POWER EMBODIED: PECTORAL CROSSES IN EARLY ENGLAND AND THEIR PRE-CHRISTIAN BACKGROUND

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASPR: Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DOE: Dictionary of Old English

HE: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica

- Auct. ant.: Auctores antiquissimi

- Epp.: Epistolae

- Epp. sel.: Epistolae selectae

- SS: Scriptores (in Folio)

- SS rer. Germ.: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi

- SS rer. Merov.: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum

NH: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*

PAS: Portable Antiquities Scheme

PL: Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina

ABSTRACT

Far removed from the bodies they once adorned, and the graves from which they were unearthed, golden cross pendants, richly inlaid with garnets, sit behind glass in various museums in Great Britain. Like many museum objects, crosses from seventh-century England are disembodied from the people who wore them and from the context of their life as *things*. Bereft of contextual images from grave sites or excavations, both publications and museums tend to privilege the frontal, visual aspect of these pendants. This dissertation attempts to reconcile the duality between human and material culture and body and mind through a study of personal adornment. The people of fifth- and sixth-century England arrayed their bodies with jewelry that expressed status, heritage, and personal style and provided amuletic protection in life and in the grave. By the end of the seventh century, after the introduction of Christianity at the end of the sixth, jewelry all but disappeared from the cemetery record. Assessment of such changes to personal adornment, burial practices, or grave goods has focused on larger abstract concepts of political, social, or religious transition; less consideration has been given to the body as the primary driver of human action. Cognitive and phenomenological methodologies provide a new perspective in interpreting cultural changes like the transition from a non-Christian to a Christian paradigm. New concepts are internalized within the body, which includes the brain and its environment, rather than by a disembodied mind processing and acting autonomously. Through a case-study of the wearable cross, this dissertation will demonstrate the ability of embodied objects to change entrenched cultural notions about the mind/body relationship. This study begins with the engagement between jewelry and the wearer, including the bodily motivations for adornment, the affective

properties of design and materials, and the effects on memory and recall. It then explores anxieties regarding protection from the supernatural in life and in death, as well as societal functions of personal adornment. With the penetration of the image and sign of the cross into seventh-century England, it will posit the translation of concerns for protection from pre-Christian amulets to the Christian cross. Additionally, it will examine the cognitive effects of Christian ritual as well as bodily interaction between cross pendants and their owners. Finally, it will demonstrate the eventual disappearance of the wearable cross from the cemetery record in the eighth century as suggestive of one of the first major shifts in attitudes toward the material world and the body. More than a mere replacement of amulets, the cross represents a sensorial need for contact between power-object and wearer as belief systems overlapped between the sixth and seventh centuries. This bodily relationship provides a richer understanding of the people of early medieval England and the glittering ornaments they carried with them in life and beyond.

Chapter 1

ADORNING BODIES FROM THE LATE-FIFTH TO EARLY-SEVENTH CENTURY

Introduction

More than a thousand years ago in the village of Trumpington, just outside Cambridge, a young woman hung a rare and lovely cloisonné cross at her heart (fig. 1). Delicate cells of deep red garnets would have flashed as she moved through the sunlight; the golden surface of the crossarms would be set aglow as she passed candle and firelight. Her body gave life to this treasured piece, and so valued and so strong was this link between ornament and wearer, that the cross followed her to her grave.[1] To her mourners, interment with jewelry would have been a familiar tradition, as that rite had been widely observed since the fifth century. But in the seventh century the cross was a recent addition, disappearing altogether in the eighth century with the discontinuation of the rite of burial with grave goods. Today the ten additional gold and garnet crosses unearthed in the last century sit behind glass in various museums of Great Britain, far removed from the bodies they once adorned. Typical display methods have encouraged viewing wearable crosses in stylistic or craftsmanship terms, and scholarship has largely followed a similar set of interests. Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology has attempted to bridge the gap between

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[1] Most evidence, as presented in Chapter 4, indicates that the Trumpington Cross was worn in life and perhaps modified, though not purpose-made, for deposition.

body and ornament by displaying the Trumpington Cross *in situ* above a life-sized photograph of the woman's skeleton. And yet, this kind of enhanced display communicates more about archaeology and recovery than lived experience. In the majority of known pedant and pectoral crosses, signs of usage are evident through wear patterns, as well as repairs prior to deposition, which intimates the affectivity of these objects in both life and death.[2] Without consideration of the living body the cross becomes *disembodied*, and the affective aspects of the engagement between ornament and wearer go unexplored. By combining cognitive methodologies with art historical approaches, medieval jewelry pieces are reanimated as active, experienced things, rather than inaccessible showpieces in museums. It is my intention in this dissertation to present a case for the significance of adornment as an under-examined yet revelatory art historical object in the recovery of bodily experience. My interdisciplinary approach presents a contribution to the field by uncovering the cognitive impulses that have prompted the creation and use of material culture not only in the medieval period, but throughout history.

I was first introduced to some of my primary methodology in 2013 through a graduate seminar with Dr. Tracy Cooper at Temple University. "Sensuous Art History" was a seminar engaging in the exploration of art history through the human sensory experience. The work of two scholars included on the reading list proved most

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[2] Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 26; Pendant, Portable Antiquities Scheme (record ID: NMS-6E94EA; accessed March 25, 2020), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/935609; Pendant, PAS (record ID: DUR-B62F57; accessed February 10, 2021), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986027; further evidence via my own microscopic examinations of cross pendants will be provided in Chapter 4.

influential: David Freedberg, best known for his work on psychological responses to art, and Giacomo Rizzolatti, who identified mirror neurons in the early 1990s. Mirror neurons enable us to recognize emotional expressions or postures in our fellow humans which subsequently induces an empathetic response. Even more significantly, the viewing of movement, whether live or pictorial, activates motor cortices as if we were ourselves, performing the same action. In his essay, "Memory in Art: History and the Neuroscience of Response," Freedberg applied Rizzolatti's discovery to specific pieces such as Rogier van der Weyden's *Decent from the Cross*. He explored how a perspective predicated on sight, movement, and emotions, rather than one predicated on memory of the deposition story alone, allows for the integration of phenomenological responses with *historical* claims for physical engagement with an artwork. Inspired by Freedberg's work, I began to combine phenomenology, an approach that concentrates on the study of consciousness and the objects of direct experience, with concepts of cognitive science to try to recover human experience in the pre-conversion culture of early medieval England. This approach not only influenced my own physical engagement with research objects at UK museums, but it was further enriched and expanded by my experience at The Medieval Brain Interdisciplinary Conference in 2017 at the University of York.

My personal interest in religious conversion led me to question the traditional explanations for the transition from a non-Christian to a Christian paradigm in England from the end of the sixth century through the eighth century. It is therefore unsurprising that the sumptuous Christian object of the pendant cross, which sits on the cusp of the transition from one belief system to another, became the focus of my initial study. I found neuroscientific methodologies provided a new, exciting, and

promising perspective in interpreting cultural changes like that of early medieval England. Furthermore, it put the body back in conversation with objects which are usually displayed in a solely frontal view, divorced from the human form that they once adorned. To further counter this separation, I put my own body in contact with cross pendants, as well as several other jewelry pieces from the period.

To date, fourteen cross pendants from the mid- to late-seventh century, fashioned of gold and inset with garnets (including three fragmentary pendants) have been found in the United Kingdom, as well as three solid gold, seven sliver, and four copper-alloy pendants. Between 2017 and 2022 I conducted research at nearly every museum in the UK with a pendant cross, searching for physical evidence of interaction between the body and adornment. I was specifically interested in wearmarks produced by deliberate personal interaction such as repeated touching or rubbing, but I was also interested in the life of the object itself, including breaks, repairs, and wear from other sources such as clothing or friction from the suspension cord or chain. With a glass magnifier and a digital microscope I examined eight gold and garnet, four silver, and four copper-alloy crosses. As jewelry objects related to belief, I felt it critical to consider amuletic jewelry from the prior century as well as amulets that existed alongside cross pendants in the seventh century. At the British Museum I inspected two crystal balls, a beaver tooth pendant, three human figure pendants, and three cruciform mounts. At this point it is important to acknowledge a type of knowledge unmediated by magnifiers or microscopes; physically handling these ornaments added a necessary and revealing dimension to understanding their interaction with the body, size, weight, how the human eye perceives reflective materials in different lighting conditions. Though certainly filtered through my own cultural and temporal filters,

physical interaction with the variety of cross pendant forms and a few amuletic forms bridged some of the theoretical with the experiential. It soon became clear that to talk about the affective nature of the cross, a discussion of the conditions and beliefs that primed individuals to accept and embody the new religion of Christianity would be necessary. Though cross pendants constitute the point of departure and the primary corpus of my study, to this assemblage I will apply an extended discussion of pre-Christian adornment, the reception of Christianity and the symbol of the cross, framed within theoretical issues regarding the body.

Structure for this Study

Objects, defined as things made by or given meaning by humans, do not exist prior to the body. Thus, the body is the principal agent in the creation of material culture. The body itself is the site of generation of material objects such as the jewelry, but it is subsequently conditioned by those very objects, which affect constructions of self-hood, memory, and societal structure; therefore, I will commence this study by laying the foundation of a body-centric interdisciplinary methodology within this first chapter. As objects designed for display on the body, and in contact with the body in both life and death in early medieval England, I will demonstrate bodily motivations for adornment, the affective properties of design and materials, and their effects on memory and recall. In Chapter 2 I will address how those in early England responded to and navigated natural and social lifeworlds of the late-fifth to early-seventh century. I will employ an ecocritical consideration of the bodily anxieties of individuals and social groups that precipitated both the manufacture and display of personal adornment and mitigated the materials selected for its fabrication. I will further explore the joint operations of the body and its adornment in the shaping of identity,

including status and ancestry, memory, and potential societal structure. In Chapter 3 I will trace practices of embodiment of the cross beginning with the immaterial sign of the *crux usualis* upon its entry into early English culture. Fears regarding protection from the supernatural in life and in death were translated into protective objects such as amulets long before the Roman Christian mission arrived in England. I will argue that this same practice was applied to the Christian cross, emphasizing a sensorial need for bodily contact as these traditions overlapped from the fifth through the seventh century. Additionally, I will examine the cognitive effects of Christian ritual as well as bodily interaction between cross pendants and their owners. I will then track the distribution of cross pendants across the shifting territories of seventh-century England, the variety and affectivity of pendant designs and materials, and the interactive relationship between the body and pendant in life and in death throughout Chapter 4. Finally in Chapter 5, I will position the eventual disappearance of the wearable cross from the cemetery record in the eighth century as suggestive of one of the first major shifts in attitudes toward the material world and the body. To these ends, I will network together several methodologies – textual, archeological, and neurological – to unpack the complex operations of the body within its lifeworld. I deliberately conjoin the term "network" to the concept of "lifeworld," as both imply the interconnectedness and interaction of bodies within the systems in which they are entangled.[3]

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[3] Jakob Johann Freiherr von Uexküll introduced the concept of the *Umwelt*, the "lifeworld" in his work, "Stroll through the Worlds of Animals and Men: A Picture Book of Invisible Worlds," in *Instinctive Behavior: The Development of a Modern Concept*, ed. Claire H. Schiller (New York: International Universities Press, 1957), 14. This concept will be further addressed in the opening of Chapter 2.

Primary and Secondary Textual Sources

The first general history of the cross in early medieval England was published in 1904, but an interdisciplinary treatment of the cross in English society was not to follow until 2008.[4] *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown* was the first of three volumes comprised of a collection of essays complied by the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod Project from 2001 to 2003.[5] This instrumental undertaking has provided the most complete history to date of the entry of the cross, and the sign of the cross, into England, laying the groundwork for investigation into the lived experience of the individuals of this period and their relationship with the cross. Primary sources in Old English or Latin from the sixth and seventh centuries which might facilitate more direct contact with experience of the cross prove scarce. What commentary does remain is dominated by the monk Bede's eighth-century *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which is often skewed by both his clerical attitudes toward "pagan" practices and by his personal political allegiances.[6] Among many others, John Moreland has been particularly vocal on the

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[4] William O. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, reprinted in *The Anglo-Saxon Cross*, (1904; repr., Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977).

[5] Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds. *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008); Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, and Karen Louise Jolly, eds. *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006); Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov, eds. *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent: Studies in Honor of the Memory of Timothy Reuter* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010).

[6] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). This source from here on is abbreviated Bede, *HE*.

uncritical acceptance of Bede that persists even in contemporary archeological and historical scholarship.[7] A similar critique can be made of those who rely on Old English verse, which was most often transcribed centuries after the mortuary evidence it is intended to illuminate. As far back as 1951, Professor Dorothy Whitelock warned against reading into poetry like *Beowulf*, a "precise contemporary relevance… with a preference for the typical situation with a universal application." At the same time, Whitelock and scholars after her have found that a critical usage of poetic evidence can prove an efficacious tool for examining social values and familiarities. In the words of Marc Bloch, "in every literature, society contemplates its own image,"[8] and therefore it can reveal much about the society from which it emerged. Whitelock's and Bloch's work has shown that the audience of *Beowulf* was most likely familiar with a wide variety of similar tales.[9] Indeed, even when recounting fantastical events, a grounding in the familiar – be it customs, expectations, or material culture – is necessary to hold an audience.[10] The audience would therefore be able to differentiate

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[7] John Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, eds., William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 34.

[8] Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 102.

[9] Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 39-53, 71-7, 79-82; Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 102. See also Robin Fleming, *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400-1070* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 93.

[10] Neil Price, "Passing into Poetry: Viking-Age Mortuary Drama and the Origins of Norse Mythology," *Medieval*

Archaeology, 54 (2010) 123-156, esp. 145-152.

the familiar from the idealized actions or objects of something like the *Beowulf* poem,

understanding it not as a direct reflection of even elite life, but as the ideal to which

many may aspire.

Amidst the numerous dates assigned to *Beowulf* in the course of modern

scholarship, two large conferences, one in Toronto 1980 and the other at Harvard in

2011, remain significant points of impact regarding the question of the poem's

composition. The authors of the resulting volume of proceedings from the Toronto

conference, *The Dating of Beowulf*, concluded a date of composition closer to the date

of the only extant *Beowulf* manuscript (c. 1000).[11] Thirty years later, the Harvard

conference was formulated to complicate, or often outright refute the position of the

former conference. *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment*, conceded that the exact

circumstances of the composition, transmission, and final copying of *Beowulf* may

never be known;[12] however, this volume demonstrated how a wide range of

methodologies, from philology, Anglo-Latin sources, onomastic evidence, material

culture, royal genealogies, the historicity of personal names, distinctive aspects of

meter and language, and glossary-based lexical study, can aid in establishing a

chronology of Old English verse. Moreover, the authors of this reassessment made

several strong cases for dating the *Beowulf* poem close to the age of its sixth-century

setting. For the purposes of this dissertation, I accept that *Beowulf* can elucidate sixth-

and seventh-century material culture as a "traditional" poem set roughly in that period,

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[11] Colin Chase, ed., *The Dating of Beowulf* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

[12] Leonard Neidorf, ed., *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2014).

even if its final form was only committed to parchment at a later date. My use of Old English verse assumes that certain motifs represent some continuity of tradition. To paraphrase Stephanie Hollis, I accept that pre-modern cultures were not static, and I do not intend to imply that Old English verse preserves without alteration traditions that were current in early medieval England.[13] As I hope to demonstrate, objects can often speak for themselves and the literary record can be potentially illuminating; however, a balance must be struck between these shifting sources of information.

Archaeological Sources

The archaeological record, while one of the most valuable resources for interrogating the past, must also be viewed with a critical eye. As Moreland expertly demonstrated, construction of the "imaginary world," occurs within societies not only through literature but through material culture as well. Moreland relied on Maurice Godelier's concept of the "imaginary" as a "mental world… captured by, given expression through, and materialised in the objects and practices that human societies use to symbolise its reality and significance."[14] This construction involved both the present and the past, particularly in building origin myths, not only to create local identity, but to increase power over people and resources. Personal ornamentation as well as mortuary deposition was intrinsic to this construction, and must be taken into consideration when evaluating both stray finds and grave goods. A large number of

[13] Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1992), 6n12.

[14] John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages: Understanding the Medieval Past* (London: Duckworth, 2010), 13.

cross pendants have been recovered from or associated with grave depositions (see fig. 2 Stray vs. Grave Map).[15] Archaeologists such as Alex Bayliss and John Hines, Sam Lucy, and John Blair have viewed the contents of furnished graves of the sixth to eighth centuries as indicative of changes in social and political structure.[16] Fewer scholars, notably Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Barbara Yorke, and Sally Crawford, have addressed the religious experiences suggested by the inclusion of crosses.[17] Thus, archaeological surveys add valuable pieces to the puzzle; however, the totality of the picture is lacking without consideration of the body and its environment.

Social and Cognitive Science

Within British academic discourses, the wealth of examples of adornment in grave depositions, the incorruptibility of its precious materials, and the intricate and fabulous nature of its design, has preserved jewelry as a popular object of study since the nineteenth century. Conversely, studies on the body in early medieval England

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[15] The context of cross pendant finds in England and Scotland will be addressed at length in Chapter 4.

[16] John Hines and Alex Bayliss, eds. *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 2013); Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 7-37; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[17] Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "In Hoc Signo: The Cross on Secular Objects and the Process of Conversion," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 79-117; Barbara Yorke, "'The Weight of Necklaces': Some Insights into the Wearing of Women's Jewellery from Middle Saxon Written Sources," in *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, ed. Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington, and Andrew Reynolds (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011) , 106-111; Sally Crawford, "Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo-Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual," *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 87-102.

only began to emerge in the scholarship of the early 2000s. In one such study, *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, Suzanne Lewis aptly summed up both the nature and goal of my investigation:

> In the following collection, the essays are uniformly focused on a dead language (Old English) in a remote area of the medieval spectrum (Anglo-Saxon England). But the collaboration is consciously framed around the still-living, ever present human body we all share.[18]

Often overlooked as an entity comprised of biological matter, the body is not only the site of generation of material objects, but it undergoes subsequent conditioning by those very items. An analysis of the experiential and sensual interaction that occurred between the wearable cross and the body has not yet been undertaken. Therefore, a wider disciplinary assessment that incorporates phenomenology with archaeological evidence and a careful reading of textual sources may expand our understanding of embodiment of the cross in early medieval England. I propose to employ the ground-up approach championed by anthropologists such as Thomas Csordas and Michael Jackson that balance abstract concepts, such as that of religion, with bodily perception and experience. Csordas has asserted that:

> meaning cannot be reduced to a sign, a strategy that reinforces a Cartesian pre-eminence of mind over a body understood as 'inert, passive, and static'. This critique should not be construed as negating the study of signs with respect to the body, but as making a place for a

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[18] Suzanne Lewis, "Introduction: Medieval Bodies Then and Now: Negotiating Problems of Ambivalence and Paradox," in *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2003) 27.

complementary appreciation of embodiment and being-in-the-world alongside textuality and representation.[19]

The "Cartesian" approach, criticized by Csordas, limits projection of the post-Enlightenment separation of mind and body onto early English cultures, which held no such concept,[20] and provides a clearer understanding of how individuals related the sign of the cross to its material counterparts. In his seminal work *The Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty identified the body as the starting point of perception and objects as a secondary product of reflective thinking.[21] This methodology establishes the body as a ground for culture, as opposed to as an object merely responding to or interpreting culture.

Recovering the meanings that individuals or societies ascribed to things, and how that affected the choices of the craftspeople who made them and the patrons who commissioned them, is a treacherous path besieged by the biases and assumptions we so often bring with us. Nevertheless, there is still room for well-grounded conjecture as to the lived experience of past people, particularly those who are temporally close to us in terms of evolutionary biology.[22] In their work on the application of

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[19]19 Thomas J. Csordas, *Body/Meaning/Healing* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 243.

[20] "It is precisely this tendency toward mind-body dualism that keeps the typical modern reader of OE from taking seriously the deeply holistic representations of mind and body that characterize so much OE literature." Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 11.

[21] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, ed. Donald A. Landes (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2012), 26-51.

