work and later excavated in August 1934 and June 1935. During the excavation five inhumations and one cremation were found. During later work; 119 inhumations and 83 cremations were identified by Leeds and Harden (1936) (Dickinson 1978). Dickinson counts from the records 119 inhumations and 99 cremations overall at Abingdon I cemetery. The cemetery dates from early fifth to early seventh-century AD (Dickinson 1978 Vol 2, 3).

2. Blacknall Field, Wiltshire SU153580 – (figure 42 & 43 - BLUE)

The site at Blacknall Field was discovered in 1968 after human teeth, amber beads and blue glass beads were found in a ploughed field. The cemetery is situated 1km north-west of Pewsey Hill Farm. The site itself dates from the late Mesolithic period (8000-4000 BC) and has evidence from the Neolithic, Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon periods. The excavations revealed 107 inhumations with a number of unstratified surface finds (Annable and Eagles 2010, 1-6).

3. Dorchester VI, Oxfordshire SU580957 – (figure 42 & 43 – YELLOW)

Dorchester VI was first excavated in 1974 ahead of gravel-digging and later excavated in 1975. The site is situated a mile north of Dorchester-on-Thames at Wally Corner. The cemetery dates from early fifth to seventh-century AD (Dickinson 1978 Vol 2, 80).

4. East Shefford, Berkshire SU389749 – (figure 42 & 43 – PINK)

During the construction of the Lambourn Valley railway in 1889 the cemetery at East Shefford was discovered, dating from the mid-fifth to later sixth-century AD. Walter Money and W. Montague Palmer recorded 48 graves. Another grave found in 1893 was found around 100 yards west (g.51). A later excavation in 1912 revealed a further 27 bodies. Overall a minimum of 27 skeletal remains were found (Dickinson 1978 Vol 2, 92).

5. Great Chesterford, Essex TL501435 – (figure 42 & 43 – ORANGE)

The cemetery at Great Chesterford was first discovered during commercial grave digging in 1952. As a result a Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments excavated 161 inhumations, 33 cremations, 2 horse

graves and 2 dog burials. This excavation uncovered an unusually large percentage of children's graves, creating a more accurate picture than usual of the normal Anglo-Saxon mortality rate (Evison 1994, xi).

6. Market Lavington, Wiltshire SU01355415 (figure 42 & 43 – PURPLE)

Situated on the base of the Easterton Brook, the cemetery at Market Lavington was first excavated in 1986 after a planning application was submitted by Walter Lawrence Holmes (Wessex) Ltd. Excavations were carried out during August 1986 by Thamesdown Archaeological Unit. Overall 39 inhumations were discovered at the site (Williams and Newman 2006, 1-7).

7. Oakington, Cambridgeshire TL415645 – (figure 42 & 43 – RED)

The cemetery at Oakington is situated 7km north-west of Cambridge in Cambridgeshire, UK. Mentioned in the Domesday Book, Oakington is referred to as Hochinton (Hochintone) a large rural farming village (Mortimer et al. 2016, 1). The first burials found at Oakington were discovered in 1926 during the cultivation of pastureland, since then several excavations have been undertaken in Oakington (Meaney, 1964). During a 1994 excavation, a series of ditches and twenty-four skeletons were recorded (Taylor et al. 1997). Between 2006 and 2007 CCCAFU undertook further excavation that revealed evidence of more ditches and another seventeen skeletons. Then from 2010 until 2014 the UCLan and MMU excavated an area of 1800sqm. By the end of excavation 124 skeletons in 113 graves had been found at Oakington. Based on grave-good association the cemetery is believed to have been in use for c 75-100 years (Sayer et al. 2013 & Mortimer et al. 2016).



Figure 44: QGIS overview map of cemetery location in England (authors own)

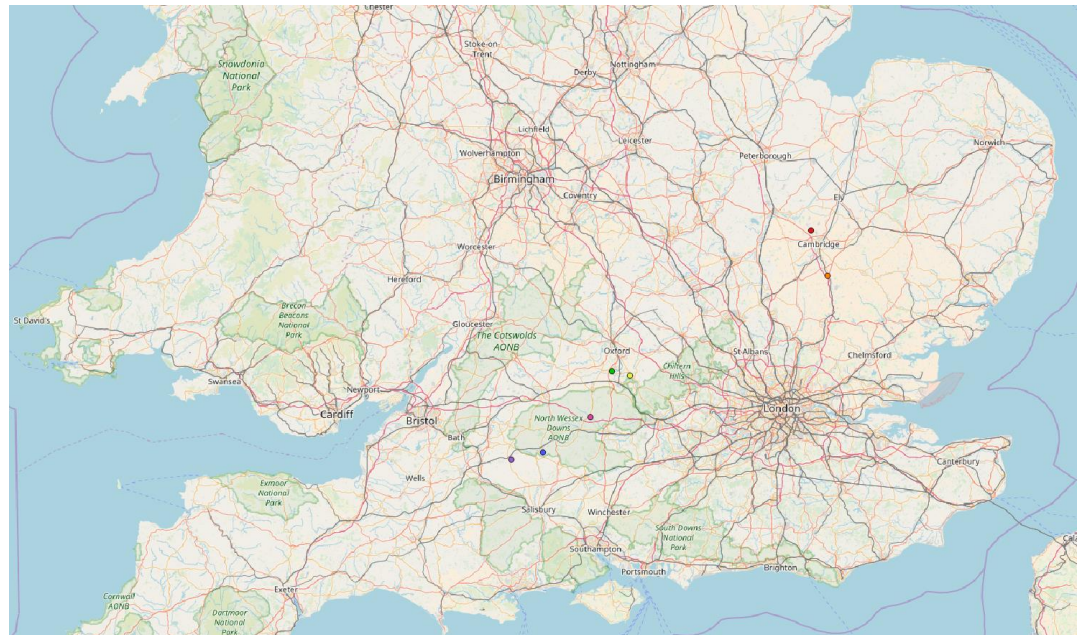


Figure 43: QGIS closeup map of cemetery location in England (authors own)

3.4. Methods

A sample group of cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches from seven cemeteries across England will be used for analysis. From this the brooches will be analysed against some of the social and environmental factors mentioned in the Literature Review.

3.4.1. Deciding What to Include

Originally around fifteen cemeteries were going to be used for this analysis, however, most/all of the cemeteries across the top (north) and middle of England did not contain Saucer brooches. Saucer brooches only appeared in the southern and eastern cemeteries. Due to the lack of accessible Anglo-Saxon cemetery reports, only a few cemeteries could be analysed. These cemeteries were cut down to seven. But, once analysing these cemeteries in full, it was clear that the lack of material worked in favour. Overall, the data for 60 Saucer brooches and 76 Small-long brooches was collected from site reports – a perfect sample size.

3.4.2. Structure

As mentioned in the Literature Review section; sex, age, grave-good assemblages and location play a large role in the interpretation of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. These factors will be used for interpretation to further understand the social implications of each brooch. The sex of adults was determined through skeletal analysis taken on by the authors/archaeologists of each site report. The age categories for skeletal remains varies throughout each site report, for the purpose of this analysis the age of adults will be categorised using the following age categories (Cessford et al. 2007):

Neonate = <6 months

Infant = 0 – 4 years

Juvenile = 5 – 12 years

Sub-adult = 13 – 18 years

Young adult = 19 – 25 years

Middle adult = 26 – 44 years

Mature adult = 45+ years

Alongside looking at each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch, the other objects that were found in situ will also be discussed. The quantity and quality of grave-goods can imply social identity (i.e. status, gender etc...). The location of the brooches on the body and in the cemetery will also be analysed. The computer programme QGIS will be used for plotting points on maps and for the body location plotting. Also, Illustrator has been used for plotting the location of specific burials in each cemetery.

4. Analysis & Results

The Analysis and Results section of this thesis will focus on the cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches discovered in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries previously mentioned. The data presented in this section does not represent the country or counties as a whole, but what was available to study. Most Anglo-Saxon cemetery reports are non-existent, inaccessible or do not have enough information needed for this study. This section relies heavily on the work of Dickinson (1978) who constructed a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon finds from the Thames Valley.

4.1. The Brooches

For the purpose of this study seven Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been used for analysis; Abingdon I, Blacknall Field, Dorchester VI, East Shefford, Great Chesterford, Market Lavington and Oakington. From these seven sites the brooches were separated into sixty Saucer brooches (see Appendix B) and seventy-six Small-long brooches (see Appendix C). No Small-long brooches were found at Market Lavington. The Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were separated due to their distinct Aesthetic differences. These Aesthetic differences have resulted in different levels of analysis in past studies, as previously mentioned in the Literature Review. The data collected from the 7 cemeteries have a more detailed account of the Saucer brooches compared to the Small-long brooches. Some of the Saucer brooches from the cemeteries are recorded as repaired, burnt, having file marks, textile or/and gilding (see figure 46).

Table 1: Number of brooches per site (authors own)

	Saucer	Small-Long
Abingdon I	18	6
Blacknall Field	8	13
Dorchester VI	13	7
East Shefford	3	2
Great Chesterford	8	27
Market Lavington	6	0
Oakington	4	24

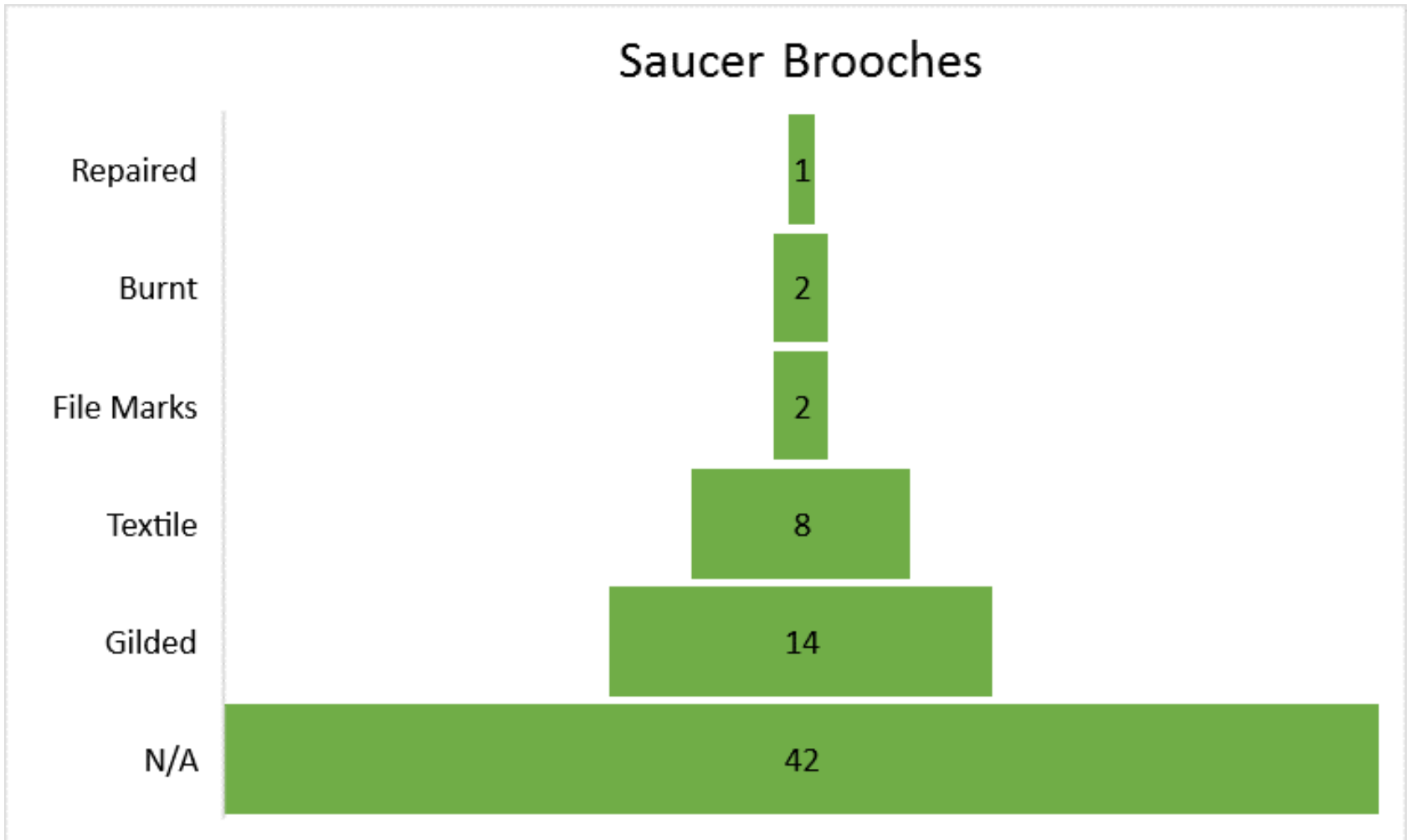


Figure 45: Number of Saucer brooches that have been repaired, burnt, have file marks, textile or are gilded - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

4.2. Who? – Skeletal Remains

This section focuses on who the brooches were buried with.

4.2.1. Sex

The first half of this section will discuss the sex of the skeletal remains in situ with each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch.

Around 77% of the burials containing Saucer brooches were female, the other 23% were unidentified/unknown – meaning that no Saucer brooches were found with a male. However, the unknown burials could either have been female or male (see figure 46).

A large 87% of the burials containing Small-long brooches were female, 4% were male and only 9% were unknown. The male burials belong to Abingdon I (three) and Blacknall Field (one). Although only 4% of males were buried with Small-long brooches this number is still significant in terms of ‘usual’ Anglo-Saxon burial rite (see figure 47). All the unknown burials belong to Dorchester VI where the data was not accessible or the sex of the skeletal remains were not identified.

Figure 48 shows the sex of each grave at the 7 cemeteries. The chart shows that the number of males and females at the 7 cemeteries was almost equal.

4.2.2. Age

The second half of this section will discuss the age of the skeletal remains in situ with each Saucer and Small-long brooch.

Six categories separate the age of skeletal remains, as briefly mentioned in the methodology. Abingdon I, Dorchester VI and East Shefford did not have the data to record the age of the skeletal remains – these statistics are recorded as unknown. Exactly twenty-two Saucer brooches were found in situ with middle adults aged 26 to 44 years old, and only one was found with a young adult aged 19 – 25 years old. The one young adult burial (GRAVE 8) belongs to Market Lavington in Wiltshire (see figure 49).

The Small-long brooches were spread across a number of age groups. Exactly six juveniles were found with Small-long brooches, one at Great Chesterford and five at Oakington. Great Chesterford also has the only sub-adult burials with Small-long brooches (three). The middle adult age category held the highest amount overall, with thirteen from Blacknall Field, nineteen from Great Chesterford and sixteen from Oakington. Another seven burials contained Small-long brooches, these burials were mature adults (see figure 50).

Figure 51 shows the age of each grave at the 7 cemeteries. The graph shows that the age of the burials spans over all of the age groups. With a high concentration of neonate at Great Chesterford.

Percentage of Saucer Brooches & Sex of Skeletal Remains - 7 Cemeteries

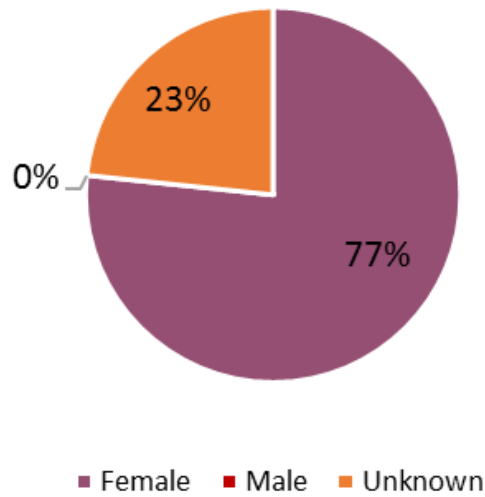


Figure 46: Percentage of Saucer brooches found according to sex- data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

Percentage of Small-Long Brooches & Sex of Skeletal Remains - 7 Cemeteries

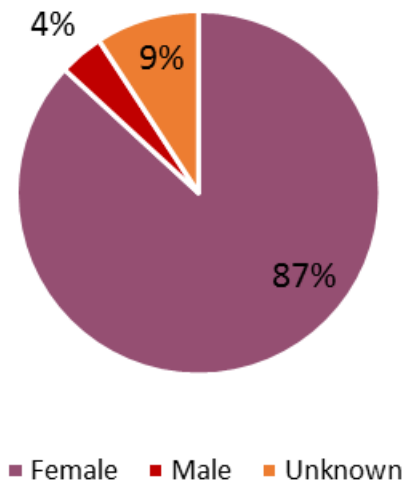


Figure 47: Percentage of Small-long found according to sex – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

Sex of Skeletal Remains - 7 Cemeteries

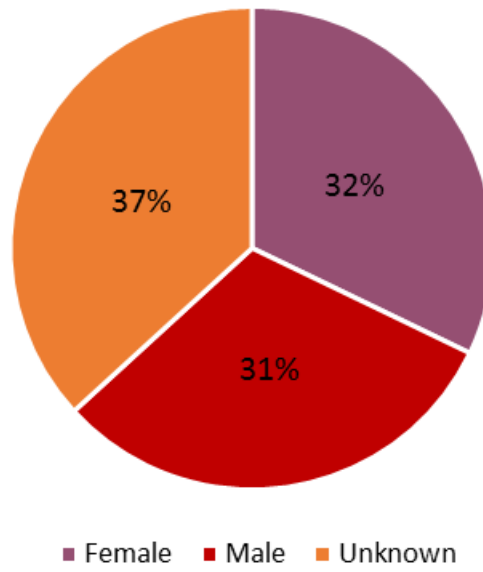


Figure 48: Sex of skeletal remains from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

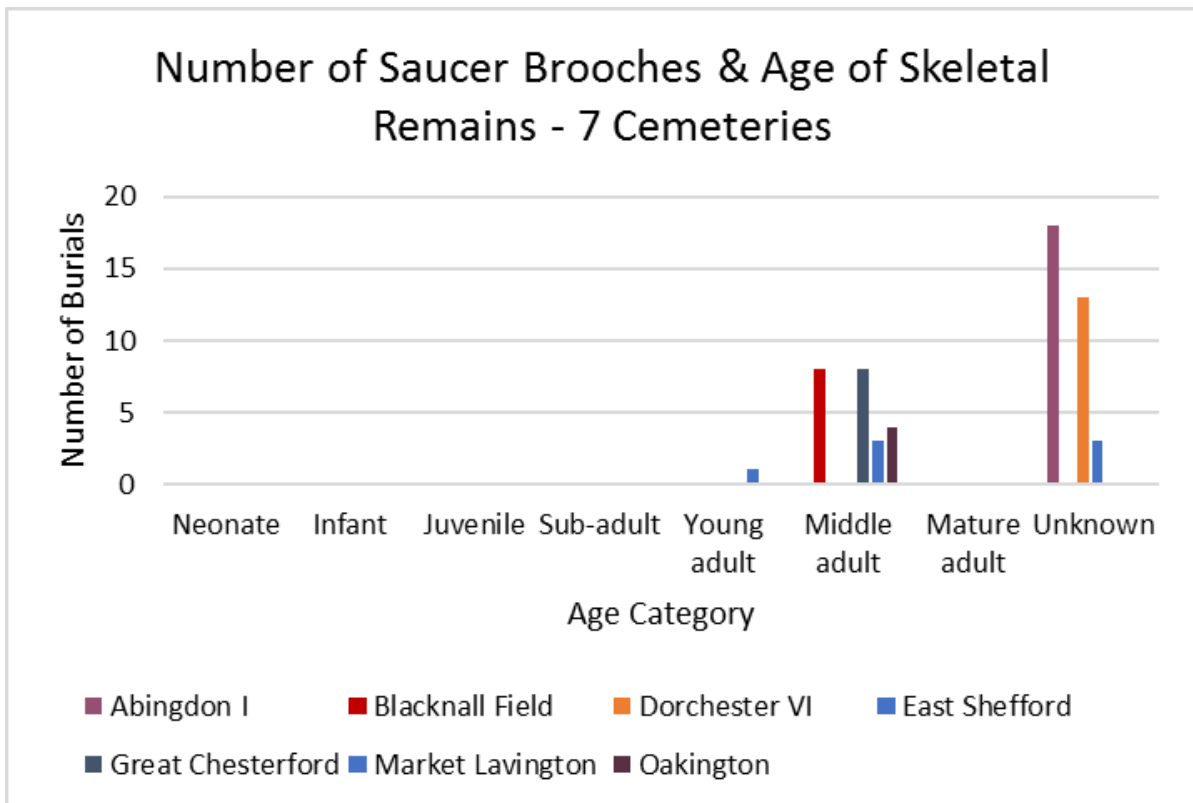


Figure 49: Age of the skeletal remains found in each Saucer burial - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

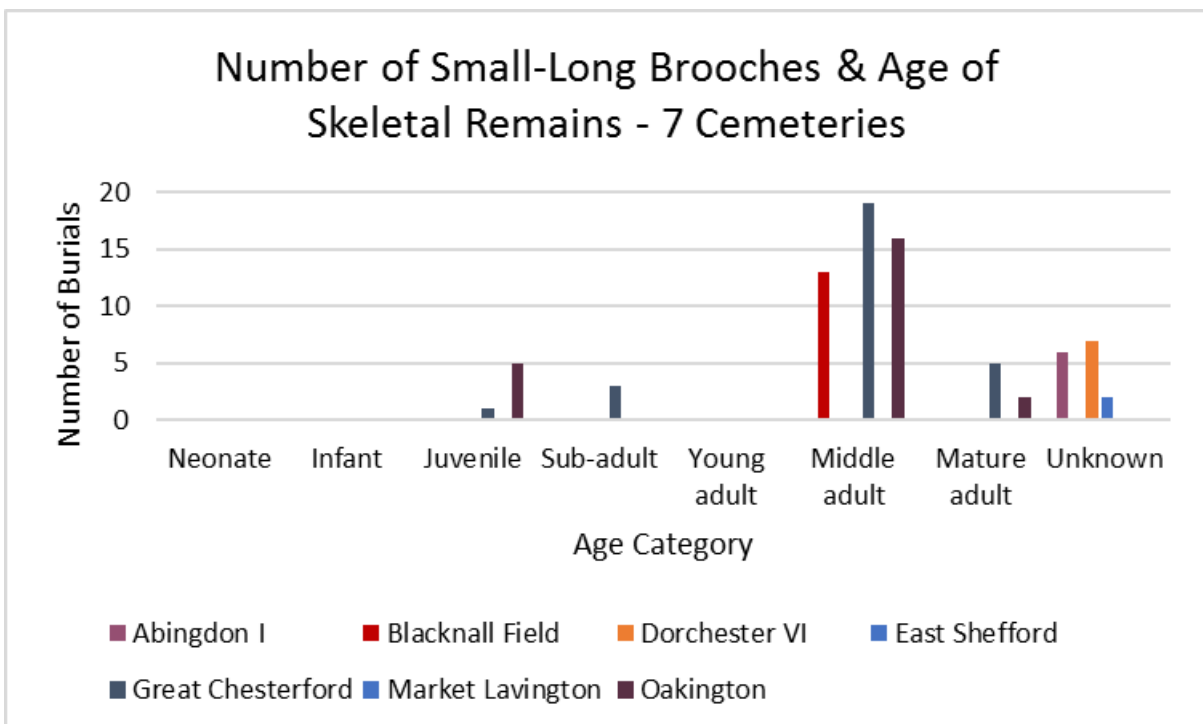


Figure 50: Age of the skeletal remains found in each Small-long brooch burial - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

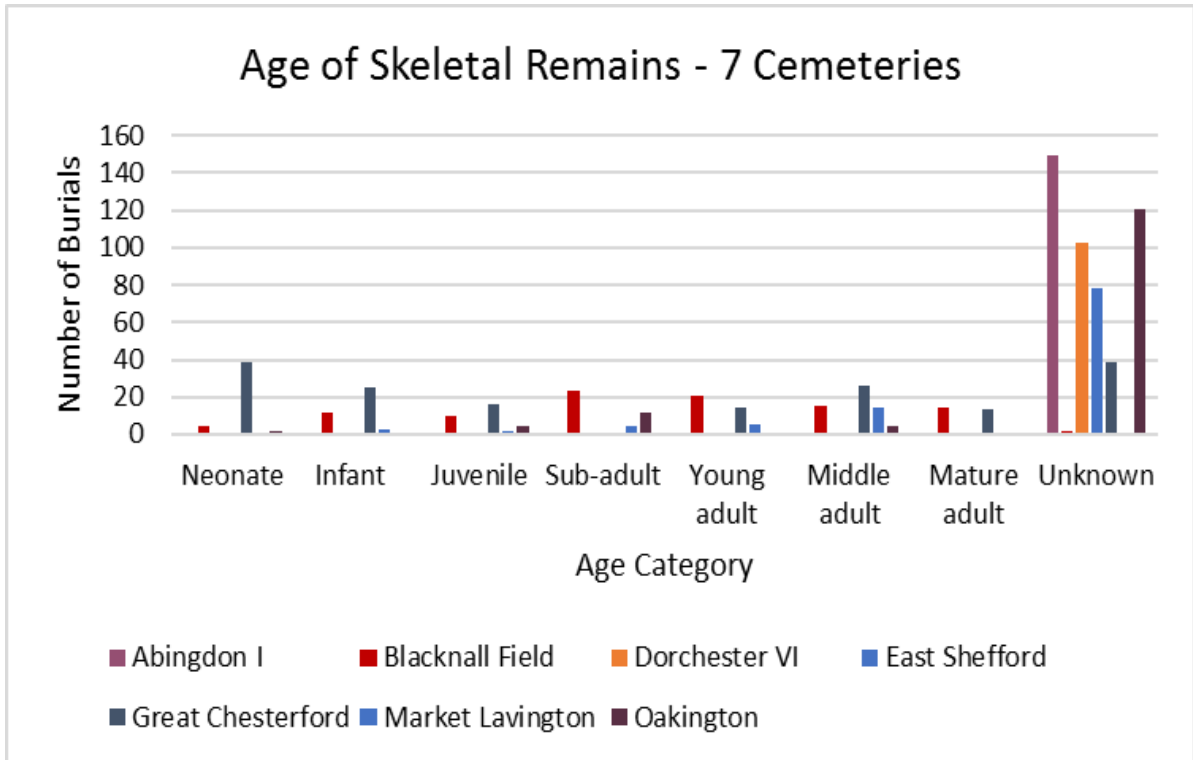


Figure 51: Age of skeletal remains from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

4.3. What? – Finds

This section focuses on what other finds (grave-goods) the brooches were buried with.

4.3.1. Number of Finds

The number of grave-goods found with each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch will be focused on in this half of the Section. All of the graves containing Saucer brooches apart from grave 31 from Abingdon I had other finds. All the graves containing Small-long brooches also had other finds in situ.

Most of the Saucer brooches (forty-two) were found with 1-5 other finds, eleven of the Saucer brooches were found with 6-10 other finds and four were found with 11+ other finds (see figure 52).

Similar to the Saucer brooches, most of the Small-long brooches (forty-nine) were found with 1-5 other finds. Twenty-three Small-long brooches were found with 1-6 other finds. No Small-long brooches were found with 11+ other finds (see figure 53).

4.3.2. Type of Finds

The types of finds found with each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch will be focused on in this half of the section. A large portion of the Saucer brooches (eleven) and Small-long brooches (eleven) were found in situ with other brooch types.

One Saucer brooch was found with an Anseate brooch, another one was found with a Disc brooch and nine were found with Great Square-headed brooches (see figure 54).