[22] Antonina Harbus, "Affective Poetics: The Cognitive Basis of Emotion in Old English Poetry," in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature and Culture,* eds. Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack, and

neurophenomenology to religion, Anne C. Benvenuti and Elizabeth J.L. Davenport have found that "[n]euroscience gives us a unique and previously unavailable window into the biological processes which underlie subjective experience, by way of understanding the brain, which has not changed from those Paleolithic times to ours."[23] The body is largely genetically indistinct from our ancestors, and though certainly conditioned by cultural pressures, it shares a similar set of hardwired as well as conditional responses.[24] The primary art object of this dissertation – personal adornment – may be the last to be considered as a component of material culture that reveals the lived experience of people of the past; however, as I will demonstrate in the following section, the significance of jewelry cannot be overstated in the story of human development. Adornment constitutes an overlooked but revelatory component of how humans negotiated their physical, emotional, and social landscapes throughout specific cultures throughout history.

The Significance of Adornment

Archaeological excavations into deep time have revealed that we adorned our bodies before our dwellings or our sanctuaries. Before humans enlivened rock faces with leaping menageries of painted creatures, before we coaxed their likeness and

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Jonathan Wilcox (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 21; Antonina Harbus, "Cognitive Studies of Anglo-Saxon Mentalities," *Parergon* 27, no. 1 (2010): 25.

[23] Anne C. Benvenuti and Elizabeth J.L. Davenport, "The New Archaic: A Neurophenomenological Approach to Religious Ways of Knowing," in *A Field Guide to a New Meta-field: Bridging the Humanities-Neurosciences Divide*, ed. Barbara Maria Stafford (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 206.

[24] Colin Renfew, "Cognitive Archaeology: Some Thoughts on the Archaeology of Thought," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3, no. 2 (1993): 249.

representations of ourselves from mud and rock, some studies have suggested that we crafted jewelry to ornament the canvas of the body.[25] Jewelry, as personal adornment rather than as functional in the sense of a garment-fastener, was intended to function as a method of display – to highlight or differentiate the human form. Though some aspects are much debated among scholars, most agree the inception of this practice has much to tell us about the evolution of the mind. At a minimum, the use of personal adornment suggests the cognitive development of an awareness of one's appearance and a sense of personal identity.[26] Some experts have argued for the use of jewelry as evidence of symbolic thinking, "a proxy for modern syntactical language that would have been essential for the sharing and transmission of the symbolic meaning of personal ornaments within and between groups and also over generations."[27] Perhaps it should not be surprising that other scholars are not in agreement with this assertion, primarily the ascription of symbolism to ornamentation, as it is not *representational*

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[25] Davorka Radovčić, et al., "Evidence for Neandertal Jewelry: Modified White-Tailed Eagle Claws at Krapina," *PLoS ONE* 10, no. 3 (2015): 1-14; Christopher S. Henshilwood, "Late Pleistocene Techno-traditions in Southern Africa: A Review of the Still Bay and Howiesons Poort, c. 75–59 ka," *Journal of World Prehistory* 25, nos. 3-4 (2012): 205-37.

[26] Thomas Grant Wynn and Frederick L. Coolidge, "Did a Small but Significant Enhancement in Working Memory Capacity Power the Evolution of Modern Thinking?" in *Rethinking the Human Revolution: New Behavioural and Biological Perspectives on the Origin and Dispersal of Modern Humans*, eds. Paul Mellars, Katie Boyle, Ofer Bar-Yosef, and Chris Stringer (Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs, 2007), 88; Henshilwood, "Late Pleistocene Techno-traditions," 222.

[27] Henshilwood, "Late Pleistocene Techno-traditions," 221; Francesco d'Errico, et al., "Archaeological Evidence for the Emergence of Language, Symbolism, and Music—An Alternative Multidisciplinary Perspective," *Journal of World Prehistory* 17, no. 1 (2003): 1-70.

art, which more easily lends itself to interpretation as symbolic than does abstraction.[28] Certainly stone "Venuses" and the painted caves of Lascaux, rather than the seashell pendants of Blombos Cave in South Africa, are at the forefront of the public imagination when considering humankind's cognitive leap into the creative arts. But Megan Cifarellim has noted that it is also in the professional study of ancient culture that "[p]ersonal adornment has long been marginalized… perhaps because it resists the types of inquiry that illuminate monumental architecture and works of art."[29]

Clues to this marginalization are present in modern reductions of "ornamentation" or "adornment" to frivolous baubles resting on the surface of the profound and more essential human. A closer look at the etymology of modern languages makes it clear that this current interpretation runs counter to the original meanings of the terms. Rather than additions that, while pleasing to the eye, did not add to the original's efficacy, ornaments and adornments were understood as proper completions to the original, which naturally causes pleasure for the user. The Sanskrit nouns *alaṁkāra* and *bhūṣaṇa*, and the verb *bhūs*, each translated as "ornament,"

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[28] Lambros Malafouris, "Beads for a Plastic Mind: The 'Blind Man's Stick'(BMS) Hypothesis and the Active Nature of Material Culture," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18, no. 3 (2008): 406; Wynn and Coolidge, "Did a Small but Significant Enhancement in Working Memory Capacity Power the Evolution of Modern Thinking?" 88; d'Errico, et al., "Archaeological Evidence for the Emergence of Language, Symbolism, and Music," 20.

[29] Megan Cifarellim, "Adornment, Identity, and Authenticity: Ancient Jewelry in and out of Context," *American Journal of Archaeology Online Museum Review* 114, no. 1 (2010): 1.

combine this fusion of both function and meaning.[30] *Alaṁkāra* is composed of *alam* (sufficient or enough) and *kr* (to make); the root meaning of *bhū* is "to become," but with a causative implication. For example, in the *Rgveda Saṁhitā*, the phrase *bhūṣati dyūn* does not mean "ornaments his days," but rather "lengthens his life" or "makes more his life."[31] The human, plus its adornments, becomes *more than*.

The archaic meaning of "ornament" as a "useful accessory"[32] which was "primarily functional," referenced not only decorative pieces, but also "equipment, trappings, furniture, and attire."[33] At the root of its Latin etymon, *ornamentum*, is *ornare* (to decorate, honor, dress, equip, furnish, adorn, garnish, or trim). *Oramentum*'s cousin, *adornare* (ad- prefix + ōrnāre v.), is nearly synonymous in meaning (to get ready, prepare, to equip, furnish, to beautify, to decorate, to dignify, honor, to enhance, embellish [with words]), with only slightly more emphasis on enhancement and beautification.[34] Latin words for types of jewelry (e.g. bracelets, necklaces, etc.) were plentiful, though there was no single designation for the category

[30] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Ornament," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4 (1939): 376-7.

[31] Jan Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1959), 86, referencing the Rgveda Saṁhitā, X, II, 7; *cf.* Skr. *bhūyas*, "becoming in a greater degree," "abundantly furnished with," and "more." Coomaraswamy, "Ornament," 377.

[32] Merriam-Webster.com, s.v. "Ornament," accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com.

[33] Oxford English Dictionary.com, s.v. "Ornament," accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.oed.com.

[34] Merriam-Webster.com, s.v. "Adorn," accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com.

of jewelry beyond *ornamentum* and all the meanings it encompassed. Like "ornament" and "adorn," the modern word, "jewelry" combines Anglo-Norman and Latin terms, though the chosen etymon is unexpectedly distant and pejorative. The Anglo-Norman word, *juel* (jewel, precious object), is a diminutive of *ju*, *jeu* (game, diversion) from the Latin *jocus*, meaning game or joke.[35]

The words "ornament" and "adorn" remain closely related in current dictionary entries, swapping terms between definitions (e.g. ornament: something used to **adorn**, beautify, or embellish, or that naturally does this; adorn: to provide or decorate with **ornaments**; to enhance in the manner of an **ornament**); however, the more functional elements of utility, dignification, and commendation are lost in today's usage. This shift in definitions, coupled with the aspect of triviality at the core of the term "jewelry," has relegated it to an extraneous luxury, valued and admired, yet ultimately unnecessary to daily life. The personal adornment we term, "jewelry" need not be limited to precious metals or stones; jewelry has much to tells us about ourselves, our cognitive development, our relationship with the material world, our bodies which have craved and needed and used it to define ourselves.

A note on terms: in this dissertation I have elected to use phrases such as "early medieval England" rather than "Anglo-Saxon England," and "early English" versus "Anglo-Saxons." The debate on the usage of the term "Anglo-Saxon" is not a new one, and not solely an American debate, though it began to spike in 2014 as complaints of misogyny and sexual harassment in the field of medieval studies were

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[35] The Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub, s.v. "Juel," September 15, 2020, http://www.anglo-norman.net.

publicly voiced;[36] it then reached a sharp peak of discussion among medievalists in

2016 in critiques of Brexit and the US presidential election campaign, followed by

fruitful discussions and problematic comments on race at the largest medieval

conferences in the US at Kalamazoo and in the UK at Leeds.[37] The formation of new

conferences, interviews, articles, books, and other methods were employed to address

the tangle of racial issues surrounding medieval studies and many of its ideologies,

misuses, and terms;[38] revisiting the use of "Anglo-Saxon," its pedigree, and its current

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[36] For a thorough summary of this issue, see Donna Beth Ellard, *Anglo-Saxon(ist) Pasts – postSaxon Futures* (punctum books, 2019), 337-8, esp. note 1.

[37] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (organizer), "Are We Dark Enough Yet? Pale Faces 2016," 20th Biennial Congress of the New Chaucer Society, London, UK, July 11, 2016; Dorothy Kim, "Antifeminism, Whiteness, and Medieval Studies," *In the Middle* [blog], January 18, 2016, http://www.inthemedievalmiddle. com/2016/01/antifeminism-whiteness-and-medieval.html; Cord Whitaker, "Pale Like Me: Resistance, Assimilation, and 'Pale Faces' Sixteen Years On," *In the Middle* [blog], July 20, 2016, http://www.inthemedievalmiddle. com/2016/07/pale-like-me-resistance-assimilation.html; See Sierra Lomuto, Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, and Cord Whitaker (co-organizers), "Medieval Race and the Modern Scholar," 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 11, 2017; Sierra Lomuto, Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, and Dorothy Kim (co-organizers), "Whiteness in Medieval Studies: A Workshop," 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 13, 2017; J. Clara Chan, "Medievalists, Recoiling From White Supremacy, Try to Diversify the Field," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 16, 2017, https://www.chronicle.com/article/Medievalists- Recoiling-From/240666.

[38] In 2017, Medievalists of Color became a professional organization; in January 2019, the first 'Race- B4Race' symposium was held at Arizona State University, sponsored by the Arizona Center for Medieval and Early Modern Studies; see also, Cord Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Dorothy Kim, *Digital Whiteness and Medieval Studies* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019); Mary Rambaran-Olm, M. Breann Leake, and Micah Goodrich, eds., *Race, Revulsion, and Revolution* [special issue], *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 11, no. 3 (2020).

implications was a part of this process. Donna Beth Ellard has provided one of the most comprehensive volumes on the history and trajectory of this debate in her volume, *Anglo-Saxon(ist) Pasts – postSaxon Futures*. Ellard makes clear that the terms we use (even that of "medievalist" or "Old English") are only as appropriate or important as their history.[39] Whatever term the field adopts must be subject to that kind of interrogation, both in the UK and elsewhere. I have chosen to use "early medieval England" and "early English" with the recognition that these are not perfect terms, but are at least somewhat freed from the ideological load of "Anglo-Saxon."

The Body in Early Medieval England

Twenty-five years ago, Roberta Gilchrist and Suzanne Lewis declared the body as "missing" in early medieval England, and that the scarcity of figural artwork conveyed an "ambivalence" to the human form and its functions.[40] The very proposal of ambivalence to the human form is curious and may say more about a modern depreciation of the body and a privileging of figural and literary works rather than a medieval attitude. Art historian Melissa Herman and archaeologist Lisa Brundle have sought to overturn the former assumption of scarcity by highlighting the presence and possible meanings of the human body as rendered in early English metalwork.[41] The

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[39] Ellard, *Anglo-Saxon(ist) Pasts – postSaxon Futures*.

[40] See Roberta Gilchrist, "Ambivalent Bodies: Gender and Medieval Archaeology," 42-58 and Suzanne Lewis, "Introduction: Medieval Bodies Then and Now," 21-22, in *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, eds. Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott (London: Leicester University Press, 1997).

[41] Melissa Herman, "Something More Than 'Man': Reexamining the Human Figure in Early Anglo-Saxon Art," in *The Art, Literature and Material Culture of the Medieval*

last two decades of work in various areas of medieval scholarship has challenged the latter notion of ambivalence by clarifying cultural conceptions of sex, the value of the body according to early English law, and gender-roles in English society.[42] Far from invisible, the body's presence permeates nearly every moment of early medieval archaeology in England.

It is the objects buried with the bodies of women, men, and children that comprise the majority of the recoverable material record from early England. The care with which bodies were interred, the time expended on preparing the body for its pyre or for its grave, the sheer amount of material wealth taken out of circulation to accompany the body in its final rest, all these factors support an intrinsic connection between the body and its material culture, both in life and in death. Signs of repair and usage of grave goods indicate that the majority of objects were not impersonal symbols, manufactured for inhumation, but were items thoughtfully designed for and utilized by the living, often over decades before being deposed with the deceased.[43] Functional objects buried with the dead, such as combs, spindles, keys, and tweezers necessitated habitual touch for use in daily life; jewelry, weapons, and amulets

World: Transition, Transformation and Taxonomy, eds. Meg Boulton, Jane Hawkes, and Melissa Herman (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), 278-294; Lisa Brundle, "The Body on Display: Exploring the Role and Use of Figurines in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 13, no. 2 (2013): 197-219.

[42] See Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox, eds., *Naked Before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003).

[43] Crawford, "Votive Deposition," 91; Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900*, (London: British Museum and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 27.

likewise lived in perpetual contact with the body through wear and handling. Often

dismissed as superficial additions or flashy statements of personal prestige, the

significance of personal adornment can be found in its incorporative rather than

additive relationship with the body; it actively integrates with the planes, features,

movement, and experience of a body moving through the natural and built world,

moving through life to death, and moving through societal, religious, and political

transitions.

If our early human ancestors were prompted to craft and adorn themselves with

jewelry, either by an evolutionary pressure or by environmental or societal

negotiations,[44] their bodies were still the force driving this new behavior. A deliberate

alteration of self through costume, paint, or ornamentation has been implemented

throughout history to create new relations between individuals and between human

and non-human beings.[45] Motivations for the selection of particular kinds of

adornment in any society cannot be reduced solely to desires to be fashionable or to

"keep up with the Joneses." To limit these ornaments to simple status symbols fails to

address the full range of their meaning and affectivity. Desires have a bodily impetus.

Living in the world involves negotiations of power with both the natural and the

cultural, and ornamentation can be utilized within these negotiations. Personal or

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[44] Francesco d'Errico, "The Invisible Frontier. A Multiple Species Model for the Origin of Behavioral Modernity," *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews* 12, no. 4 (2003): 188-202; Thomas Wynn and Frederick L. Coolidge, "Did a Small but Significant Enhancement in Working Memory Capacity Power the Evolution of Modern Thinking?" in *Rethinking the Human Revolution*, eds. Paul Mellars, Katie Boyle, Ofer Bar-Yosef & Chris Stringer, 79-90 (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2007).

[45] Benvenuti and Davenport, "The New Archaic," 220-1.

group "identity" is not an abstract concept separate from bodies; it is an embedded and embodied construction, expressed and reinforced by the body through ornaments displayed upon it. Balancing understood cognitive responses to sensory input with environmental and societal conditions, can clear the path to understanding the bodily motivations for the production and use of adornment.

Jewelry presents us with a prolific visual language encoded in its very design and animated by its wearer. Suspended from a cord or chain around the neck, pinned, sewn, or buckled to a garment, and worn in life or in death, jewelry performed numerous functions in early English society. As active material agents, jewelry could be used to forge both the identity of the wearer and his or her family; it shaped memories of the past and of ancestors (real or imagined), created possibilities for future action, and protected the body from agents of harm.

Jewelry in Early Medieval England

Along with pottery, jewelry is the oldest surviving art form of early medieval England.[46] It was worn by both men and women and not only carried monetary value, but was part of a familial legacy as it was passed down through descendants or buried with relatives. As items fastened to or hanging off the body, jewelry is inherently tactile in nature, and often aural as it rubs against or collides with the body or with its own components. In the case of particularly reflective, ornate, or polychrome pieces, which will constitute many of the items under discussion, the visual is the observer's first contact with adornment. Thus, I will begin this section with a brief synopsis of the

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[46] C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 188.

appearance of jewelry from the mid-fifth to early-seventh century before delving more deeply into its cultural and phenomenological operations.

In providing a summary of ornamental styles it is important to note the historiographical treatment of periodization and typology, which has shaped the dating of finds, the delineation and naming of specific styles, and ascriptions of ethnic origins or influences. Interred beneath the earth mainly in cremations and inhumations, ornaments buried with the body have been interpreted in past scholarship as uncomplicated reflections of an individual's ethnicity, gender, and warrior status, or elite standing in society.[47] Ethnic equivocation has been most pernicious in the study of early medieval England, so much as to prompt a recent volume by Susan Oosthuizen that systematically rebutted this long-held approach.[48] In response to assignments of ethnicity to regional styles, John Moreland reminds us that,

> What appears in the sixth century as 'Anglian' dress is very much a
> construction, a creation of that time. It does not stem from the
> migration into England of the Angles in the middle of the fifth century,
> but from the construction of a sense of identity in the particular social
> and political circumstances of the sixth century in England.[49]

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[47] Edward Thurlow Leeds, "The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered," *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 1-106; Christopher J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 2005); Sue Harrington and Martin Welch, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms of Southern Britain AD 450-650: Beneath the Tribal Hidage* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014).

[48] Susan Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019); See also Andrew Tyrrell, "*Corpus Saxonum*: Early Medieval Bodies and Corporeal Identity" in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 137-55.

[49] Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 42-3.

Between 420 and the beginning of the sixth century, we find a dizzying variety of localized clothing and jewelry styles and methods of display.[50] One of the most ubiquitous, yet most diversiform, ornaments was the brooch. The shapes of this practical clothing fastener included forms identified in the scholarly literature as cruciform, square-headed, long-small, equal-armed, supporting-arm, radiate, bird, saucer, annular, penannular, quoit, and disc. Surface designs were punched or cast, inlaid with gems or glass, and nielloed, tinned, or gilded.[51] A pair of brooches pinned at the shoulders of a peplos-style garment and connected by strings of colorful beads was popular with the women of eastern England;[52] north of the Thames River women preferred a third brooch between their breasts, perhaps to close a cloak or shawl;[53] still

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[50] This date range was proposed by Toby Martin on the basis of the appearance of Style I cruciform brooches in southeast England. See Toby F. Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2015), 121-28; Radiocarbon dating of the cremations at Spong Hill, Wasperton, Queenford Farm, and Wally Corner indicates that many English cremations may confirm the presence of continental migrants pre-450 CE. See Catherine M. Hills and Sam Lucy, *Spong Hill. IX, Chronology and Synthesis* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2013); Martin Carver, Catherine M. Hills, and Jonathan Scheschkewitz, *Wasperton: A Roman, British and Anglo-Saxon Community in Central England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2009); Catherine M. Hills and Tamsin C. O'Connell, "New Light on the Anglo-Saxon Succession: Two Cemeteries and their Dates," *Antiquity* 83, no. 322 (2009): 1096-1108.

[51] See "Brooches" in Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. ed. (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004), 37-42; and Robin Fleming, *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400-1070* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 47-8.

[52] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 85.

[53] John Hines, *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1997), 285-6; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 72; Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 47.

others at Mill Hill in Kent, wore five to six brooches in a line from neck to waist.[54] Other common female accoutrements included metal clasps about the wrist and chatelaines around the waist, from which hung keys, toilet implements, bags, workboxes, and sometimes even elegant crystal balls and spoons. The last two may have had an amuletic purpose, as did other items of adornment such as pendants fashioned from animals' teeth or necklaces and bracelets of amber beads. I use the term "amuletic" here as opposed to "apotropaic" as it encompasses a range of functions. The term apotropaic comes from the Greek (ἀποτρόπαιος) "averting evil" (< ἀποτρέπειν "to turn away, avert") + -ic suffix.[55] Amuletic, as related to the object of an amulet,[56] encompasses a wider range of meaning; while including protective functions, the term also includes aspects of healing or of acquiring desired traits through contact with a particular object (e.g. acquiring the strength of an animal through contact with a tooth amulet). Male adornment seems to have been less opulent in these early centuries,[57] restricted mainly to buckles, although buckles that recalled late-Roman military design, such as one included in a burial at Mucking, were

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[54] Keith Parfitt, Birte Brugmann, and Trevor Anderson, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent*, vol. 14 (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1997).