A number of different brooch types were found in situ with Small-long brooches. One with an Annular brooch, one was found with a Radiate brooch and another one was found with a Great Square-headed brooch. Two were found with Disc brooches and six were found with Cruciform brooches (see figure 54).

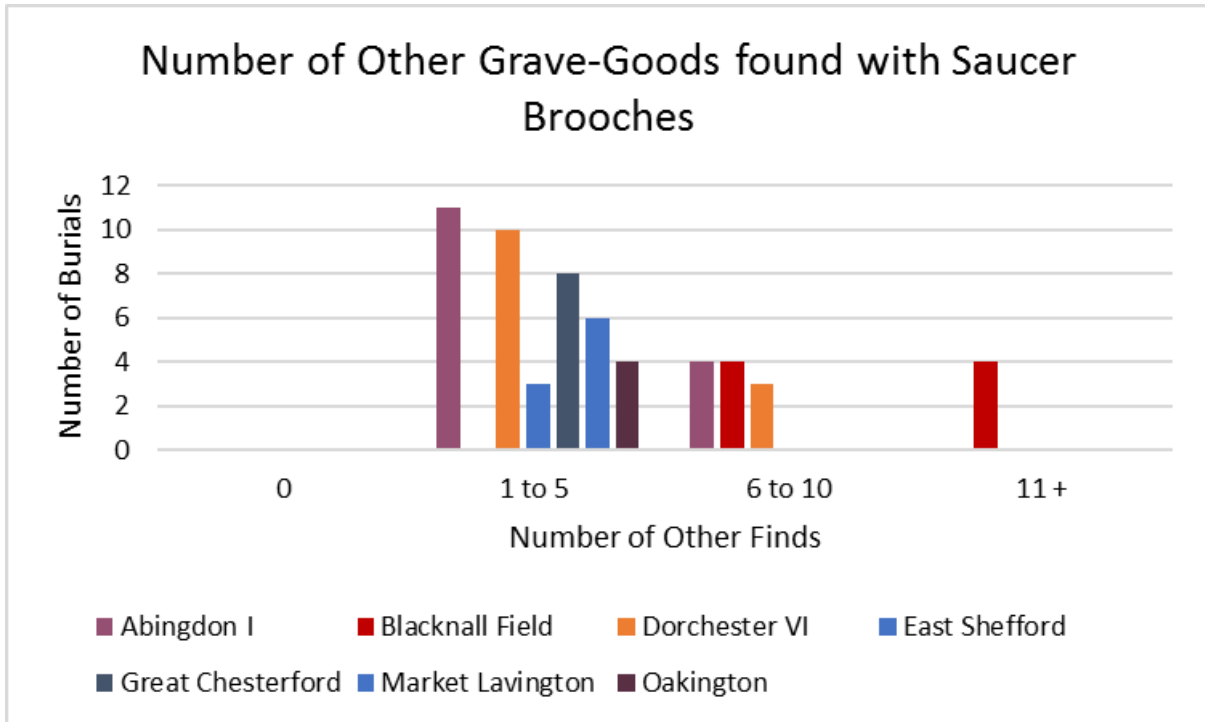


Figure 53: Number of other grave-goods/finds found in the Saucer brooch burials – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

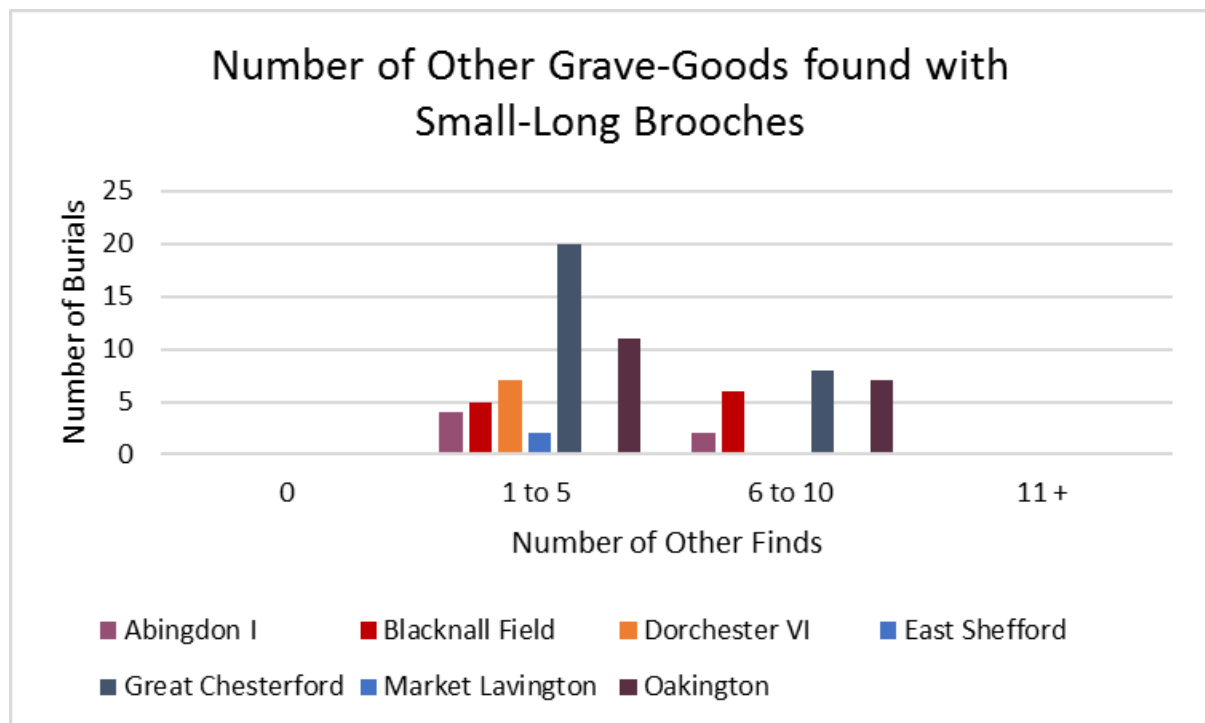


Figure 52: Number of other grave-goods/finds found in the Small-long brooch burials – data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

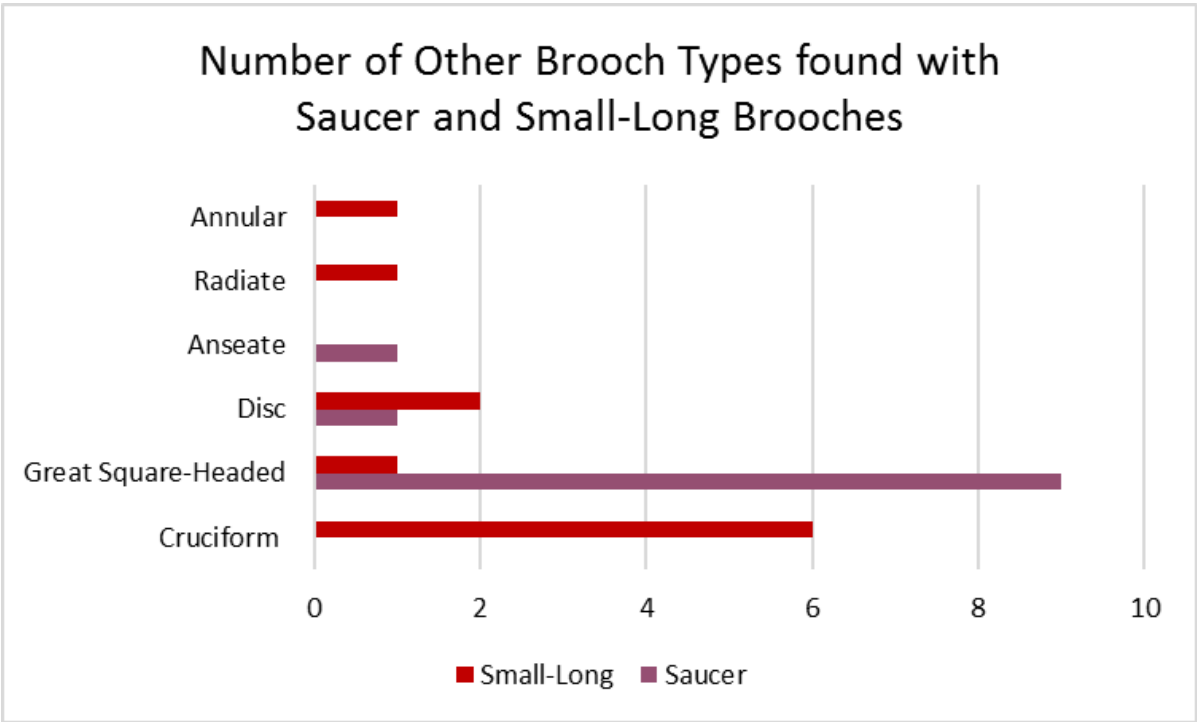


Figure 54: Number of other brooch types found in each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch burials - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)

4.4. Where? – Location

This section focuses on where the brooches were positioned on the body and where they are located (cemetery and UK).

4.4.1. Body Location

This half of the section will discuss the location of each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch on the skeletal remains.

Most of the Saucer brooches were found on the upper half of the body, with a large portion (twenty) positioned on the shoulders/scapulae. One found on the head, four on the neck, two on the back/vertebrae, seven on the breasts/upper-chest and five on the ribs/lower-chest. But, two Saucer brooches were also found outside of the body (see figure 55).

The Small-long brooches are spread out slightly more than the Saucer brooches, although most of these brooches (twenty-seven) are also found on the shoulders/scapulae. Four found on the head, three on the neck, six on the breasts/upper-chest, one on the ribs/lower-chest, two on the waist, one on the arms/hands, one on the legs/feet and one outside the body (see figure 55).

Figure 56 shows the exact location of the Saucer brooches (red) and Small-long brooches (blue) on the skeletal remains using an image from Oakington cemetery. The data used to plot the brooch location is only from the cemeteries that had images of the burials containing brooches - Blacknall, Market Lavington, Great Chesterford and (only Saucer) Oakington. Although only a portion of the data has been used, the same pattern can be seen in the graph which uses the data from all 7 cemeteries.

4.4.2. Cemetery Location

The second half of the section will discuss the location of each Saucer brooch and Small-long brooch in each cemetery. However, not all of the cemeteries had site plans and therefore could not be used for analysis.

Site plans from Blacknall Field, Great Chesterford, Market Lavington and Oakington have been used. Market Lavington containing only Saucer brooches. The Saucer brooches from Blacknall Field were found in graves 21, 50, 56 and 104. These graves are located to the site north and south of the cemetery, spread equally between other graves. The Small-long brooches from Blacknall Field found in graves 15, 19, 27, 74, 85, 93 and 95 are not spread equally amongst the other graves. Graves 74, 85, 93 and 95 are clustered in the site south. Grave 15 resides in the top site north, grave 19 in the centre of the cemetery, and grave 27 to the far site west. Graves 2B, 126, 120 and 97 at Great Chesterford contain Saucer brooches, these graves are spread equally across the cemetery from the far site west to the far site south-east. A large number of Small-long brooches were found at Great

Chesterford, in graves 66, 153, 92, 108, 160, 116, 1, 81, 55, 37, 21, 148, 114, 45, 73 and 135. Most of the Small-long brooches are found in the site eastern extent of the cemetery, with a handful of other graves spread across the rest of the cemetery. The Saucer brooches from Market Lavington come from graves 7, 8, 24 and 26. Graves 7, 8 and 24 are located in the top site north of the cemetery equally spread apart. Grave 26 is located in the very centre of the cemetery. The Saucer brooches from Oakington were found in graves 41 and 61, these graves are located at opposite sides of the cemetery. Grave 41 is located in the site eastern extent of the cemetery, and grave 61 is located in the site western extent of the cemetery. The Small-long brooches were found in graves 4, 10, 18, 19, 25, 36, 57, 59, 66, 78, 82, 87, 89 and 91. Most of the Small-long brooches are located in the site north-west, however, grave 36 is located in the bottom site south-east, in the same group as the Saucer brooch grave 41.

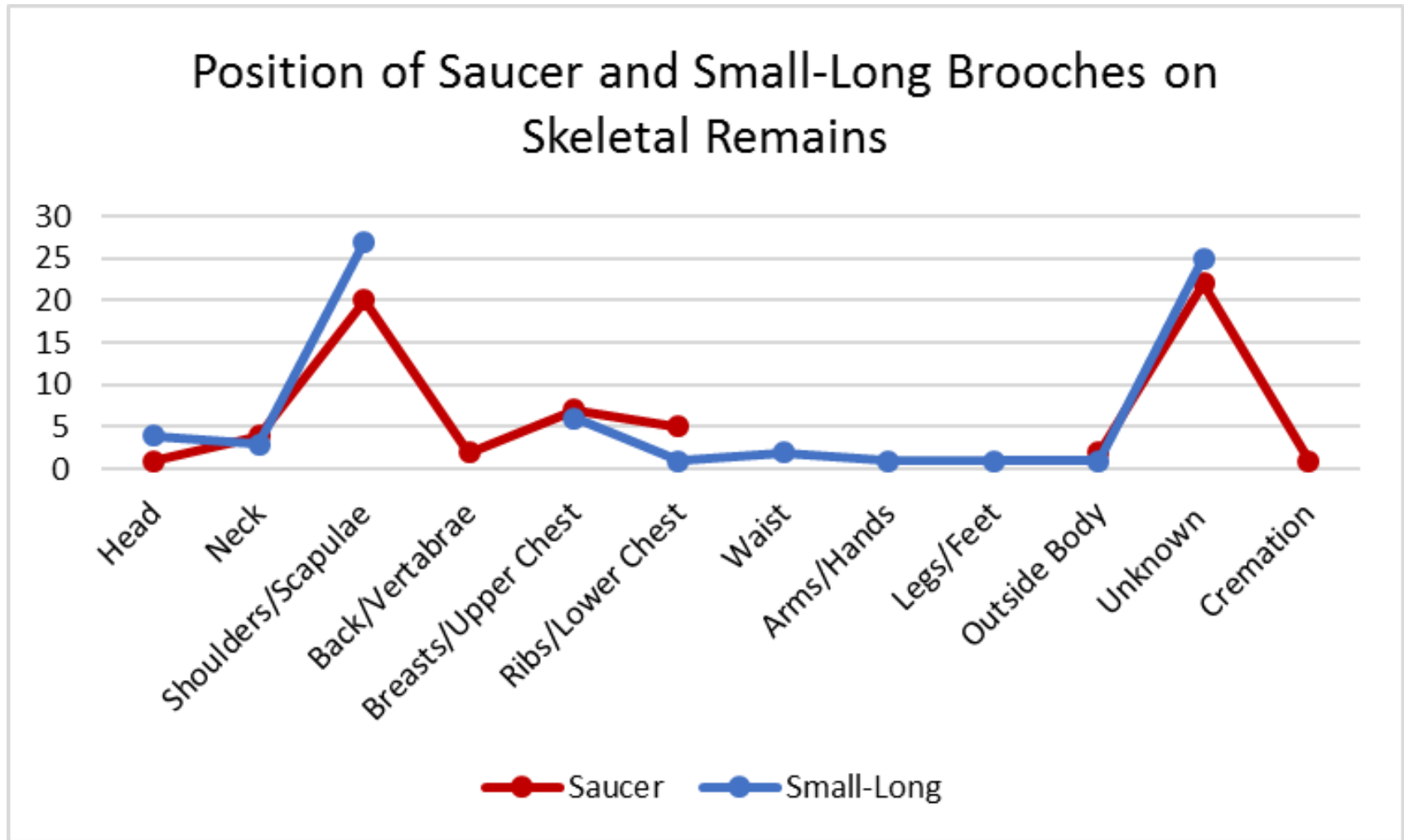


Figure 55: Position of Saucer and Small-long brooches on skeletal remains - data from all 7 cemeteries (authors own)



Figure 56: Position of Saucer and Small-long brooches on skeletal remains - data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and (only Saucer) Oakington (image: <http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue>) (authors own)



Figure 57: Position of Saucer brooches on the skeletal remains - heatmap using data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and Oakington (image: <http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue>) (authors own)



Figure 58: Position of Small-long brooches on the skeletal remains - heatmap using data from Blacknall, Market Lav, Great Ches and Oakington (image: <http://boneswithoutbarriers.org/oakington/catalogue>) (authors own)

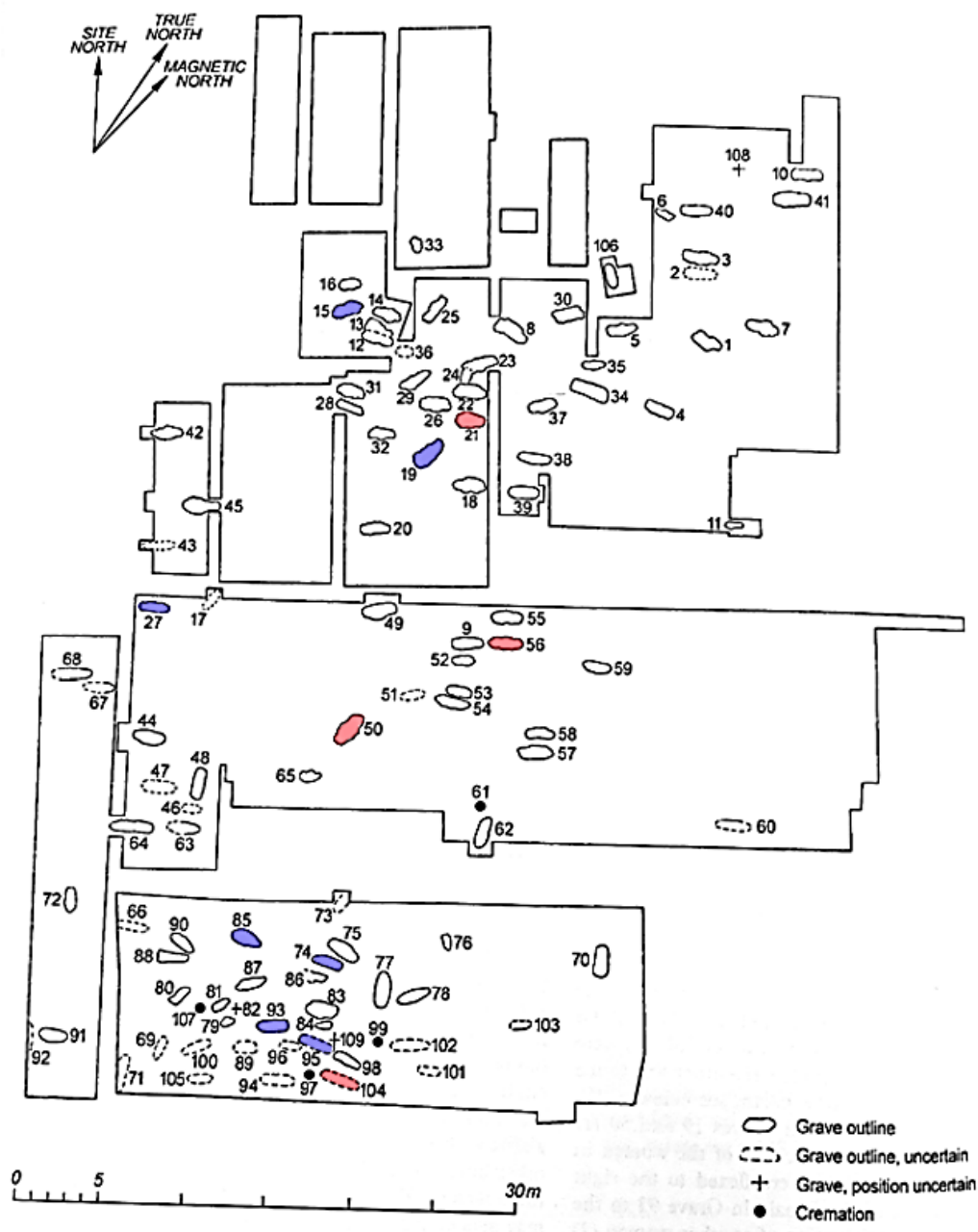


FIGURE 7 Cemetery plan

Figure 59: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Blacknall Field (Annable and Eagles 2010, 62 - edited by author)

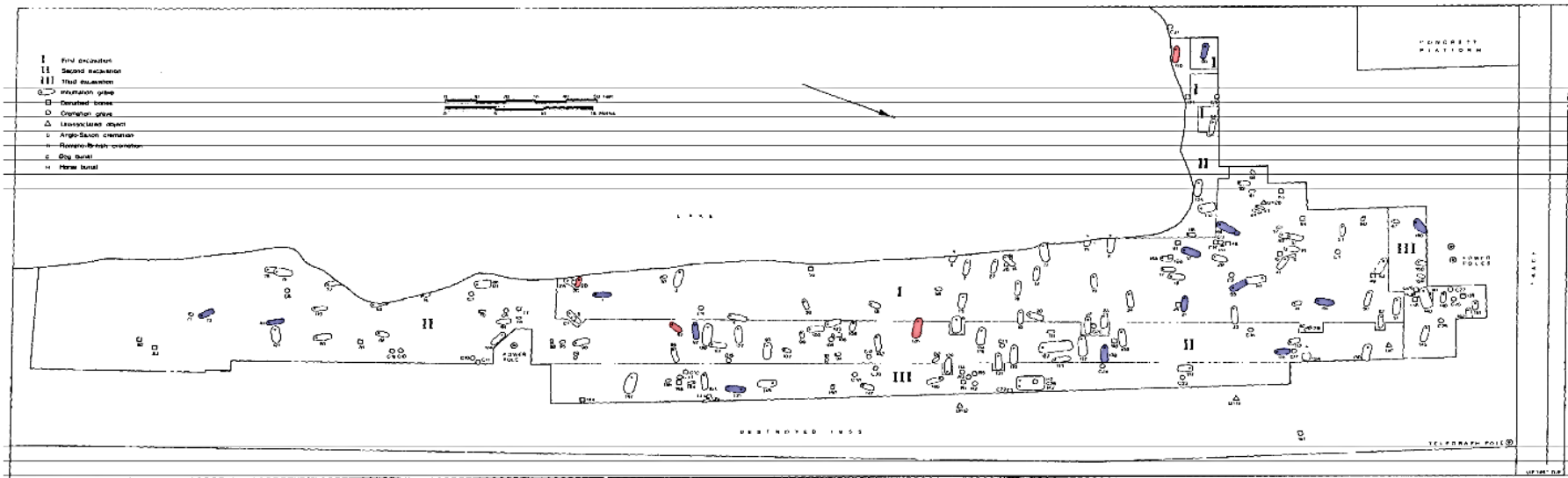


Figure 2 Plan of the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Great Chesterford

Figure 60: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Great Chesterford (Evison 1994 - edited by author)

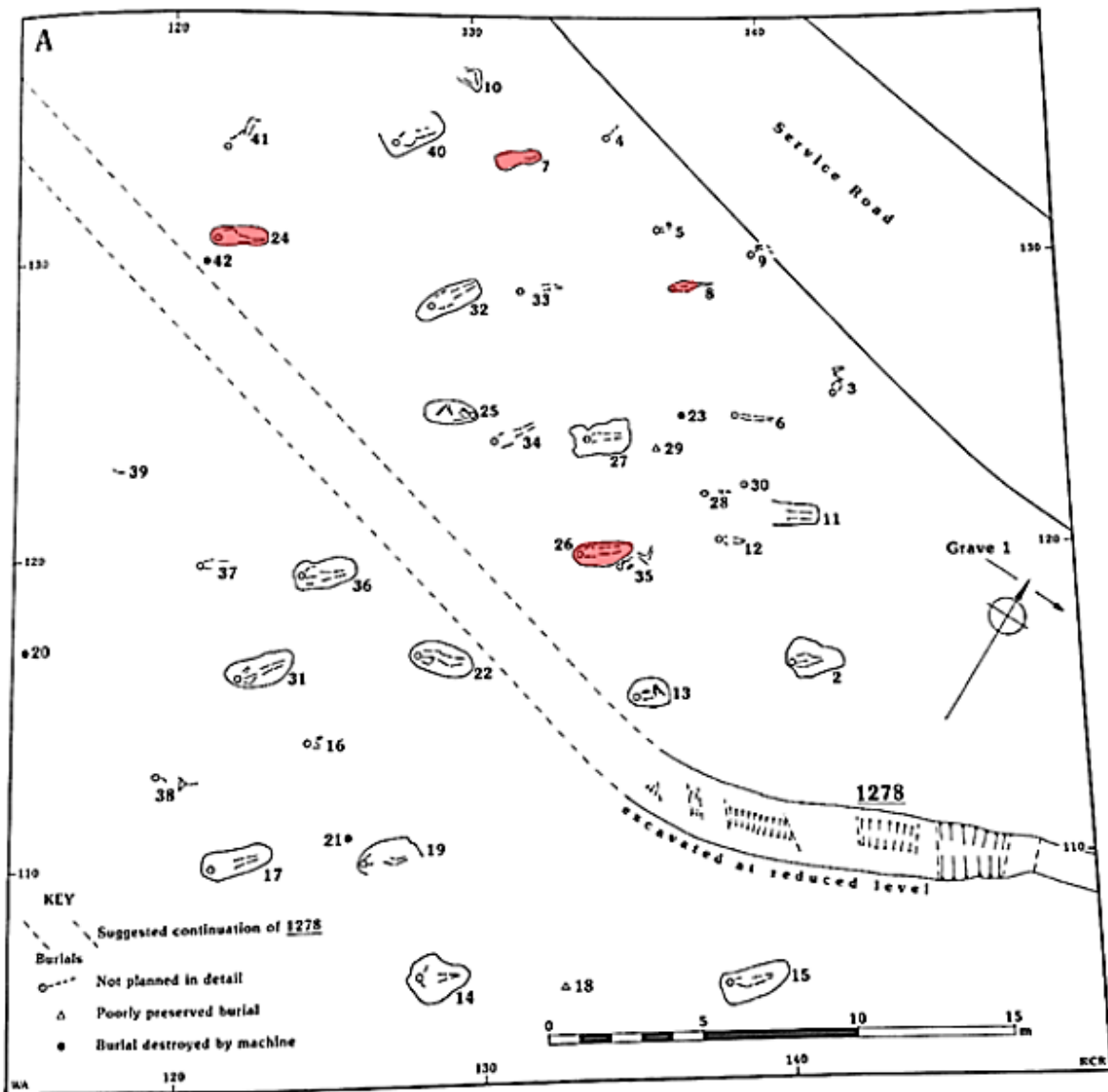


Figure 20 The cemetery, showing all graves except grave 1 (see Fig. 4)

Figure 61: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Market Lavington (Williams and Newman 2006, 29 - edited by author)

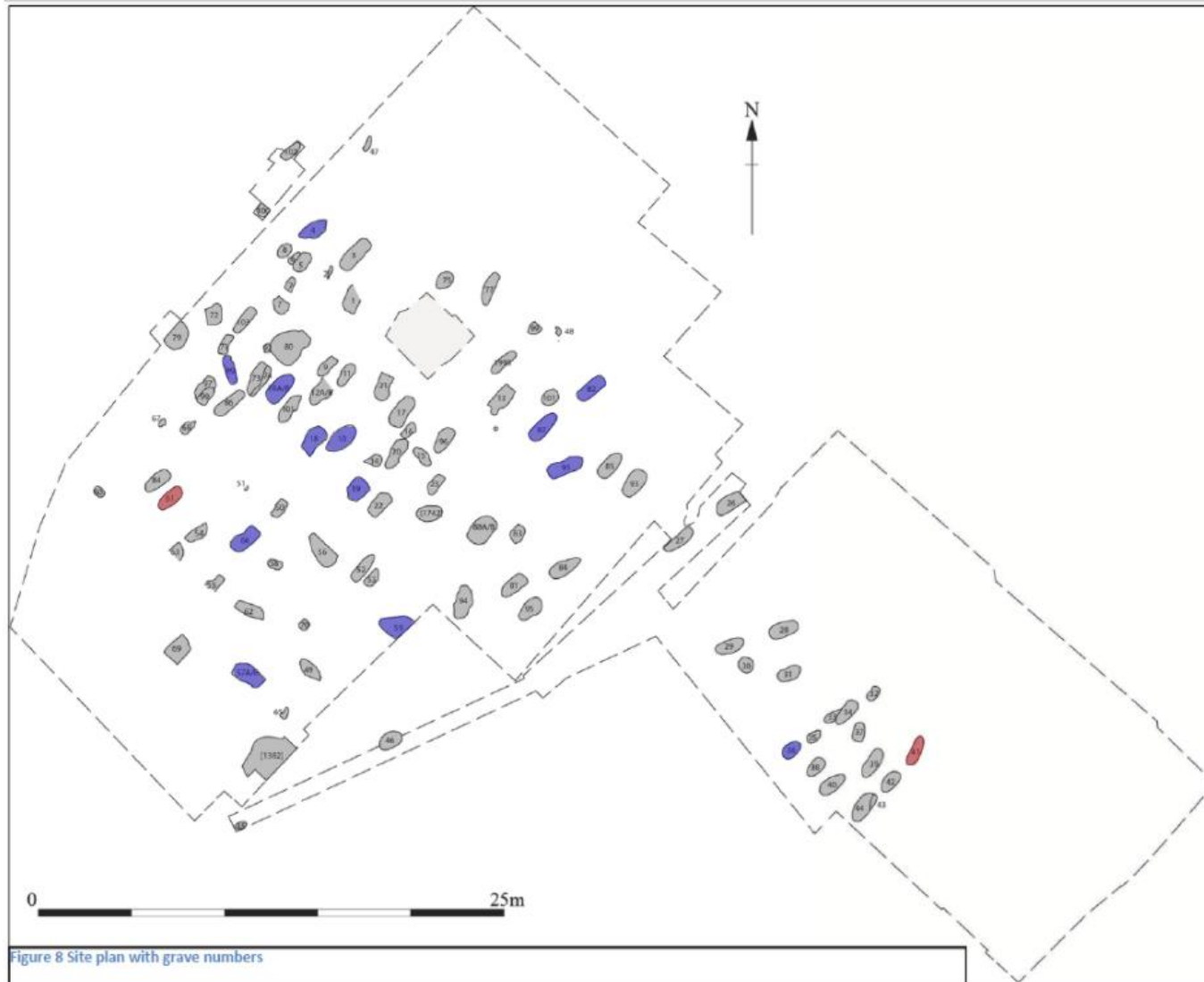


Figure 62: Location of Saucer and Small-long brooches at Oakington (Sayer 2013 - edited by author)

5. Discussion

This section of the thesis uses the information obtained in the Literature Review to examine the data presented in the Analysis, revealing any interpretations regarding the definition of Anglo-Saxon 'art'. The aim of this Discussion is to understand if Aesthetics (decoration) defined 'art' during the Anglo-Saxon period, to ultimately determine if Anglo-Saxon 'art objects' existed and what those objects were/are.

5.1. Defining 'Art'

As previously mentioned in the Literature Review, not all cultures have a category of 'art', and therefore the word 'art' must first be defined for each culture, whether past or present. With the Anglo-Saxon period taking place between 410 AD and 1066 AD it is important to define what 'art' was during this time. Defining 'art' for past cultures can be perhaps more difficult due to the lack of ethnographic parallels and lack of surviving evidence. Most definitions of 'art' from the eighteenth-century to the mid twentieth-century have surrounded Aesthetics (beautiful objects), with more recent interpretations from the mid twentieth-century onwards, focusing on Agency and other social interpretations. The change from Aesthetics to Agency, is just one example of how the definition of 'art' can change over time and cultural location. Although social interpretations of 'art' have been introduced into art history and some archaeological research, most work on Anglo-Saxon 'art' still heavily depends on theories surrounding Aesthetics, Evolution and Post-Colonialism. These theories base the definition of 'art' on elaborate decoration, and therefore rule out any objects that do not resemble such 'beauty'. With the introduction of Agency and other such social theories into Prehistoric archaeology, it is clear that not all archaeological 'art' objects have to resemble this 'beauty'. With theoretical studies on Anglo-Saxon art lacking, it is only fair to test out a theoretical framework to define art.

The theoretical framework that will be used for this thesis has been briefly discussed in the Methodology. This framework looks at all the previous definitions of 'art' in theories such as the Intuitionist theory and Family Resemblance theory, to create a fluid and open-ended concept that can be applied to objects. This concept defines 'art' objects as ultimately being separate/different from 'non-art' objects. This difference derives from the idea of 'essence' 'identity' and 'agency'. The principles of Object Biography theory can then be used to build each object's 'life-history' to understand if objects that are described as "aesthetically pleasing"/ 'decorated' are treated differently to objects that are described as 'mundane'. If a certain object has been treated significantly different

to others, then it can be inferred that such an object had its own essence/identity/agency and is therefore an 'art' object.

5.2. Interpreting the Analysis

Through the analysis of the brooches, the skeletal remains, the finds and the location; a number of patterns were revealed in the results and maps. Each sub-section of the Analysis will be discussed separately in order, before comparing the data as a whole. All of the cemeteries analysed had both cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches, apart from Market Lavington which had no Small-long brooches.

The sub-section 4.1. The Brooches, looks at each brooch found at the 7 cemeteries – using Appendix B and C. The brooch data was limited for certain sites, more specifically the data for the Small-long brooches. Most sites reports recorded the condition and design of the cast Saucer brooches, whereas only the design of the Small-long brooches was recorded – no site report recorded the condition of the Small-long brooches. The difference in recording is most likely because Small-long brooches are often considered as 'mundane' objects, and therefore are of less value when compared to 'elaborately decorated' brooches i.e. cast Saucer brooches – resulting in cast Saucer brooches being recorded in more detail. From the data that was available for the cast Saucer brooches, it was possible to record any details about their 'life-history'. A small selection of cast Saucer brooches were found to have been repaired, burnt, filed, had textile and/or gilding. A large amount of the selection were gilded and/or retained textile – which isn't surprising for a cast Saucer brooch as discussed in the Literature Review. However, two cast Saucer brooches were filed, another two were burnt and one was repaired. The filed brooches were most likely filed during the creation of the brooch, but this is impossible to prove due to lack of information. The repaired brooch could indicate that this cast Saucer brooch held a certain significance to a specific person/family, it seems Agency played a role in the relationship between this brooch and its owner. If the brooch held no significance then the owner would probably have discarded the brooch, instead it was repaired at a cost. The repaired brooch was found in Grave 50 in the site south at Blacknall Field (SF1) with its matching pair (SF2) decorated with 'six running spirals'. Grave 50 contained a 25-30 year old female and with the brooch positioned on the upper chest area, which seems to be a common location amongst the cast Saucer brooches (from the 7 cemeteries). The burnt brooches are perhaps the most intriguing. The first of the two burnt brooches was found in Grave 21 at Blacknall Field, this brooch (SF3) was found as a matching pair (SF2), but the matching brooch (SF2) was not burnt. The brooch (SF3) was burnt before burial, most likely from being dropped in a fire, not as a result of cremation etc. Why was this brooch burnt before burial? Well, some may suggest that it could have burnt by accident, e.g. house fire etc... But, then why is only one

of the brooches burnt, when these brooches would have most likely been worn as a pair. The design on SF3 and SF2 are both the same decorated with Style I, but it is clear that they were both individually created. It could be said that although the designs are similar, that the individual casting of the brooches created two individual Agents – thus creating the two different ‘life-histories’. Could the burning of the brooch change the cast Saucer brooch from a ‘non-art’ object to an ‘art’ object? The second of the two burnt cast Saucer brooches was also found at Blacknall Field, but in Grave 56. The exact same scenario plays out, this brooch (SF2) was also found as a matching pair (SF1), with its matching pair not being burnt. The conservation report indicated that this cast Saucer brooch (SF2) was also burnt before burial, and that the two brooches SF2 and SF1 were similar decorated with the ‘seven running leg design’, but individually created. Both of the burnt brooch burials were found in the centre of the site at Blacknall Field, and in the centre of two separate small grave clusters. Grave 21 contained 40+ year old female with the brooch positioned on the upper chest area, and Grave 56 contained 30 year old female with the brooch positioned on the neck. No other patterns stand out, however Grave 21 did contain a bronze and mercury Great Square-headed brooch. Although these brooches tend to stand out in terms of ‘life-history’ and uniqueness, it is possible that there may have been more burnt or repaired cast Saucer brooches at the 7 cemeteries but due to the lack of detailed information these brooches weren’t recorded as ‘burnt’ or ‘repaired’ (42 cast Saucer brooches N/A). It is also possible that there were Small-long brooches that had been burnt or repaired, but weren’t recorded because of a bias in brooch recording. However, these burnt and repaired brooches can still be used to prove that brooches were objects with Agency in some circumstances, perhaps even ‘art’ objects. Only with the data from the other sub-sections can cast Saucer brooches or Small-long brooches as a whole be proved as ‘art’ objects.

The 4.2. Who? – Skeletal Remains sub-section focuses on who the brooches were buried with; their sex and age. The sex and age theories surrounding Anglo-Saxon studies were previously discussed in the Literature Review section, these theories use sex and age to further understand Anglo-Saxon society and identity. This type of object analysis ties in closely with the Object Biography ‘life-history’ theory, understanding if specific objects were for specific people. Most theories surrounding sex in Anglo-Saxon research discourage using grave-goods to identify sex, but use the idea of ‘gendered’ grave-goods. By sexing the skeletal remains archaeologists can compare the sex to the ‘gender’ of the grave-goods in situ. Archaeologists such as Hirst (1985) and Evison (1987) have assumed gender using grave goods. In Anglo-Saxon research brooches are classified as part of a female grave-good assemblage, this is due to brooches/jewellery being found mostly in female graves – and also being associated with the female gender in past/modern society. It is said to be rare to find brooches in male graves. Using the data from all 7 cemeteries, the percentage of male and female graves found with

each brooch type was recorded. All of the Saucer brooches were either found with females (77%) or were unknown (23%). But, the Small-long brooches told a different story with a small amount found in male graves (4%), the rest with females (87%) or unknown (9%). It is possible that some of cast Saucer brooches with unknown skeletal remains could have been found in male graves, but although a large number of brooches were found in unsexed graves, the data available does show a pattern. The fact that Small-long brooches were found in male graves could indicate that these Small-long brooches were not just considered as a female object, but that Small-long brooches were worn by both women and men. If this is true, then it could be said that cast Saucer brooches were not just worn as an item of jewellery like the Small-long brooches, but also symbolised womanhood. Similar to the sex theories, the theories surrounding age in Anglo-Saxon studies also mention grave-good assemblages. Most Anglo-Saxon archaeologists use the stages mentioned in the Literature Review section for men (one stage) and women (three stages: 0-10, 10-40/50 and 50+ years old). The 4.2.2. Age sub-section separates age into seven age categories; neonate, infant, juvenile, sub-adult, young adult, middle adult and mature adult. Age has been separated into seven age categories because the lifecycle is different in each society, and more specific age categories allow a deeper understanding of the relationship between age and brooch typology. The cast Saucer brooches were almost all found with middle adults (26-44 years old), with only one cast Saucer brooch found with a young adult (19-25 years old) from Market Lavington. The cast Saucer brooch found with a young adult female came from Grave 8 and was found without its matching pair, on the left shoulder. This brooch was found with no other brooches, located in the top site north of the cemetery. The Small-long brooches were found with a number of different age categories juvenile, sub-adult, middle adult and mature adult. But, similar to the cast Saucer brooches the largest portion of the Small-long brooches were found with middle adults (26-44 years old). Both Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were mostly buried with middle aged adults (26-44 years old). But it seems that the Small-long brooches were not limited to one age group in Anglo-Saxon burial rite being spread out across four age groups (from 5 to 45+ years old), whereas cast Saucer brooches may have held a place in a particular stage of the life-cycle (26-44 years old). This is most likely the case as the one young adult burial found with a cast Saucer brooch may have been at an age marking the end of the young adult stage (25-26 years old) on the verge of being a middle adult (26-44 years old). If this is true, then all of the cast Saucer brooches were found with middle aged adults or were unknown. Using the ideas of Stoodley (2000) that the female Anglo-Saxon life-cycle surrounds puberty, the ability to bare children and menopause, it could be said that cast Saucer brooches are being buried with females that are at an age where they most likely will have already had children. Could Saucer brooches symbolise womanhood/parenthood? The idea that Saucer brooches symbolise womanhood is expressed in both

the sex and age analysis, following a strict correlation of being buried with females aged 26-44 years old. It could be said that due to the relationship between cast Saucer brooches and females aged 26-44 years old, that Saucer brooches are in fact 'art'. Art theories such as Adorno's (2004) Aesthetic theory and Gell's (1998) Agency theory propose that art reflects society and is a result of social or emotional responses. If this definition of 'art' was used then all of the cast Saucer brooches from the seven cemeteries would be 'art', as they reflect the female position in society through the social and emotional responses of reaching the womanhood/parenthood threshold.

The next section 4.3. What? – Finds focuses on the other grave-goods found in situ with the brooches; the number of finds and type of finds. As previously mentioned, there are a number of theories surrounding Anglo-Saxon grave-goods; i.e. grave-goods in association with status and gender. The number of grave-goods could indicate the social status of the individual buried in situ, this type of analysis is heavily used throughout Anglo-Saxon research. Social status shouldn't be implied through the number of grave-goods in situ, but if patterns can be seen in correlation between brooch type and number of other finds then some other theories can be put forward. Almost all of the Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were found with 1-5 or 6-10 other finds. Four of the Saucer brooches from Blacknall Field were found with 11+ other finds. But, no Saucer brooches or Small-long brooches were found with 0 other finds. Only grave 31 from Abingdon I had no finds recorded – but it is unknown whether there were finds in situ or not. The finds found throughout all the cemeteries containing both cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were found with 'female' grave-good assemblages – but there were a large amount of knives which are both 'male' and 'female' (no swords etc.). The fact that both the Saucer brooches and the Small-long brooches were found with at least one grave-good or more, could indicate that these brooches were buried with 'high status' or 'wealthy' individuals – if using previous Anglo-Saxon social classification theories. To test the theory that Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were buried with 'high status' or 'wealthy' individuals it is possible to look at whether they were buried with other brooch typologies. The 4.1.2. Type of Finds section focuses on the other brooch typologies buried with the Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches. Both Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were found to be buried with other brooch typologies – eleven out of sixty Saucer brooches and eleven out of seventy-six Small-long brooches. Most of the other brooches found with the Saucer brooches were Great Square-headed brooches. Great Square-headed brooches often described as one of the most 'high status' brooch typologies throughout Anglo-Saxon research. The Small-long brooches were buried with an array of different brooch typologies, but a large proportion were found with Cruciform brooches. Unlike the Great Square-headed brooch, Cruciform brooches are commonly referred to as 'mass-produced' in Anglo-Saxon archaeology and therefore not 'high-status'. But, the variation of brooches found with the Small-long brooches did

include one Great Square-headed brooch. The one significant point regarding both the Saucer and Small-long brooches is that both typologies were buried mostly with brooch typologies that are often considered as 'art' or 'elaborately decorated' (Great Square-headed/Cruciform). So, both typologies are found with an array of other grave-goods and brooches. But, it seems that although both typologies are buried with similar grave-goods that there are slight differences which could indicate that cast Saucer brooches were regarded as a 'different' type of brooch to Small-long brooches.

The 4.4. Where? – Location section concentrates on the where the brooches were positioned on the body and where they are located in the cemetery/UK. To analyse where the Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were positioned on the body, each brooch location was plotted on one burial photograph from Oakington using the mapping computer programme QGIS (see figure 56). From this points two heat-maps were created, one for the Saucer brooches (see figure 57) and one for the Small-long brooches (see figure 58) to reveal the average location of each brooch typology. Only the burial data from Blacknall Field, Market Lavington, Great Chesterford and Oakington was used for the QGIS maps, this is due to the lack of burial images from the other cemeteries. However, a graph (see figure 53) was created using all of the written data from all 7 cemeteries regarding the position of the Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches on the skeletal remains. Using both the graph and QGIS maps it is possible to reveal any patterns in correlation with the brooches and the body. The graph showed a huge difference in where the brooch was placed according to brooch typology. A large proportion of the Saucer brooches (twenty) were placed on the neck, with the rest being placed around the top of the body (with one outside the body). The Small-long brooches tell a different story, with a large proportion placed on the shoulders/scapulae (twenty-seven), but the rest spread across the body from the head to the legs/feet. The plotted points map (see figure 56) shows the same result as the graph, it wasn't until the heat-maps were created that patterns became clearer. The Saucer brooches were heavily concentrated on the mid-neck area near the face, with the Small-long brooches in two areas; one concentration on each shoulder. It isn't surprising that the Small-long brooches were found on the shoulders, as that's where they will have been worn. However, the location of the Saucer brooches is interesting as cast Saucer brooches were also worn on the shoulders. Similar to Sayer et al. (2018), which looks at personhood in relation to swords, found that swords were being placed on the head of individuals rather than where the sword was worn/carried by the arm/hand. This came in to association with personhood and identity being buried close to the face. The same situation is occurring with the Saucer brooches, perhaps these brooches were associated with identity. The second half of the 4.2. Where? – Location section analyses where the burials with brooches were found in each cemetery, to understand their relationship to the landscape. Only the cemeteries that had site plans could be used for this analysis – Blacknall Field, Great Chesterford, Market Lavington

and Oakington (see figures 59, 60, 61 and 62). The graves containing either Saucer brooches (red) or Small-long brooches (blue) were highlighted to reveal any spatial patterns. After analysing the site plans a few spatial patterns can be seen across the four cemeteries. One of the most significant patterns can be seen across Blacknall Field, Great Chesterford and Market Lavington, at each of these cemeteries a cast Saucer brooch sits in the very centre of the site. Oakington doesn't show the same pattern, instead of a single central cast Saucer brooch, the two cast Saucer brooch burials contain the cemetery with one placed on the eastern extent and one on the western extent. Although Oakington doesn't show the same central pattern, the positioning of the cast Saucer brooches is significant in a similar way; either being at the very centre of the site or 'containing' the site these brooches seem to play a role in the structure of the cemetery. The rest of the cast Saucer brooches that aren't mentioned above are mostly found in a cluster with other burials containing either cast Saucer brooches or Small-long brooches. The graves containing Small-long brooches also show a few patterns across the four cemeteries. Three of the cemeteries contained Small-long brooches, with Market Lavington containing no Small-long brooches. All of the three cemeteries that do contain Small-long brooches show the Small-long brooches in small or large clusters, with only the odd Small-long brooch found on its own. The largest cluster of Small-long brooches can be seen at Great Chesterford, where the burials with Small-long brooches are distributed equally across a large burial cluster located in the eastern extent of the site (north). The clustering of Small-long brooches could indicate that the use of Small-long brooches in burial rite surround a particular time period, or that Small-long brooches hold a value to a certain group of people.

5.3. Summary

The above section focused on the data analysed in the Analysis and how that data could be interpreted. The main patterns revealed that Saucer brooches are treated differently to Small-long brooches, but that there are some Saucer brooches which are treated differently to others from their own typology. There are four factors which change according to brooch typology when analysing the brooches; sex, age, body location and cemetery location. The one factor that doesn't really change between cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches is the amount and types of grave-goods. In the Society & Identity section of this thesis, the idea of 'sex roles' is discussed and how Anglo-Saxon grave-good assemblages suggest that men and women were viewed as two distinct social identities. Both the sex and the grave-good assemblages were analysed and discussed above, with the Saucer brooches found in female graves and the Small-long brooches in both male and female graves. However, across all the graves containing both brooch typologies, there were no inherently male grave-good assemblages. So why is a biological Anglo-Saxon male not being buried with a symbol of his masculinity? According Härke (1997), these males must have been either from the 6th century AD

onwards or they were unfree people. Some of the graves containing males do date to the 6th century AD, which is why they could only contain either a knife or no weaponry at all. With no particular patterning in regards to grave-good assemblages, it came as a surprise that the Saucer brooches were only found in female sexed graves. Although brooches are regarded as female items, it seems like the patterning could reveal something interesting. If brooches are part of the female grave-good assemblage, then why are Small-long brooches being buried with both males and females? This could indicate that where Small-long brooches were regarded as an item of jewellery that Saucer brooches were regarded as a symbol of womanhood. This idea of womanhood is also expressed in the age of the individuals buried with the Saucer brooches. Using Stoodley's life-cycle theory, the age range 26-44 years old sits right where women are linked to the womanhood/parenthood threshold. The Small-long brooches still don't resemble any particular type of individual, being found with both sexes and all age groups. The location of both brooch typologies changes for both the body and the cemetery. With Saucer brooches found near the head on the neck and the Small-long brooches being found where they would have been worn. The location of the Saucer brooches could be linked to identity. The link between Saucer brooches and identity can also be seen in the cemetery location, with the Saucer brooches being placed at the centre of the cemetery or clusters. The Small-long brooches were found in small clusters but did not show any central placing. Using previous definitions of art, Aesthetics, Essentialism and Agency it seems like cast Saucer brooches are the most 'obvious' to be classified as 'art' objects due to the huge difference between how the cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were treated.

6. Limitations

6.1. Data Collection

The limitations to this study must be acknowledged before making a conclusion. Most of the limitations that will be discussed derive from a lack of information. When collecting the data needed for the Analysis, over twenty site reports were originally read through. However, most of these site reports either didn't contain any brooches or they didn't have enough detail i.e. maps, data, descriptions etc... The seven cemeteries used were picked out as the most useful and seemed to have enough data to reveal any correlations or patterns. Still, some of these cemeteries were pre-twenty-first century and weren't recorded as detailed as others. A large amount of the cemeteries recorded were obtained through the data collection made by Tania Dickinson (1978). Although this data was recorded thoroughly by Dickinson (1978), there were no site maps and not all brooches had images. Another limitation which has been briefly mentioned previously, is that each site report recorded the Saucer brooches in detail but didn't record the Small-long brooches in detail. The difference in recording created slightly unfair results which always leaned in favour towards the Saucer brooches. This bias in recording could be down to the continuous thought that 'elaborate' archaeological objects are more important than 'mundane' ones and are therefore recorded in more detail for later analysis. This lack of information may have been amended if the brooches could have been viewed in person, however most of these brooches are either inaccessible or stored on the opposite side of the country. If this became a PhD, then there would be more time to make contact with those who have the brooches and with a possible chance of analysing them in person.

6.2. Theoretical Approach

Perhaps the biggest limitation to this study is that it is a new approach to Anglo-Saxon brooches. There is no gauge to whether or not a theoretical approach will work, and it may be frowned upon by other archaeologists who disagree with theoretical approaches to this type of archaeology. The lack of other research in Anglo-Saxon studies surrounding this type of analysis also made it more difficult when looking for references. Another limitation to the theoretical approach was that it is rare that during archaeological research that art history/theory is used, this made it a new field of research which required a lot of studying to understand before attempting to write it.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to incorporate both historical and 'new' social approaches to Anglo-Saxon art in an attempt to understand if Aesthetics (decoration) defined 'art' during the Anglo-Saxon period. To ultimately determine what an Anglo-Saxon 'art' object is. To do so, literature surrounding 'art' and the Anglo-Saxon period was collected and used to define what 'art' is/can be to then analyse both decorated cast Saucer brooches and 'mundane' Small-long brooches.

The definition of 'art' used to interpret the brooch data has been discussed in both the Methodology and Discussion sections. This definition is a fluid and open-ended concept, built upon the foundations of 'agency', 'essence' and 'identity'. This concept is open-ended as it attempts to take all theories into consideration, by suggesting that all of the 'art' theories discussed ultimately define 'art' objects as being something different to 'non-art' objects – and are therefore treated differently to 'non-art' objects. Although it seems that this definition heavily relies on the work of Alfred Gell (which it does), the definition of 'art' does not have to stick to the boundaries of 'agency'. It should also be stressed that this definition is not necessarily the absolute definition of art, but that art is constantly changing and therefore the definition of 'art' can be suggested. To label a specific brooch as an 'art' object the social and environmental aspects of its life-history were analysed to understand if it was treated differently to other brooches.

Most of the social and environmental factors changed when comparing the cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches. The sex and age of the skeletal remains found with the brooches showed different patterns for each brooch typology. The Saucer brooches seemed to resemble womanhood and parenthood after only being buried with females aged 26-44 years old. Although it is common for brooches to be buried with women and are associated with female grave-good assemblages, it should not be presumed that brooches were inherently female items. Therefore, it is still important that the cast Saucer brooches from the seven cemeteries were only buried with women. The strict age range 26-44 years old does revolve around the age cycle mentioned by Stoodley (2000), it can be suggested that this age range is connected to the stage after giving birth during adulthood. The Small-long brooches didn't show the same patterning. With the Small-long brooches being buried with both sexes and a large age range 5-45+ years old; it is difficult to understand if they resembled any sex or age group. The other grave-goods found in situ were perhaps the only factor that didn't change much between the cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches. Saucer brooches were found with slightly more finds than the Small-long brooches, however both typologies were found mostly with female grave-good assemblages and all graves contained at least one other grave-good. Some of the grave-

goods were associated with both male and female assemblages, such as knives. But no grave-goods were inherently 'male'. The location of the brooches also changed for both the body and cemetery, according to typology. The body location revealed a connection between the cast Saucer brooches and identity, with the Saucer brooches being located on the neck area. Whereas the Small-long brooches were positioned on the shoulders, where they would have been worn before death.

The definition of 'art' used in this thesis uses all of the theories mentioned, to define art objects as being 'different' to non-art objects. It could be said that with the huge difference between how cast Saucer brooches and Small-long brooches were treated, that Saucer brooches must be considered 'art' objects. However, if all brooch typologies are analysed together as they are above and are identified as 'brooches' then they are going to be seen as treated differently, perhaps due to their aesthetic 'decoration' or their rare materials. But, if each brooch type is recognised as its own object then it seems like most Saucer brooches are treated the same and most Small-long brooches are treated the same. It is at this point that 'art' can reveal itself. Most of the theories that move away from Aesthetics focus on the social or individual responses to 'art', claiming that art has an 'essence' (Davies 2015, 28) and therefore makes society treat 'art' differently to 'non-art'. If art has an 'essence' then it isn't created through the use of decoration or rare materials but is created as a result of human interaction (Dickie 1974). For example, by only focusing on the cast Saucer brooches the patterns show they are buried with females aged 26-45 positioned near the neck/head area, at the centre of clusters or cemeteries with a large quantity of grave-goods. But, there are three Saucer brooches which change this pattern; the one repaired and two burnt cast Saucer brooches. Why has the pattern changed for these brooches? They are the same as the other cast Saucer brooches buried yet they have been treated significantly different. The repaired brooch was repaired rather than discarded, suggesting that it was possibly passed on through family or friends causing it to break/wear. The burnt brooches were both burnt before burial, and only one of each pair was burnt. This could be due to the particular brooch holding a particular significance to the individual. All three of the brooches show the relationship between object and individual as mentioned by Gell (1998). Gell (1998) makes this theory easy to explain through his example of a little girl with her doll. It is the relationship between the girl and her doll which makes the doll an agent with its own identity. If this same scenario is used on a piece of jewellery from today, it is understandable. There are two engagement rings, one brand new still in the shop and the other is fifty years old belonging to an individual's grandmother who passed away – both rings are made from the same material and look exactly the same. However, both rings are treated differently, perhaps the older one is repaired or passed on through the family for generations. It is the human interaction which changes the brand new engagement ring from jewellery to 'art' having its own identity and agency. Art objects can physically look the same as non-art objects.