[55] Oxford English Dictionary.com, s.v. "Apotropaic," accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.oed.com.

[56] Oxford English Dictionary.com, s.v. "Amuletic," accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.oed.com.

[57] This assumption has been challenged by Sam Lucy, who notes that 15% of burials including jewelry at Sewerby, Yorkshire may be sexed as male. See Lucy, "Housewives, Warriors and Slaves? Sex and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Burials," in *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, 161.

especially splendid.[58] Consisting of trousers or leggings and tunics, men's clothing needed fewer fasteners than female clothing, and though brooches may have been used to fasten cloaks, those garments may have also been laced or closed with toggles of wood or horn.[59] Items usually interpreted as amuletic are almost never found in graves identified with males; however, weapons were a frequent inclusion in both male and female assemblages. Spears, knives, and wooden shields were the most common armaments; swords, belonging to the highest-ranking males, were exceedingly rare, and more rarely accompanied by sword-beads, which secured the thong of the scabbard.[60]

As the various territories of early settlements coalesced into the larger *regiones* of the late-sixth and early-seventh centuries,[61] regional variations in costume and ornamentation began to dissolve.[62] More homogeneous styles were developed by elite families and emulated by the populace. Garnets and inlaid-shell bosses were incorporated into square-headed brooches in the late sixth century before finally going

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[58] Leslie Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 46-7; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 120-1.

[59] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 109; see also Toby F. Martin's discussion of male cloaks in, "(Ad)Dressing the Anglo-Saxon Body" in *The Chiming of Crack'd Bells: Recent Approaches to the Study of Artefacts in Archaeology*, eds. Paul Blinkhom and Christopher Cumberpatch (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 31.

[60] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 105.

[61] For a detailed description of the development of territories, see "Social Aggregates and Early Kingdoms," in Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 102-115.

[62] Christopher J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 2005), 208; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 129.

out of fashion. The women of early-seventh century Kent were sporting larger, circular brooches inlaid with complex concentric circles of garnet, blue or green glass, and gold. These composite brooches were worn singly at the shoulder or neck.[63] Buckles in the Roman style were superseded in the late-fifth to mid-sixth century by rectangular buckles decorated with cloisonné, abstracted animal imagery, or geometric ornament, then by triangular buckles featuring cloisonné, zoomorphic interlace, or filigree in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.[64] Weapons burial continued, though helmets appeared in the grave alongside seaxes, and sword hilts were festooned with garnet cloisonné or cast in twisting interlace or zoomorphic ornament. Even as sartorial and jewelry fashions changed from region to region and century to century, amulets continued to accompany the body through the duration of furnished burial into the Christian era.[65] But amid every change in styles, borders, and beliefs, at the center, the body remained a perpetual and abiding force.

The Affective Properties of Design

Imagery developed in what would become England in the period from roughly the mid-fifth to late sixth centuries was largely unlike anything seen before. This was the period that is associated with migration from the continent, the scale and duration of which are highly controversial. Whether the producers and/or wearers of such

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[63] See "Fasteners: Brooches, Pins and Buckles," in Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 138-9.

[64] Penelope Walton Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450-700* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007), 125.

[65] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 170-71.

jewelry were new migrants or indigenous inhabitants, the material was often adapted

from late Roman forms, with which these groups would have been familiar, either

through their own military service with the Roman army on the continent or through

contacts made in Roman Britain. Adaptation of motifs and images on Roman military

belt buckles and sword fittings into a new style of zoomorphic and geometric forms is

generally accepted, although the reasons for this development are also controversial.

The prevailing view of this new style as a specific expression of "Germanic" identity

and mythology has persisted into current scholarship[66] and dissatisfaction with this

interpretation and indeed the term "Germanic" has crept into publications since the

early 2000s.[67] While not necessarily eschewing the term, Leslie Webster attempted

nuance in her essay on visual literacy in early medieval England.[68] Through a

comparison between a late Roman buckle from Hontheim an der Mosel and a brooch

from Galsted, Denmark, Webster made a convincing case for adaptation of

specifically apotropaic Roman imagery into a northern style.[69] She also allowed for

the idea that such brooches expressed ideas of an inherited status or *Romanitas*, rather

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[66] Lotte Hedeager, *Iron Age Myth and Materiality: An Archaeology of Scandinavia, AD 400–1100* (London: Routledge, 2011), 37-41, 50-58; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art,* 43-8; Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, 154-55.

[67] Scholars include Walter Pohl, James Gerrard, Phillip Andrew Shaw, Sam Lucy, and James M. Harland. For a full list, see Harland, "Memories of Migration? The 'Anglo-Saxon' Burial Costume of the Fifth-Century AD," *Antiquity* 93, no. 370 (2019): 954-969, esp. 961.

[68] Leslie Webster, "Visual Literacy in a Protoliterate Age," in *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavian Culture*, ed. Pernille Hermann, The Viking Collection 16 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 21-46.

[69] Webster, "Visual Literacy," 23-4.

than a "Germanic" identity.[70] But where Webster is most compelling is not in speculations as to intended meanings or specific cosmographies, but in her descriptions of the enigmatic nature of early English wearable metalwork. For it is not the meaning I am after in this section, but rather, to demonstrate the visual power and affectivity of the design of early English jewelry. Definitive meanings of every image or motif in early metalwork can be guessed but never truly known; however, their deliberately intricate designs evince considered planning and intention, and can reveal probable visual and cognitive impacts.

In Webster's words: "The visual culture of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries is grounded in an artfully constructed interplay of human and animal forms, in which recurring elements are very prominent. Hidden images, metamorphs and antithetical dualities abound."[71] Beginning in late-fifth century England, geometric, human, and animal forms were packed into the limited space of wearable ornaments and restrained by a strict framework, which helped delimit and define the highly concentrated and schematic ornamental programs and their content.[72] Compartmentalization of this complex puzzle of animal and human body parts that conjoin or morph into the other, aided in visual reading, and moreover, added a symbolic order to its microcosm of forms. Although styles changed over the centuries, the dense program of geometric and zoomorphic forms persisted. Late fifth-century design in England, as on the continent, featured animals or their discreet parts shown

[70] Webster, "Visual Literacy," 24.

[71] Webster, "Visual Literacy," 23.

[72] Webster, "Encrypted Visions," 14.

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symmetrically from different perspectives as we shall see from the following discussion of the Chessell Down brooch.[73]

The predominant geometric patterns began to give way to zoomorphic ornament in the sixth century. The angularity of this style began to soften and lengthen into serpentine and interlacing forms, but the same affronted, addorsed, backbiting beasts, conjoined animal heads, and masked faces remained. Parts were used to build up a face or depict two creatures at once, as in the example of the Chessell Down brooch (fig. 3). Questions as to how this brooch would have been worn complicates how it would have viewed by both the wearer and others, an important consideration when assessing the intentions of the maker and the owner and modes of seeing within the current cultural community. According to Gale Owen-Crocker, great square-headed brooches such as the brooch from Chessell Down were often worn with the square plate pointed downwards or to the side.[74] As Toby Martin noted, wearing the brooch sideways was effective as a cloak-fastener; he also posited a possible trend of orienting the square plate to the wearer's right-hand side and the smaller end to their left.[75] The reliefs of a human face, or "masks," are easily identifiable at the junction of the bow and foot and again between the bow and the brooch head; the chip-carved faces hidden within the inner square of the square plate are more difficult to spot. Two

[73] Torill Christine Lindstrøm and Siv Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!' Psychological Perspectives on Perception of Migration Period Animal Art," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 34, no. 2 (2011): 66.

[74] Owen-Crocker also noted that the term "square" is a misnomer as most are rectangular in shape. Owen-Crocker *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 39.

[75] Martin, "(Ad)Dressing the Anglo-Saxon Body," 33.

faces in profile look outward from the top outermost corners of the square and two faces gaze at one another at the inner center. Limbs do not appear in connection with the corner faces; but legs, beginning at the thigh and bent coquettishly at the knee, rise up behind the central faces from a basket weave of lines, as if the figure were lying on its stomach in the swirl of clothing, air currents, or sea waves. This posture, though with the "figure" lying more prone and on bent "arms," is mirrored directly below. Two addorsed (rather than enface) figures are squeezed into the border of ornament framing the central square, their legs also bent up behind their bodies. The domed heads of the figures, which resemble the prominent helmet style of the time, transform when one flips the brooch around. A curved curl of ornament suggesting a beak protrudes from a C-shaped head that curves around a dot representing an eye. The human heads read now as addorsed bird heads occupying the corners of the top register; the feet of the human legs now point towards the avian heads, making their connection to the birds less visually logical. When the brooch is oriented right-side-up, this section of the ornamental program is somewhat difficult for the outside viewer but fairly incomprehensible to the wearer, comprised of various swirls, basket-weave marks, half-circles, and dots. The square head of the brooch and its program of human and beast forms, would in fact, be most readable to the outside viewer. The smooth bow and its lack of ornament, signals a change and grants the viewer a visual break; a high ridge leads the eye from the right-side-up human mask down to an upside-down mask, guiding the gaze to the top of the brooch, which contains a program of larger forms.

Though woven with as many hidden and morphing human and animal forms, the top half is oriented in a more readable position for the wearer. Her eye would have

immediately been led by the curved lines radiating outward from the large roundel to the mustached face that dominates the central diamond shape. The face is seated in the V where the two lines veer away from one another to create one point of the diamond. Two addorsed bird heads, situated above the face, fill the right and left Vs of the diamond, leading the eye to the smaller roundels on the opposing points of the diamond. The roundels are filled with enface face masks peering across the expanse of the diamond toward one another. As if to contrast the symmetricity of the diamond and roundel ornament, the areas above and below the diamond are filled with sinuous animal forms. Indeed, the serpentine form of the animals closest to the bow of the brooch are mimicked in the very outer curves of the brooch. This generates a visual pause between the simpler geometric forms of circles and diamonds at the top of the brooch, before leading the eye over the bow to the large rectangular form of the square plate. Reading the visual program would be even further complicated by orienting the brooch to the side; however, this supports the probable purpose of this style of ornament, to delight the eye and encourage reading in multiple ways.

The question of the meaning behind the imaginative and complex "Style I" designs of the Chessell Down brooch is often the launching point for discussion of similar jewelry pieces.[76] Perhaps beliefs on the order of nature and humankind's place within it were woven throughout this tangle of creatures. In a joint study, psychologist Torill Christine Lindstrøm and archaeologist Siv Kristoffersen suggested that the reversibility of human and animal forms may have implied connections with ideas of

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[76] Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 15-17; Edward Thurlow Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 14; Hines, *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, 1.

shapeshifting,[77] though it may have simply added to the visual aesthetic of the piece; the two aspects are not necessarily contradictory. The placement of such motifs on specific items such as helmets and swords strongly suggest protective apotropaic functions of those motifs.[78] This complex but ordered vocabulary of design may have communicated a wide variety of spiritual and social messages to be interpreted. But, beyond symbolic representation, what accounts for the specific stylistic choices of abstraction and ambiguity the early medieval minor arts? Cultural-aesthetic motivations such as a love of riddles and multivalent meaning have been proposed;[79] however, Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen's analysis pushed beyond the question of meaning and offered further insight on the psychological effects of ambiguous figures such as those inscribed on metalwork.

The term "ambiguous figures" has a lengthy history in psychological study, referring to imagery such as the well-known vase/two profiles alteration, the "Necker cube," the "Schroder staircase," and Rorschach inkblots. Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen also included the concept of split representations within this terminology; a split

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[77] Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 68, 74.

[78] The boar may have borne heraldic as well as apotropaic connotations in its application as crests on helmets such as the examples found at Benty Grange and Wollaston, and the eyebrows of the Sutton Hoo helmet. Embodiment of ferocious animals like the boar may have been integral to accessing their power in battle or their protection in peace. Audrey L. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), 134.

[79] "Another important feature, shared by Anglo-Saxon art and literature, is a delight in paradox of every kind; verbal and visual riddles abound…" Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 8, 34-37; Benjamin C. Tilghman, "Writing in Tongues: Mixed Scripts and Style in Insular Art," in *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 94.

representation portrays an animal as if it was cut open and flattened out, allowing both sides of the beast to be seen at the same time.[80] As evident in the examples of metalwork above, split and ambiguous figures were a staple of fifth-century English design. Processes of Gestalt formation allow the viewer to perceive the various images embedded in the design and to mentally combine disparate parts into wholes (as in finding faces or animals in clouds). Simply stated, Gestalt formation is the perceptual process of making sense of something that is ambiguous or unclear.[81] The viewer's mind draws upon memories of objects previously seen, which is indicative of important psychological resources such as "the ability to see meaningful 'wholes' or entities in a chaotic world, problem-solving ability and ego strength."[82] As will be illustrated in Chapter 2, such resources would be inordinately valuable to a people who viewed the natural world as inherently hostile toward humankind.

The complexity of geometric and zoomorphic design necessitates time and concentrated looking to decode the alternating imagery contained within it. Furthermore, the reflective materials of metalwork are quite effective in catching the eye and simulating movement over undulating surfaces. Intense examination of these ambiguous figures can momentarily suspend self-awareness as the mind engages in

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[80] Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 67-8.

[81] See Wolfgang Köhler, *The Task of Gestalt Psychology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), esp. 33-62.

[82] "The switching between different objects perceived in ambiguous figures probably takes place in the frontoparietal cortex, and interhemispheric switching mediates the perceptual rivalry between the two objects seen. The right frontoparietal cortex is responsible for the visual selection process, and each cortical hemisphere represents one of the two alternating/ rivalling objects seen." Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 75.

the problem-solving process and its rewards. Absorption in this creative activity can induce a state of consciousness called "flow," which can also be qualified as "semi-hypnotic."[83] Such states of mind may have been intrinsic to religious practices or were simply meant to inspire awe and respect for those adorned in elaborate, glittering ornaments.

Some of the affectivity of the designs of early medieval jewelry must have been evident to its makers and viewers; however, in the words of Bjørnar Olsen, "[t]hings do far more than just speak and express meanings."[84] Regardless of the intentions of their makers, things through their very materiality can script human reaction and behavior. Utilizing Alfred Gell's concept of the agency of things themselves to prompt bodily actions may offer an even deeper understanding of the affectivity of early medieval design.[85] Robin Bernstein has expanded sociopolitical analyses of the use and meanings of objects through her concept of "scriptive things." She blended performance theory, material culture theory, and thing theory to define a scriptive thing as "an item of material culture that prompts meaningful bodily behaviors."[86] This agency to incite action, whether compliant or defiant, differentiates "things" from "objects," demonstrating "things" as assertive and performative. The

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[83] Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 76.

[84] Bjørnar Olsen, "Material Culture After Text: Re-membering Things," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 36, no. 2 (2003): 90.

[85] For a historiographic source on "agency," see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[86] Robin Bernstein, "Scriptive Things," chap. 2 in *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 71.

intricate, ambiguous design and reflective surfaces of metal objects exerted specific effects upon the viewer, but in addition to design, the very size of dress accessories played a crucial role in scripting their use and reception.

The oversized scale of adornments such as the Chessell Down brooch (13.8 cm) or the Sutton Hoo belt buckle (13.2 cm) and the diminutive size of the designs inscribed on their surfaces has been treated as a conventional point of description in scholarly literature. Yet, however large, the imagery adorning accessories still represent miniaturized referents to the external world. The study of miniaturization has appeared mainly in archaeological contexts regarding straightforward examples of miniatures as grave goods and votive offerings.[87] British soil is replete with miniature depositions placed there by native Iron Age Britons, Romans, and the later continental migrants. Tiny models of weaponry and shields, are found in Kent, Cambridgeshire, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire and have many Continental equivalents from Francia, Germania, and Scandinavia.[88] Rather than simplistic symbols or playful amusements, scholars such as Susan Stewart have posited miniatures as important negotiators of

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[87] Tim Malim, "A Romano-British Temple Complex and Anglo-Saxon Burials at Gallows Hill, Swaffham Prior," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 95 (2006): 112; Ann Woodward and Peter Leach, *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley: Gloucestershire, 1977-9*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 17 (London: English Heritage in association with British Museum Press, 1993), 327-34 and table 20; Jean Bagnall Smith, "Votive Objects and Objects of Votive Significance from Great Walsingham," *Britannia* 30 (1999): 21-56; David Petts, "Votive Deposits and Christian Practice in Late Roman Britain," in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 109-118.

[88] See Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 149-170.

bodily and human relations.[89] This idea is particularly applicable to miniaturizations of practical and protective objects used as bodily adornment in early medieval England; usage in life and burial with the body negates a votive function, or a dismissal of these objects as "mere toys," and underscores their likely function as amuletic protection.[90]

Given the size of English items of adornment, a close reading would necessitate physical proximity and perhaps even handling of the object itself. Indeed, the scale of a dress accessory renders it graspable by the hand, "which compel[s] the user to bring the miniature into his or her personal space and allow the human hand to bridge the perceptual distance between real-life and small-scale worlds."[91] The invitation of touch, already inherent in objects meant to be fastened to or around the body, is amplified by their physical size and the minuscule nature of their imagery. As in the example of the Chessell Down brooch, the thing scripts the body to handle, turn, and examine, and to assume a posture conducive to contemplation. The mind, as part of the body, is likewise scripted by the ambiguous patterns of early English design. Miniatures themselves are abstractions and compressions of a larger prototype; hence, the marked abstraction and compression of images within the framework of a brooch or buckle "omits some features and compels the user to employ their knowledge or

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89 Susan Stewart, "The Miniature," chap. 2 in *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984), 37-69.

90 Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 154-55.

91 Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper, "Fascination with the Tiny: Social Negotiation through Miniatures in Hellenistic Babylonia," *World Archaeology* 47, no. 1 (2015): 62.

imagination to fill in the rest."[92] This creative process links directly to Gestalt

formation activated when one encounters ambiguous stimuli. Lin Foxhall posited that

"the widespread urge to remake the world in miniature suggests that changing the

scale of things opens up pathways for people to reimagine the world."[93] The

meditative state incited by visual contemplation of the miniature is further

compounded by an alteration of the perception of personal time. Both Stewart and

Benjamin Tilghman have commented on phenomenological correlation between the

experience of scale and the experience of duration.[94] Tilghman offered an example of

the absorbing examination of tiny images of complex inhabited spaces within a

diminutive book.[95] The act of mentally moving through a miniaturized image can

produce the effect of altering the viewer's perception of the passage of time, causing

brief periods to seem much longer than they actually are – according to some studies,

as much as a ratio of six minutes perceived to every one minute elapsed.[96] In

Tilghman's words, "such disorienting experience could have felt mystically

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[92] Lin Foxhall, "Introduction: Miniaturization," *World Archaeology* 47, no. 1 (2015): 4.

[93] Lin Foxhall, "Introduction: Miniaturization," 3.

[94] Stewart, *On Longing*; Benjamin C. Tilghman, "Divinity in the Details: Miniaturization and Meditation in a Passion Cycle by Johannes Wierix," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 68/69 (2010/2011): 130-1.

[95] Tilghman, "Divinity in the Details," 130-1.

[96] Alton J. DeLong, "Phenomenological Space-Time: Toward an Experiential Relativity," *Science* 213, no. 4508 (1981): 681-83; Douglas J. Bobko, Philip Bobko, and Mark A. Davis, "Effect of Visual Display Scale on Duration Estimates," *Human Factors* 28 (1986): 153-58.

transportative, as though one had been removed from the course of earthly time and entered into a spiritual temporal realm."[97] Although Tilghman references figural scenes from the sixteenth century, this kind of transcendent encounter with miniaturized imagery is applicable to early English metalwork and its often-dense mazes of small figures, animals (or parts of figures and animals), patterns, and the possible cultural meanings or references embedded therein. The script set by dress accessories and their designs directed bodily behaviors of touch, visualizing, and mental processing, inspiring contemplative and imaginative states that reinforced their specialized character. These were ornaments crafted with a highly advanced visual vocabulary intended to communicate specific messages, but open in their ambiguity to several interpretations and imaginings, an effective recipe for creating an aura of mystique and power.