This definition of art does heavily rely on theories such as Agency, Institutional, Family Resemblance and Object Biography theory. These types of theories define 'art' in the prehistoric period, and it is often argued by prehistoric archaeologists whether the word 'art' should be dismissed completely. This theoretical approach to art could help archaeologists further understand the relationship between material culture and individuals throughout society. But, it is still important to discuss Anglo-Saxon objects on an aesthetic using theories such as the Post-Colonial theory to understand how decoration styles can change due to communication, religion, techniques etc... It is only the word 'art' that must be used carefully when describing such objects. It seems that Aesthetics did not define art during the Anglo-Saxon period but that decorated objects were treated differently to non-decorated objects. There is art which describes the 'elaborate' objects for the purpose of decoration, and 'art' which describes objects which have their own place in society as agents affecting the individuals it interacts with. After reading through the many art theories, it seems that the word 'art' should be used to describe these objects with 'agency', 'essence' or 'identity' rather than describing decoration. This definition of art works well throughout prehistoric research, and it would open up a new wave of research throughout Anglo-Saxon archaeology. A larger sample of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in England would be needed to incorporate this type of theoretical analysis, to understand what 'art' is or could be. But, to move towards a more theoretical approach to Anglo-Saxon material culture, it is important to remove the bias in recording 'elaborate' objects to make sure that all objects have enough detailed information to analyse them.

Glossary

Chronological – (of a record of events) following the order in which they occurred

Cognitive – relating to cognition

Cremation – the disposal of a dead person's body by burning it to ashes, typically after a funeral ceremony

Ethnographic Parallel – a contemporary culture or behaviour that is considered to be similar to another in history

Inhumation – the action or practice of burying the dead; the fact of being buried

Material Culture – the physical objects, resources and spaces that people use to define their culture

Migration – the movement of people from one place to another with the intentions of settling

Mundane – lacking interest or excitement; dull

Philosophical – Relating or devoted to the study of fundamental nature of knowledge, reality and existence.

Zoomorphic – Having or representing animal forms or gods of animal form

(Definitions from:

<https://www.google.com/chronological>

<https://www.google.com/cognitive>

<https://www.google.com/cremation>

<https://archaeologywordsmith.com/lookup.php?category=&where=headword&terms=ethnographic+parallel>

<https://www.google.com/inhumation>

<https://www.cliffsnotes.com/study-guides/sociology/culture-and-societies/material-and-nonmaterial-culture>

<https://www.google.com/mundane>

<https://www.google.com/philosophical>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_migration)

Bibliography

- Abhaiin, M. 2009. *For What It's Worth: Artistic Evaluation and the Institutional Theory of Art*. B.A. Trent University.
- Addison, J. 1712. "The Pleasures of the Imagination". *The Spectator*. 411-21.
- Adorno, W. T. 2004 [1970]. *Adorno Aesthetic Theory*, (trans.) R. Hullot-Kentor, (eds.) G. Adorno and R. Tiedemann. Continuum.
- Alcock, L. 1981. Quantity or Quality: the Anglian graves of Bernicia. In: V. I. Evison (ed.) *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: essays presented to J. N. L. Myres*. Oxford: Clarendon. 168-183.
- Amselle, L. J. Mellott, N. and Van Dam, J. 2003. Primitivism and Postcolonialism in the Arts. *MLN*. 118 (4). 974-988.
- Arnold, C. J. *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. Routledge. Social Science. 1-280.
- Attfield, J. 2000. *Wild things: the material culture of everyday life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bahn, P. G. 1998. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Prehistoric Art*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, C. 1913. *Art*. London. Chatto and Windus.
- Bede. 2008 [AD 731]. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford World's Classics.
- Binford, L. 1962. Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity*. 28. 217-25.
- Bond, E. J. 1975. The Essential Nature of Art. *American Philosophical Quarterly*. 12. 177-83.
- Bowden, R. 2015. A Critique of Alfred Gell on Art and Agency. *Oceania*. 74, 4.
- Boyd, B. 2005. "Evolutionary Theories of Art". In: J. Gottsch (ed.) *The Literary Animal*. North-western University Press. 149-178.
- Bradley, A. C. 1909. *Lectures on Poetry*. Oxford London.
- Bradley, R., 2009. *Image and audience: rethinking prehistoric art*. OUP Oxford.
- Brown, A. L. and Walker, H. W. 2008. Prologue: Archaeology, Animism and Non-Human Agents. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*. 15. 297-299.
- Brunning, S. (2017) Crossing edges? 'Person-like' swords in Anglo-Saxon England. In: S. Semple, C. Orsini & S. Mui (eds.) *Life on the Edge: Social, Religious and Political Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe*. *Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 6. Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum with the Internationales Sachsensymposium. 409-418.
- Brush, K. A. 1993. *Adorning the dead: the social significance of early Anglo-Saxon funerary dress in England (fifth to sixth centuries AD)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge).
- Burke Feldman, E. 1992. Formalism and its Discontents. *Studies in Art Education*. 33 (2). 122-126.

- Carroll, N. 2000. *Theories of Art Today*. University of Wisconsin Press. 1-268.
- Clarke, J. G. D. 1972. *Archaeology and Society*. Methuen, London.
- Chaney, W. A. 1970. *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity*. Manchester University Press.
- Cessford, C. Dickens, A. Dodwell, N. and Reynolds, A. 2007. Middle Anglo-Saxon justice: the Chesterton Lane Corner execution cemetery and related sequence, Cambridge. *Archaeological Journal*. 164(1). 197-226.
- Conkey, M. W. and Spector, J. D. 1984. Archaeology and the study of gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*. 7. 1-38.
- Crawford, S. 2004. Votive deposition, religion and the Anglo-Saxon furnished burial rite. *World Archaeology*. 36 (1). 87-102.
- Croce, B. 1995. *Guide to aesthetics*. Hackett Publishing.
- Davies, S. 1991. *Definitions of Art*. Cornell University Press. 1-243.
- Davies, S. 2004. The Cluster Theory of Art. *British Journal of Aesthetics*. 44 3. 297-300.
- Davies, S., 2015. *The philosophy of art (Vol. 5)*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Delphy, C. 1993. Rethinking sex and gender. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 16 1. 1-9.
- Derevenski, S. J. 2005. *Children and Material Culture*. Social Science. Routledge. 1-256.
- Dickie, G. 1974. *Art and the aesthetic: An institutional analysis*.
- Dickinson, T. M. 1976. *The Anglo-Saxon burial sites of the Upper Thames Region and their bearing on the History of Wessex circa A.D. 400-700*. Unpublished Dphil Oxford.
- Dickinson, T. M. 1978. *The Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region, and their bearing on the History of Wessex, Circa AD 400-700*. PhD St. Annes College, Oxford.
- Dissanayake, E. 1988. *What is Art For?* Seattle. University of Washington Press.
- Dodwell, C. R. 1982. *Anglo-Saxon art: a new perspective (Vol. 3)*. Manchester University Press.
- Douglas, L. 2014. *Art: Definitions and Analyses*. 1-22.
- Evison, V. I. 1987. Dover: The Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery. London. *Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission Report No. 3*.
- Fingesten, P. The Theory of Evolution in the History of Art. *College Art Journal*. 13 (4). 302-310.
- Gaut, B. 2000. "Art" as a Cluster Concept. In: N. Carroll (ed.) *Theories of Art Today*. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 25-44.
- Gaut, B. and McIver Lopes, D. 2005. *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics 2nd Edition*. Preface.
- Gell, A. 1992. The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology. In: J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds.) *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*. Oxford. Clarendon. 40-66.

- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.
- Gilchrist, R. 1994. *Medieval bodies in the material world: gender, stigma and the body*. na.
- Gilchrist, R., 2000. Archaeological biographies: realizing human lifecycles, -courses and-histories. *World Archaeology*. 31 3. 325-328.
- Gilchrist, R. 2009. The Archaeology of Sex and Gender. In: B. Cunliffe, C. Gosden and R. Joyce (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*. Oxford University Press. 1029-1047.
- Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. 1999. The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology*. 31 (2). 169-178.
- Gosden, C. 2001. Making Sense: Archaeology and Aesthetics. *World Archaeology*. 33 2. 163-167.
- Gosden, C. Marshall, Y. 1999. The Cultural Biography of Objects. *World Archaeology*. 31 2. 169-178.
- Green, B. Rogerson, A. 1978. 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk: Catalogue'. *East Anglian Archaeology* 7.
- Hamerow, H. Hinton, A. D. Crawford, S. *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Social Science.
- Härke, H. 1997. Early Anglo-Saxon social structure. In: J. Hines (ed.) *The Anglo-Saxons from the migration period to the eighth century: An ethnographic perspective*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. 125-170.
- Härke, H. 2011. Anglo-Saxon Immigration and Ethnogenesis. *Medieval Archaeology*. 55. Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Hawkes, S. C. 1973. In: B. Philp. *Excavations in West Kent 1960-1970*. Research Reports in the Kent Series 2. Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.
- Hegel, G. W. F. 1993. *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, (trans.) B. Bosanquet, (ed.) M. Inwood. London. Penguin.
- Hicks, D and Beaudry, C. M. *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Social Science. 1-792.
- Hines, J. 1997. *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*. Woodbridge, Boydell Press.
- Hirst, S. 1985. *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire*. York, Department of Archaeology. York University Archaeological Publications 4.
- Holtorf, C. J. 1998. The life-histories of megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany). *World Archaeology*. 30 (1). 23-38.
- Huggett, J. W. 1988. Imported grave goods and the early Anglo-Saxon economy. *Medieval Archaeology*. 32 1. 63-96.
- Hume, D. 1985. "Of the Standard of Taste" *Essays Moral, Politcal and Literary*, (ed.) E. Miller. Indianapolis. Liberty Classics.
- Hutcherson, F. 1973. *An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design*, (ed.) P. Kivy. The Hague.
- Janaway, C. 2005. *Plato*. In: *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics 2nd Edition*, (eds.) B. Gaut and D. McIver Lopes. 3-15.

- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. Psychology Press. 1-180.
- Joy, J. 2009. Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of lives. *World Archaeology*. 41 (4). 540-556.
- Joy, J. 2011. 'Fancy Objects' in the British Iron Age: Why Decorate? *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*. Vol 77. The Prehistoric Society.
- Kant, I. 1978. *The Critique of Judgement: 'Critique of Aesthetic Judgement', 'Critique of Teleological Judgement'*. Oxford University Press.
- Karkov, C. 1999. *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*. Taylor & Francis. 1-500.
- Karkov, C. 2011. *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*. Boydell Press.
- Kivy, P. 2003. *The Seventh Sense: Francis Hutcheson and Eighteenth-century British Aesthetics*. Clarendon Press.
- Komarovsky, M. 1950. Functional analysis of sex roles. *American Sociological Review*. 15 4. 508-516.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. 68. 70-73.
- Kreiger, A. 1944. The Typological Concept. *American Antiquity*. 9. 271-88.
- Lapidge, M. Godden, M. and Keynes, S. 2000. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge University Press. 28.
- Leahy, K. 2010. *Anglo-Saxon Crafts*. Tempus Publishing. The History Press. 139-160.
- Leeds, E. T. 1912. 'The distribution of the Anglo-Saxon saucer brooch in relation to the Battle of Bedford, AD 571'. *Archaeologia* 63. 159-202.
- Leeds, E. T. 1949. *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*. Oxford, Clarendon.
- Lucy, S. 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England*. Sutton Publishing. 87-90.
- Martin, T. F. 2015. *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Vol 25). Boydell & Brewer Ltd.
- Matthews, B. G. 1990. Aristotelian Essentialism. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. 50. 251-262.
- Meany, A. 1964. *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London. George Allen and Unwin.
- Moro-Abadia, O. 2006. Art, Crafts and Palaeolithic Art. *Journal of Social Archaeology*. 6 1. 119-141.
- Moro-Abadía, O. 2015. The Reception of Palaeolithic Art at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Between Archaeology and Art History. *Journal of Art Historiography*. 12 1.
- Morphy, H. 1994. The Anthropology of Art. In: T. Ingold (ed.), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London and New York Routledge. 648-685.
- Mortimer, R. Sayer, D. and Wiseman, R. 2016. *Anglo-Saxon Oakington: A Central Place on the Edge of the Cambridgeshire Fen*. 1-13.
- Oakley, A. 1985. *Sex, Gender and Society*. London: Temple Smith.

- O Frazer, W. Introduction: Identities in Medieval Britain. In: A. Tyrell and W. O Frazer (eds.) *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. 1.
- Owen-Crocker, G. R. 2004. *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*. Boydell Press.
- Parker, D. 1939. The nature of art. *Revue internationale de philosophie*. 1 4. 684-702.
- Penn, K. Burgmann, B. 2007. Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens. *East Anglian Archaeology* 119.
- Petts, D. 2011. *Pagan and Christian: Religious Change in Early Medieval Europe*. Debates in Archaeology.
- Plato. 1925 [390 BC]. *Hippias Major, Vol 9* (trans.) W. R. M. Lamb. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. London.
- Preucel, R. 2014. Structuralism and its Archaeological Legacy. In: A. Gardner, M. Lake and U. Sommer (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Theory*.
- Renfrew, C. 1972. *The Emergence of Civilisation: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* Methuen, London.
- Sanz, I. D. Fiore, D. and May, S. K. 2016. Archaeologies of art: time, place, and identity in rock art, portable art, and body art. *Archaeologies of art: time, place, and identity*.
- Sayer, D. 2007. *Community, Kinship and Household: An analysis of patterns in Early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries*. Volume 1: Text PHD in Archaeology. University of Reading. 63-66.
- Sayer, D. Mortimer, R. Simpson, F. Dickinson, S. Draper, A. 2013. *Oakington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: Mid Project Summary (2010-2012)*. University of Central Lancashire.
- Sayer, D. 2014. 'Sons of athelings given to the earth' Infant Mortality within Anglo-Saxon Mortuary Geography. *Medieval Archaeology*. 58.
- Sayer, D. Sebo, E. and Hughes, K. 2018. *A Double Edged Sword: Swords, bodies and personhood in early medieval archaeology*.
- Scott, S. 2006. Art and the Archaeologist. *World Archaeology*. 38 (4). 628-643.
- Seul, R. J. 1999. 'Ours is the Way of God': Religion, Identity, and Intergroup Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*. 36 (5). 553-569.
- Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. 1987. *Social Theory and Archaeology*. University of New Mexico Press.
- Shanks, M. 1996. *Classical Archaeology of Greece: Experiences of the Discipline*. London Routledge.
- Shelley, J. 2005. Empiricism: Hutcherson and Hume. In: *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics 2nd Edition*, (eds.) B. Gaut and D. McIver Lopes. 41-55.

- Smith, S. T. 2014. Identity. In: A. Gardner, M. Lake and U. Sommer (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Theory*.
- Snoeyenbos, M. H. 1978. On the Possibility of Theoretical Aesthetics. *Metaphilosophy*. 9. 108-21.
- Sørensen M. L. S. 1988. Is There a Feminist Contribution to Archaeology? *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*. 7 1. 9-20.
- Sørensen, M. L. S. 2013. *Gender archaeology*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Stenton, F. M. 1971. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford University Press. 2
- Stoodley, N. 1999. The Spindle and the Spear: A Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite. *British Archaeological Reports Ltd. Oxford: Archaeopress* 288.
- Stoodley, N. 2000. From the Cradle to the Grave: Age Organisation and the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite. *World Archaeology* 31 3. 456-472.
- Strayer, J. 2014. Subjects and Objects: Art, Essentialism, and Abstraction. *Philosophy of History and Culture*. 25 1. 1-410.
- Taylor, A. Duhig, C. and Hines, J. 1997. An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Oakington, Cambridgeshire. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 86. 57-90.
- Tillinghast, L. 2004. Essence and Anti-Essentialism about Art. *British Journal of Aesthetics*. 44 2. 167-183.
- Tolstoy, L. 1995 [1897]. *What is Art?* London: Penguin.
- Tylor, E. B. 1958 [1871]. *Primitive culture*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Webster, L. 2012. *Anglo-Saxon Art*. The British Museum Press. 1-256.
- Weitz, M. 1956. The Role of Theory in Aesthetics. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 15 1. 27-35.
- Welch, M. G. 1983. *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports (BAR British Series 112).
- West, S. 1988. 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: Catalogue. *East Anglian Archaeology* 38.
- Woolf, A. 2001. Community, Identity and Kingship in Early England. In: F. A. Tyrell and W. O Frazer (eds.) *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. 5.
- Zuidervaart, L. 1994. *Adorno's Aesthetic Theory: A Redemption of Illusion*. MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London.
- <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/gender> (Accessed: 04/12/2017 13:15)
- <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/f/formalism> (Accessed: 12/02/2018 14:10)
- <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/p/primitivism> (Accessed: 13/02/2018 19:30)
- <https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/> (Accessed: 13/02/18 21:20)

http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/statements/parthenon_sculptures.aspx (Accessed: 13/02/2018 21:29)

<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/c/cubism> (Accessed: 13/02/2018 22:12)

<http://www.tribalartmagazine.com/issue-85-sample-2> (Accessed: 13/02/2018 22:13)

<https://blog.britishmuseum.org/decoding-anglo-saxon-art/> (Accessed: 13/02/2018 22:22)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sutton_Hoo#/media/File:2008-05-17-SuttonHoo_Burial.jpg (Accessed: 08/03/2018 22:03)

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87155&partId=1 (Accessed: 12/03/2018 20:13)

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=90624&partId=1&searchText=anglo+saxon+art&page=1 (Accessed: 12/03/2018 20:21)

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=87215&partId=1 (Accessed: 26/03/2018 20:24)

<https://www.google.com/chronological> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://www.google.com/cognitive> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://www.google.com/cremation> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://archaeologywordsmith.com/lookup.php?category=&where=headword&terms=ethnographic+parallel> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://www.google.com/inhumation> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://www.cliffsnotes.com/study-guides/sociology/culture-and-societies/material-and-nonmaterial-culture> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:57)

<https://www.google.com/mundane> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:59)

<https://www.google.com/philosophical> (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:59)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_migration (Accessed: 17/09/2018 14:59)

Appendix A: Maps

Abingdon I (Dickinson 1978) N/A

Blacknall Field (Annable & Eagles 2010)

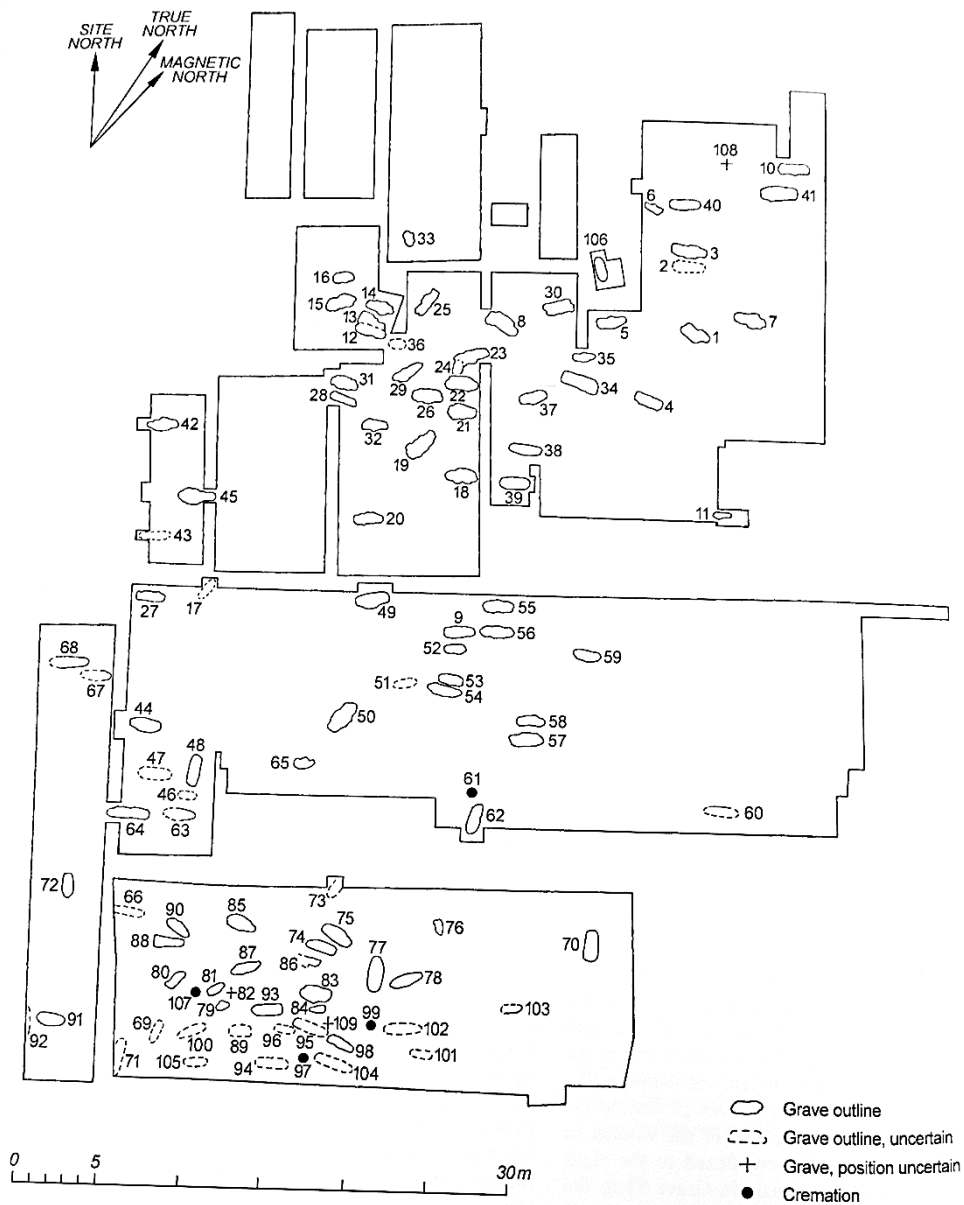


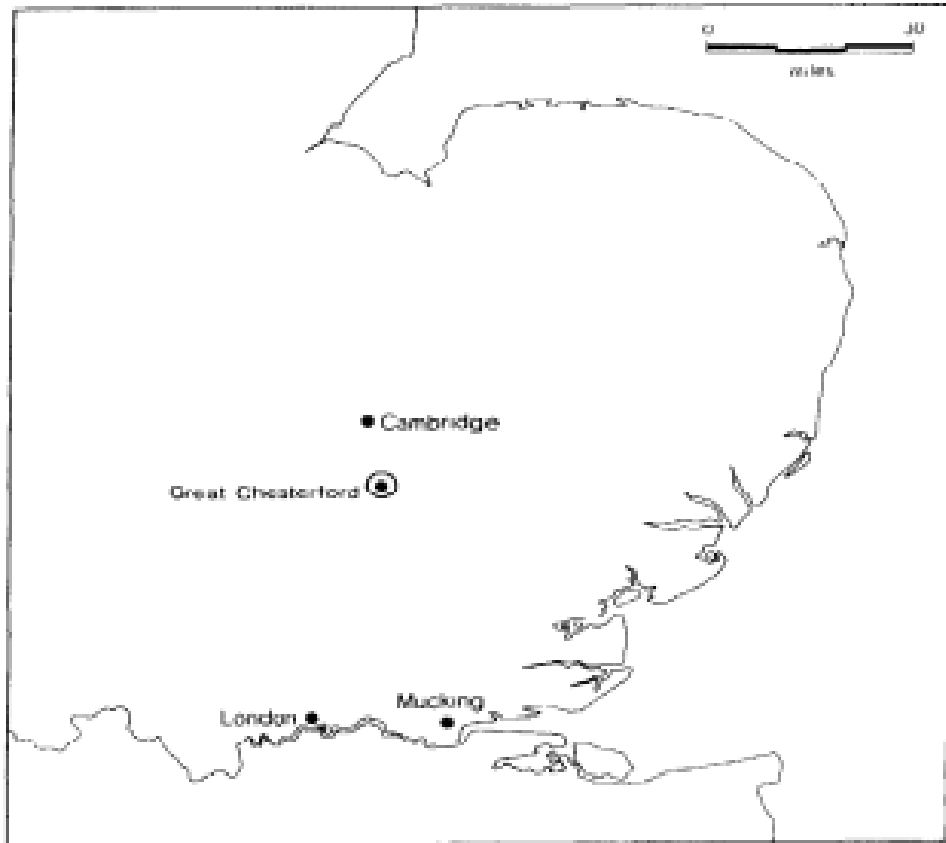
FIGURE 7 Cemetery plan

Map 1: Site map of Blacknall Field (Annable & Eagles 2010)

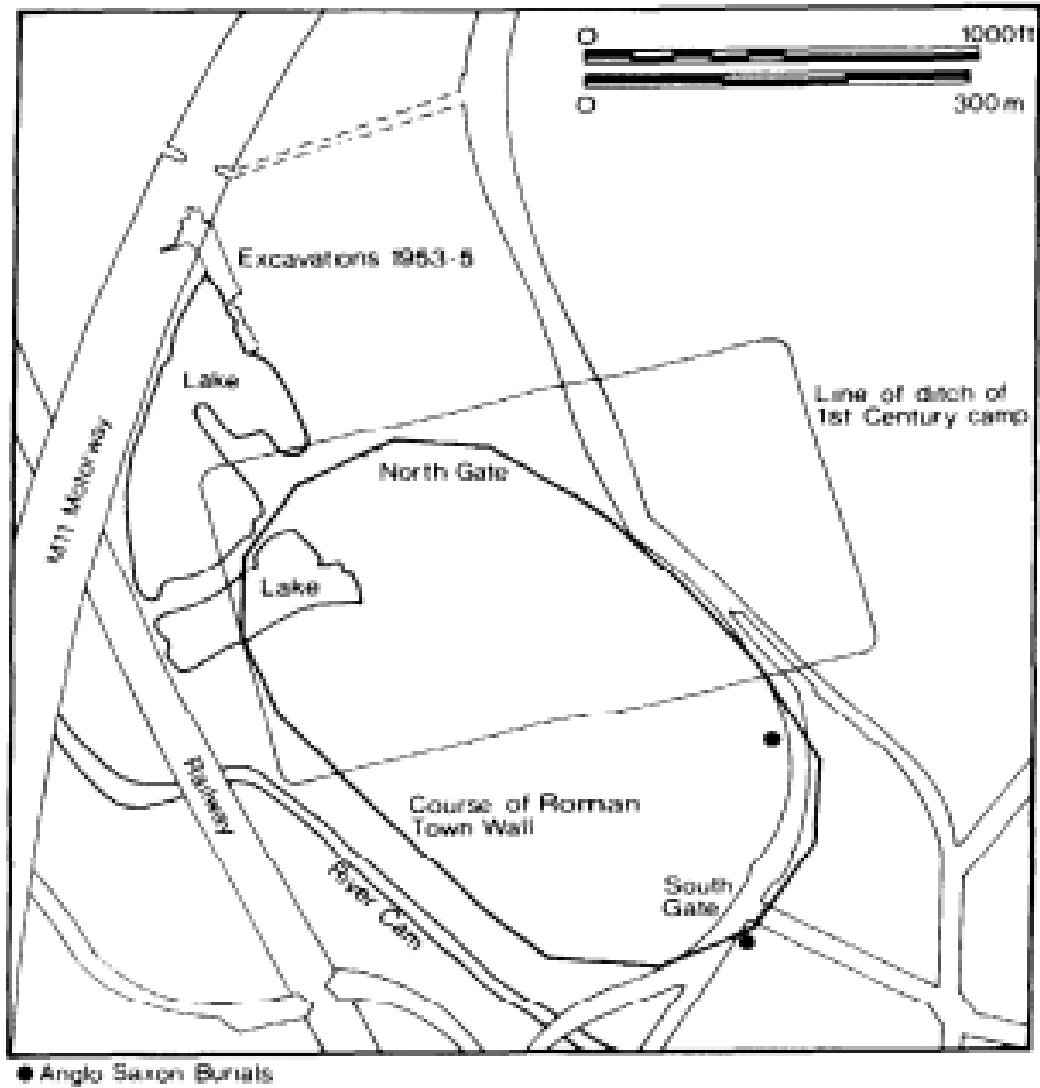
Dorchester VI (Dickinson 1978) N/A

East Shefford (Dickinson 1978) N/A

Great Chesterford (Evison 1994)