The glittering image of early medieval bodies arrayed in adornments charged with meaning is compelling indeed. This conception does, however, tend to imply ownership by the elite and therefore complicates questions of viewership. Would the largest and most complex ornaments be restricted to groups of a particular status, hence restricting visual literacy in the vocabulary of design? Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen offered two possibilities regarding the exclusionary or overt coding of early medieval design; it could have been deliberately cryptic, intended for the educated viewer, or obvious in its indication of rank, occupation, or religious station.[98] Peter Wells outlined the visual experience of a large fibula at varying distances,

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[97] Tilghman, "Divinity in the Details," 131.

[98] Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 80.

specifically the Chessell Down brooch, measuring 5.4 by 2.6 inches. Perception of the relief carving becomes possible at 10 meters (33 ft) away, the three circles on the foot at 2 meters (6.6 ft), the faces within two of these circles at 1.5 meters (4.9 ft), and the ability to pick out all of the faces at only the close proximity of 0.75 meters (2.5 ft).[99] Although he did not provide the same spatial specificity for the Sutton Hoo belt buckle, he did provide an engrossing description of the piece as seen from a distance to close at hand. Wells made a most convincing case as to the intent of the designer to catch the eye of a viewer from afar, then draw their focus on a specific point of the buckle between the three bosses, and to fascinate upon closer inspection via a visual labyrinth of serpentine ornament.[100]

The thought applied to this kind of design was sophisticated indeed and reveals much about the way visuality was conceptualized and exploited. Luxury ornaments attracted attention through their size, material, and display on the body. But we must keep in mind the purpose behind the design, while certainly to impress, was chiefly to draw one body closer to another and then to control levels of contact between individuals. Close contact with elite groups or individuals may also have been facilitated by meetings in community spaces such as the mead hall or grounds for religious ceremonies. But regardless of how close or distant the proximity of a viewer and wearer, and despite generally understood symbolic representations, design is always open to individual interpretation, as are the ornaments upon which it appears. Even when meaning is lost, these pieces retain their mystique through their very

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[99] Peter Wells, *Image and Response in Early Europe* (London: Duckworth, 2008), 73.

[100] Wells, *Image and Response*, 76.

design. How a human would contextualize these ornaments 1,600-1,400 years ago depended on cultural conditioning; how a human would *perceive* these ornaments would depend on the environment in which they were reared. It is in the initial months of life that the connections between neurons rapidly develop in an infant's brain. These synapses are the baseline for all perception, and they continue to develop throughout an individual's lifecycle, though at gradually decreasing rates. Therefore, those earliest months of experiencing vision, touch, and other senses are foundational in conditioning how a human will see for their entire life.[101] As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the environment in which a human was raised is instructive for understanding how the general cognitive map for early medieval perception was laid.

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[101] Wells, *Image and Response*, 56.

Chapter 2

NEGOTIATING LIFEWORLDS THROUGH ADORNMENT

Regardless of time period or culture, the body is situated in a physical landscape with which it interacts, and it is affected by environmental conditioners such as geographical features, flora, fauna, and climate. In the 1950s, Jakob Johann Freiherr von Uexküll introduced the concept of the *Umwelt*, "the lifeworld" that all animals, including humans, not only inhabit but actively perceive. He proposed this idea in direct opposition to the trend of isolating animals or natural systems for scientific study, prefiguring network theory, which acknowledges the interconnectedness and interaction of all systems, bodies, material, and energy in the universe. "As the spider spins its threads," von Uexküll wrote, "every subject spins his relations to certain characters of the things around him, and weaves them into a firm web which carries his existence."[102] Examining both the *umwelten* of early England and the systems of power that existed within it, can more fully reveal human motivations for adorning the body and its subsequent phenomenological effects.

Environmental Conditions

George Lakoff's and Mark Johnson's influential work, *Metaphors We Live By*, is well known for its theories on the effect of ecological zones on conceptual development in the people who inhabit them. Metaphors are generated within the constraints of culture through an active engagement with material and social environs,

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[102] Jakob Johann Freiherr von Uexküll, "Stroll through the Worlds of Animals and Men: A Picture Book of Invisible Worlds," in *Instinctive Behavior: The Development of a Modern Concept*, ed. Claire H. Schiller (New York: International Universities Press, 1957), 14.

and these metaphors serve to shape our understanding of reality.[103] The Old English

poetic tradition, as a record of personal reflection, has been scrutinized for the

metaphors and mentalities of early medieval England by scholars like Leslie Lockett,

Antonina Harbus, Malcom Godden, and Michael Eugene Matto. Depictions of the

bleakness of the moors, the dangers of *fengelad* (fen-paths)[104] and *wulfhleoþu* (wolf-

slopes),[105] and the grey unforgiving expanse of the Atlantic, were the specialty of Old

English poets and represent some of the rare descriptions of their environment.[106]

During his search for a retreat fitting an eremitic lifestyle, the ascetic Guthlac (674-

715) captured the essence of the grim and wild fenlands of East Anglia:

> There is in the midland district of Britain a most dismal fen of immense
> size, which begins at the banks of the river Granta not far from the
> camp which is called Cambridge, and stretches from the south as far
> north as the sea. It is a very long tract, now consisting of marshes, now
> of bogs, sometimes of black waters overhung by fog, sometimes
> studded with wooded islands and traversed by the windings of torturous
> streams.[107]

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[103] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[104] *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation*, trans. Seamus Heaney (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), line 1357; DOE, s.v. *fengelad*.

[105] *Beowulf*, line 1358; DOE, s.v. *wulf-hliþ*

[106] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 26; Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9-10 and 59-62.

[107] Felix, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 87. The Latin passage reads, "Est in meditullaneis Brittanniae patribus inmensae magnitudinis aterrima palus, quae, a Grontae fluminis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quem dicunt nomine Gronte, nunc stagnis, nunc flactris, interdum nigris fusi vaporis laticibus, necnon et crebis insularum nemorumque intervenientibus flexuosis

The harshness of the sea and the biting winter season is pronounced in the poems of

The Seafarer and *The Wanderer*. Indeed, evidence suggests that weather conditions

between 400-900 may have been significantly colder, stormier, and snowier than the

preceding centuries of Roman Britain[108] Considerations of such weather conditions

can be useful in reconstructing social attitudes from a given period in history. As

distinguished by Paul Edward Dutton, climate is "ahistorical and ahuman," as opposed

to weather, which is "properly historical and stubbornly subjective, since it involves

humans in time thinking about it and how it affects their lives."[109] This is usefully

illustrated in Bede's remark on the exceptional length of winter nights;[110] although the

nights themselves were not longer than any other period, Bede's perception was

affected by the conditions of his environment.

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rivigarum anfractibus, ab austro in aquilonem mare tenus longissimo tractu protenditur."

[108] Hubert Horace Lamb, "Climate in the Last Thousand Years: Natural Climatic Fluctuations and Change," in *The Climate of Europe, Past, Present, and Future: Natural and Man-Induced Climatic Changes, a European Perspective*, eds. Hermann Flohn and Roberto Fantechi (Hingham, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1984), 25-44, at 35-8; Hubert Horace Lamb, "Climate from 1000 BC to 1000 AD," in *The Environment of Man: The Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period*, eds. Martin Jones and G.W. Dimbleby (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981), 57-61; Petra Dark, *The Environment of Britain in the First Millennium A.D* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 27.

[109] Paul Edward Dutton, "Observations on Early Medieval Weather in General, Bloody Rain in Particular," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 168.

[110] Bede, *HE*, I.i, 17.

Some caution is, of course, pertinent in this assessment; a generalization of a cultural temperament may seem reductive. Jennifer Neville warns against accepting poems such as *The Seafarer* as "a characteristically gloomy outburst from one born to a gloomy race," although her work on the early English view of the natural world denotes an overall cultural pessimism.[111] Simon Harrison has investigated ritual and symbolism connected with seasonality in European and North American cultures, including the medieval period. In his essay, "Emotional Climates: Ritual, Seasonality, and Affective Disorders," Harrison described the environment as instrumental in shaping the symbolisms that give meaning to our affective states.[112] His observations of medieval bifurcations aptly apply to the bifurcation of winter and summer observed by pre-Christian areas of northern Europe. Evidence for a bipartite calendar in early England is found in literature devoid of religious or latinate content as well as in the Old English names of the months. Interest in seasonal progression is largely absent in Old English poetry; poets seemed to favor the literary device of contrasts, particularly that of the darkness and dangers of winter with the warmth and security of communal humanity. Leslie Webster equated this affinity for contrasts to the visual aesthetics of early English jewelry stating that, "the joys of the bright hall are contrasted with the outer world of darkness, cold and dangers... This contrast is very prominent in metalwork, from the glitter of red garnets against gold."[113]

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[111] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 37.

[112] Simon Harrison, "Emotional Climates: Ritual, Seasonality and Affective Disorders," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10, no. 3 (2004): 596.
[113] Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 25.

Vernacular Old English poetry frequently employed elegiac themes, using descriptive conditions of the English environment to heighten the emotional states of a lone protagonist. With greater effect than metaphor or elusion, this technique enticed the audience into the world of the protagonist. The sorrows of isolation from humanity, the treacherousness of seafaring in winter, and the overall grief of the *Wanderer* permeate the word-choices for the poem, such as the term, *wintercearig* (winter-sorrowful).[114] The *Seafarer* likewise focuses on the miserable experience of an isolated individual, and the spurned wife in *The Wife's Lament* wishes her errant husband this kind of frosty isolation.[115] Whereas the arrival of spring or summer implies some relief from the bonds of winter, the turn of seasons does not contribute to the emotional development or subjective experience of the protagonist.[116] Rather than celebrating nature as a pleasant escape, Old English poets drew a sharp delineation between the yawning vastness of creation and the alarmingly small presence of humanity. Old English poetry is certainly not devoid of joy; but it is though the conquest of nature or a safe place within it amongst kin that poets express the heights of pleasure.[117]

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[114] George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., "The Wanderer," line 24, *The Exeter Book*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 134.

[115] George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., "The Wife's Lament," lines 45-50, *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 211.

[116] Paul Sander Langeslag, "Seasonal Setting and the Human Domain in Early English and Early Scandinavian Literature" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012), 158.

[117] See especially "The Wanderer," lines 37-48, 135.

The bodily experience of this environment and its conditions may have contributed to the development of a cultural aesthetic, eliciting a preference for ornamentation that represents light or is animated by it. As noted by Peter Wells, environmental factors including the dim interiors of dwellings, a largely monochromatic material culture, and visually non-complex objects, condition the development of cognitive maps from infancy, and account for a difference in visual perception between medieval peoples and their modern descendants.[118] Human perception of objects relies on how they are lit, and an object's appearance can change dramatically with changes in lighting.[119] This is obvious in how the artificial lighting of our modern world can drastically differ in lumens and tones. But, as Wells makes clear, our visual system evolved to adapt to a world of non-artificial light, primarily sunlight. Experiments have indicated that in most cases, our brains assume that what we see is lit from above (the natural position of the sun) and not from other directions.[120] Thus, "objects made to be visually powerful, such as the most elaborate fibulae, belt buckles and bronze vessels, create their own means of directing ambient light. Every curve, bulbous protrusion, patch of deeply incised lines and piece of colored inlay creates its own pattern of shadows and color distinctions," harnessing the power of light to maximize the cultural aesthetic.

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[118] Wells, *Image and Response*, 58-9.

[119] Heather Pulliam has made this point in relation to the experiential nature of Irish high crosses in their outdoor settings. See, "Between the Embodied Eye and Living World: Clonmacnoise's Cross of the Scriptures," *Art Bulletin* 102, no. 2, (2020): 7-35.

[120] Wells, *Image and Response*, 46.

A love for precious metals and sparkling gems can be attributed to many cultures; indeed, in his book, *What Color is the Sacred?*, anthropologist Michael Taussig demonstrated the susceptibility of the body to the material properties of objects.[121] But the particular English predilection for reflective surfaces has been illustrated most famously by C.R. Dodwell. In *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*, Dodwell identified a fascination with "variable brightness" in early English art, attire, and literature.[122] In the specific case of the English people, the sensitivity of visual perception to refulgence is made evident in their vernacular language. Before the Middle English period (c. 1150-1500), Old English (c. 600-1150) color words expressed "nuances of brightness" rather than concepts of hue. Old English terms that expressed a pure sense of brightness became disused or lost this aspect of their meaning in Middle English.[123] Any term that included even a minor sense of hue was able to survive into Middle English, though altered to reflect this meaning only. Of note are words such as *brun*, *fealu*, and *wann*, "which suggest, in turn, the degree of brightness of metal in sunshine, of shining material under the same circumstances, and the subdued brightness of something seen on a dull day."[124] In the seventh century, Isidore of Seville drew a similar comparison between the Latin words for color (*color*)

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[121] Michael T. Taussig, *What Color is the Sacred?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[122] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, see esp. chap. 2, "Anglo-Saxon Taste."

[123] These include *torht*, *scir*, and *hador*; Ronald W. Casson, "Color Shift: Evolution of English Color Terms," in *Color Categories in Thought and Language*, eds. C.L. Hardin and Luisa Maffi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 224-25.

[124] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 34.

and heat (*calor*) as it was heat or sunlight – the greatest of all sources of light and heat – that brought color to life.[125]

In his work on visuality in early England, John Niles eloquently stressed the dramatic differences in the level of illumination and the audaciousness of color between our modern world and that of early medieval England. He evoked the muted pallet of "russets, ordinary greens and browns, mud tones, straw tones, the color of homespun wool" that made up the colorscape of ordinary people.[126] In the same way this drab landscape was pierced by splashes of color in the blossoms of spring or the berries of autumn, the vision of a colorfully dressed man of means, or the flash of a lady bedecked in precious ornaments, would have been eye-catching against the backdrop of the subdued tones of the landscape. How dramatic indeed might this contrast be at public gatherings; celebrations marked the beginning of summer in April and the onset of winter at Yule, and funerals may have drawn various members of the community. One can imagine the impression of light glancing off a metal brooch or buckle, or a jewel of garnet or rock crystal by the light of bonfires, funeral pyres, or the firelight of a feasting hall. Brightness held particular sensorial value in early medieval England. Manifestations of material brilliance, both imagined and literal,

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[125] Isidore of Seville, *Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum*, Liber XIX.xvii.1; for an English translation see Stephen A. Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[126] John D. Niles, "Introduction," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*, eds. John D. Niles, Stacy S. Klein, and Jonathan Wilcox (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS/Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016), 16. In terms of clothing, this is supported by dye analysis, the data of which implies most fabrics outside of rich burials were never dyed. See Walton Rogers's discussion, "Dyes and dye identification," in *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, 62-4, esp. 63.

proliferated in the early English world, from the golden prows and sails of great ships, the standards of conquering kings, to the gold-plated drinking halls elaborated in *Beowulf*.[127]

Harrison's adroit explication of the experience of the body-in-the-world and the production of metaphorical expressions as mitigated by environment may be applicable to both early English language and material culture:

> People are, of course, not merely embodied, but embodied in environments, with characteristics of seasonality, geographical latitude, climate, and so forth. In its effects on the body, and on sensory experience, an environment is part of the complex of physiological possibilities and constraints shaping the symbolisms with which those who live in that environment give meaning to their affective states… In this sense, embodiment does not end at the skin, but extends beyond it into the external physical world. To put this differently, people are not just embodied, but also embodied *ecologically*. This has implications for our understanding of the cultural metaphors with which they communicate, and perhaps also experience, their emotions. These imageries may often indeed be motivated physiologically. But the motivations come not from the body but from the body-connected-to-a-particular-environment.[128]

Drawing on the work of Merleau-Ponty, Thomas Csordas explained that objects do not exist prior to perception; perception begins in the body, leading to reflective thinking, and ultimately resulting in the creation of objects. [129] If we accept that objects are outcomes of perception, then the material expressions of early medieval England fit well into this model of physiologically-motivated imageries. The body's response to

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[127] *Beowulf*, lines 308-11 and 714-16.

[128] Harrison, "Emotional Climates," 596.

[129] Csordas, *Body/Meaning/Healing*, 61 and 243.

its environment cannot be divorced from the production of material culture; to do so is to conceive of the mind as a disembodied generator of abstract ideas, separate from and unaffected by the body and the world of its experience. The English landscape, with its surrounding seas, its wildlife, and the quality of its light and seasons, contributed to the forms and meanings of ornamentation in the uncertain environments of both life and the afterlife.

Apotropaic Constructs

In early English communities, the environment encompassed not only the sensible world, but the insensible world as well. The design of jewelry reflected a response to physical environmental conditions or served as a tool to reinforce social identities; however, an equally critical function of jewelry was as an apotropaic device. Such devices answered a cultural anxiety concerning the protection of body and soul from both visible and invisible forces of a natural world perceived as malicious towards humankind. It is important here to define the term "natural world" as it would have been understood in fifth- and sixth-century England. The modern definition of the natural world is comprised of physical, non-human and non-supernatural elements, including animals, plants, weather, bodies of water, and land masses. The Old English language, while supplying several words for "nature," has left behind no term that equates to the modern conception the natural world as a cohesive, external entity.[130] Additionally, this medieval definition of the world did not

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[130] The word *cynd* encompasses "nature, native constitution; the nature of God, Christ, man; kind, species (of animal, plant); race, kind; social class, rank"; *forðgesceaft* means "what has been created or ordained to be; created being or thing; collectively:

exclude the supernatural nor see itself in contrast with it.[131] Rather than a group of irreconcilable elements, the unseen, the strange, and the unearthly were integral as an understood part of reality, and represented as such in poetry, medical texts, and material culture.

In his essay, "Cognition, Emotion, and Religious Experience," Ilkka Pyysiäinen postulated the evolutionary origins of the anxieties that gave rise to conceptions of unseen agents in pre-literate cultures. He described the adoption of the "intentional stance," or the application of animism, as a strategy for understanding and predicting nature, as we are able to understand and predict the behavior of our fellow humans. This in turn enabled a belief in a counterintuitive reality with invisible agents only accessible, understandable, and controllable through religious or magical means.[132] In "Religious Thought and Behaviour as By-Products of Brain Function," Pascal Boyer maintained that due to the firm cognitive constraints on imagination, this concept of supernatural agents across cultures is notably consistent.[133]

> Supernatural concepts are informed by very general assumptions from "domain concepts" such as *person*, *living thing*, *man-made object*. A

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creation." See DOE, s.v. *cynd* and *forðgesceaft* and Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 1-3, 16.

[131] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 2-3.

[132] Regarding the rigid lines often drawn in contemporary discourse between the terms "religious" and "magical," see Hans H. Penner, "Rationality, Ritual, and Science," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict*, eds. Jacob Neusner; Ernest S. Frerichs and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11-24.

[133] Pascal Boyer, "Religious Thought and Behaviour as By-Products of Brain Function," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7 (2003): 119.

spirit is a special kind of *person*, a magic wand a special kind of *artefact*, a talking tree a special kind of *plant*. Such notions are salient and inferentially productive because they combine specific features that violate some default expectations for the domain with expectations held by default as true of the entire domain.[134]

In early medieval England, invisible forces were seen as the causes for ill weather, sickness and bodily harm, and disasters like crop failure. Gaining power over such forces through rituals or objects instills assurance that individuals no longer have anything to fear, which can result in significant anxiety reduction.[135] In the fifth century, amulets were chief among protective items of adornment, though this was by no means unique to England and was widely shared in the late antique and early medieval periods.[136] Carried on the body as either ornamentation, assemblages of herbs, or pouches containing either of the former, amulets were utilized to shield the wearer from evil well into the conversion period of England and beyond. Despite condemnation by church authorities, from Archbishop Theodore's *Penitential* in 690 to the second Council of Clovesho in 747, amuletic practice continued unabated.[137]

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[134] Boyer, "Religious Thought and Behaviour," 119.

[135] Ilkka Pyysiäinen, "Cognition, Emotion, and Religious Experience," in *Religion in Mind: Cognitive Perspectives on Religious Belief, Ritual, and Experience*, ed. Jensine Andresen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 70-93.

[136] Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Henry Maguire, and Maggie J. Flowers, eds., *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press: 1989); Ra'anan Boustan, and Joseph E. Sanzo, "Christian Magicians, Jewish Magical Idioms, and the Shared Magical Culture of Late Antiquity," *Harvard Theological Review* 110, no. 2 (2017): 217-240; Vladimir Dryakhlov and Vladimir Kulakov, "The Amulets of German Merovingian Aristocracy," *Archaeologia Lituana* 19 (2018): 207-217.