Map 2: Great Chesterford location in UK (Evison 1994)



Map 3: Great Chesterford cemetery location and size (Evison 1994)

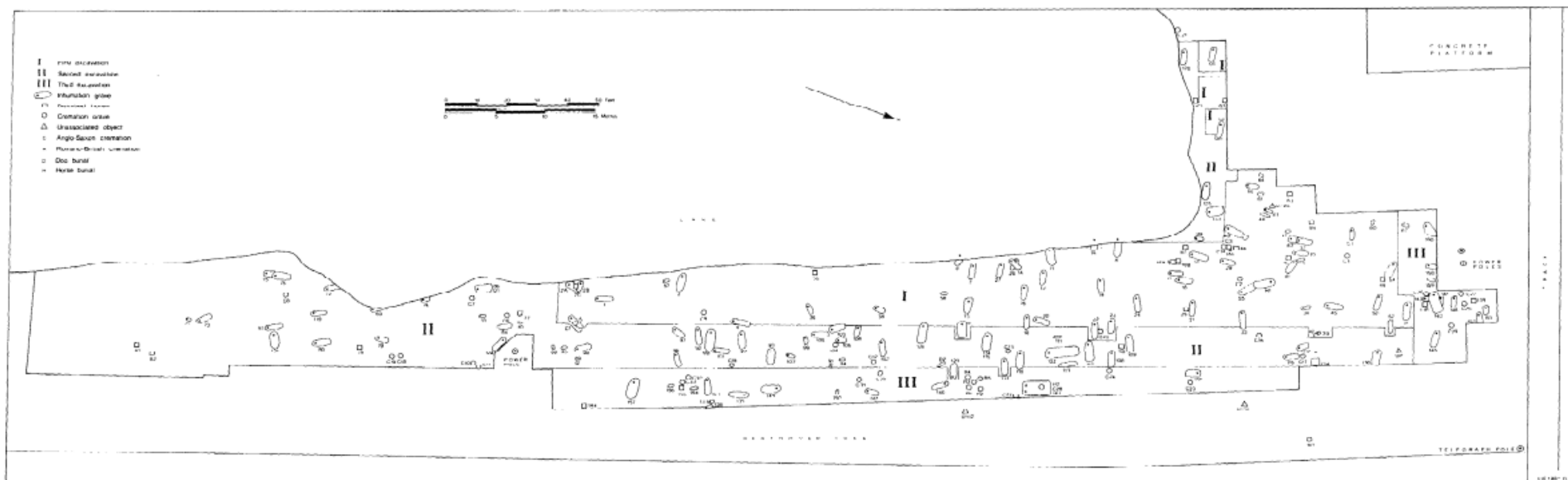


Figure 2 Plan of the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Great Chesterford

Map 4: Site map of Great Chesterford (Evison 1994)

Market Lavington (Williams & Newman 2006)

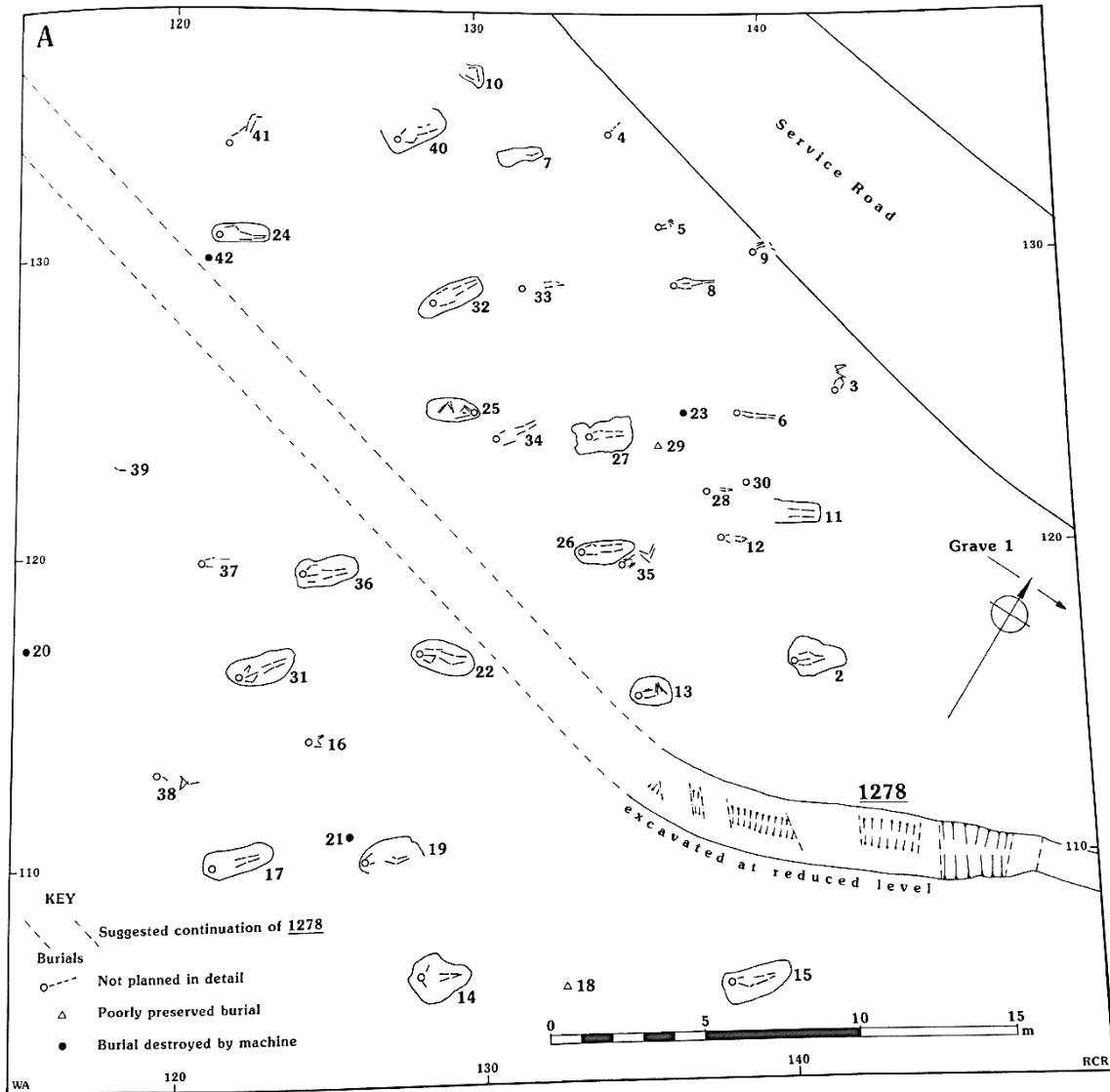
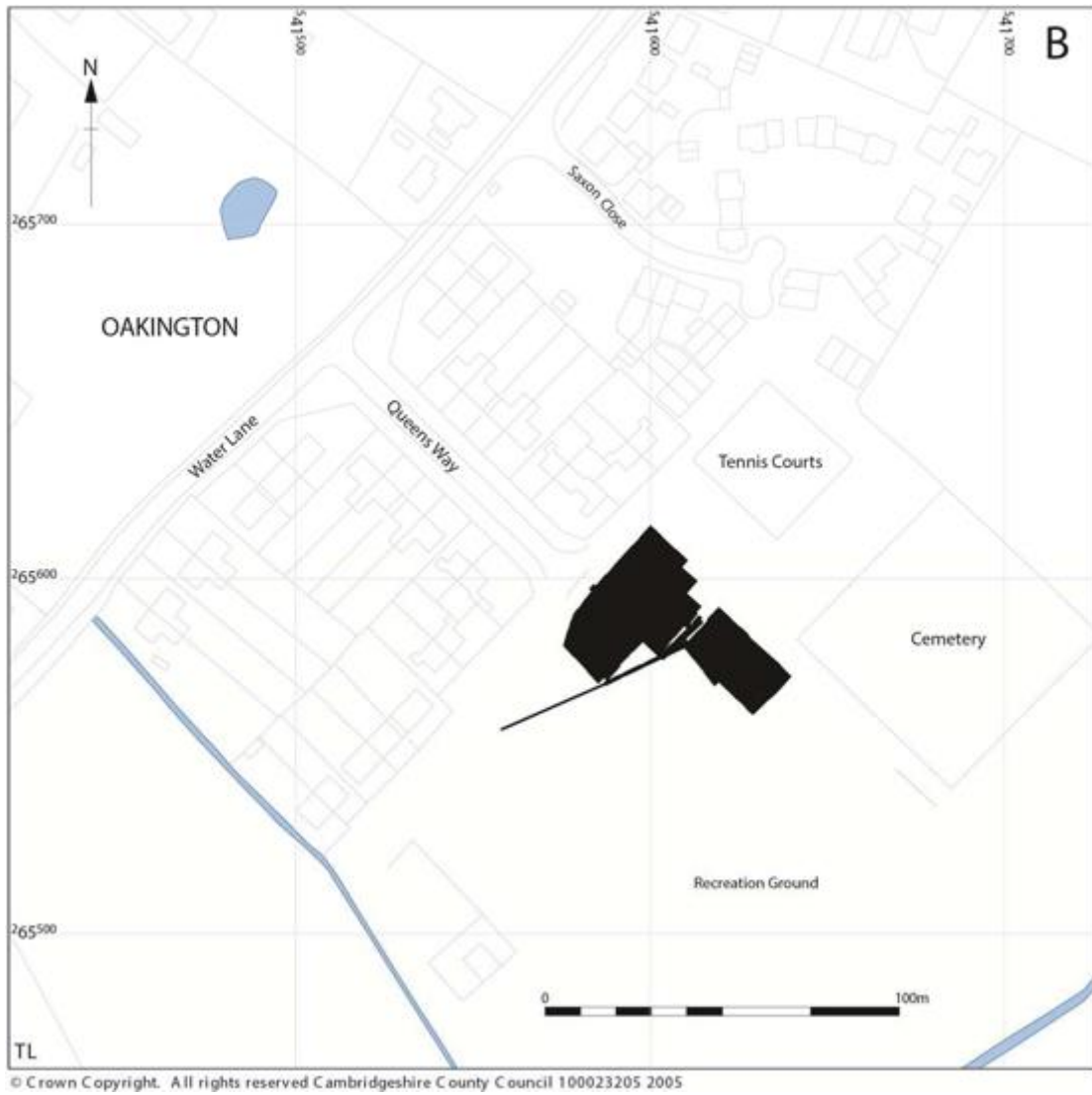


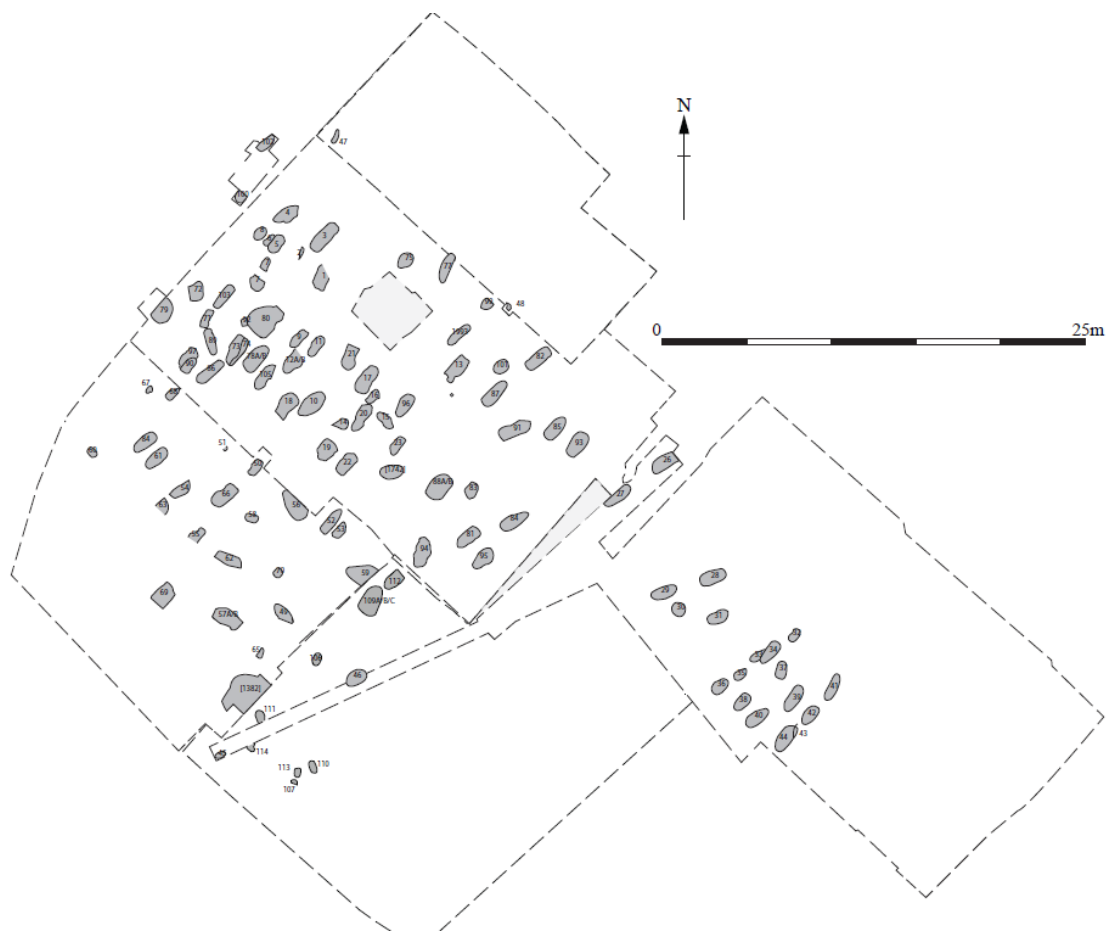
Figure 20 The cemetery, showing all graves except grave 1 (see Fig. 4)

Map 5: Site map of Market Lavington (Williams & Newman 2006)

Oakington (Sayer et al. 2013)



Map 6: Map overview of Oakington (Sayer 2013)



Map 7: Site plan of Oakington (Sayer 2013)

Appendix B: The Saucer Brooches

Abingdon I (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 5

(see plate 1)

SF? – diameter 80mm

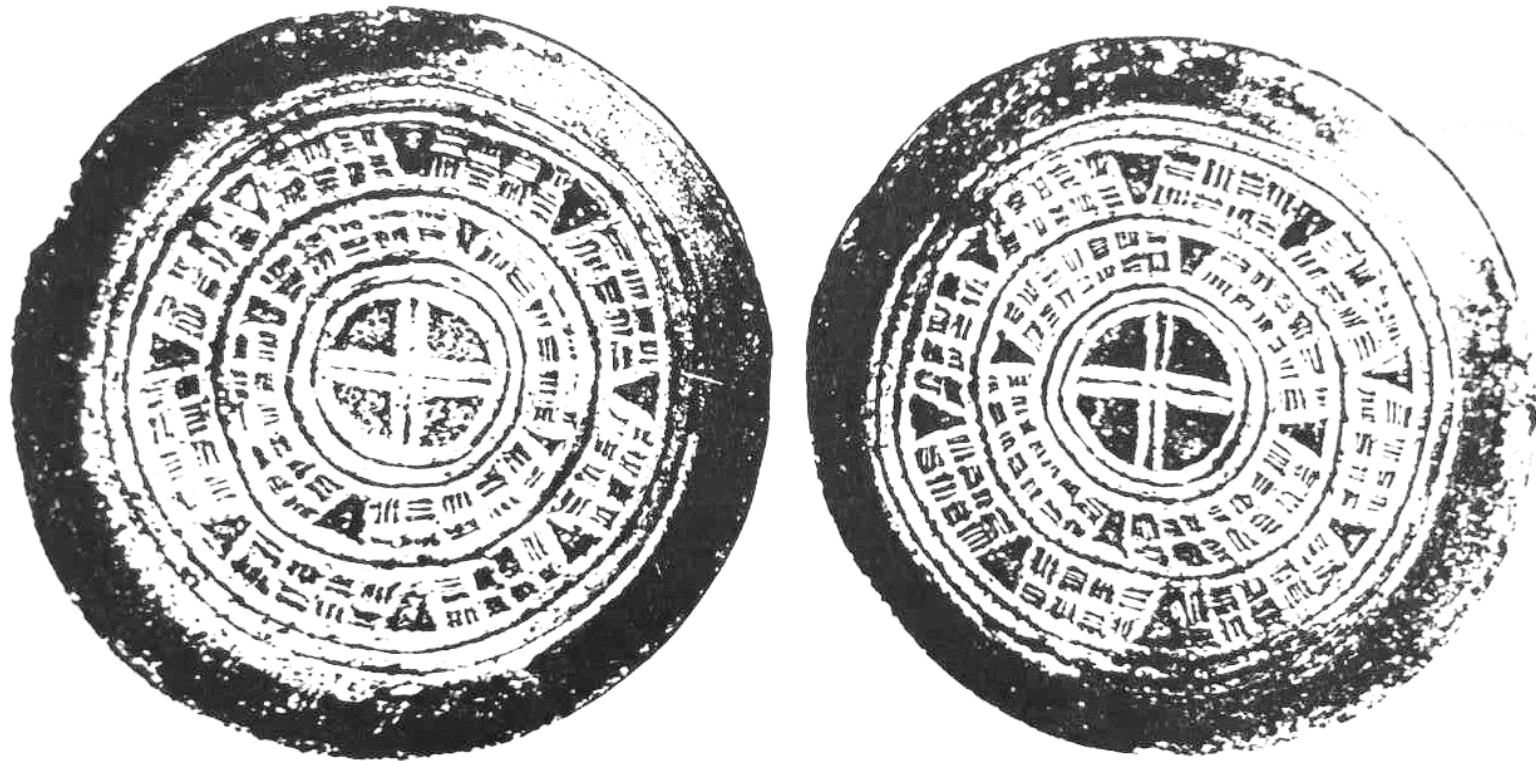
Front: Tripartite field and four axes, central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges.

Back:

SF? – diameter 80mm

Front: Tripartite field and four axes, central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges.

Back:



a. Abingdon I, B5

Plate 1: Saucer brooches from grave 5 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 6

(see plate 2)

SF? – diameter 43mm

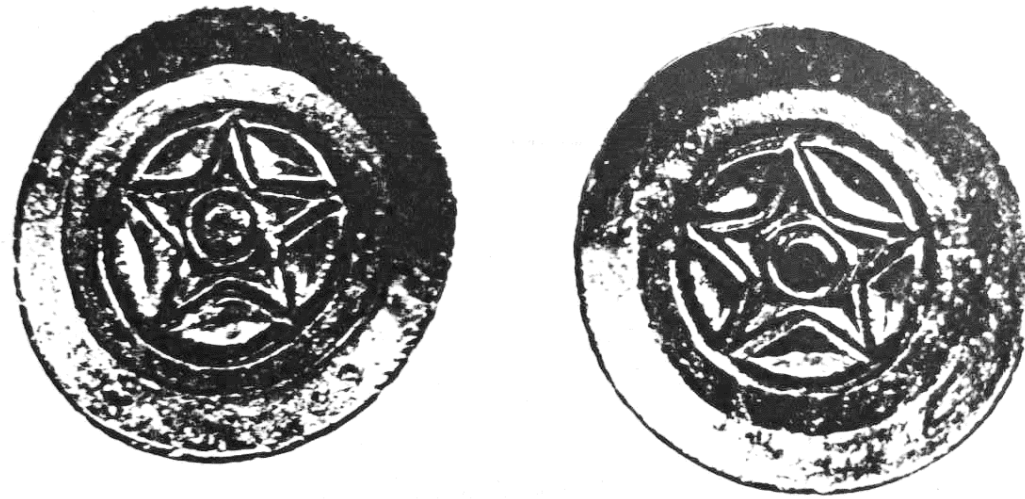
Front: Unique five-point star.

Back:

SF? – diameter 43mm

Front: Unique five-point star.

Back:



a. Abingdon I, B6

Plate 2: Saucer brooches from grave 6 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 31

(see plate 3)

SF? – diameter 55mm

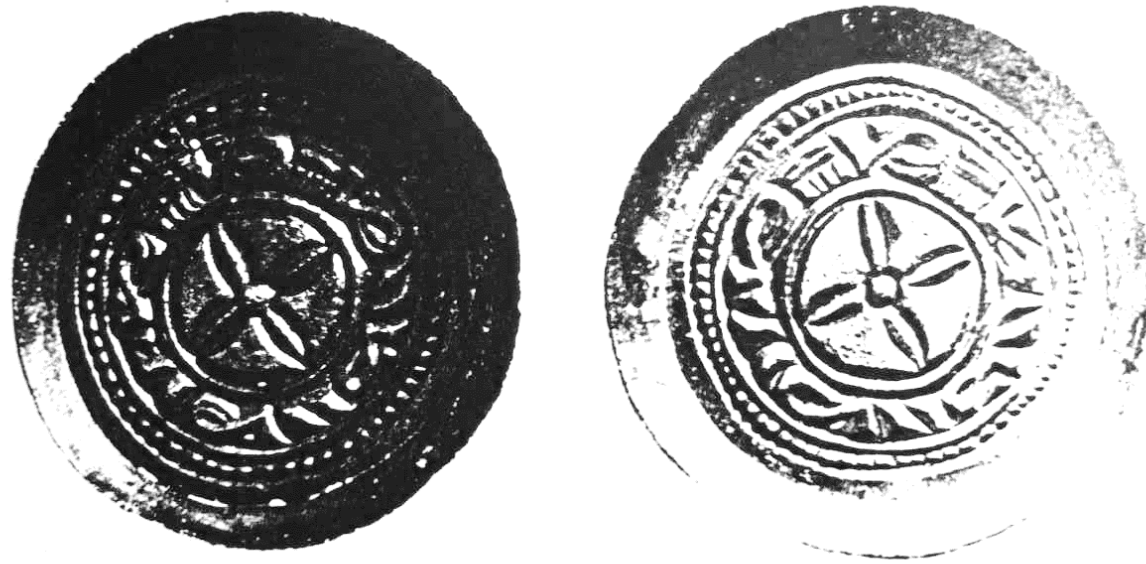
Front: Central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements.

Back:

SF? – diameter 55mm

Front: Central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements.

Back:



d. Abingdon I, B31

Plate 3: Saucer brooches from grave 31 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 32

No image – diameter 39mm

Front: Unique radial leg.

GRAVE 34

(see plate 4)

SF? – diameter 48mm

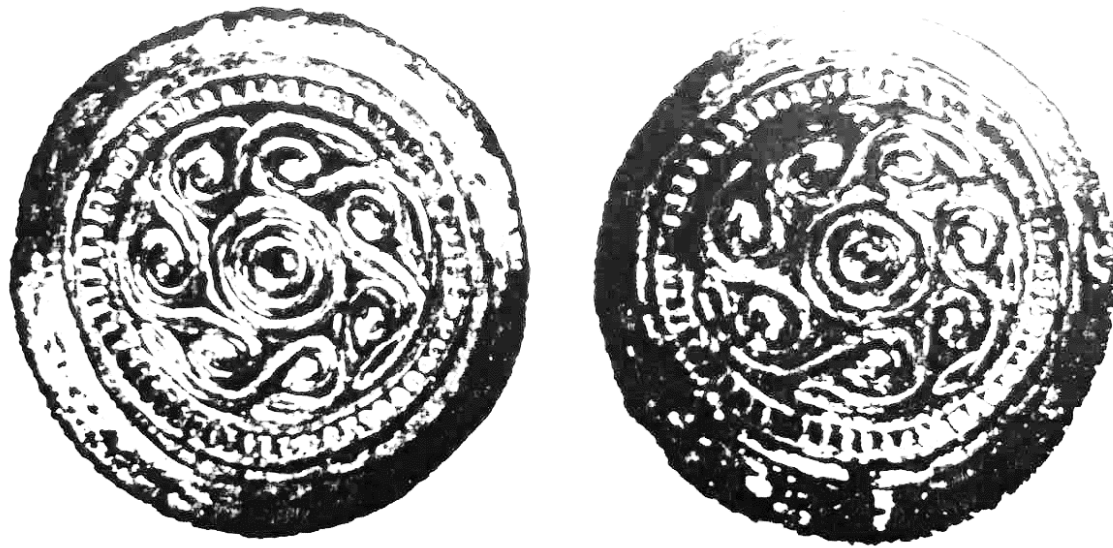
Front: Seven running scrolls.

Back:

SF? – diameter 48mm

Front: Seven running scrolls.

Back:



c. Abingdon I, B34

Plate 4: Saucer brooches from grave 34 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 60

(see plate 5)

Plate 5 – diameter 43mm

Front: Scrollwork and deep chip-carving.

Back:

No image – diameter 43mm

Front: Scrollwork and deep chip-carving.

Back:



a. Abingdon I, B60

Plate 5: Saucer brooch from grave 60 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 100

(see plate 6)

SF? – diameter 39mm

Front: Weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

SF? – diameter 39mm

Front: Weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

i



ii



d. Abingdon I, 100

Plate 6: Saucer brooches from grave 100 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 102

(see plate 7)

SF? – diameter 47mm

Front: Seven running scrolls.

Back:

SF? – diameter 47mm

Front: Seven running scrolls.

Back:



a. Abingdon I, B102

Plate 7: Saucer brooches from grave 102 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 118

(see plate 8)

SF? – diameter 34mm

Front: Inner whirligig and outer radial bars.

Back:

SF? – diameter 30mm

Front: Floriate cross-and-masks.

Back:

i



ii



f. Abingdon I, B118

Plate 8: Saucer brooches from grave 118 (Dickinson 1978)

CREMATION 29

(see plate 9)

Plate 9 – diameter 45mm

Front: Seven running dog-legs and zigzag border.

Back:



c. Abingdon I, C29

Plate 9: Saucer brooch from cremation 9 (Dickinson 1978)

Blacknall Field, Wiltshire (Annable & Eagles 2010)

GRAVE 21

(see plate 10 & 11)

Small finds 1 & 2 from grave 21 are a pair of cast Saucer brooches dating to the mid-sixth century AD.

SF2 – diameter 5.55cm

Front: Gilded apart from at the rim edge; central small boss and ten surrounding wedges separated by a ring from the middle field of seven Style I legs, each with double-arc hip bar and bifurcated claw. Outer field of zigzag between the rings.

Back: A bit convex with remnants of iron pin. Leaf/grass matter on front, and a few Z-spun threads on the reverse side.

SF3 – diameter 5.65cm

Front: Design same as SF2, but each brooch individually created.

Back: A bit convex and retains fragment of iron pin. The conservation report identified corrosion products indicating that the brooch had been burnt before burial, most likely from being dropped in a fire.

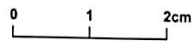


Plate 10: SF2 & 3 from grave 21
(Annable & Eagles 2010)



Plate 11: Drawing of SF2 & 3 from grave 21 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

GRAVE 50

(see plate 12 & 13)

SF1 – diameter 3cm

Front: Gilded except on raised edges with an uneven width rim. Central boss with ring surrounded by six running spirals, tongues joining outer ring.

Back: Remains of iron pin spring on pin-holder, with broken catch-plate repaired with sheet-metal replacement.

SF2 – diameter 3cm

Front: Closely matches SF1.

Back: Smooth greyish patch to the side of catch-plate, perhaps lost sheet-metal; organic material on iron corrosion from pin spring.

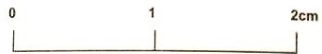


Plate 12: SF1 & 2 from grave 50 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

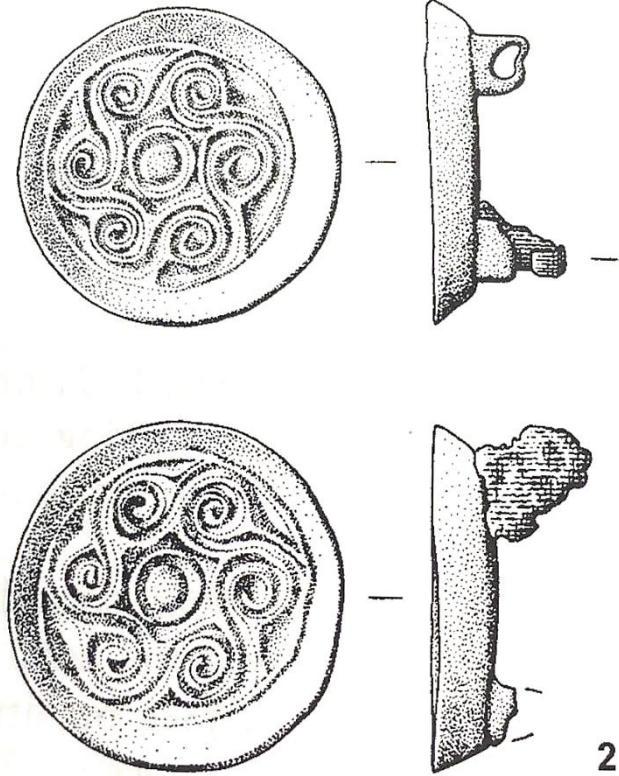


Plate 13: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 50 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

GRAVE 56

(see plate 14 & 15)

SF1 – diameter 4.40cm

Front: Gilded except at rim edge. Ten wedges surrounding central boss separated by a ring of seven Style I legs with bifurcated claw and double-arc hip bar, along an outer field zigzag between rings.

Back: Convex with iron pin remains, and leaf matter.

SF2 – diameter 4.35cm

Front: Same as SF1 but individually created. Conservation report indicates the brooch was burnt before burial.

Back: Convex with remains of iron pin.



1



2

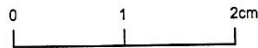
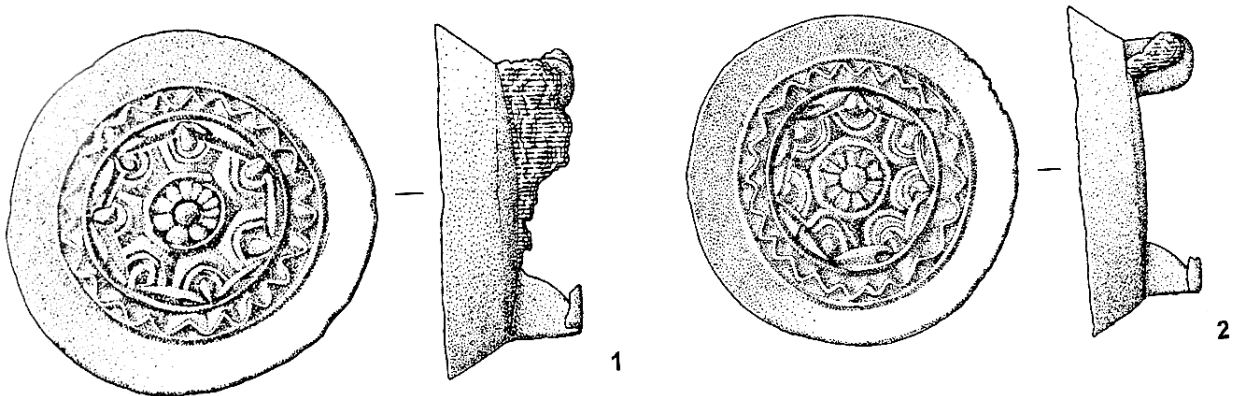


Plate 14: SF1 & 2 from grave 56 (Annable & Eagles 2010)



1

2

Plate 15: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 56 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

GRAVE 104

(see plate 16 & 17)

SF1 – diameter 3.5cm

Front: Abraded rim edge. Gilded with small central boss surrounded by five running spirals and outer notched ring.

Back: File marks with lump of textile attached to iron pin head.

SF2 – diameter 3.75cm

Front: Rim edge bears fine scratches, with decoration the same as SF1.

Back: File marks with lump of textile.



Plate 16: SF1 & 2 from grave 104 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

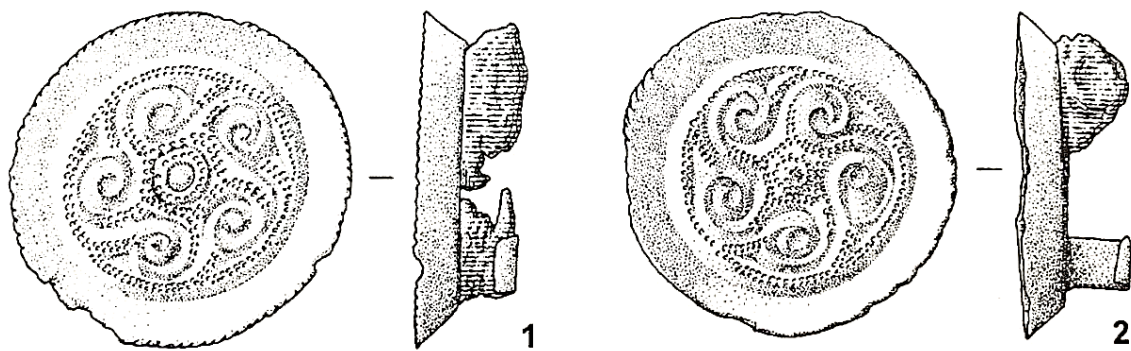


Plate 17: Drawing of SF1 & 2 from grave 104 (Annable & Eagles 2010)

Dorchester VI (Dickinson 1978)

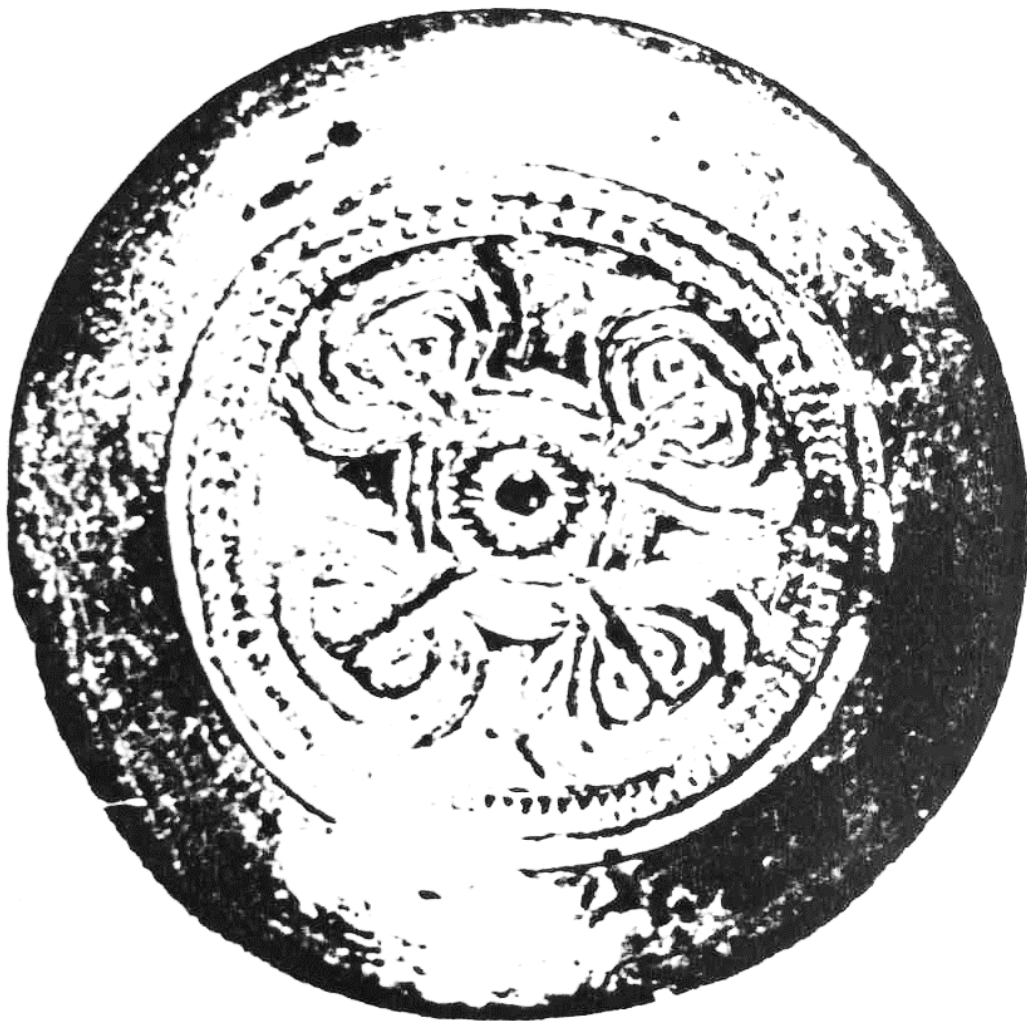
GRAVE 22

(see plate 18)

SF? – diameter 66mm

Front: Decorated with four wedges and 'Mr. Chad' masks.

Back:



b. Dorchester VI, 22

Plate 18: Saucer brooch from grave 22 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 42

No Image – diameter 39mm

Front: Decorated with five running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

No Image – diameter 39mm

Front: Decorated with five running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

GRAVE 54

No Image – diameter 48mm

Front: Decorated with six running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

No Image – diameter 48mm

Front: Decorated with six running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls.

Back:

GRAVE 63

(see plate 19)

Plate – diameter 38mm

Front: Decorated with central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border.

Back:

No image – diameter 38mm

Front: Decorated with central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border.

Back:



b. Dorchester VI, 63

Plate 19: Saucer brooches from grave 63 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 73

No Image – diameter 30mm

Front: Decorated with seven running scrolls.

Back:

No Image – diameter 30mm

Front: Decorated with seven running scrolls.

Back:

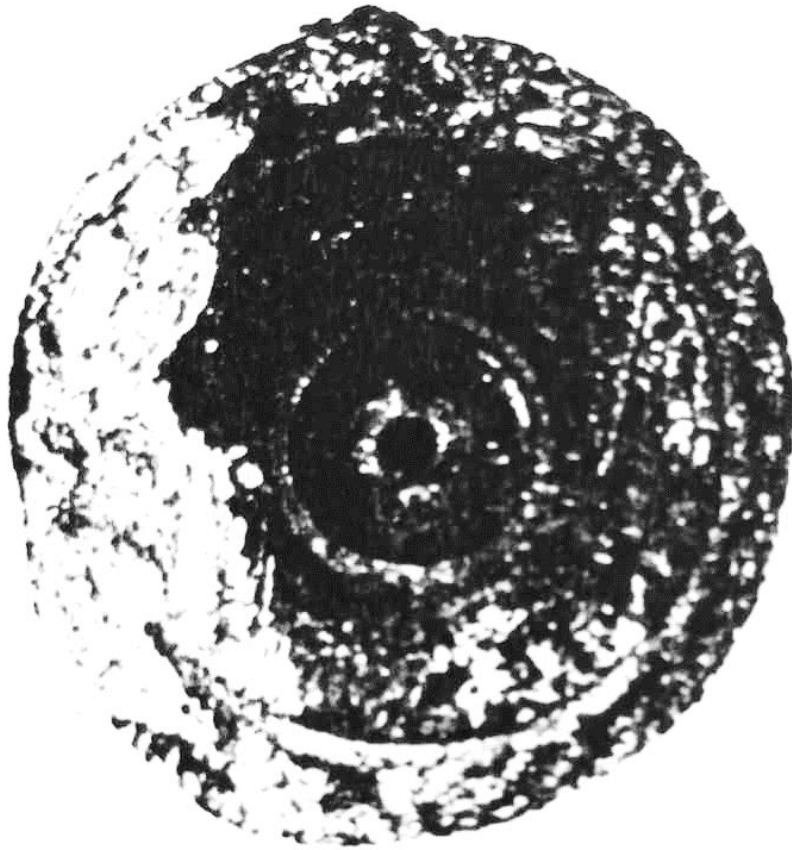
GRAVE 77

(see plate 20)

SF? – diameter 38mm

Front: Decorated with free standing 'weak' stars with zigzag border.

Back:



ii

e. Dorchester VI, 77

Plate 20: Saucer brooch from grave 77 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 102

(see plate 21)

SF? – diameter 61mm

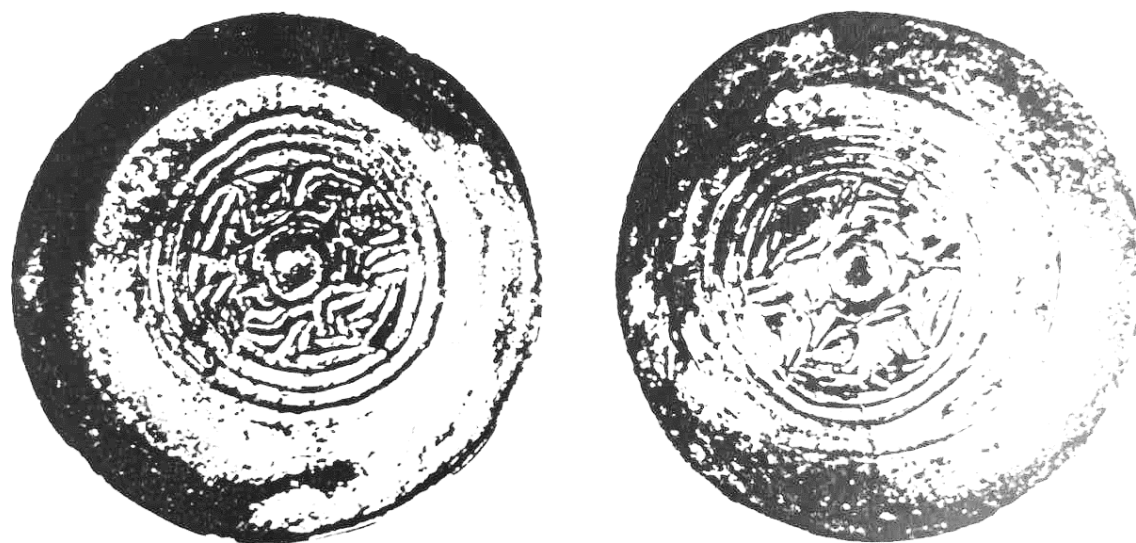
Front: Decorated with a single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament.

Back:

SF? – diameter 61mm

Front: Decorated with a single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament.

Back:



d. Dorchester VI 102

Plate 21: Saucer brooches from grave 21 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 107

(see plate 22)

SF? – diameter 46mm

Front: Decorated with a floriate cross-and-masks and basketwork border.

Back:



c. Dorchester VI, 107

Plate 22: Saucer brooch from grave 107 (Dickinson 1978)

East Shefford_(Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE 51

(see plate 23)

SF? – diameter 43mm

Front: Decorated with single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament.

Back:

SF? – diameter 43mm

Front: Decorated with single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament.

Back:



a. East Shefford 51

i

ii

Plate 23: Saucer brooches from grave 51 (Dickinson 1978)

GRAVE XVIII

(see plate 24)

SF?

Front: Decorated with running C-scrolls.

Back:



b. East Shefford XVIII

Plate 24: Saucer brooch from grave XVIII (Dickinson 1978)

Great Chesterford_(Evison 1994)

GRAVE 2B

(see plate 25)

SF2 – diameter 3.7cm

Front: Decorated with five chip-carved spirals dating to 5th century AD.

Back:

SF3 – diameter 3.7cm

Front: Decorated with five chip-carved spirals dating to 5th century AD.

Back:

2B



Plate 25: SF2 and SF3 from grave 2B (Evison 1994)

GRAVE 97

(see plate 26)

SF1 – diameter 4.6cm

Front: Kentish style with zig-zag border

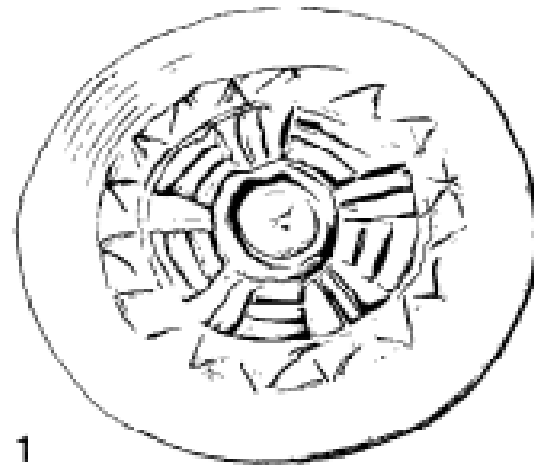
Back:

SF2 – diameter 4.6cm

Front: Kentish style with zig-zag border

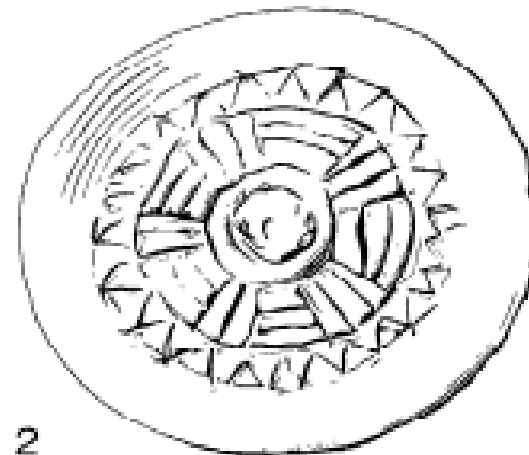
Back:

97



1

1



2

1



Plate 26: SF1 and SF2 from grave 97 (Evison 1994)

GRAVE 120

(see plate 27)

SF1 – diameter 3.7cm

Front: Four-leg centre and egg-and-dart border

Back:

SF2 – diameter 3.7cm

Front: Four-leg centre and egg-and-dart border

Back:

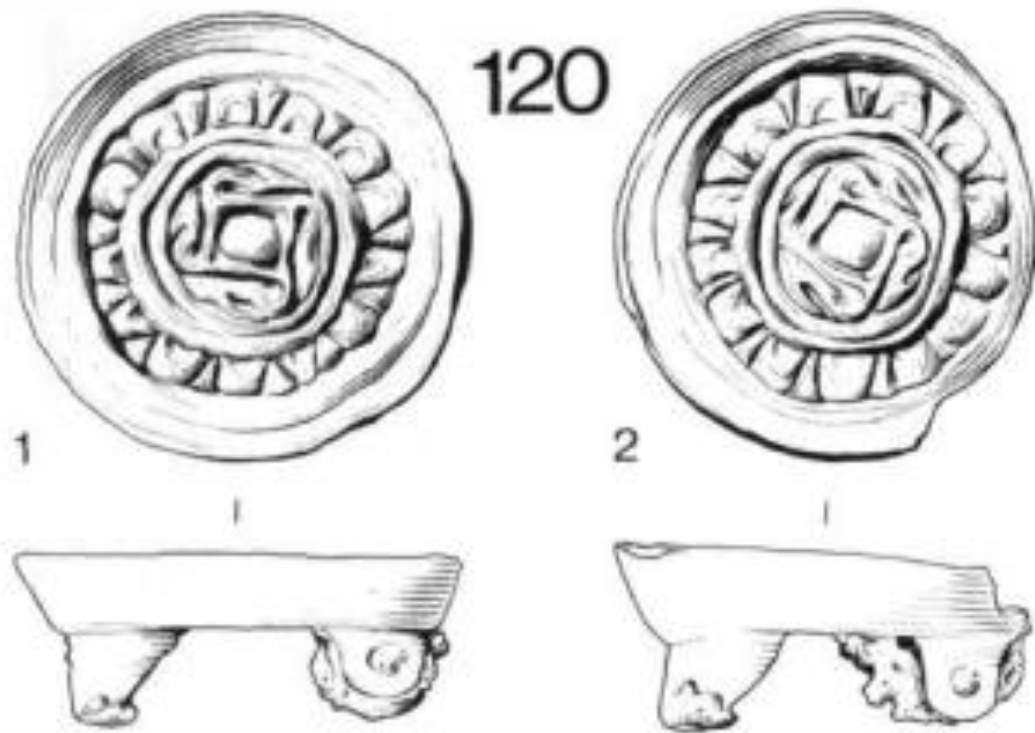


Plate 27: SF1 and SF2 from grave 120 (Evison 1978)

GRAVE 126

(see plate 28)

SF1 – diameter 3.3cm

Front: Decorated with five chip-carved spirals dating to 5th century AD.

Back:

SF2 – diameter 3.3cm

Front: Decorated with five chip-carved spirals dating to 5th century AD.

Back:

126

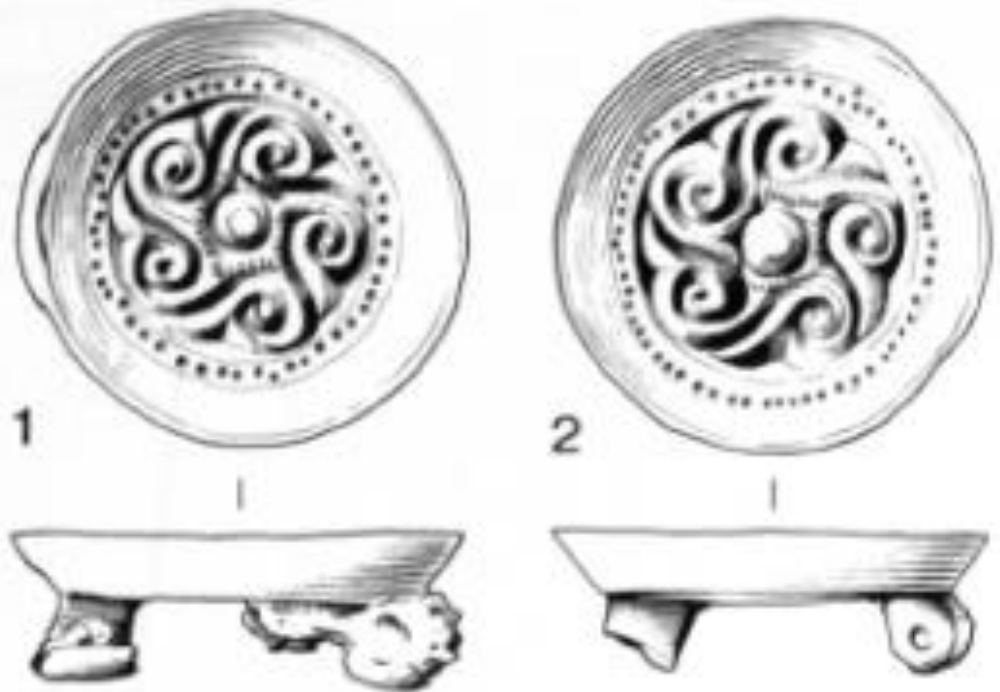


Plate 28: SF1 and SF2 from grave 126 (Evison 1994)

Market Lavington, Wiltshire (Williams & Newman 2006)

GRAVE 7

(see plate 29)

SF33 – diameter 76mm

Front: Mercury-gilded bronze with four concentric rings and central field. Three-armed arrowhead motif, and three Style I creatures. Oval punched designs with ridge between. Loss of gilding.

Back: Copper-alloy catch-plate with visible pin spring and remaining textile.

SF34 – diameter 78mm

Front: Almost identical to SF33. Well preserved gilding.

Back: Copper-alloy catch plate hidden by iron corrosion with remaining textile.