[137] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170-71.

Complaints, such as those of the archbishop, were aimed especially at the female population. However, in Alcuin's later comments on the subject, he noted that "many men in those parts" wore amulets around their necks, and "with these most holy words of God or relics of the saints they go to their filthy acts, and even do their duty by their wives," indicating that the practice was not limited solely to women.[138]

A vast range of apotropaic items and materials were put in contact with bodies in early England, including amber, amethyst, fossils, cowrie shells, crystal balls, animal teeth, coins or imitations, plants, and, rarely, small gilded figures of men and women.[139] Audrey Meaney's *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* still stands as the most comprehensive volume on the corpus of protective items in pre-Conquest England.[140] Rather than tackle the impossible task of exploring each of the objects in her study, I will address a selection of jewelry-type amulets with a demonstrable inheritance from ancient understandings and uses, as well as amulets with an arguable connection to the specific environment of England. Rather than a recapitulation of Meaney's overarching survey, my intention is to demonstrate a very bodily response to the environment of early medieval England – what people saw, experienced, feared, and valued, and how that conditioned their amuletic choices. This critical history sets a societal precedent for the embodiment of wearable objects for prophylactic purposes

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[138] Alcuin, *Alcuin of York c. A.D. 732 to 804: His Life and Letters*, ed. and trans. Stephen Allott (York: William Sessions Limited, 1974), 69; Alcuin, *Epistola*, 291, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 449.

[139] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170; Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 38.

[140] Audrey L. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981).

in both life and the grave. Furthermore, it is this bodily precedent which enabled receptivity to the protective qualities of the cross and conditioned its eventual material form as pectoral and pendant in the seventh century.

Amber and Mineral Amulets

Amber constitutes the most frequently occurring amulet in early medieval burials, particularly in central and eastern England, the greatest quantity extending between Lincolnshire and Norfolk to Wiltshire.[141] The petrified tree resin was most commonly fashioned into rough or faceted beads used as necklaces and single-bead sword ends, although it has also been found as single beads or lumps in children's graves.[142] Amber was widely regarded for its medicinal and amuletic properties throughout the whole of Europe, worn or ingested for protection and healing.[143]

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[141] "The largest quantity in a single cemetery, nearly 1,000 in total, is from Sleaford (Lincolnshire)." Arnold, *Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 103. See Figure 5.1 for a map of the distribution of amber beads at 104.

[142] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 67-68; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 87.

[143] Pliny the Elder wrote of the amuletic powers of amber to cure numerous aliments of the throat and mouth, to protect infants against poisons and sorcery, and to cure strangury when consumed.Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* (henceforth *NH*) 37.11; all translations are taken from *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones, and D.E. Eichholz, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938-62), 10:203. The sixth-century physicians, Paul of Aegina and Aetius of Amida also recommended the ingestion of amber as a remedy for stomach pains and bleeding. See Francis Adams, *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta. Translated from the Greek, with a Commentary Embracing a Complete View of the Knowledge possessed by the Greeks, Romans and Arabians on all subjects connected with Medicine and Surgery*, vol. 3 (London: Sydenham Society, 1847) 129; Aetius of Amida, *Libri medicinales* 2. 35, ed. Alexander Olivieri, vol. 1 (Lipsiae, Berolini, in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1935), 67.

According to the writings of Caesarius of Arles (c. 502-542), amulets of amber were in active use in Francia in the early sixth century *and were still receiving criticism from Eligius of Noyon (588-660) in the seventh century;*[144] the compiler of Egbert's Penitential echoed Caesarius' complaints against these amulets, indicating the practice may have continued into eighth-century England.[145]

Faceted beads cut from rock crystal also appear in graves from the second half of the sixth century, though there is no evidence of sword beads made of this substance.[146] Though several functions have been proposed, such as toggles to fasten girdles or string holders for draw-string bags, most crystal beads have been identified as spindle-whorls.[147] The clearest use of rock crystal as a wearable amulet emerged in the mid-sixth century in the form of spheres around the size of a golf ball, suspended within a sling, and most likely worn by women on their chatelaine. Slings were

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[144] Caesarius of Arles, Sermon 14.4, in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, part 1, edition 2, CCSL, vol. 103 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1953), 71-72. For an English translation, see Mary Magdeleine Mueller, *The Fathers of the Church St. Caesarius, Sermons,* vol. 1 (1956; repr. Washington, DC: Catholic University of American Press, 2004), 82-3; *Vita Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis* 2.16, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1902), 706-07.

[145] "Caraios et divinos precantatores, filecteria etiam diabolica vel erbas vel facino (al. succinum) suis vel sibi inpendere vel V.feria in honore Jovis..." Egbert, *Egbert's Penitential*, VIII *De Auguriis vel Divinationibus*, 4, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, vol. 3 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964), 424.

[146] Though a few are known from the continent. See Joachim Werner, "Die magischen Schwertanhänger," in *Beiträge zur Archaeologie des Attila-Reiches* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956), 125-7. See also Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 78.

[147] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 78.

composed of two bands of metal crossing perpendicularly at the base of the crystal and wrapping up the sides to meet in a suspension loop. The substance of these bands ranges from bronze to silver and silver-gilt to gold. The highest proportion of crystal balls found on the continent comes from Merovingian territories in the Rhine and Upper Danube areas of Germany and northern France, as well as Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[148] The most well-known continental example may be the unmounted ball found in the tomb of Childeric. Other royal burials containing crystal balls include the grave of a sixth-century princess interred at Cologne Cathedral[149] and five crystal balls reported as stolen from royal tombs in Saint-Denis during the French Revolution.[150] In England, the fashion of wearing suspended crystals achieved the height of popularity in Kent, most likely adopted from its Frankish neighbors. Seventy-five percent of the known crystal balls in England have been recovered in Kent, especially at Bifrons and Chatham Lines;[151] the remaining twenty-five percent have been found at Chessell Down and, rarely, in the Midlands, though around twenty

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[148] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 94; Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 85; Genevra Kornbluth, "Early Medieval Crystal Amulets: Secular Instruments of Protection and Healing," in *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing, Sites, Objects and Texts*, eds. Barbara S. Bowers and Linda Migl Keyser (New York: Routledge, 2016), 145.

[149] Joachim Werner, "Frankish Royal Tombs in the Cathedrals of Cologne and Saint-Denis," *Antiquity* 38, no. 151 (1964): 204-5.

[150] Anne Roes, *Talismans mérovingiens en pierre* (Dijon: Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est, 1960), 32.

[151] Arnold, *Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 106.

"poor women's" imitations in the form of oak apples mounted in similar slings have been found in and around Kent, attesting to their popularity.[152]

  Rock crystal balls, as a fashion derived from the continent, and as a rare and luminous substance in the British Isles, seems to have appealed to the sensibilities of the most affluent individuals.[153] The graves at Chessel Down,[154] Bifrons,[155] Lyminge,[156] and Sarre[157] included lavish assemblages, including rock crystal balls, befitting women of high status. The amuletic properties of the stone would likely have been understood as evidenced by its shape, placement, and oft-accompanying accessory of a sieve spoon. Pliny wrote that rock crystal was derived from moisture in

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[152] Arnold, *Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 106; Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 82.

[153] Rock crystal was present in the geological landscape of early medieval England and Europe, but the large amount needed to craft these balls narrows the areas from which it may have originated: Germany, Switzerland, and possibly Scotland. Arnold, *Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 106.[154] Graves 40 and 45; see George Hillier, *The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (London: 1855), 29-30 and Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of Past Ages,* vol. 6 (J. R. Smith, 1868), 145-152.

[154] Graves 40 and 45; see George Hillier, *The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (London: 1855), 29-30 and Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of Past Ages,* vol. 6 (J. R. Smith, 1868), 145-152.

[155] Seven graves were reported to contain crystal balls; see T.G. Godfrey-Faussett, "The Saxon Cemetery at Bifrons," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 10 (1876): 302.

[156] Grave 44; see Alan Warhurst, "The Jutish Cemetery at Lyminge," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 69 (1955): 28-32.

[157] Grave 4; see John Brent, "Account of the Society's Researches in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr (Sarre) Part I," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 5 (1863): 310-20.

the atmosphere freezing and falling to earth, and later Christian writers such as Augustine of Hippo and Isidore of Seville agreed.[158] As such, crystal was prized for its cooling effect; Pliny recommended its use as a container for chilling liquids,[159] and Romans used the stone for cooling their hands.[160] The latter use may explain both the spherical shape of rock crystal ornaments and their suspension from the chatelaine rather than the neck. Though it is difficult to determine the exact length of the chains from girdle to rock crystal, most balls have been found between the knees of the deceased. The size and weight of nearly all recovered ornaments would have placed undue stress on the neck if worn as a pendant. More importantly, like many objects hanging from a girdle, crystal balls would have been readily accessible to the hands; the spherical shape, even encased in metal bands, would have fit ergonomically into the palm. They would have similarly fit into the bowl of the sieve spoons that often accompanied them on the chatelaine. These perforated spoons were frequently manufactured of silver and sometimes gilt. Their handles ranged from quite plain to decorated with nielloed patterns and cast, punched, and chased beasts and birds, such as the spoon from Lyminge now at the Maidstone Museum (fig. 4). Handles could also be adorned with garnets, such as the spoons from Chartham Lines and Sarre now at

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[158] Pliny, *NH*, 37.9-10, (Eichholz, 10:180-5); Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini ennarrationes in Psalmos CI-CL*, CCSL 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 2139; Isidore of Seville, *Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum*, Liber XVI.xiii.1

[159] Pliny, *NH*, 37.9, (Eichholz, 10:183).

[160] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 94; "This claim, as it turns out, has some scientific basis in the high thermal conductivity of quartz crystal, which makes it feel cool to the touch…" Patrick R. Crowley, "Crystalline Aesthetics and the Classical Concept of the Medium," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 23, no. 2 (2016): 232.

the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 5). The spoons most closely resemble wine strainers and may have served as a utensil for the lady of the house, who had the duty and privilege of serving drink to her guests. As they were not necessary for serving the more common beverages of mead and beer, the spoons might have been largely symbolic of a woman's elite status. The combination of crystal ball and spoon may allude simply to the cooling function of the stone on liquids; however, in light of the amuletic properties of rock crystal, it may have signified another role occupied by women in early English society. As will be expounded upon later in this chapter, the position of "wise-woman" may have been bestowed upon or affected by women with medical knowledge. *Bald's Leechbook* contains a remedy for various ills that utilizes *se hwita stan*, an Old English term for crystal,[161] in combination with water:

> The white stone (*se hwita stan*) is good for stitch and flying venom, and for all strange mishaps, you must scrape it into water and drink a good deal and scrape a part of the red earth into it; and the stones are all very good to drink from against all unknown things.[162]

Indeed, the curative synthesis of rock crystal and water continued to be employed into the Christian period, appearing in miracle stories such as those recorded by St. Adomnán (d. 704) in the *Life of Columba*.[163] An elite woman with access to

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[161] "The majority of occurrences of *hwit* in Old English suggest luminosity or reflectivity – the shining of light, of a roof, a helmet, a gem, or silver – but the term also had a white-hue sense…" Casson, "Color Shift: Evolution of English Color Terms," 227.

[162] *Bald's Leechbook* 2.64 as translated in Meaney, "Alfred, the Patriarch and the White Stone," *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association,* 49, no. 1, (1978): 66; see also Kornbluth, "Early Medieval Crystal Amulets," 167.

[163] Columba uses a white stone (*lapidem de flumine candidum*) from the river to perform his miracles. See Adomnán i.I, 7a and ii.33, 80b, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*,

both the exclusive substance of rock crystal and the secret knowledge of healing would certainly stand out as exceptional within her community.

The refractive qualities of rock crystal stood in dramatic contrast to its perceived icy origins and cooling properties; a ball could be used to capture the sun's rays and concentrate them into a beam to set fires (sometimes termed "sacred fire").[164] Later eighth-century members of the Christian community such as Pope Zachary (responding to a letter from Boniface) and perhaps even Bede referred to the practice of lighting holy lamps and candles with a crystal ball or crystal lens.[165] What we might term as metaphysical properties of the stone were viewed both in Antiquity and the early medieval period as its natural qualities. Were this not the case, rock crystal might not have been so readily adopted into Christian usage. Similar to writers in the Stoic tradition, such as Pliny and Galen, theologians rejected the use of many talismans as dependent on the power of pagan gods and therefore upon base superstition. But they accepted the use of gemstones for their inherent, natural properties, a point discussed by Genevra Kornbluth in a fundamental article about early medieval crystals.[166] The endurance of this understanding of gemstones into the conversion period of England can help clarify the unique design of a seventh-century pendant found in Little

ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (London: Nelson, 1991), 12-13 and 142-3.

[164] Pliny, *NH*, 37.10 (Eichholz, 10:185).

[165] Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae* 87, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Merowingici et Karolini aevi 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 370; Bede, *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, trans. Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), see introduction iii, l, and 107.

[166] See Kornbluth, "Early Medieval Crystal Amulets," esp. 147, 150, 174, and 175.

Thetford on the Isle of Ely. The Thetford jewel (fig. 6) has few parallels in the corpus of known early medieval jewelry from England. This unusual pendant combines the beauty and possibly the protection of rock crystal, with strips of gold and garnet cloisonne arranged to reference and possibly invoke the protection of the Christian cross. The crystal itself is a flattened disk of lathed crystal set in a circular gold frame and suspended from a large biconical bead. The crystal disk is drilled through the center, though the hole is only visible on the reverse. On the obverse, the hole is set with an amethyst-colored element resembling a flat-cut cabochon, though it is in fact, glass. This central element sits in the juncture where the arms of the cloisonne "cross" intersect. The dull luminescence of the purple glass complements the cloudy surface of the rock crystal, but markedly contrasts with the deep red tone of the garnets and refractive gold. The Thetford jewel is a tantalizing example of older amuletic concepts embedded in the substance of rock crystal, sumptuously combined with the popular garnet cloisonne found in Christian pendant crosses of the later seventh century.

Animal-based Amulets

The people of England attempted not only to harness the understood powers of minerals, but also the perceived powers of the animal kingdom. Methods of zooarchaeology are helpful in reconciling the largely wary view of the natural world in early medieval England with human-animal relations, as this attitude and its associated practices structured those relationships, with both domesticated and wild fauna.[167] The

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[167] For a historiography of zooarchaeology in medieval studies, see Naomi Sykes, "Animals, the Bones of Medieval Society," in *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval*

creatures chosen for representation, how they were stylistically portrayed, and the kinds of ornamentation to which they were applied, all provide insight into a given culture's fears, values, views of the natural world and negotiation with it. In the oft-quoted words of Lévi-Strauss, "animals are good to think" with.[168] Unlike the invisible forces that early English people sensed in the natural world, wild animals were visually observable in the landscape and domestic animals were seen in everyday life. As evident in Old English literature, human character traits were often ascribed to animals, but in the case of ornamentation, early English people may have also sought to make the physical traits of animals a part of their own bodies or to acquire some of the animal's abilities through objects.[169] Determining cultural attitudes towards both wild and domesticated animals in England's early medieval period is therefore reliant not only upon visual representation, but also upon use of actual animal parts such as teeth or claws as ornamentation, as well as evidence of animal deposition in cremations, inhumations, ritual deposits, and settlements. Descriptions of animals in Old English literature may also provide some insights, though several factors, such as later dates of composition and lack of regional specificity necessitate caution. Helpfully, Jennifer Neville has pointed out the selectivity of poets in their inclusion of

Archaeology, 1957-2007, eds. Roberta Gilchrist and Andrew Reynolds (Leeds, Yorkshire: Maney Publishing, 2009), 347-360.

[168] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 89.

[169] Mary Douglas, "The Pangolin Revisited: A New Approach to Animal Symbolism," in *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World*, ed. Roy G. Willis (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 36. When considering the usage of animals as metaphors for human behavior, Douglas suggested that humans understand animals to be acting according to the same principles as themselves.

specific animals within specific contexts. , The virtual absence of noble creatures such as the horse and stag is conspicuous within the heroic character of most Old English poetry,[170] especially as the former appears most commonly in grave depositions and the latter in settlement deposits.[171] The likenesses of both horses and stags feature on cremation urns from the sixth century, but to date, no recognizable stags have been identified on wearable items.[172]. Equine imagery, on the other hand, can be found on late fourth and mid-fifth century buckles, early Style I[173] square-headed brooches from Kent and associated "Kentish" areas, and rider panels from the helmets found at Sutton Hoo and Staffordshire.[174] Chris Fern has made a good case for the prominence

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[170] Both are included briefly in *Beowulf*.

[171] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 9; on horses, see, Pam J. Crabtree, "The Symbolic Role of Animals in Anglo-Saxon England: Evidence from Burials and Cremations," in *The Symbolic Role of Animals in Archaeology*, eds. Pam J. Crabtree and Kathleen Ryan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), esp. 25; on deer, see Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 118.

[172] Carola Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 20-3.

[173] Style I emerged in England in the mid-fifth century to early-sixth century and features animal motifs, as well as scroll work and other geometric patterns. See Leslie Webster, "Style: Influences, Chronology, and Meaning," in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, eds. Helena Hamerow, David Alban Hinton, and Sally Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 467-70.

[174] For specific examples see Chris Fern, "Horses in Mind," in *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited*, eds. Martin Carver, Alex Sanmark, and Sarah Semple (Oxford, Oxfordshire: Oxbow Books, 2010), 137-140. Fern has also supported the identification horse-head foot-plates on fifth-century cruciform brooches, and although he makes his argument well, I am unsure such abstracted creatures can be confidently labeled as horses. I similarly contend with his identification of Gold mount 460 from the Stafforshire Hoard as anything more than "horse-like," especially as he compares it with the mounts from the Sutton Hoo maplewood cup; though Fern describes them as "equally equine," I would submit that

of horses in cultic belief and ritual in early medieval England, and archaeological evidence clearly shows that horse sacrifice and burial was prevalent.[175] Despite their value to early English people, horses were domesticated creatures and their remains were not used often in personal ornamentation; therefore, equines will not be addressed in this discussion beyond this point. In both the surviving poetic and ornamental records of early England, wild fauna, particularly aggressive or predatory animals, appear to have been the preferred species.

As one of England's apex predators, one might expect the wolf as a prime candidate for ornamental display, when in fact the wild boar, raptor, and serpent were favored by metalsmiths and poets alike. This does not mean that the wolf was excluded from ornamentation; significantly, its very fangs were used as wearable items, rather than renderings of its image. The incisors of beavers, another animal not found in early English iconography, were also used as pendants. Boars were the only creature to stride the divide between iconographical and corporeal usage, their likeness embellishing various military-related metalwork and their tusks adorning women and children as pendants.

Pendants made of teeth and bone in human burials are one of the oldest and most common and types of ornamentation found in archaeological contexts, dating back to the Upper Paleolithic across western Europe.[176] Signs of wear are evident on

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in their ambiguity they could too be characterized as dragon-like or simply bestial. See Chris Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, 222.

[175] See Fern, "Horses in Mind," 128-157.

[176] Crabtree, "The Symbolic Role of Animals," 23; Tõnno Jonuks and Eve Rannamäe, "Animals and Worldviews: A Diachronic Approach to Tooth and Bone Pendants from

many of these pieces, suggesting they were worn for some time before death.[177]

Motivation for fashioning and wearing animal ornament has long been explained as a

desire on the part of the wearer to assume the cunning or ferocious qualities of the

animal or the animal's protection in life and death.[178] Assigning meanings to these

depositions based on the "known" natural attributes of animals and their uses in

amuletic practice can be perilous. A holistic view of the literary and material record

must be utilized to discern feasible patterns of human action prompted by beliefs about

those animals. I will begin with the older practice of ornamentation by addressing

objects incorporating teeth and claws.

Embodying Tooth and Claw

In both the sixth and seventh centuries, canid teeth were perforated and

suspended for wear sometimes with metal fittings. As inhumation evidence from

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the Mesolithic to the Medieval period in Estonia," in *The Bioarchaeology of Ritual and Religion*, eds. Alexandra Livarda, Richard Madgwick and Santiago Riera Mora (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018), 162.

[177] Judith M. Grünberg, "Animals in Mesolithic Burials in Europe," *Anthropozoologica* 48, no. 2 (2013): 235; Alice Choyke, "The Bone is the Beast: Animal Amulets and Ornaments in Power and Magic," in *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology: Colonialism, Complexity and Animal Transformations*, eds. Douglas V. Campana, et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010) 203; Jonuks and Rannamäe, "Animals and Worldviews," 175.