Grave 7

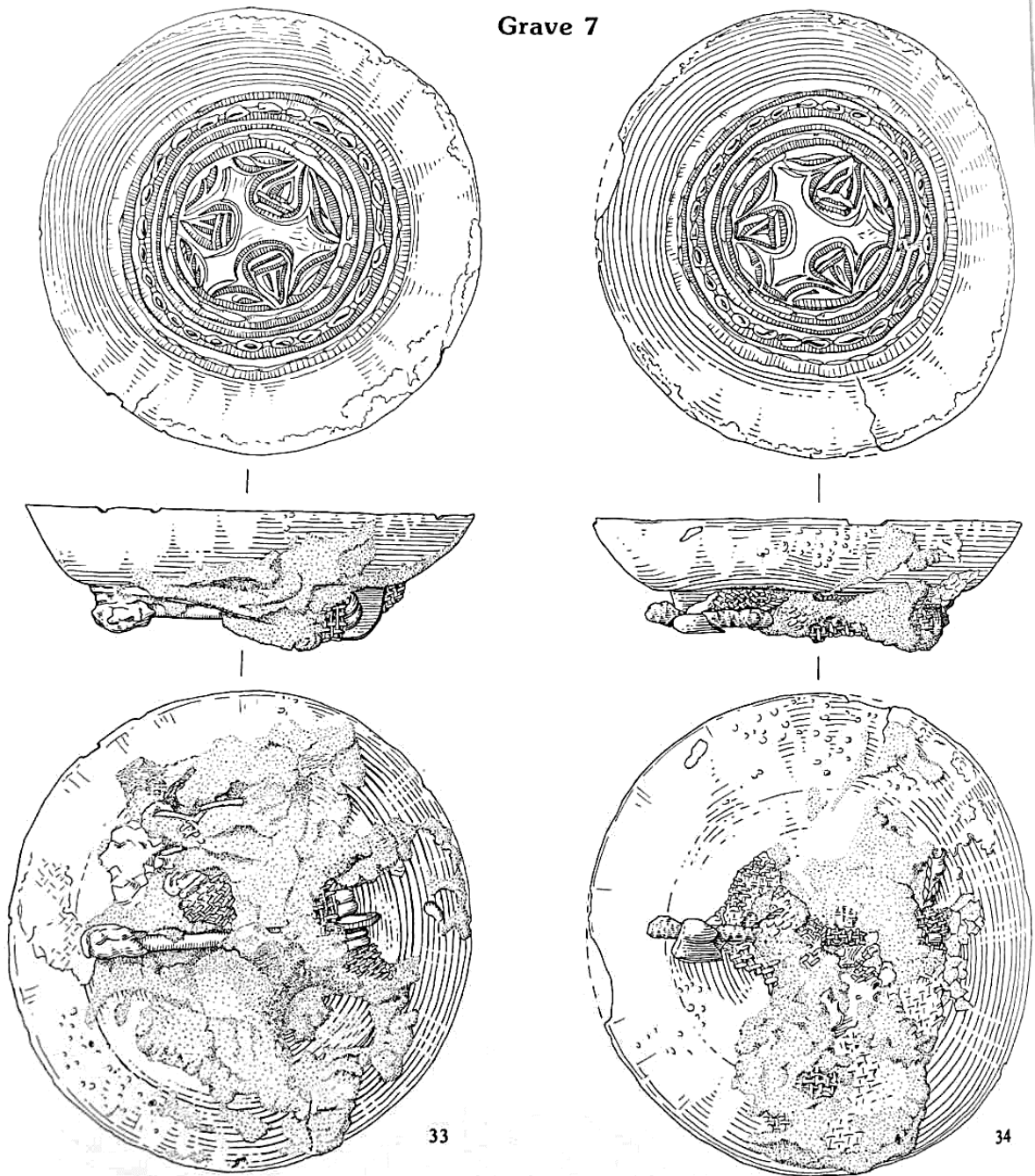


Plate 29: Drawing of SF33 & 34 from grave 7 (Williams & Newman 2006)

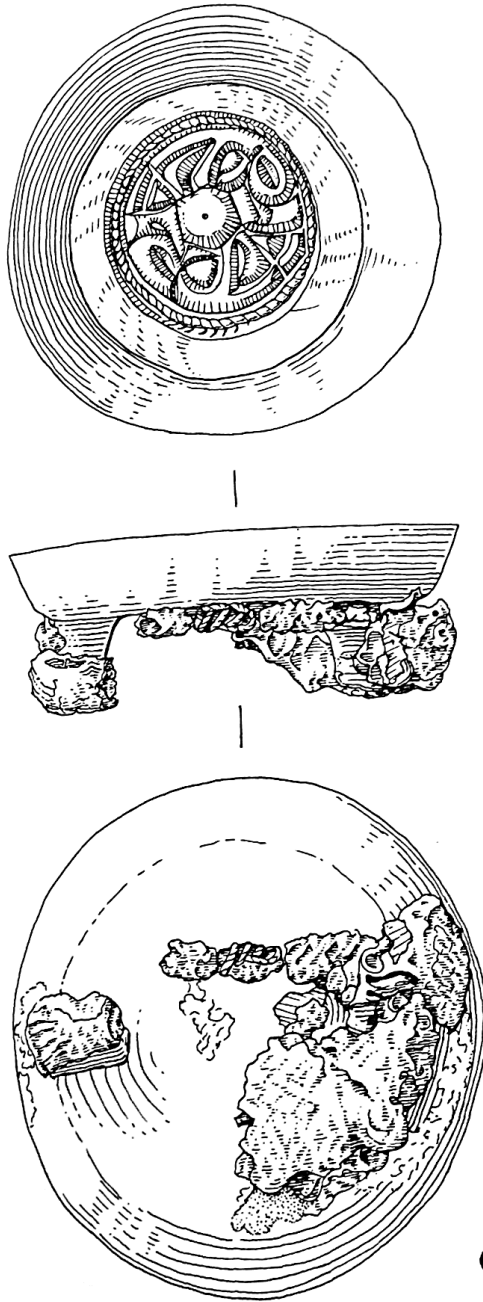
GRAVE 8

(see plate 30)

SF1 – diameter 48mm

Front: Gilded copper-alloy, but gilding is completely worn away. Uneven central boss, with animal ornament surrounding, consisting of two Salin's Style I two-legged animals, and bird-of-prey beaks arranged clockwise. Outside animal decoration is narrow ring, with undecorated border between ring and upwards angle of rim.

Back: Copper-alloy catch-plate and attachment plate. Iron pin has corroded completely, with traces of mineral textile.



63

Plate 30: Drawing of SF1 from grave 8 (Williams & Newman 2006)

GRAVE 24

(see plate 31)

SF1 – diameter 48mm

Front: Mercury-gilded brass. Central motif of small quatrefoil surrounded by circular band and wider border of 3 plain triangular wedges. Wedges are interspersed by 3 sets of basket-work made up of 2 horizontal and 1 radial multiple-bar blocks, all enclosed by band. Edge of brooch is plain with small area of damage where mercury-gilding is missing.

Back: Badly corroded iron pin with copper-alloy and attachment plate survive, with preserved mineral textile.

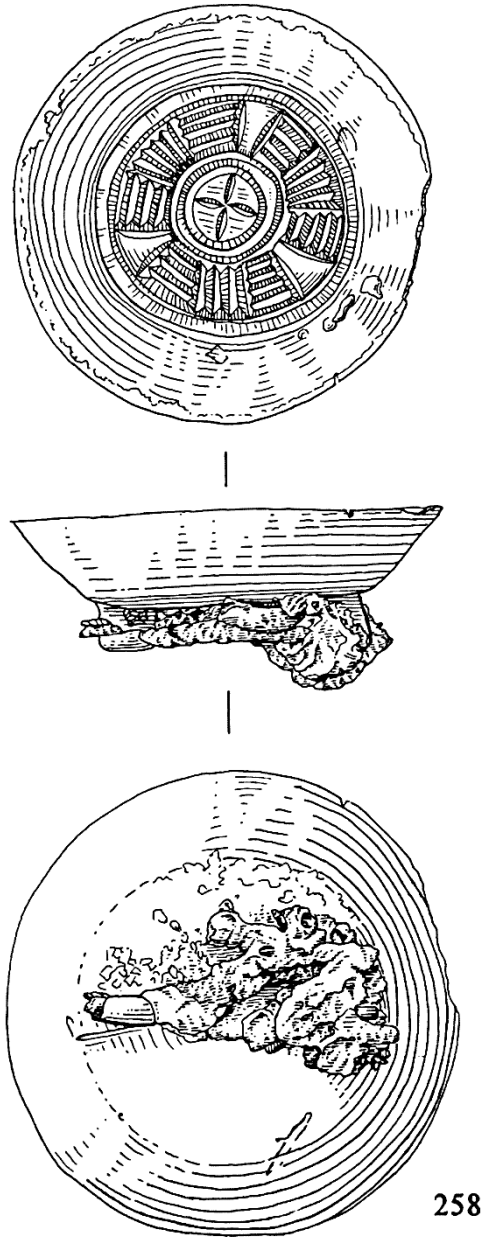


Plate 31: Drawing of SF1 from grave 24 (Williams & Newman 2006)

GRAVE 26

(see plate 32)

SF288 – diameter 53mm

Front: Mercury-gilded bronze with one-third missing. Three concentric border rings surrounding six-pointed star. Gilding only remains in grooves.

Back: Copper-alloy catch-plate and attachment plate. Corroded iron pin with textile remains.

SF889 – diameter 54mm

Front: Mercury-gilded bronze similar to SF288.

Back: Copper-alloy catch-plate and attachment plate. Spring covered with textile.

Grave 26

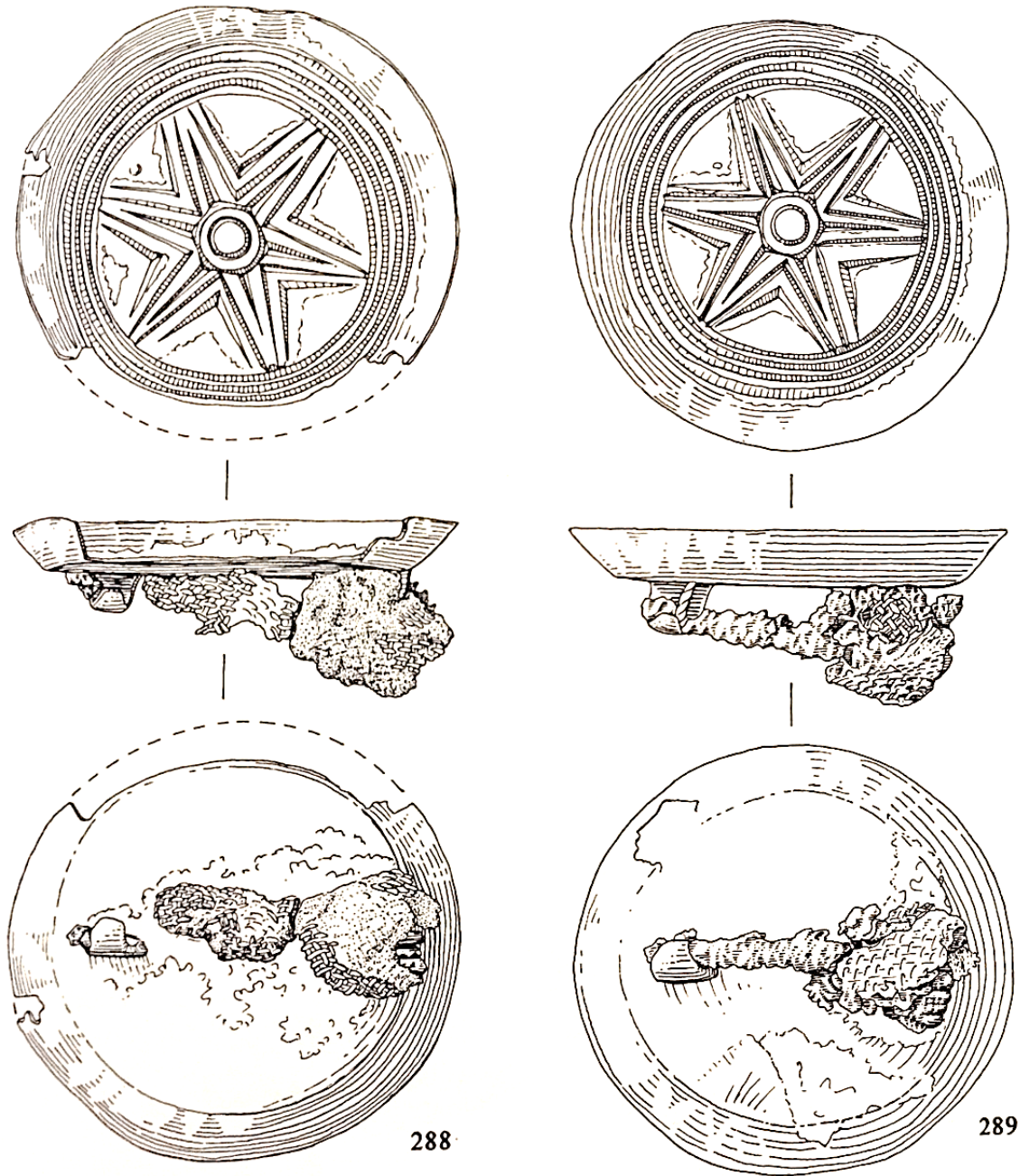


Plate 32: Drawing of SF288 & 289 from grave 26 (Williams & Newman 2006)

Oakington (Sayer 2013 & Ainsworth 2017/authors own comments)

GRAVE 41

SF92 – diameter 46.3mm

Front: Decorated with a single field with no axes and a degenerate animal ornament. Design indicates that two different cast moulds were used to create each brooch – not an identical pair.

Back: Catchplate without pin. Textile attached to catchplate.

SF93 – diameter 45.4mm

Front: Decorated with a single field with no axes and a degenerate animal ornament. Design indicates that two different cast moulds were used to create each brooch – not an identical pair.

Back: Catchplate without pin.



Plate 33: SF92 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)



Plate 35: SF93 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)

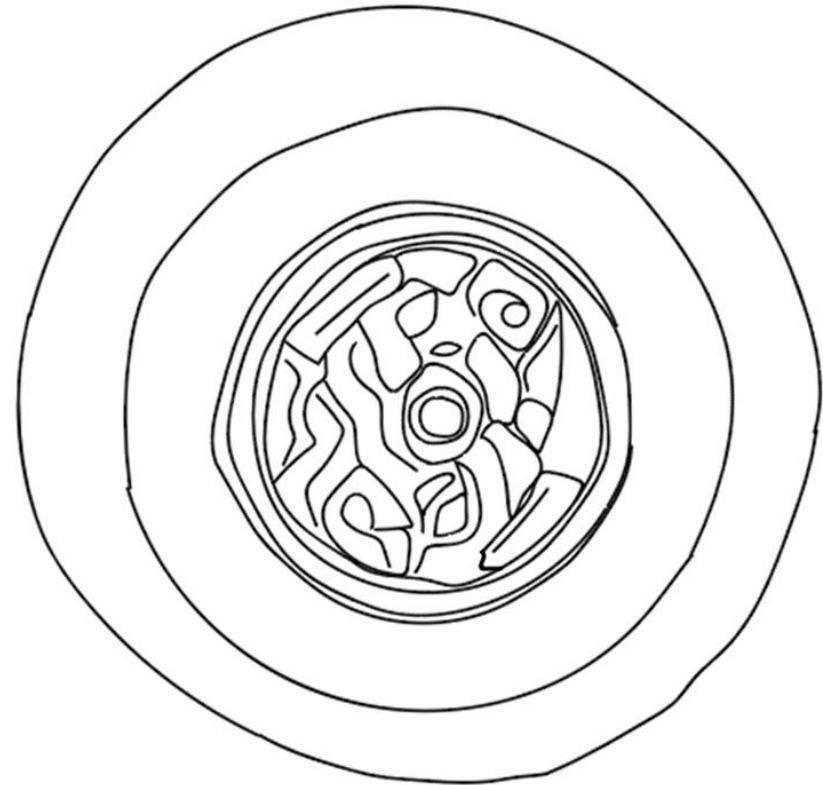


Plate 34: Drawing of SF93 from grave 41 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)

GRAVE 61

SF79 – diameter 47mm

Front: Decorated with Style I birds with curved beaks and a basketwork border. Badly corroded front with holes from wear. Design indicates that two different cast moulds were used to create each brooch – not an identical pair.

Back: Badly corroded back, with textile.

SF81 – diameter 46mm

Front: Decorated with Style I birds with curved beaks and a basketwork border. Well preserved with corrosion along the left rim. Design indicates that two different cast moulds were used to create each brooch – not an identical pair.

Back: Catchplate and pin, with textile attached.



Plate 37: SF79 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)



Plate 36: SF81 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)



Plate 38: Drawing of SF79 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)

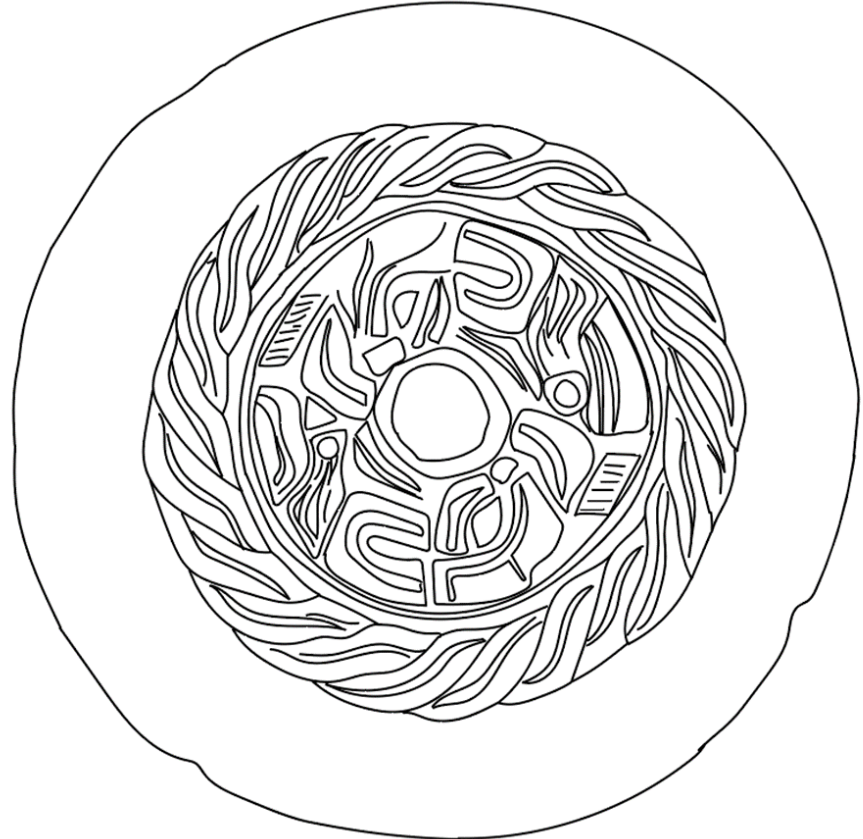
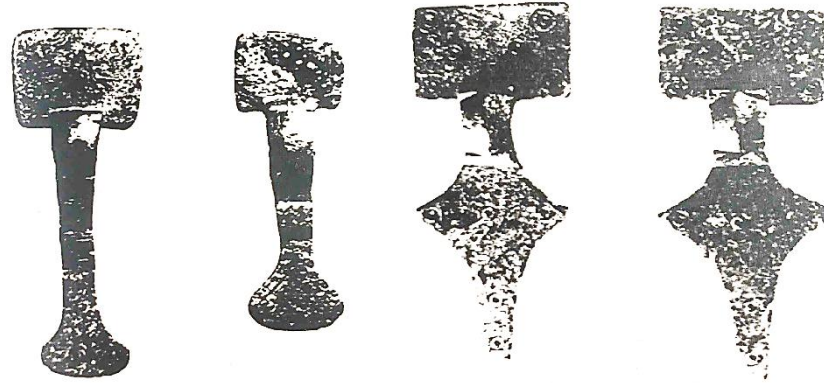


Plate 39: Drawing of SF81 from grave 61 (Ainsworth 2017/authors own)

Appendix C: The Small-Long Brooches

Abingdon I (Dickinson 1978)



c. Abingdon I, B18

b. Abingdon I, B3



b. Abingdon I, AM 1934.235

Plate 40: Small-long brooches from Abingdon I graves (Dickinson 1978)

Blacknall Field (Eagles 2010)

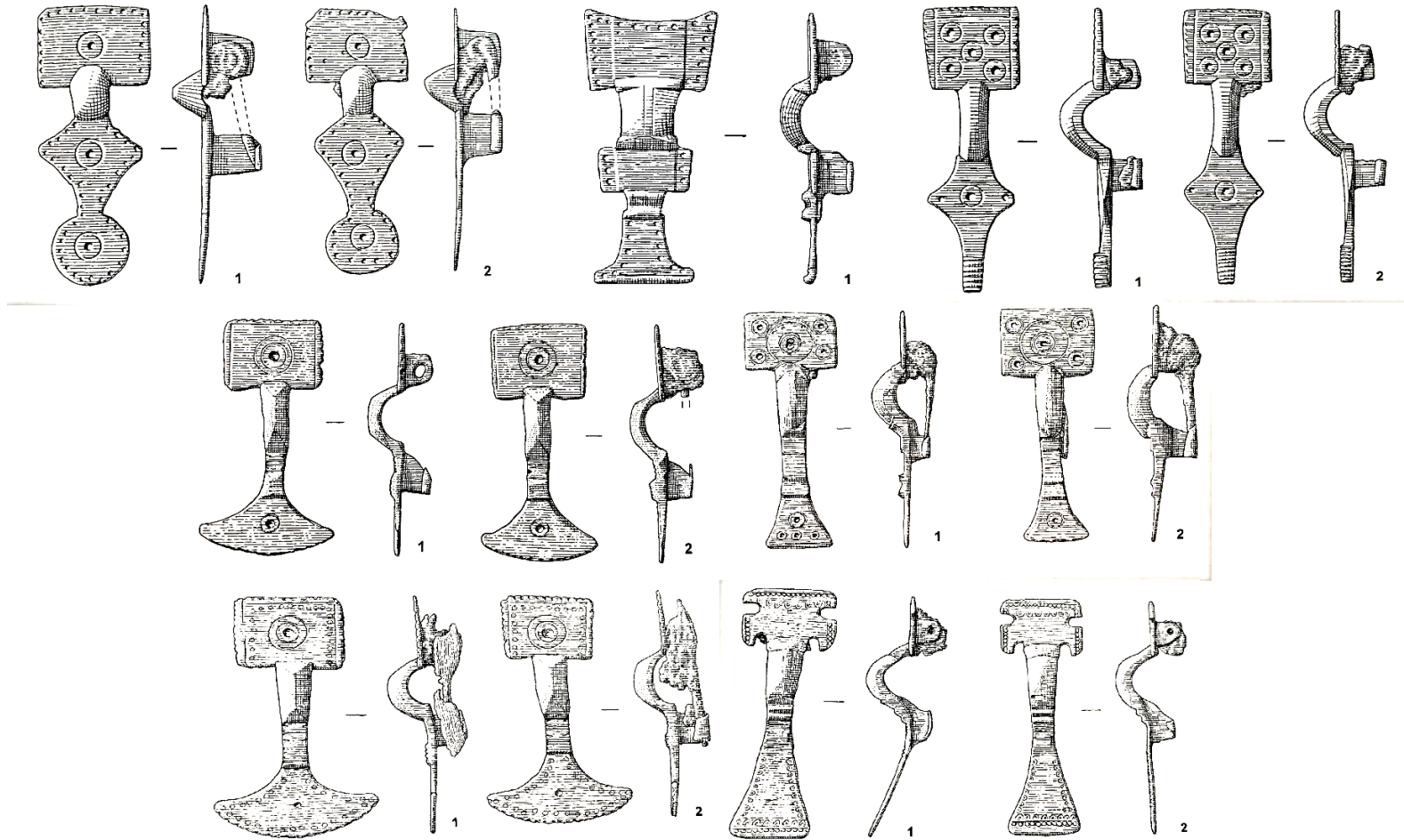
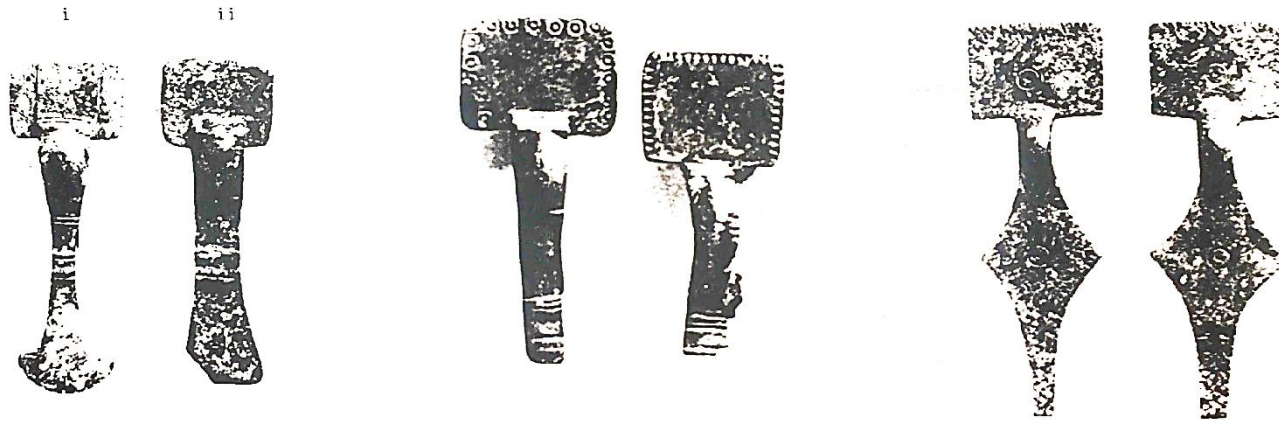


Plate 41: Small-long brooches from Blacknall Field graves (L to R) 15, 19, 27, 74, 85, 93 and 95 (Eagles 2010)

Dorchester VI (Dickinson 1978) N/A

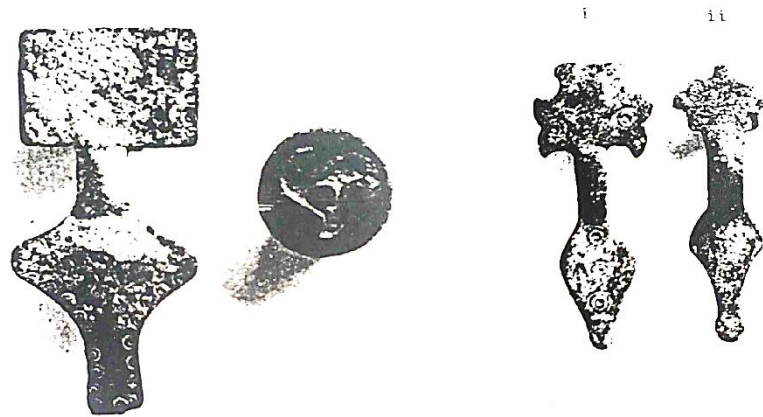
East Shefford (Dickinson 1978)



b. East Shefford BM 93,7-16,35(i), 36(ii)

c. East Shefford BM 93,7-16,39,40

a. East Shefford BM 93,7-16,33-34



d. East Shefford AM 1955.345(i), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,37(i), 38(i)

Plate 42: Small-long brooches from East Shefford graves (Dickinson 1978)

Great Chesterford (Evison 1994)

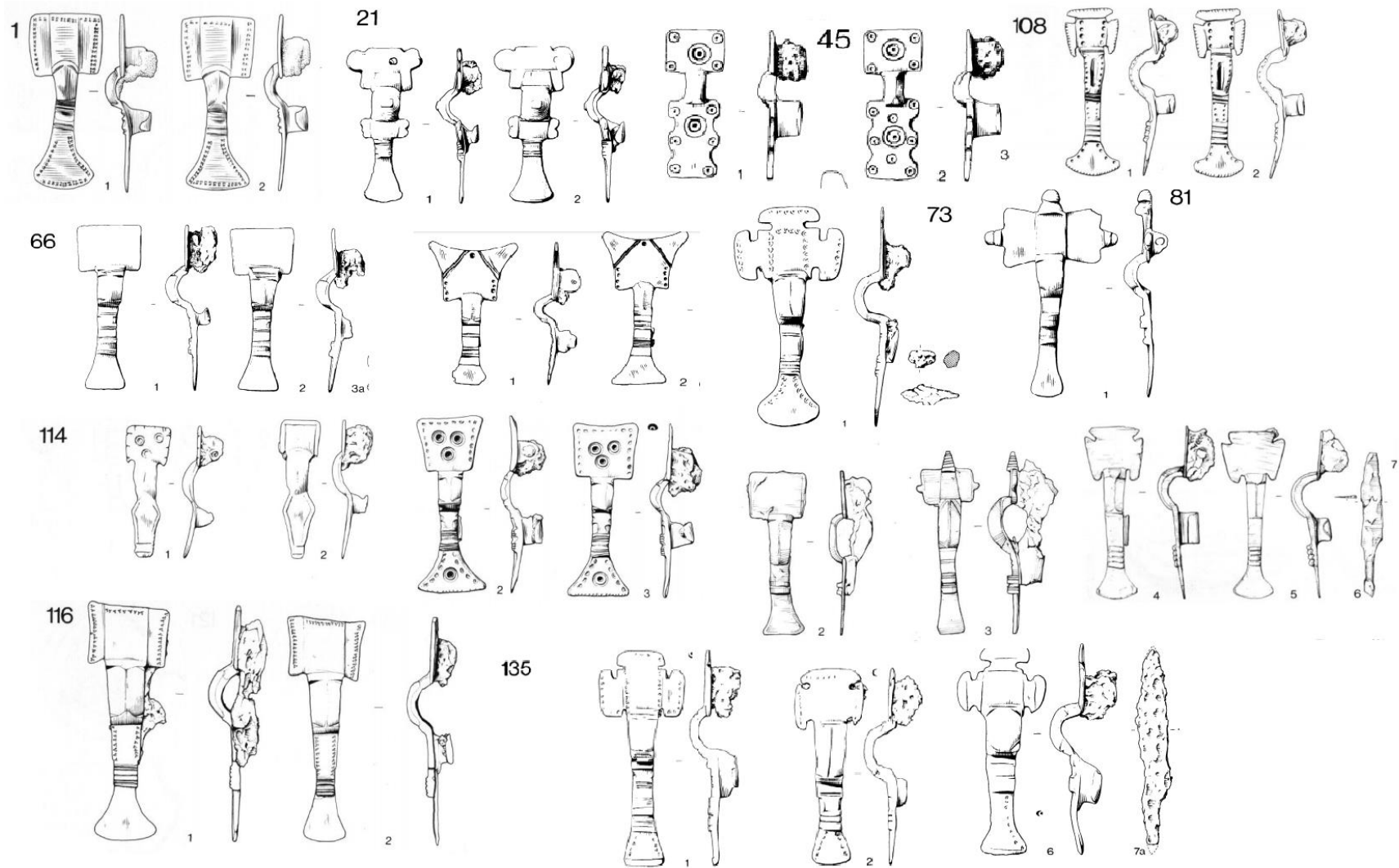


Plate 43: Small-long brooches from Great Chesterford graves (Evison 1994)

Market Lavington (Williams & Newman 2006) N/A\

Oakington (Sayer 2013)

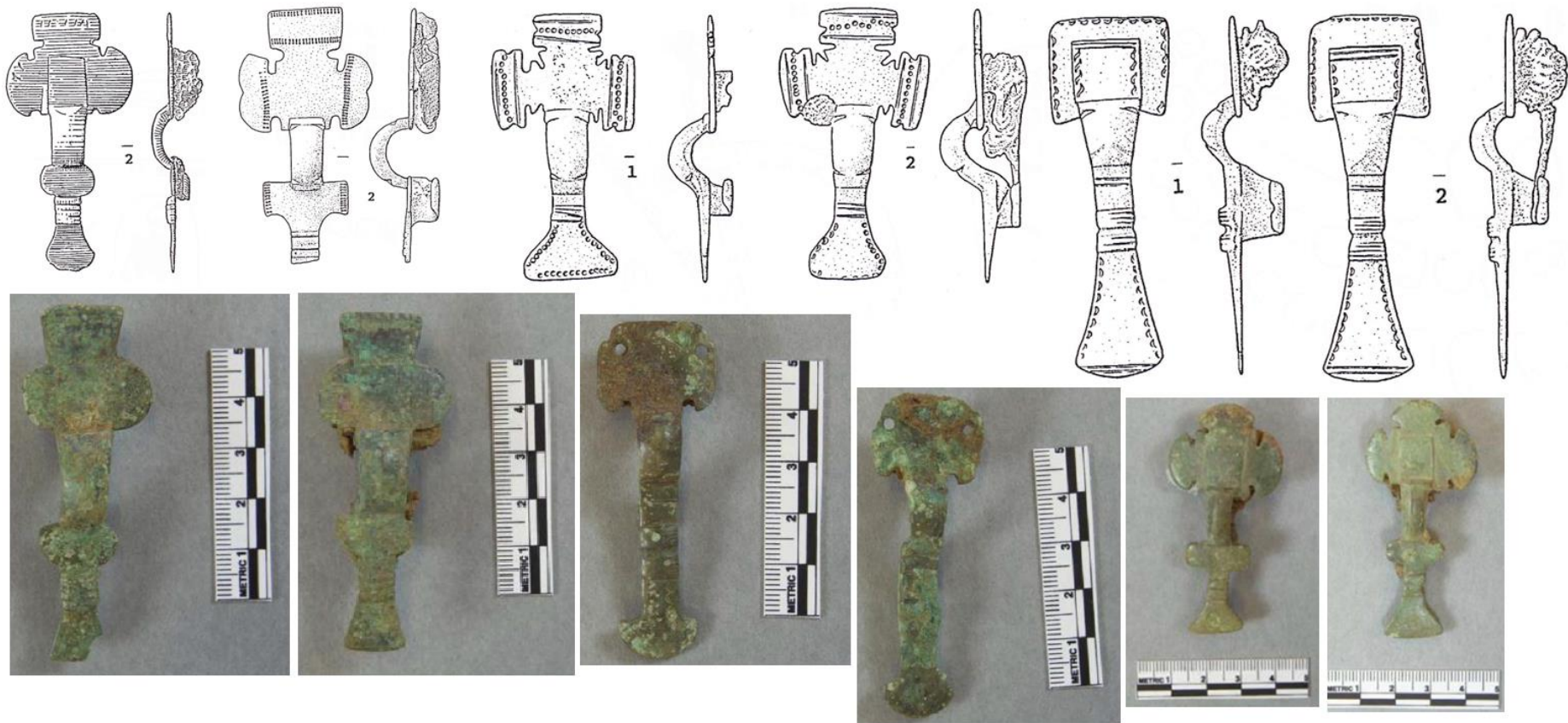


Plate 44: Small-long brooches from Oakington graves (L to R) 4, 10, 18, 19, 57, 59, 66 (Taylor et al. 1997 & Sayer 2013)

Appendix D: Data

Abingdon I (Dickinson 1978)

Saucer								
Find No.	Grave	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
	5	80mm	Female	N/A	Below breasts	Central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges	Late 6th/early 7th C	Toilet set on ring, string of 17 beads, amber beads, iron buckle
	5	80mm	Female	N/A	Below breasts	Central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges	Late 6th/early 7th C	Toilet set on ring, string of 17 beads, amber beads, iron buckle
	6	43mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Unique five-point star	Early/mid 6th C	Amber bead, 2 iron fragments
	6	43mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Unique five-point star	Early/mid 6th C	Amber bead, 2 iron fragments
	31	55mm	Female	N/A	Scapulae	Central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements	Second half of 6th C	N/A
	31	55mm	Female	N/A	Scapulae	Central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements	Second half of 6th C	N/A

	32	39mm	Female	N/A	Scapulae	Unique radial leg	Mid/late 6th C	Iron pin, knife, string of 38 amber beads
	34	48mm	Female	N/A	Ribs	Seven running scrolls	6th C	Bronze-bound bucket, two bronze picks on iron ring, bead, fragmentary strips of iron, bronze repair clip from wooden cup
	34	48mm	Female	N/A	Ribs	Seven running scrolls	6th C	Bronze-bound bucket, two bronze picks on iron ring, bead, fragmentary strips of iron, bronze repair clip from wooden cup
	60	43mm	Female	N/A	R shoulder	Scrollwork and deep chip-carving	First half of 6th C	Bronze pick on a ring, iron buckle, string of 115 beads, iron ring, knife, bronze mount, sherd
	60	43mm	Female	N/A	L lower ribs	Scrollwork and deep chip-carving	First half of 6th C	Bronze pick on a ring, iron buckle, string of 115 beads, iron ring, knife, bronze mount, sherd
	100	39mm	Female	N/A	R vertebrae	Weakly executed scrolls	End of 5th/first half of 6th C	Knife, heavy lump of iron, bronze repair fittings from a wooden cup
	100	39mm	Female	N/A	R vertebrae	Weakly executed scrolls	End of 5th/first half of 6th C	Knife, heavy lump of iron, bronze repair fittings from a wooden cup
	102	47mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Seven running scrolls	6th C	Beads, iron pin, iron buckle, knife, six fragments of iron (buckle?)
	102	47mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Seven running scrolls	6th C	Beads, iron pin, iron buckle, knife, six fragments of iron (buckle?)
	118	30mm	Female	N/A	Scapulae	Floriolate cross-and-masks	First half of 6th C	Knife, string of 22 beads, amber, scale-pan, iron buckle
	118	34mm	Female	N/A	Scapulae	Inner whirligig and outer radial bars	First half of 6th C	Knife, string of 22 beads, amber, scale-pan, iron buckle

	(CREMATION 29)	45mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Seven running dog-legs and zigzag border	Second half of 6th C	Bone whorl
Small-long								
Find No.	Grave	Length x Width	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
	3	60mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Sharp-angled footplate and straight terminal	6th C	Silver finger ring, four iron rings, string of 31 beads, knife, discoid glass, cylindrical glass
	3	60mm	Female	N/A	Shoulders	Sharp-angled footplate and straight terminal	6th C	Silver finger ring, four iron rings, string of 31 beads, knife, discoid glass, cylindrical glass
	18	56mm	Male	N/A	Shoulders	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Knife
	18	67mm	Male	N/A	Shoulders	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Knife
	46	59mm	Female	N/A	Below R breast	Trefoil-headed	6th C	Iron buckle, string of 14 beads, discoid glass, jet
	46	59mm	Female	N/A	Below R breast	Trefoil-headed	6th C	Iron buckle, string of 14 beads, discoid glass, jet

Blacknall Field (Annable & Eagles 2010)

Saucer								
Find No.	Grave	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
1	21	5.55cm	Female	40+	Upper chest	Decorated with Style I (Bichrome Style)	N/A	Cast great square-headed brooch (bronze + mercury), tanged iron knife, oval iron buckle, iron-bound wooden container, iron fittings, 4 amber beads, copper-alloy bound wooden bucket, copper-alloy strip/hoop.
2	21	5.65cm	Female	40+	Upper chest	Decorated with Style I (Bichrome Style)	N/A	Cast great square-headed brooch (bronze + mercury), tanged iron knife, oval iron buckle, iron-bound wooden container, iron fittings, 4 amber beads, copper-alloy bound wooden bucket, copper-alloy strip/hoop.
1	50	3cm	Female	25-30	Upper chest	Decorated with the six running spirals design	N/A	Cosmetic brush, bucket, 2 small triangular mounts of copper-alloy sheet, glass bead, amber bead, 4 amber beads, oval copper-alloy buckle, amber bead, purse group, iron knife, incomplete expanding bracelet, 19 amber beads, rock crystal bead, 3 glass beads, glass bead, 2 glass beads, 6 glass beads, glass bead.
2	50	3cm	Female	25-30	Upper chest	Decorated with the six running spirals design	N/A	Cosmetic brush, bucket, 2 small triangular mounts of copper-alloy sheet, glass bead, amber bead, 4 amber beads, oval copper-alloy buckle, amber bead, purse group, iron knife, incomplete expanding bracelet, 19 amber beads, rock crystal bead, 3 glass beads, glass bead, 2 glass beads, 6 glass beads, glass bead.
1	56	4.40cm	Female	30	Neck	Decorated with the seven running leg design	N/A	Copper-alloy bound wooden bucket, tanged iron knife, purse group, heavy duty iron nail, 4 amber beads, silver finger ring.
1	56	4.35cm	Female	30	Neck	Decorated with the seven running leg design	N/A	Copper-alloy bound wooden bucket, tanged iron knife, purse group, heavy duty iron nail, 4 amber beads, silver finger ring.

1	104	3.5cm	Female	30	Upper chest	Decorated with the five running spirals design	N/A	Disc-headed iron nail, dress pin, glass bead, 34 glass beads, 14 amber beads, 16 amber beads, fragmented copper-alloy ring, cast bronze buckle, finger-ring, 42 glass beads, 14 amber beads.
2	104	3.75cm	Female	30	Upper chest	Decorated with the five running spirals design	N/A	Disc-headed iron nail, dress pin, glass bead, 34 glass beads, 14 amber beads, 16 amber beads, fragmented copper-alloy ring, cast bronze buckle, finger-ring, 42 glass beads, 14 amber beads.
Small-long								
Find No.	Grave	Length x Width	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
1	15	61mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a square head-plate	N/A	Bioconical pot, 15 glass beads, copper-alloy wristlet, iron knife, iron buckle, possible iron dress pin
2	15	59mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a square head-plate	N/A	Bioconical pot, 15 glass beads, copper-alloy wristlet, iron knife, iron buckle, possible iron dress pin
1	19	66mm	Male	Adult	Right shoulder	Single brooch paired with a miniature Square-headed brooch	N/A	Miniature Square-headed brooch, iron knife
1	27	65.5mm	Female	Adult	Upper chest	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a square head-plate	N/A	Bone handled iron knife, glass bead, amber bead
2	27	65.5mm	Female	Adult	Upper chest	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a square head-plate	N/A	Bone handled iron knife, glass bead, amber bead

1	74	53mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a crescentic foot	N/A	2 amber beads , iron knife, iron buckle, iron dress pin
2	74	53mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a crescentic foot	N/A	2 amber beads , iron knife, iron buckle, iron dress pin
1	85	58.5mm	Female	Adult	Upper chest	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a triangular foot	N/A	3 amber beads, 2 chalk beads, 20 glass beads, 32 glass beads, copper-alloy dress pin, 2 iron nails
2	85	58.5mm	Female	Adult	Upper chest	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a triangular foot	N/A	3 amber beads, 2 chalk beads, 20 glass beads, 32 glass beads, copper-alloy dress pin, 2 iron nails
1	93	60.5mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a crescentic foot	N/A	Iron dress pin, amber bead, glass bead, copper-alloy Annular brooch
2	93	60.5mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Decorated with circle-and-dot motifs with a crescentic foot	N/A	Iron dress pin, amber bead, glass bead, copper-alloy Annular brooch
1	95	65mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders	Sub-group of the cross potent dervative type (from Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Sussex)	N/A	Amber bead, rock crystal bead, iron knife, iron firesteel, 2 iron purse-rings, copper-alloy dress pin, tapering iron strip

						Sub-group of the cross potent dervative type (from Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Sussex)		
2	95	65mm	Female	Adult	Shoulders		N/A	Amber bead, rock crystal bead, iron knife, iron firesteel, 2 iron purse-rings, copper-alloy dress pin, tapering iron strip

Dorchester VI (Dickinson 1978)

Saucer								
Find No.	Grave	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
	22	66mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Four wedges and 'Mr. Chad' masks	Late 6th/early 7th C	Iron buckle, knife, beads, discoid glass, truncated spheres
	42	39mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Five running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls	Early 6th C	16 sub-rectangular beads, iron ring/buckle, knife
	42	39mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Five running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls	Early 6th C	16 sub-rectangular beads, iron ring/buckle, knife
	54	48mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Six running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls	End of 5th/early 6th C	Bronze-bound bucket, knife, iron buckle, faceted rock crystal whorl, bead
	54	48mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Six running scrolls with weakly executed scrolls	End of 5th/early 6th C	Bronze-bound bucket, knife, iron buckle, faceted rock crystal whorl, bead
	63	38mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border	Second half of 6th C	Knife, 2 amber beads
	63	38mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border	Second half of 6th C	Knife, 2 amber beads
	73	30mm	N/A	N/A	N/A	Seven running scrolls	Late 5th/early 6th C	Iron pin

	73	30mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Seven running scrolls	Late 5th/early 6th C	Iron pin
	77	38mm	N / A	N / A	R shou lder	Free-standing 'weak' stars with zigzag border	Mid 6th C	Small Square-headed brooch, Disc brooch, iron pin, knife, beads
	102	61mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament	Mid 6th C	Great Square-headed brooch, bucket, 92 amber beads, silvered bronze buckle, 2 shoe-shaped studs, iron tweezers on ring, knife
	102	61mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament	Mid 6th C	Great Square-headed brooch, bucket, 92 amber beads, silvered bronze buckle, 2 shoe-shaped studs, iron tweezers on ring, knife
	107	46mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Floriolate cross-and-masks with basketwork border	Mid 6th C	Great Square-headed brooch, knife, sheet bronze square plate, iron pin, iron buckle and plate, necklace, bronze toilet set on ring
Small-long								
Find No.	Grav	Length x Width	S	A	Posi	Description	Date	Finds
	58	L 59mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Beads
	58	L 59mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Beads
	83	N/A	N / A	N / A	N/A	Cross potent derivative' square-topped with lateral upper notches and basal notches	Late 5th C	Enamelled Disc brooch, sheet bronze stips, necklace
	91	L 57mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Bronze pick on ring, necklace

	91	L 57mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Bronze pick on ring, necklace
	10 4	L 63mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Square-headed long brooches with sharp-angled foot-plate and straight terminal	6th C	Iron rings, knife, sheet bronze fragments, beads
	10 4	L 63mm	N / A	N / A	N/A	Square-headed long brooches with sharp-angled foot-plate and straight terminal	6th C	Iron rings, knife, sheet bronze fragments, beads

East Shefford (Dickinson 1978)

Sauce								
Find No.	Grav	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
	51	43mm	Female	N/A	N/A	Single field, no axes and degenrate animal ornament	N/A	String of glass beads, discoid
	51	43mm	Female	N/A	N/A	Single field, no axes and degenrate animal ornament	N/A	String of glass beads, discoid
	XVI II	N/A	Female	N/A	Breast	Running 'C' scrolls	Early 6th C	Anseate' brooch, bronze toilet set on ring, iron buckle, knife and iron fragments, string of beads
Small-long								
Find No.	Grav	Length x Width	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
	XVI	N/A	Female	N/A	Over shoulde rs	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Bead, two iron buckles, knife, iron fragments
	XVI	N/A	Female	N/A	Over shoulde rs	Square-headed with rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal	6th C	Bead, two iron buckles, knife, iron fragments

Great Chesterford (Evison 1994)

Saucer								
Find No.	Grave	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
2	2B	3.7cm	Female	Adult	Right shoulder	Five chip-carved spirals	N / A	Great square-headed brooch, beads, bronze ring, nail x2, bronze tube
3	2B	3.7cm	Female	Adult	Left shoulder	Five chip-carved spirals	N / A	Great square-headed brooch, beads, bronze ring, nail x2, bronze tube
1	126	3.3cm	Female	25-35	Right of skull	Five chip-carved spirals	N / A	Great square-headed brooch, iron purse mount fragments, beads
2	126	3.3cm	Female	25-35	Under chin	Five chip-carved spirals	N / A	Great square-headed brooch, iron purse mount fragments, beads
1	120	3.7cm	Female	35-45	Right shoulder	Four-leg centre and egg-and-dart border	N / A	Beads
2	120	3.7cm	Female	35-45	Left shoulder	Four-leg centre and egg-and-dart border	N / A	Beads
1	97	4.6cm	Female	25-35	Right shoulder	Kentish style with zig-zag border	N / A	Beads, bronze ring, knife
2	97	4.6cm	Female	25-35	Below left shoulder	Kentish style with zig-zag border	N / A	Beads, bronze ring, knife

Sma II-long								
Find No.	Grave	Length x Width	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	 Finds
1	66	6.2cm	Female	25-35	Under skull	Square-head and wide foot	N / A	Beads, 2 bronze wrist-clasps
2	66	6.1cm	Female	25-35	Right waist (foot up)	Square-head and wide foot	N / A	Beads, 2 bronze wrist-clasps
2	153	5.8cm	Female	15-25	Right shoulder (foot up)	Square-head and wide foot	N / A	Black burnished hollow-necked bowl, bronze Cruciform brooch, beads, nail
2	92	6cm	Female	35-45	Mid-right chest (face down)	Square-head and wide foot	N / A	Black burnished globular pot, beads, iron ring brooch, iron pin fragments
3	92	5.9cm	Female	35-45	Right of skull	Square-head and wide foot	N / A	Black burnished globular pot, beads, iron ring brooch, iron pin fragments
1	108	6cm	Female	35-45	Right shoulder (foot up)	Square-head with distinct cross arms	N / A	Four large wedge-shaped amber beads, iron buckle loop and tongue fragment
2	108	6cm	Female	35-45	Left shoulder (foot up)	Square-head with distinct cross arms	N / A	Four large wedge-shaped amber beads, iron buckle loop and tongue fragment
4	160	6.1cm	Female	35-45	N/A	Square-head with distinct cross arms	N / A	Two bronze wrist-clasps, iron ring fragments
5	160	10.6cm	Female	35-45	N/A	Square-head with distinct cross arms	N / A	Two bronze wrist-clasps, iron ring fragments

1	11 6	8.3cm	Female	35-45	Under skull on right collar bone	Panelled square-headed	N / A	Bronze pin, iron pin, iron rod fragment, iron fragment
2	11 6	7.8cm	Female	35-45	Left shoulder	Panelled square-headed	N / A	Bronze pin, iron pin, iron rod fragment, iron fragment
1	1	6.1cm	Female	35-45	Right shoulder	Panelled square-headed	N / A	Beads, knife, iron ring, bronze band, nail
2	1	6.1cm	Female	35-45	Left of skull	Panelled square-headed	N / A	Beads, knife, iron ring, bronze band, nail
2	81	5.7cm	Female	35-45	Right of chin	Panelled square-headed	N / A	Bronze Cruciform brooch, bronze ring, coiled bronze strip, iron ring, iron key shaft, iron purse mount fragment, eight nails
1	55	5.2cm	Female	35-45	Right neck/under chin	Square-headed with upper corners points	N / A	Beads, fragment of bronze wrist-clasp base plates of bronze wrist-clasp, knife, nail, iron ring-headed pin fragment, three iron fragments
2	55	5.5cm	Female	35-45	Left shoulder (foot up)	Square-headed with upper corners points	N / A	Beads, fragment of bronze wrist-clasp base plates of bronze wrist-clasp, knife, nail, iron ring-headed pin fragment, three iron fragments
3	37	7.5cm	Female	35-45	Under chin	Square-headed with upper corners hooks	N / A	Black burnished globular pot, gilt bronze radiate brooch, beads, dog/wolf tooth, claw-shaped stone, knife, iron key fragments, nail
1	21	5.9cm	Female	15-25	Right shoulder	Square-headed with lappets	N / A	Bronze pin, iron ring fragments, 4 iron 8-shaped loops, knife, nail
2	21	5.9cm	Female	15-25	Left shoulder	Square-headed with lappets	N / A	Bronze pin, iron ring fragments, 4 iron 8-shaped loops, knife, nail
2	14 8	4.7cm	Female	Juvenile 3-6		Square-headed with lozenge-shaped foot and ring-and-dot decoration	N / A	Small black burnished bowl, iron pin or key fragment, beads, bronze wire, head of nail, nail

1	11 4	4.6cm	Female	45+	Left of 115 skull	Square-headed with lozenge-shaped foot and ring-and-dot decoration	N / A	Beads, bone pin
2	11 4	4.8cm	Female	45+	Pelvis near foot of grave	Square-headed with lozenge-shaped foot and ring-and-dot decoration	N / A	Beads, bone pin
1	45	4.2cm	Female	25-35	Right shoulder	Square-headed with short bow and lozenge-shaped foot	N / A	Beads, 6 tinned bronze tubular beads, oval iron buckle loop, knife fragments, iron key fragments
2	45	4.2cm	Female	25-35	Left shoulder	Square-headed with short bow and lozenge-shaped foot	N / A	Beads, 6 tinned bronze tubular beads, oval iron buckle loop, knife fragments, iron key fragments
1	73	8.4cm	Female	25-35	Left ankle (upside down)	Trefoil-headed	N / A	Iron fragments
1	13 5	8.4cm	Female	45+	Right shoulder	Trefoil-headed	N / A	Beads, bronze fragment, bronze wrist-clasp, knife, iron buckle loop and tongue, iron strip, two nails
2	13 5	7.7cm	Female	45+	Left shoulder	Trefoil-headed	N / A	Beads, bronze fragment, bronze wrist-clasp, knife, iron buckle loop and tongue, iron strip, two nails
6	13 5	8.1cm	Female	45+	Right hand	Cruciform-headed	N / A	Beads, bronze fragment, bronze wrist-clasp, knife, iron buckle loop and tongue, iron strip, two nails

Market Lavington (Williams & Newman 2006)

Saucer								
Find No.	Grave	Diameter	Sex	Age	Position	Description	Date	Finds
33	7	76m m	Female	N/A	Right shoulder	Four concentric rings and central field with Style I motifs	N/A	Iron buckle, amber beads, iron knife
34	7	78m m	Female	N/A	Left shoulder	Four concentric rings and central field with Style I motifs	N/A	Iron buckle, amber beads, iron knife
63	8	48m m	Female	Young adult	Left shoulder	Single field of two Style I creatures	N/A	Iron pin, knife, iron bar, amber beads, glass beads
258	24	48m m	Female	Adult	Right of skull	Central quatrefoil surrounded by 3 plain triangular wedges and 3 sets of basketwork	N/A	Iron buckle, knife, pins, knife, amber bead
288	26	53m m	Female	Adult	Left shoulder	Six point star	N/A	Cua pin, cua scoop, iron knife, pin, iron sheet fragment
289	26	54 mm	Female	Adult	Neck	Six point star	N/A	Cua pin, cua scoop, iron knife, pin, iron sheet fragment
Small-long								
NONE								

Oakington (Sayer 2013 & authors own measurements)

Sauce r								
Find No.	Grav e	Diameter	Sex	Age	Positi on	Description	D at e	Finds
SF92	41	L46.3mm	Female	Mid-adult	L shoulder	Zoomorphic design with basketwork border	N/A	Wrist-clasp, pin, amber beads.
SF93	41	L45.5mm	Female	Mid-adult	R shoulder	Zoomorphic design with basketwork border	N/A	Wrist-clasp, pin, amber beads.
SF79	61	L47.7mm	Female	30-40	N/A	Poorly executed zoomorphic design with basketwork border	N/A	Knife, ring, pair of wrist-clasps, beads
SF81	61	L46.5mm	Female	30-40	N/A	Poorly executed zoomorphic design with basketwork border	N/A	Knife, ring, pair of wrist-clasps, beads
Small -long								
Find No.	Grav e	Length x Width	Sex	Age	Positi on	Description	D at e	Finds
	4	L74mm	Female	Old adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Amber bead, iron ring, buckle, knife, potsherds, Cruciform brooch
	10	L82mm	Female	Old adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bone loop, knife, potsherds, Cruciform brooch, Disc brooch

	18	L62mm	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Latch-lifters, copper-alloy plate, strap-end, clip, iron ring, mount, pin
	18	L62mm	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Latch-lifters, copper-alloy plate, strap-end, clip, iron ring, mount, pin
	19	L70mm	Female	Child	N/A	N/A	N/A	Roman coin, buckle, spindle-whorl, glass beads, amber beads
	19	L70mm	Female	Child	N/A	N/A	N/A	Roman coin, buckle, spindle-whorl, glass beads, amber beads
	25	L73mm	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buckle, Annular brooch
SF22	36	L5mm x W4mm	Female	Child	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
SF60	57	L8mm x W4.1mm	Female	Adult + Child	N/A	N/A	N/A	Iron purse ring, 21 amber beads, 4 glass beads, iron knife, wrist-clasps, belt strap fittings, Cruciform brooch
SF61	57	L8mm x W5.7mm	Female	Adult + Child	N/A	N/A	N/A	Iron purse ring, 21 amber beads, 4 glass beads, iron knife, wrist-clasps, belt strap fittings, Cruciform brooch
SF83	59	L4mm x W2.8mm	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Beads, wrist-clasps
SF84	59	L5.2mm x W6.2mm	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Beads, wrist-clasps
SF98	66	N/A	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Roman coin x2, Roman spoon, pin, wrist-clasps, beads, ring-hanger, girdle-hanger, pottery

SF100	66	N/A	Female	Adult	N/A	N/A	N/A	Roman coin x2, Roman spoon, pin, wrist-clasps, beads, ring-hanger, girdle-hanger, pottery
SF14	78a	L69mm x W31mm	Female	N/A	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	
SF30	78a	L67mm x W31mm	Female	N/A	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	
SF62	82	L68mm x W25mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	Wrist-clasp, buckle, knife, beads
SF63	82	L76mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	Wrist-clasp, buckle, knife, beads
SF69	87	L80mm x W42mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	N/A
SF70	87	L76mm x W40mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	N/A
SF81	89	L89mm x W34mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Square-headed	N/A	28 beads, necklace, wrist-clasps, Cruciform brooch
SF85	89	L79mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Square-headed	N/A	
SF101	91	L72mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trapezoidal head-plate	N/A	26 amber beads, glass beads, copper-alloy necklace
SF102	91	L75mm x W34mm	Female	Adult	N/A	Trefoil-headed	N/A	26 amber beads, glass beads, copper-alloy necklace