[178] W. L. Hildburgh, "Psychology Underlying the Employment of Amulets in Europe," *Folklore* 62, no. 1 (1951): 239, 242.

Wheatley,[179] Abingdon,[180] Lyminge II,[181] Sleaford,[182] Bricklehampton,[183] Cassington,[184] and Lower Farm, Bishop's Cleeve[185] attest, there was a widespread practice of wearing canid fangs, not only in life, but in the grave.[186] Beavers' teeth seemed to have been equally if not more popular, appearing largely in the same Mercian areas as wolf teeth (see Map). In addition to simple perforation, such as one found in an infant's grave in Dunstable, incisors from burials at Wigber Low (fig. 7), Burwell, Bidford, two from Lechlade, six from Castle Bytham, and one from an

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[179] Grave 27 contained a boar's tusk and two canid teeth; See Edward Thurlow Leeds' untitled paper on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wheatley, Oxfordshire in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 29 (1916): 54.

[180] Grave 76; Edward Thurlow Leeds and Donald Benjamin Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1936), 45.

[181] Alan Warhurst, "The Jutish Cemetery at Lyminge," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 69 (1955): 1-40.

[182] Grave 191, George William Thomas, "On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire," *Archaeologia* 50, no. 2 (1887): 401.

[183] F.T. Spackman, "On Some Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Bricklehampton, in the County of Worcester," *Associated Architectural Societies* [Transactions of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society] 30 (1910): 597-99.

[184] Edward Thurlow Leeds and Marjorie Riley, "Two Early Saxon Cemeteries at Cassington, Oxon.," *Oxonsiensia* 7 (1942): 64.

[185] Neil Holbrook, "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Lower Farm, Bishop's Cleeve: Excavations Directed by Kenneth Brown, 1969," *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 118 (2000): 15.

[186] See Meaney for a list of fang amulets, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 32, 135.

unidentified site in Oxfordshire, were set in gold or bronze collars for suspension.[187]

Wolves and beavers were scarce to nearly extinct in early medieval England and their

rarity could well have made their teeth and claws coveted prestige pieces.[188]

Additionally, the difficulty and danger in acquiring these animal parts may have

increased the status of the wearer. But to limit these ornaments to simple status

symbols fails to address the full range of their meaning and power. Von Uexküll felt

that a human's ability to perceive signs could prompt purposeful and meaningful

actions.[189] In the *Umwelt* of a shepherd tending his flock, the sight of a wolf over the

horizon could be perceived as a sign of danger, whereas a soldier passing a wood

might admire the same sight of a wolf as a sign of ferocious beauty.

 Again, the dualistic fascination of early medieval culture manifests itself in

attitudes towards wolves through Old English language and texts. *Maxims I* employs

the wolf as a metaphor for the kind of companions that a friendless man will settle for

– shifty and treacherous.[190] *The Fortunes of Men* warns those who leave hearth and

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[187] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 136; Helen Geake, "The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600 - c. 850" (DPhil diss., University of York, 1995), 95.

[188] Hannah J. O'Regan, "The Presence of the Brown Bear *Ursus arctos* in Holocene Britain: A Review of the Evidence," *Mammal Review* 48, no. 4 (2018): 229-44; Aleksander Pluskowski, "Where are the Wolves? Investigating the Scarcity of European Grey Wolf (Canis lupus lupus) Remains in Medieval Archaeological Contexts and its Implications," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 16, no. 4 (2006): 279-95; Adrian D. Manning, et al., "New Evidence of Late Survival of Beaver in Britain," *The Holocene* 24, no. 12 (2014): 1849-1855

[189] von Uexküll, 73-6.

[190] George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., "Maxims I," lines 146-151, *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 161.

home with youthful abandon, for there are wolves waiting to devour them in the outside world.[191] The violent, almost inhuman nature of wartime opponents was also characterized by the wolf. The poet of the *Battle of Maldon* referred to the invading Vikings as *wælwulfas* (slaughter-wolves) and the Egyptian soldiers pursuing Israelites in the *Exodus* poem were called *heorowulfas* (hoary sword-wolves).[192] But the voracious nature of the wolf could also be applied to heroes, such as the famed Beowulf (War Wolf) and the clan of the Wylfingas (Wolf Clan). The perceived traits of the wolf in early England as cunning and vicious were metaphorically equated with the violence or the strength of men, particularly within militarized struggles for power, and in the larger dangers of a world where one has become separated from kith and kin. The wolf as sign also became symbol. Mary Douglas has described the symbols perceived in everyday life as regulators or channels of power.[193] Similar to Pyysiäinen, she theorized usage of these symbols as a way to for individuals to make sense of the world and human behavior within that world. Integrating those symbols, animal or otherwise, into magic and ritual may have been viewed as an effective way

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[191] Sumum þæt gegongeð on geoguðfeore 7 þæt se endestæf earfeðmæcgum 7 wealic weorþeð. Sceal hine wulf etan, 7 har hæðstapa; hinsiþ þonne 7 modor bimurneð. Ne bið swylc monnes geweald! George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., "The Fortunes of Men," lines 10-14, *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 154.

[192] Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., "The Battle of Maldon," line 96, *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 9; George Philip Krapp, "Exodus," line 181a, *The Junius Manuscript*, ASPR 1 (New York: 1931), 96.

[193] Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (Routledge, 2004), 12.

for humans to control events in their own lives.[194] In the material, amuletic tradition, encounters with wild fauna supersede abstract metaphors and concretize the interaction between human and animal bodies - beyond expressing similar traits between human and beast through descriptors or names, to subsuming those traits into human bodies through direct contact.

By looking at the usage of wolves' teeth in the early English amuletic tradition, we can determine the potential bodily motivations for selection of these animals. Although in many cases the actual canid species has not been determined (e.g. fox, wolf, or dog) upon excavation,[195] there may have been a preference in early medieval England due to a pre-existing understanding of the benefits of wearing wolf teeth. As suggested above in the case of crystal ball amulets, knowledge of the healing and prophylactic properties of various substances often circulated through the late antique into early medieval cultures. Pliny prescribed dental health through the use of several kinds of animal's teeth as amulets.[196] He claimed wolf teeth protected adult teeth, soothed babies who were teething, and granted horses unwavering speed.[197] Like the aforementioned rock crystal, the natural properties of a substance or object itself were understood to transfer to the human body as the two came into contact; aspects of wolves' teeth, which often present as powerful weapons, strong and white, were

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[194] Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 18.

[195] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 135.

[196] Pliny, *NH*, hyena, 28.27 (Jones, 8:67); horse, 28.78 (Jones, 8:173); mole and dog, 30.7-8 (Jones, 8:291).

[197] Pliny, *NH*, 11.64 (Rackham, 3:537); 28.78 (Jones, 8:173).

perhaps thought to directly affect the improvement or protection of human teeth.[198] This may explain why beaver teeth are found in a great number of burials with children. While not promoting the use of beaver tooth amulets, Pliny did make special mention of the rodent's "formidable bite" which gnawed through the hard wood of trees and broke the bones of those unfortunate enough to get caught between their incisors.[199] Audrey Meaney also posited that in the seventh century, English Christians may have substituted beaver teeth for wolf teeth as a less "heathen" alternative.[200] But a necklace festooned with two wolf teeth and one beaver tooth from the sixth-century burial at Wheatley calls this into question.[201] Perhaps beavers were simply easier to trap as they were less dangerous and somewhat more plentiful than wolves. Encounters with beavers may have been commonplace in early medieval England as they became extinct much later than the bear and wolf. Though skeletal remains are scanty, fur fragments from Sutton Hoo and evidence of skinning at a site in Ramsbury, Wiltshire suggest a demand for pelts hitherto unseen due to poor organic preservation in England.[202]

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[198] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 135.

[199] Pliny, *NH*, 8.47 (Rackham, 3:79).

[200] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 137.

[201] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 32, 135.

[202] J.L. Stoves, "Appendix B: Examination of Hairs from the Sutton Hoo Musical Instrument," in *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, ed. Rupert Bruce-Mitford, vol. 3 (London: British Museum Publications, 1983), 723-5; Naomi Sykes, "Woods and the Wild," in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, 332-3.

Regarding the engagement of humans and animals during hunting or trapping, teeth represent an intense and prolonged site of interaction between bodies. As compellingly noted by Adrienne Frie, harvesting teeth from a recently killed animal is a difficult operation of opening the alveolar bone containing the tooth sockets and detaching the ligaments that hold the teeth in place.[203] As women and children were likely the predominant owners of animal tooth pendants, it is doubtful that they would have taken part in the process of the animal's capture or demise. The question then remains how and when people sought out or came upon wolves and beavers. Were hunters employed to acquire and butcher these animals; spiritual or medical specialists who had knowledge of butchery or the time to allow the animal to decay; or opportunists who happened upon deceased animals already defleshed by either other organisms or the elements? Did any of these individuals ready the tooth for suspension, or was this delegated to yet another specialist? Piercing the dense layers of enamel, dentin, and pulp for suspension required a drill or carving tool; mounting the tooth in a metal setting required the materials and skill of a metalsmith. What kinds of people sought out these rare pendants that necessitated so much time and labor in their procurement and preparation?

The level of effort required to produce what initially appear to be simple jewelry pieces, intimates a deeply rooted conviction in the transfer of qualities between animal anatomy and human bodies. Imitation tooth pendants, which were common in ancient and early medieval burials throughout Europe, were believed to

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[203] Adrienne C. Frie, "Parts and Wholes: The Role of Animals in the Performance of Dolenjska Hallstatt Funerary Rites," *Arts*. 9, no. 53 (2020): 15.

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retain the same properties and potency as the genuine article.[204] But imitations are quite rare in the early English cemetery record, suggesting that English communities might not have shared this belief.[205] Embodiment of an animal's attributes may have necessitated contact with an actual part of the creature's body to enable a mastery over the unseen forces that caused harm; this physical union quelled anxieties over the health of one's own teeth, the comfort of one's teething infant, or the well-being of one's growing children. Certainly, both the affluent and the meager members of a community are subject to such concerns. But for such rarified animals, wolf tooth pendants have been recovered from fairly "typical" female burials, rather than lavish inhumations of male warriors or elite women. Conversely, beaver teeth were the only dental pendants to be set in gold and have usually been found in the graves of therefore presumably wealthy women and children.[206] Yet, by possessing these animal amulets, humans of any rank or station were able to contravene unseen systems of power through the physical absorption of the perceived bodily traits of wild animals.

It is questionable whether mundane concerns over dental welfare would persist beyond mortal life, and yet, animal teeth were regularly interred with adults and children. Conspicuous mortuary display as an assertion of identity was by this time conventional. In addition to statements of status within the systems of socio-political

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[204] Choyke, "The Bone is the Beast," 202-4.

[205] "A piece of bone, cut into the form of a talon and bored for suspension, was found in grave 28, with a broken ring still in the hole." A.F. Griffith and L.F. Salzmann, "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alfriston," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 56 (1914): 25.

[206] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 137.

power, might these pendants, like other amulets, continue to defend bodies against hostile powers on their journey to an afterlife? The protective aspects of sharp lupine fangs and strong castor incisors observed in the wilderness may have been equated with protection in the grave. Additionally, the principle of *totem ex parte* or *pars pro toto* (a part of an animal can stand for the whole), understood since before Antiquity,[207] may have conjured notions of the spirits of animals imbuing the human body with strength and shielding it.

Iconographic Representations of Animals

Having established a preference in sixth- and seventh-century England for visceral contact with actual animal bodies, it is important to examine the thought processes involved in the iconographic representation of animals. This is especially interesting in the case of the wild boar, which was used both for its tusks and for its image in ornamentation. Boar tooth pendants appear to have been quite popular in Mesolithic and Neolithic Europe,[208] continued to be interred with women and men through the early medieval period in France, Belgium, and Germany,[209] and began to

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[207] Stephen O. Glosecki, "Wolf [Canis lupus] and Werewolf," in *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, eds. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindow, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 1058; Choyke, "The Bone is the Beast," 201.

[208] "The graves of the Middle Mesolithic are dominated by wild boar tooth pendants, followed by elk… In contrast, elk dominates the burial inventories of the Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic, followed by red deer and wild boar." Judith M. Grünberg, "Animals in Mesolithic Burials in Europe," *Anthropozoologica* 48, no. 2 (2013): 235.

[209] Meaney, *Amulets and Curing Stones*, 134.

be worn and interred in England around the sixth century.[210] Unlike wolves and beavers, wild boars were numerous throughout the forests of early medieval England.[211] They would have been known for their immense speed and deadly tusks, which may have deterred all but the most stalwart of hunters and thus parts of the kill (such as the tusks) were prized.[212] Even at sites containing large deposits of animal remains, like West Stow in Suffolk, wild animals are not represented in high numbers. Less than one percent of the assemblage at West Stow contained wild animals, and no wild boar remains were found.[213] Some boar remains were, however, found at eighth-to-ninth-century sites in York.[214] Pigs had been domesticated in England by the seventh century, perhaps further limiting boar hunting to elite social groups, as certainly became the norm after the Norman invasion.[215] As evidenced by settlement

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[210] Audrey Ozanne identifies Purwell and Camerton as seventh-century sites. Audrey Ozanne, "The Peak Dwellers," *Medieval Archaeology* 6, no. 1 (1962): 30.

[211] Ron Freethy, *Man and Beast: The Natural and Unnatural History of British Mammals* (Poole, Dorset: Blandford Press, 1983), 250-2.

[212] Freethy, *Man and Beast*, 250-2; Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 6-8.

[213] Sykes, "Woods and the Wild," 329; Aleksander Pluskowski, "Animal Magic," in *Signals of Belief*, 104.

[214] Terry O'Connor, *Bones from 46-54 Fishergate* (London: Published for the York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology, 1991), 255; Terry O'Connor, *Bones from Anglo-Scandinavian Levels at 16-22 Coppergate* (London: Published for the York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology, 1989), 153.

[215] Sykes, "Woods and the Wild," 338; Umberto Albarella, "The Wild Boar," in *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna*, eds. Terry O'Connor and Naomi Sykes (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2010), 63.

remains at Waterbeach,[216] two graves at Wheatley,[217] and one grave each at

Cassington I,[218] Camerton,[219] Shalcombe Down,[220] and Londesborough,[221] boar tooth

pendants were popular throughout early medieval England. In terms of imagery, much

has been written on the historical use of the boar on military equipment and regalia.[222]

It was the insignia for Rome's Twentieth Legion, long stationed in various locations of

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[216] T.C. Lethbridge, "Huts of the Pagan Period at Waterbeach and West Row," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 33 (1932): 133-37.

[217] Grave 27; Leeds, Untitled, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 54; Grave 12: pendant on a bronze ring of a boar or pig incisor above a girl of five or six, 51.

[218] Grave 2: two tusks - one perforated; Leeds and Riley, "Two Early Saxon Cemeteries at Cassington, 65.

[219] Grave 100; Ethelbert Horne, "Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Camerton, Somerset," *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 79 (1933): 39-63.

[220] Barrow excavated by Sir Leonard Holmes and John Dennett. Dennett recorded several tusks, but only one is held at the Carisbrooke Castle Museum. John Dennett, "Notes of Discoveries Which Have Been Made in the Barrows, &c. in the Isle of Wight, in the Year 1816, and at Several Subsequent Periods," in *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association Second Annual Congress Held at Winchester* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1845), 151. See also, Christopher J. Arnold, "Shalcombe Down," in *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1982), 82.

[221] Grave 7: string of beads ending in a fragmentary tusk in a setting of sheet bronze; Michael Swanton, "An Anglian Cemetery at Londesborough in East Yorkshire," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1964): 275, fig. 8 at 278, 285.

[222] From the fourth century BCE to the fourth-century CE, the boar appeared on helmets, standards, and shields in the Celtic, Gallic and Roman (including Romano-British) worlds. For a comprehensive list, see Roberta Frank, "The Boar on the Helmet," in *Aedificia Nova: Studies in Honor of Rosemary Cramp*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov and Helen Damico (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008.), 78-9.

Germania and Britannia.[223] Romano-British copper-alloy boar figurines from the first and second century have been found all over England in sitting and standing positions and as plaques depicting just the head and the forelegs.[224] A few, such as the boars from the Hounslow Hoard (fig. 8), have rough stud-like projections at the ends of their legs; it is unclear to what the figures were originally attached, but theories have ranged from simple stands to copper-alloy vessels or even helmets.[225]

As the ferocity of the wolf was connected metaphorically to military contexts, so was the boar, although in a more positive and heroic manner. Thomas J.T. Williams called attention to the subtle but opposing characterizations in a pair of Geatish brothers from *Beowulf*. In their attack on King Ongentheow, Wulf (Wolf) strikes first, and Eofor (Boar), though he delivers the deathblow, only strikes in defense of his brother. "Thus the boar is presented as violent and deadly, but still heroic in defense of his companion; the wolf is impulsive, savage and unrestrained."[226]

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[223] Richard J. Brewer, "Zoomorphic Seal Boxes: Usk and the Twentieth Legion," in *Artefacts and Archaeology: Aspects of the Celtic and Roman World*, eds. Miranda J Aldhouse-Green and Peter Webster (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), 174-89, esp. 176

[224] A study of boar figurines lists twenty-two examples. See Jennifer Foster, *Bronze Boar Figurines in Iron Age and Roman Britain* (Oxford: British Archeological Reports, 1977). Many other boar figurines have been recorded since then on the PAS database such as PUBLIC-314559, ESS-C5CB81 and LIN-2CFD83.

[225] See Foster, *Bronze Boar Figurines*, 13.

[226] Thomas J.T. Williams, "'For the Sake of Bravado in the Wilderness:' Confronting the Bestial in Anglo-Saxon Warfare," in *Representing Beasts in Early Medieval England and Scandinavia*, eds. Michael D. J. Bintley and Thomas J. T. Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2015), 198.

The *Beowulf* poem casts the boar as a symbol of elite warrior culture. As an emblem on the most sumptuous of armaments, the helmet or "boar-helm" served a twofold purpose: to protect the wearer and to magnify his mettle. In the epic poem, images of the boar were impressed or engraved upon the dome of the helmet, or a figurine of the beast was affixed to the dome as a crest. In Allan Metcalf's article on the animals of *Beowulf*, he observed that the poet joins descriptions of boar-helms only with scenes of personal valor.[227] This symbolic corollary between the fearlessness of warrior and wild beast suggests an embodiment, if not of the animal itself, then of its most valued trait, though the two may have been synonymous in medieval thought.

Aspects of the boar are not only channeled through the porcine image to the human body, but agency is granted to the boar itself to act through the object of the helmet. In several lines of the epic, the boar envelops the body with its fierce protection or deflects the blows of the enemy:

Eoforlic scionon

ofer hleorberan gehroden golde,

fah ond fyrheard; ferhwearde heold

guþmod grimmon.

(Boar-shapes flashed above their cheek-guards, the brightly forged work of goldsmiths, watching over those stern-faced men.)[228]

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[227] Allan Metcalf, "Ten Natural Animals in Beowulf," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 64, no. 4 (1963): 383.

[228] *Beowulf*, lines 303b-6, 20-3.

since geweorðad,

befongen freawrasnum, swa hine fyrndagum

worhte wæpna smið, wundrum teode,

besette swinlicum, þæt hine syðþan no

brond ne beadomecas bitan ne meahton.

(It was of beaten gold, princely headgear hooped and hasped by a weapon-smith who had worked wonders in days gone by and adorned it with boar-shapes; since then it had resisted every sword.)[229]

The boar may have also borne heraldic as well as apotropaic connotations in its application to armor and weaponry. Similar to the poetic description, the cheek guards of the helmet recovered at Sutton Hoo are surmounted by gilded boars and the helm's brows terminate in the heads of boars with garnet eyes. Helmets found at Benty Grange (fig. 9) and Wollaston (fig. 10) are topped with boar figures that support the belief that the numerous examples of boar crested helmets in *Beowulf* reflect material culture.[230] Intersecting boars are wrought in garnet cloisonné at the apex of the cuirass clasps from Sutton Hoo (fig. 11) and the blade of a sword recovered from the River Lark in Suffolk is stamped with the image of two small boars on one side and a single boar on the opposing side (fig. 12).[231] The Staffordshire Hoard has most recently

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[229] *Beowulf*, lines 1450b-4, 100-1.

[230] *Beowulf*, lines 303b–306, 1110–1112, 1286, 1327–1328, and 1450–1454.

[231] T.C. Lethbridge, "A Sword from the River Lark," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 32 (1931): 64-5; Hilda Roderick and Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), figs. 19, 21, pl. III; Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Rites and Religions of the Anglo-Saxons* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1981), 31.

produced two examples of sword pommels with pairs of boar heads projecting below the apex of the broad sides.[232] With its exceptional size and gold content, the magnificent pommel 57 (fig. 13) seems torn from the pages of *Beowulf* itself. Seven pairs of sculpted animals inhabit its surface, unsurprisingly drawn from the preferred repertoire of wild creatures: boar, snake, raptor, and possibly even wolf. Chris Fern has even gone as far as to say the boars are wearing Spangenhelm in a playful allusion to boar-crested helmets.[233] In addition to war gear, battle standards were also emblazoned with the image of the boar. In *Beowulf*, the boar standard was a gift from King Hrothgar to Beowulf, his kinsman and a man of royal descent.[234] The Old English poem *Elene* too connects boar banners with royalty, using *eoforcumbul* (boar-adorned standard) to describe the sigil of an emperor.[235]

Embodiment of ferocious animals like the boar may have been integral to accessing their power in battle or their protection in peace; the boar is used as a metaphor for human ferocity in *Beowulf*[236] and the might of their tusks is highlighted in *Maxims II*.[237] As such, it is surprising that boar teeth and tusks appear rarely in male

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[232] Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," 222-23.

[233] Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," 222.

[234] *Beowulf*, line 2152.

[235] George Philip Krapp, ed. "Elene," line 259, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 66; DOE, s.v. *eofor-cumbol*.

[236] eoferas cnysedan. *Beowulf*, line 1328a, 92.

[237] eofor sceal on holte,toðmægenes trum. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., "Maxims II," lines 19b-20a: *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 55.

burials; only two tusks have been recovered, both found at Stowting, Kent in the sixth-century graves of two men armed with spears.[238] The higher occurrence of burial of boar's or pig's teeth in female graves indicates that the amulet was also effective for women, and more commonly associated with them, at least in a funerary context. The swine's reputation for fertility and fierceness in the wild may indicate the protection of the beast was also applicable both for women and children.[239] This conjecture is reinforced especially by instances such as a grave at Camerton, wherein a woman buried with a boar tooth pendant was seven-months pregnant.[240] A rare specimen of a buckle made from boar tusk from Grave 91 at Castledyke also calls into question the combination of the "amuletic and the practical."[241] It furthermore calls attention to the permeability of categories of "male" and "female" ornamentation; belts were worn by both genders and the biological sex of the owner of the tusk buckle was not identified, and could have been either.[242] However, display of the body at the time of burial may

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[238] Reginald A. Smith, "Anglo-Saxon Remains," in *The Victoria History of the County of Kent*, vol. 1 (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1908), 367.

[239] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 134.

[240] Ethelbert Horne, "Cowry Shells in Anglo-Saxon Graves," *The Antiquaries Journal* 13, no. 2 (1933): 167. Horne draws attention to the inclusion of a perforated cowrie shell (a fertility amulet) placed near to the boar's tusk in the grave.

[241] Gail Owen-Crocker, "Beast Men: Wulf and Eofor and the Mythic Significance of Names in Beowulf," in *Myth in Early Northwest Europe*, ed. Stephen O. Glosecki (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS/Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies: In collaboration with Brepols, 2007), 267.

[242] Sean O'Connor, "The Boar Tusk Buckle," in *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber*, Sheffield Excavation Reports 6, eds. Gail Drinkall and Martin Foreman (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 272-3.

have been intended as a statement about the husband or about his clan's military prowess rather than the character or protection of the individual woman. Aleksander Pluskowski explained the usage of predatory animal imagery as part of a social and cosmological construction of the emerging elite in the second half of the sixth century.[243] Distinctive regional cultures emerging in the seventh century expressed affiliation and loyalty to regional aristocrats. This rising hierarchy altered military perception and practice by restricting leadership and organizational roles to the nobility.[244] The material culture of the military elite reflected their high status through items made with precious metal and jewels; by embellishing those items with images of predatory animals, individuals made a visual and public statement regarding their own prowess in battle. Helmets and shields were only worn in combat, though swords may have accompanied men as accessories in social contexts; wear pattern data amassed by conservators of the Staffordshire Hoard showed a greater amount of abrasion to swords from rubbing against clothing while sheathed, rather than from use in combat.[245] Additional ornaments such as belt buckles and arm rings may have furthered statements of identity off the field. Three triangular buckles featuring addorsed boar heads were found in Kent as well as a fourth, ornate example with a cast parcel-gilt silver frame, tongue, and loop. In the center of the frame is a gold-

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[243] Aleksander Pluskowski, "Animal Magic," 117.

[244] Pluskowski, "Animal Magic," 117-18.

[245] Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," 191.

sheet inlay terminating in stylized boar heads at the broad end (fig. 14).[246] In an example from the same cemetery complex, the copper alloy buckle itself is cast in the shape of a boar, rather than dotted with discreet parts of the animal (fig. 15).[247] A distinctive silver arm ring with addorsed boar head terminals was also discovered in a male grave from King's Field, Faversham (fig. 16). This strategy of distinction answered not only the basic human anxieties of a soldier during active warfare, but the social anxieties within a newly forming system of political power. In these circumstances, embodiment of wild fauna was no less necessary to empowering and protecting human beings. As observed by Naomi Sykes, within zoocentric cosmologies, the power of animals is often viewed as exceeding that of humans.[248] Personal or group "identity" is not an abstract concept separate from bodies; it is an embedded and embodied construction, expressed and reinforced by the body through ornaments displayed upon it. Objects like the boar-crested Benty Grange helmet (fig. 9) also stand on the threshold of the newly forming systems of belief and power upon the introduction of Christianity, drawing from an established tradition of embodying apotropaic ornamentation. The understood protective or empowering function of the boar crest, coupled with a raised cross on the nasal, may have effected salvation for the soldier in the heat of combat, to protection of his soul at the moment of death.

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[246] George Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1980), 79, plates 6c, 8a, b, c.

[247] Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, plate 9, h.

[248] Sykes, "Woods and the Wild," 332.

Either way, the combination of the older and newer symbol together made for a visually powerful combination of status and belief.

I would submit that this elite identity was not restricted to males in England, but was either a shared identity, or at least supported by females who were also arrayed in wild animal iconography. The known jewelry featuring boar motifs is conspicuously luxurious and found almost exclusively in Kent, joining women in the affluent display of the warrior elite. Garnet cloisonné boar heads can be found on the bosses of a composite brooch from Faversham (fig. 17) and below the suspension loop of a gold pendant from Womersley in Yorkshire (fig. 18). Confronted boars' heads touch lips and snouts at the ends of a silver gilt bracelet from Faversham and three similar pairs of heads decorate a bronze gilt bracelet from Kingston.[249]

Items of adornment featuring bird motifs seem to follow the pattern of the boar. Apart from a few mentions in relation to Beasts of Battle, birds of prey do not feature in Old English literature, though they are prevalent on metalwork. [250] Perforated talon finds in graves are equally scant.[251] The most prominent weapon of the boar – its tusks – were chosen for amuletic pendants and emphasized in depictions of the animal. Most images of the raptor in early English artwork exaggerate the beak

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[249] Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, 78-9.

[250] The term "Beasts of Battle" is a convention of Old English poetry wherein the wolf, raven, and eagle appear in anticipation of or after an armed conflict. See Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 56, no. 2 (1955): 81-90.

[251] Eagle talon perforated for suspension in Grave 43. Griffith and Salzmann, "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alfriston," 25; Perforated raptors' claws (third phalanges). Bond, "Appendix I: The Cremated Animal Bone, 121, 134.

rather than the talons, to the point that it resembles a toucan's curved bill or in some cases a butterfly's curled proboscis. Like the boar, the image of the raptor was used to adorn swords, but also shields and perhaps even saddles.[252] No helmet with a raptor crest has been discovered, but some of the die-impressed soldiers on panels from the Staffordshire Hoard are outfitted with bird-crested helms.[253] Raptors decorated pendants and belts, but also purses, rings, and annular brooches. The proliferation of bird imagery extended beyond the arts of war and adornment to the realm of entertainment. Lyres in the princely burials of Sutton Hoo and Taplow both featured bird heads with blazing garnet eyes.[254] Pairs of drinking horns were also recovered from Sutton Hoo and Taplow and the ends of both pairs were tipped with raptor-head terminals.[255] Does the common usage of the raptor negate its protective function? Is it merely an admired animal? Surely the raptor was a common sight in early medieval England, coasting high on the breeze patrolling for prey or suddenly diving to pluck a fish from a lake. But unlike the wolf or boar, the raptor was no enemy of humankind, nor a luxury resource to be hunted like the beaver. This difference in the physical

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[252] Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," 226.

[253] Chris Fern and George Speake, "Helmet Parts, Decorated Silver Sheet, Reeded Strip and Edge Binding," in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, 77; see also Fig 2.53.

[254] Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial,* vol. 3, Part II: Late Roman and Byzantine Silver, Hanging-bowls, Drinking Vessels, Cauldrons and Other Containers, Textiles, the Lyre, Pottery Bottle and Other Items (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1983), 701-20; see also *Part I*, plate 14a.

[255] Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial,* vol. 3, Part I, plate 8; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, figs. 34 and 39.

relationship between bird and human may have resulted in differing iconographies. Robert Wallis' case for the establishment of falconry in East Anglia by the second half of the seventh century offers a compelling explanation for this difference in bird imagery.[256] As a new and fairly restricted pastime, hawking would have been the purview of the elite. By adding birds of prey to war gear the military elite constructed their image as "instigators of violence" and by adding the birds to material items of indulgence and revelry, they styled themselves as "the top consumers in their group."[257] Raptor claws may have appeared sparingly in the cemetery record because individuals did not look to the bird for protection of the body, but rather, for protection of their position in society.

Apotropaic Interlace and Zoomorphic Design

Similar to animal emblems, geometric and zoomorphic designs that were applied to jewelry may have endowed the objects with effective amuletic power. Here we will divert down the winding trail of power as related to the extramissive understanding of vision and the Evil Eye. In this next section I will examine interlaced bodies and animals rendered in metalwork and in imagery in order to ensnare and neutralize that dangerous power.

Extramission theory, first proposed by Alcmaeon of Croton (ca. 450 BCE) and popularized in Plato's Timaeus, purported that light is emitted from the eye, literally

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[256] Robert J. Wallis, "'As the Falcon Her Bells' at Sutton Hoo? Falconry in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *Archaeological Journal*, 174, no. 2 (2017): 409-36.

[257] Pluskowski, "Animal Magic," 117.

touching and thereby detecting external objects.[258] Sight, conceived as a tactile sense, became entangled with the widespread fear of the Evil Eye. In his book on the history of neuroscience, Charles Gross described anxiety over the Evil Eye as one of the oldest and most prolific of beliefs, especially in Semitic and Indo-European cultures and those affected by those cultures.[259] Pliny and Plutarch explored the naturalist causes of the phenomenon, and Freud characterized the dread of the Evil Eye as the most uncanny and universal of "superstitions."[260] As sight was conceived as a tactile sense, the hostile or envious gaze of another person or creature necessitated deflection. In Antiquity, knots were employed to distract the eye, and were used in both non-Christian and Christian contexts through the Middle Ages.[261] Along with *phylacterium* (protective devices), the other word commonly used for amulets in late Latin was *ligatura* (something tied like a knot).[262] "Hercules' knot" was deemed

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[258] Theophrastus, *On the Senses*, in *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle*, trans. George Malcom Stratton (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1917); *Plato's Timaeus*, trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959).

[259] Charles G. Gross, *A Hole in the Head: More Tales in the History of Neuroscience* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 62.

[260] Pliny, *NH*, 7.2 (Rackham, 2:517-19); Plutarch, *Moralia*, question 7, "On those who are said to cast an evil eye." *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8:416-33; Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol.17, An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works (1917-1919), trans. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1964), 240.

[261] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 9 and 170-74.

[262] Wilfrid Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1936), 231.

particularly effective against the Evil Eye in the Roman period as the ends of the knot were invisible.[263] The knot was commonly used on finger rings and also by Roman generals to fasten sashes over their cuirasses to shield them in battle.[264] Later Christians used the knot to protect the entrances to chancels and on gravestones. Likewise, "Solomon's knot" was used to guard doorways to sacred and secular spaces[265] and on mundane objects like stoppers, in order to protect a vessel's contents.[266] The entrance to the grotto of the fourth-century Church of the Nativity and the floor mosaic at the entrance to the nave of a seventh- or eighth-century church at Shunat Nimrin in Jordan both feature Solomon's knots.[267] Conceivably, the complex shape or imagery and distracting glint of jewelry could have acted as an equally ideal trap for the malevolent gaze. Knots were uncommon in early English

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[263] Friedrich Henkel, *Die Römische Fingerringe der Rheinlande* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1913), 231; Werner, "Frankish Royal Tombs," 176.

[264] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 170.

[265] See Josef Engemann, "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nicht-christlichen und christlichen Spätantike," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1975): 22-48, especially 42-5 for an extensive list of thresholds and lintels adorned with apotropaic imagery and devices.

[266] Maguire, Maguire, and Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, 3-4.

[267] Ernst Kitzinger, "The Threshold of the Holy Shrine: Observations on floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, Vol II, eds. P. Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann (Munster: Aschendorff, 1970) 639-47; Michele Piccirillo, "A Church at Shunat Nimrin," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* (1982): 527-34.

jewelry;[268] however, the visual puzzle of embedded and reversible figures in Style I adornment may have operated on this level, perhaps playing a similar role as knots elsewhere, serving not just to the delight and absorption of the viewer, but as sufficient entanglement for the Evil Eye.

Several scholars have cautioned against attributing apotropaic function to every instance of interlace. While Ernst Gombrich suggested the application of scrolling animals to Insular manuscript pages and book covers as protective,[269] Robert Bagley argued for ornament as necessary only as appropriate beautification of an important or holy item.[270] Kitzinger expressed skepticism regarding Gombrich's example of manuscript pages, anticipating Bagley in his opinion that their "aesthetic effect was an end to itself."[271]

Style II and Serpents

Some examples do, however, suggest that the apotropaic use of knotwork made its way into late-sixth-century England from the continent in the form of Style

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[268] Meaney suggests two possible exceptions: an undated ring composed of silver-wire spirals and a later eighth- or ninth-century ring incised with a circular design of continuous intersecting curves. *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 174.

[269] Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 262-4.

[270] Robert W. Bagley, "Meaning and Explanation," *Archives of Asian Art*, 46 (1993): 6-26.

[271] Ernst Kitzinger, "Interlace and Icons: Function in Early Insular Art," in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Norther Britain and Ireland*, eds. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1993), 4.

II.[272] The bodies of creatures inhabiting fifth- and sixth-century jewelry, though quite

serpentine, still featured the feet of quadrupeds. As Style II emerged, fully articulated

serpents began to appear, knotting about the surface of prestige jewelry and sword

hilts.[273] Sacred spaces too were adorned with interlacing serpents at vulnerable points

in need of protection.[274] One of England's first monasteries built in the seventh-

century, St. Peter's Monkwearmouth, features a carving reminiscent not only of the

protective symbols of eastern Christian churches, but of a contemporary Merovingian

church. A pair of serpent-like creatures, tails entwined and jaws locked together,

watch over the porch of St. Peter's (fig. 19); Kitzinger drew a parallel between this

carving and a relief sculpture of three interlacing snakes on the entrance steps to the

Merovingian chapel, Hypogée des Dunes in Poitiers. As at the church in Jordan, the

accompanying inscription on the threshold of the stairway solidified the apotropaic

intent of the designs in Kitzinger's mind.[275] His argument is well illustrated by the

eighth-century Coppergate Helmet (fig. 20). A pair of dragon-like creatures fills every

inch of negative space in the nasal, overlapping at their necks and their tails becoming

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[272] Webster, "Style: Influences, Chronology, and Meaning," 470-74.

[273] See Karen Høilund Nielsen, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10 (1999): 185-202; A. T. Hatto, "Snake-Swords and Boar-Helms in *Beowulf*," *English Studies* 38, no. 1-6 (1957): 145-160.

[274] Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher, and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Europe of the Invasions*, trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (New York: G. Braziller, 1969), 59.

[275] Kitzinger, "Interlace and Icons," 6; cf. Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art*, 83. Hicks views the ornament of both Monkwearmouth and Poitiers as distinctly Christian, connected with funerary monuments and ideas of immortality and acting as a warning rather than an apotropaic feature.

lost in a riot of knotwork below. The protection of the dragon is further invoked by the

pair of creatures growing out from the nasal to curve around and frame the brows. As

if this was not enough, a single large cast dragon's head is situated in between the

brows at the top of the nasal between the eyes. From the base of its neck springs one

of the helmet's crossbars, both of which are inscribed in Latin:

> IN NOMINE: DNI : NOSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : DI : ET : OMNIBVS
> : DECEMVS: AMEN: OSHERE : XPI. (In the name of our Lord Jesus
> Christ, the Holy Spirit [and] God; and to [*or* with] all we say Amen.
> Oshere.)[276]

The prayer, ending with a name (most likely the owner) and a Christogram, and fused

with the body of ornament, makes for a convincing association of interlace, animal,

inscription, and apotropaic function. As Cavell argued, English poets celebrated the

crafts of armor and weaponry in defense of the human body: they wrote of chain mail,

which through its clever construction protected the warrior from attack, praised great

swords as "braided" or "wound," which may refer to pattern-welding (a technique of

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[276] For the translation see Dominic Tweedle, *The Anglian Helmet from Coppergate,* The Archaeology of York: The Small Finds 17.8 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1992), 1012-16; Catherine E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England; Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, CSASE 31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 126 and n. 93; Neuman de Vegvar, "In Hoc Signo," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 103-5.

creating blades with a serpentine design)[277] and drew parallels between the *wala* (ridge) of helms and roofs, which shielded those inside.[278]

English material was not isolated in this regard, for something similar may have occurred in another part of the Insular world. George Speake drew an interesting, though tenuous, connection between the power of the serpent and the object of jewelry by looking to Ireland.[279] The Ulster cycle, compiled in the eighth century, includes the tale of two Irish heroes Fráech and Conall Cernach.[280] In the story *Táin bó Fraích*, Fráech is assisted on his quest to rescue his wife, son, and cattle with the aid of the famous warrior, Conall. A great serpent guards the fortress where Fráech's family is imprisoned. Upon storming the edifice, the serpent yields easily to Conall, leaping into his belt and remaining there until the hero has achieved his victory.[281] Correlations with serpent-interlaced buckles such as the great buckle from Sutton Hoo seem

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[277] Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 106-7, 130, 132, 166-7; Brian Gilmour, "Swords, Seaxes and Saxons: Pattern-Welding and Edged Weapon Technology from Late Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England," in *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, eds. Martin Henig and Tyler Jo Smith, BAR International Series 1673 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 91-109, esp. 103.

[278] Cavell, *Weaving Words and Binding Bodies*, 79.

[279] Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, 90.

[280] Wolfgang Meid, *The Romance of Froech and Findabair or The Driving of Froech's Cattle Táin Bo Fróich old Irish text, with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Glossary*, 2nd German-language edition, trans. into English by Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 2015).

[281] Meid, *The Romance of Froech and Findabair*, 74.

compelling, though no literary parallels quite as overt as the *Táin* are to be found in English lore.

What we understand regarding the attitudes towards serpents in early medieval England may be carefully gleaned from a few written sources. In a letter written in the 680s, Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709-10) asserted that pagan inhabitants worshiped images of both the snake and the stag within their shrines.[282] Woden was credited with power over the serpent (*wyrm*), a source of poison and therefore sickness.[283] An introduction to the *Lay of the Nine Twigs of Woden* found in the *Lacnunga* LXXVI reads:

Ðās VIIII ongan wið nygon āttrum.

Wyrm cōm / snīcan, tōslāt hē nān,

ða genam Wōden VIIII wuldortānas,

slōh ðā þā næddran þ(æt) hoē on VIIII tōflēah.

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[282] Aldhelm, "Letter V to Heahfrith," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores antiquissimi Tomus XV Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Rudolf Ehwald (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), 489.

[283] Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, 87; cf. Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 129; Jolly views the numerous references to *wyrm*, *adder*, and *dracon* in all medical texts and herbals of the time as references to actual parasitic worms.

(These nine (?)shoots [*or* (?)stings, *or* (?)fight, *or* (?)have power} against nine poisons. A snake came crawling, it bit [*or* tore apart, killed] no-one. Because Woden took nine glorious twigs, (and) then struck the snake so that it flew apart into nine.) [284]

But if the venom of the snake could be repelled by a god, the material evidence suggests it could also be wielded as a weapon by men. Though not quite like the association of actual tusk and manufactured image in the case of the boar, the image of the serpent's winding body and the *effect* of its fangs, rather than the tiny fangs themselves (or even images of the fangs), was applied to early English objects. A.T. Hatto characterized the embellishment of sword hilts with serpent motifs described in *Beowulf* as a stylistic development descended from the use of venom in and on sword blades.[285] Hatto cited Theoderic the Great's descriptions (quoted by Cassiodorus) of Vandalic sword blades with serpentine grooves, that seem to be "crawling with snakes,"[286] written a century before the *Beowulf* poem. He bookended this with descriptions of venom added during the smelting process and to finished blades from tenth-century Eddaic and Old Norse poems.[287] In Hatto's analysis, this sympathetic correlation of blade to bite possesses an appropriate logic for an aggressive weapon

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[284] *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585 The Lacnunga*, ed. and trans. Edward Pettit, vol. 1 (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2001), 63-5.

[285] Hatto, "Snake-Swords and Boar-Helms," 155.

[286] Harum media pulchris alveis excavata, quibusdam videntur crispari posse vermiculis (my translation). Cassiodorus, *Variae, Liber Quintus* 1, ed. Theodore Mommsen, MGH, Auct. ant. 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), 143.

[287] Hatto, "Snake-Swords and Boar-Helms," 153-5.

such as the sword, and he went on to make a similar correlation between the boar and defensive war gear. He concluded that for the swords of *Beowulf*, this broad use of "snake-magic furnished a motif which was cultivated and conventionalized by the artificer to a high degree, whatever other influences may have been caught up in it from the Romanic world."[288] In terms of the decoration of swords, archeological evidence certainly supports what could be dismissed as poetic invention. Although sixth- to eighth-century sword pommels with interlacing serpents have been uncovered in east-central England, notably Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire, the Staffordshire Hoard has yielded the largest collection of sword components in a single find in England to date.[289] Serpentine ornament pervades the find in cast sculpture, filigree, garnet cloisonne, niello. Of the eighty-six pommels and seventy-one hilt collars in the hoard, twelve pommels and nine collars are embellished with filigree serpents; cloisonné examples appear on one collar and one pyramid fitting.[290]

The bellicose nature of snakes which Hatto associated with aggressive weaponry may be further supported by another object of the Staffordshire Hoard. Here, however, the power of the object derives both from the image of a creature that, as will be explored below in relation to seventh-century literature, could be a kind of serpent, coupled with a biblical inscription. The object in question is a thick strip of

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[288] Hatto, "Snake-Swords and Boar-Helms," 155.

[289] Svante Fischer and Jean Soulat, "The Typochronology of Sword Pommels from the Staffordshire Hoard," *Papers from the Staffordshire Hoard Symposium, March 2010*, accessed December 9, 2022, https://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/papers/svantefischerandjeansoulat.

[290] Fern, "Styles of Display and Revelation," 224.

gold terminating at each end with the head of a triple-tongued creature (fig. 21), and
inscribed on both sides with the following:

> Surge, domine, disepentur inimici tui et fugent qui oderunt te a facie
> tua (obverse)

> Surge domine disepintur inimictiui et fugiun* qui oderunt te a facie tua
> adiuve nos deus (reverse).

Both inscriptions roughly derive from the Old Testament verse, Numbers 10:35,
"Surge domine et dissipentur inimici tui et fugiant qui oderunt te a facie tua" (Arise O
Lord, and may your enemies be scattered and may those who hate you flee from your
face.)[291] Obviously, the two inscriptions on the strip are slightly altered from the
standard Vulgate version; the wording of the obverse is slightly more hostile, reading,
"Arise, O Lord, and may your enemies *be torn apart* and those who hate you *will flee*
from your face;" however, the reverse negates some of this aggression by tacking on
the invocation "Help us, O God." at the end.[292] The object has been identified as a
crossarm originally from a either a reliquary or a standing/processional cross, one of
only eight identifiable Christian items in this military assemblage.[293] Owing to the
ferocity of the inscription and its Biblical reference to the Israelites marching across
the wilderness with Ark of the Covenant before them, Leslie Webster posited that it

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[291] Translation provided by Chris Fern, "Characterising the Objects," in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, 107.

[292] Translation and emphasis, Fern, "Characterising the Objects," 107.

[293] For a list of these items, see Fern, "Characterising the Objects," 111.

might have been attached to a reliquary deliberately taken into battle.[294] Chris Fern,

however, related the crossarm more generally to the cross erected by King Oswald at

the Battle of Heavenfield, as a statement of faith and a "totem for victory."[295] Webster

characterized the fearsome beast engraved into the crossarm as a serpent, whereas

Fern compared it to a sea-creature, specifically like those in the church of Saint

Saturnin,[296] and carved into the step of a staircase in the mausoleum of Hypogée de

Dunes (fig. 22).[297] It is interesting that Fern made a point of noting the mausoleum

step as adjacent to another step carved with three entwined serpents; in Fern's

drawings of the mausoleum steps, the heads of the snakes more strongly resemble the

Staffordshire beast than the ichthyic creatures in the neighboring step and the tongue

of the sea-creature is bulbous compared to the sharp projection of the tongue on the

crossarm.[298] Although missing the unusual tongue, Webster offered mid-seventh

century parallels from England rather than Merovingian France. She asserted that the

lentoid eyes and curled back jaws of the Staffordshire creature mirror an initial at the

opening of a fragment of St. Mark's Gospel now at Durham Cathedral Library (fig.

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[294] Leslie Webster, "Imagining Identities: The Case of the Staffordshire Hoard," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*, 41-2.

[295] Fern, "Characterising the Objects," 108.

[296] Hubert, et al., *Europe of the Invasions*, fig. 70.

[297] Webster, "Imagining Identities," 42-4; Fern provides no reference or illustration for Saint Saturnin, only for Hypogée de Dunes. Fern, "Characterising the Objects," 113.

[298] Fern claims that the difference is because the creatures at Hypogée de Dunes are carved in profile whereas the creature of the Staffordshire Hoard crossarm is depicted as if seen from above. See Fern, "Characterising the Objects," note 439.

23) and a buckle from a grave in Eccles, Kent (fig. 24), although both of these proposed comparanda lack any tongue whatsoever.[299] What was not listed as an example by either Fern or Webster were those from the hoard itself. One of the snakes cast in gold (fig. 25), as well as the quadrupeds on the arms of the processional cross (fig. 26), both feature the same curled jaws, though with round rather than almond-shaped eyes, and also missing the triple-forked tongue. Interestingly, the cast snake is certainly shown from above as two eyes are punched through its disc-shaped head.

To more fully determine the origins of the triple-tongue motif, we might consider textual sources from seventh-century England, specifically descriptions of serpents related to the *Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus* (*Book of Monsters of Various Kinds*). The manuscripts that make up the *Liber monstrorum* date from the late-ninth or early-tenth century, but many scholars believe they were composed between 650 and 750.[300] Andy Orchard connected authorship of the *Liber monstrorum* with the literary activity of seventh-century England, particularly Aldhelm or a scholar close to him.[301] Although Patrizia Lendinara asserted a date range of 640?-709 for

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[299] Although Webster acknowledges Merovingian sculpture features the triple-forked tongue motif, she does not characterize the beasts as sea-creatures. Webster, "Imagining Identities," 44; see also Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, fig. 50 and Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, cat. no. 7.

[300] Franco Porsia, *Liber monstrorum: introduzione, edizione, versione e commento di Franco Porsia* (Bari, Italy: Dedalo Libri, 1976), 87-106; Michael Lapidge, "'Beowulf,' Aldhelm, the 'Liber Monstrorum,' and Wessex," *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982): 163-5; Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 86-115.

[301] Orchard noted marked differences in the syntax and phrasing between the *Liber monstrorum* and Aldhelm's other work, and therefore suggested a scholar close to Aldhelm as the author.

about a decade, many scholars continue to support a late-seventh century to mid-eighth century date in line with Orchard.[302]

Both Haruko Momma and Orchard have demonstrated the influence of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (c. 636) on the literature of early England, including the author of the *Liber monstrorum*.[303] Isidore's *Etymologiae* was sourced for Christian prose and texts like the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* (*Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*) and the Old *English Wonders of the East* were sourced for "pagan" or classical prose.[304]

The *Liber monstrorum* author wielded both Virgil's description of the hydra and the snakes of India described in *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, which

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[302] Patrizia Lendinara, "The Letter of Fermes: Not only Marvels," in *The World of Travellers: Exploration and Imagination*, eds. Kees Dekker, Karin E. Olsen, and Tette Hofstra (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2009), 31-60; Patrizia Lendinara, "The Liber monstrorum and Anglo-Saxon Glossaries," chap. 6 in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1999), 113-138; Erica Weaver, "A Canterbury School of Literary Theory: Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, the *Liber monstrorum*, and (Un)Reliable Fictions," in *The Practice and Politics of Reading, 650-1500*, eds. Daniel G. Donoghue, James Simpson, Nicholas Watson, and Anna Wilson (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2023), 63-83; Brian McFadden, "Authority and Discourse in the *Liber Monstrorum*," *Neophilologus* 89 (2005): 473-493; Leonard Neidorf, "Germanic Legend, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change," in *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment*, ed. Leonard Neidorf (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2014), 37-57; Rafael J. Pascual, "Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts," in *The Dating of Beowulf*, 215; Fred C. Robinson, "Beowulf," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* eds. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 142-59.

[303] Haruko Momma, "Worm: A Lexical Approach to the Beowulf Manuscript," in *Old English Philology: Studies in Honour of R.D. Fulk*, eds. Leonard Neidorf, Rafael J. Pascual, and T.A. Shippey (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 201; Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, 86.

[304] Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, 93-4.

characterized the most wonderous of serpents as brimming with deadly venom, exacerbated by their triple tongues:

> Lerneum anguem poetarum fabulae fingunt dirum fuisse spiramine et tartareo nociuum ueneno et *linguis triplicibus* terribilem.

> (The fables of poets imagine that a snake of Lerna had dreadful breath, and was poisonous with Tartarean venom, and terrible with its *triple tongue*.)[305]

> Et in India gigni serpentes huius describuntur modi, qui, ut perhibent, columnarum crassitudinem et bina trinaquea habent cristata capita et processi de montium latebris ad aquam erectis pergebant pectoribus, et ita sinuosis motibus ac squamis terram reddiderunt adtritam et oculis horrendo scintillantibus ueneno, *linguis* ora uibrabant *trisulcis* et mortiferos exalabant alitus.

> (And in India serpents of this sort are said to be born which, so they say, have the thickness of columns and have two or three crested heads, and journeying from the mountain hideaways they used to travel to water with puffed-up breasts, and so with curving movements and scales, they rendered the earth worn away, and with their eyes shining with horrid venom their mouths used to quiver with *triple tongues* and they breathed out deadly breath.)[306]

Here we return to the venomous nature of the serpent as a primary and terrifying attribute of the creature, and yet with no description of its fangs. In these passages, as in early English visual depictions, the fangs are absent. In the case of the creature on the Staffordshire crossarm, the forked tongue might reflect the horrors delivered by the snake's mouth as described in the *Liber monstrorum* and reinforced by the ferocity of

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[305] *Liber monstrorum*, 3.1, transliterated and translated by Orchard in *Pride and Prodigies*, 306-7. Orchard concluded that the author of the *Liber monstrorum* was also familiar with the *Letter*, 86, 317-19.

[306] *Liber monstrorum*, 3.7, 308-9.

the biblical inscription. The efficacy of the serpentine image is increased however when combined, not only with the biblical text, but with the object of the cross itself; the traditionally accepted power of animal imagery was thus trebled with the power of inscription (well-understood from the tradition of runic inscription) and the more newly accepted power of the cross – the symbol of Christ's dominion over death.

Dominion over beasts put their power in the hands of the wearer; this was achieved through both the appropriation of physical parts of an animal that embodied their fierce strength or was summoned through their image. In addition to capturing the might of the animal world in ornate works of metal for military purposes, forces such as the Evil Eye were ensnared, and danger deflected. As inhabitants in a hostile natural world, the English turned to adornment to invoke protection from and obtain command over the forces of the unseen that existed alongside the mundane. Within that mundane world the humans of early medieval England built villages, towns, and eventually kingdoms from the fifth century onward. Within these various formations, adornment would be wielded in defense of not just individual bodies, but for the protection and advancement of family groups within these forming societies.

Societal Motivations for Adornment

Jewelry was invested with the agency to affect the minds of both clan members and the groups they interacted with, and hence operated as an active agent in the development of societies within eastern England. Kinship and ancestry were core social features of the peoples that settled the eastern areas of England in the fifth century. The family was the first and central unit, providing protection and support to its members within social institutions such as the assembly, and in settling disputes

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with other kin groups.[307] In the absence of an established state to govern the various

groups and regulate or guarantee land-holding, constant affirmation of position was

necessary for clan security.[308] Ornamentation was thus employed as one way to

address anxieties regarding societal instability in this formative time. Old English

poetry vividly illustrates the role of the family unit in a later, but equally anxious

period. John Niles has posited that during the tenth-century nation building and

religious reforms, the fear of a loss of former heritage and of tribal relations, spurred

the composition of nostalgic poetry.[309] Poems such as *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*

express a cultural horror of exile versus the safe harbor of a group with which one

feels kinship; this feeling is made explicit in the lamentations of an unmoored,

unprotected man adrift in life without the security of family.[310] In her work on

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[307] Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 102.

[308] Dominic Janes, "Treasure, Death and Display from Rome to the Middle Ages," in *Treasure in the Medieval West,* ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 7.

[309] John D. Niles, "The Myth of the Anglo-Saxon Oral Poet," *Western Folklore* 62, 1/2 (2003): 13. Niles goes on to conclude, "I prefer to see oral poetry both as constituting a living tradition for the peoples who inhabited England before the Conquest and as forming part of a cultural myth whose long process of construction was set into motion as soon as the first missionaries from Iona and Rome introduced the arts of writing to Britain in a systematic way," 38; For evidence of the oral tradition of poetry in pre-literate England, see note 68.

[310] Some scholars attribute these elegiac poems to the eighth or ninth century. See A. L. Klinck, *The Old English Elegies: A Critical Introduction and Genre Study* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 20; Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's "Synonyma" in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 138-43; Peter Orton, "The Form and Structure of The Seafarer," in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. R.M. Liuzza (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2002), 353-4. Other scholars such as Andy Orchard do not go so far as to set a date; however, Orchard definitively asserted an earlier elegiac

monumental memory, Melissa Herman probes the implications of this isolation, of a man with no one to commemorate his passing, to conduct his funerary rites, to construct his memory and embed it in the collective community.[311] If a kin group equated to individual safety, then the jewelry embodying individual family members, or the collective history of the clan, may have operated in a similar manner.

Precise conceptions of "ancestry" in early medieval England, as well as familial or individual relationships to ancestors, are difficult to determine and may have varied widely between different groups. The degree to which early settlers worshipped their ancestors, if at all, is unknown, although several scholars agree that ornamentation was one method of embodying actual or imagined relations.[312] The tale of the Frisian King Radbod who refused baptism rather than risking separation from his ancestors is often referenced as an exemplar of a generally-held "pagan" or "Germanic" belief in an afterlife populated by expired kin.[313] As I will elaborate

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tradition based on oral tradition. See Orchard, "Not What it Was: The World of Old English Elegy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 101–117.

[311] Melissa Herman, "Monumental Memory: The Performance and Enduring Spectacle of Burial in Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Dealing with the Dead: Mortality and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 77.

[312] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170; Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, 223; Høilund Nielsen, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite," 199.

[313] Annales Xantenses, DCCXVIII, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH, SS rer. Germ. (Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1880), 36; Patrick Wormald, "Bede, Beowulf and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy," in *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England: Papers in Honour of the 1300th Anniversary of the Birth of Bede, Given at Cornell University in 1973 and 1974*, ed. Robert T. Farrell (London: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 45.

further in this section, establishing a venerable ancestry through invented genealogies was employed in the eighth century as a way to build the "imaginary." Following John Moreland and his usage of the "imaginary world" proposed by Maurice Godelier in 1997, I will demonstrate the ways in which communities become "bound together by *belief* in common descent and actual common interests," and how this is used to assert and solidify power.[314] Belief in a shared ancestry, as Richard Jenkins argued, is the result of a group acting together.[315]

From the earliest settlements of eastern England, the grave gives us a sense of the character of the small societies establishing themselves alongside remaining British inhabitants. The most remarkable feature illuminated by the earliest burials of the fifth and early sixth centuries is the wide diversity in the material culture and funerary habits of these immigrants. The decades between 470 and 520 have been seen by some scholars as witnessing a surge in migration from the continent, although the ethnic origins, class, numbers, and motivations for relocation to England of these migrating groups has been disputed.[316] The mass migration and genocide model, supported by the accounts of Tacitus, began to be discounted with the rejection of

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[314] Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 24.

[315] Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 10.

[316] Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); cf. Nick Higham, "Britons in Anglo-Saxon England: An Introduction," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007), 1-15.

New Archaeology in the 1980s and 90s,[317] and yet was reconsidered in 2002 in the wake of a new study based on genetic evidence. Michael Weale and his colleagues published a comparison of Y-chromosomes shared between modern English males from Wales to East Anglia and males from Friesland (Holland) and Norway. The results implied population replacement in an "immigration event affecting 50%-100% of the Central English male gene pool at that time."[318] A study of a larger body of Y-chromosome evidence the very next year confirmed a significant migration of peoples in northern England, but a relatively indigenous population in southern England.[319] Each study, however, is flawed by its assessment of the *modern* rather than early medieval genetic situation and the *expectation* of mass migration, despite the fact that wholesale population movements are historically rare. This expectation largely descends from the uncritical acceptance of a single paragraph in the Venerable Bede's *History of the English People*. This famous passage listed the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes as conquerors of post-Roman England and it became the historical context in which many archaeologists have couched the evidence of their excavations. Bede's much longer list of "barbarians" settling in England at this same time,[320] though probably as dubious as the famous trifecta, reflects the more likely scenario of groups

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[317] John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages: Understanding the Early Medieval Past* (London: Duckworth, 2010), 22.

[318] Michael E. Weale, et al., "Y-Chromosome Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Mass-Migration," *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 19 (2002): 1018.

[319] Christian Capelli, et al., "A Y-Chromosome Census of the British Isles," *Current Biology* 13, no. 11 (2003): 979-984; cf. Stephen Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), esp. 362-364.

[320] Bede, *HE*, V.ix, 51.

arriving with variously defined identities.[321] Indeed, the homogeneous groups traditionally believed to invade the isle are not actually evident in the archaeological record. Archaeologist John Moreland has pointed to the systemic reticence of scholars to parse the inconsistencies in the expected "Bedan pattern" and the compounding of inconsistency when scholars attempt to make the evidence fit.[322]

What the archaeological data of grave goods and burial practices reveals is dozens of singular societies with distinctive jewelry and sartorial fashions in late-fifth and early-sixth century England. These differences are evident between hamlets no more than a mile apart, but also between a single generation in a given family and in the same burial plot.[323] Burials at Norton and Alfiston both provide evidence of possible descent groups. At Norton, thirty to forty individuals were buried over three to four generations. The particular grave goods and positioning of the bodies of six to eight men and women seem to indicate a single dominant family or the principal adults of a few family groups.[324] At Alfriston in Sussex, the bodies of six women were richly arrayed with similar ornamentation, suggesting their successive leadership over one, or at the most, two families.[325] This apparent heterogeneity represents an active

[321] Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, 261.

[322] Moreland notes how forcing evidence to match expected patterns "necessitates somewhat tortuous explanations." Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 34.

[323] Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 50.

[324] S. J. Sherlock and Martin G. Welch, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton, Cleveland* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1992), 73-102.

[325] Martin G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex* (Oxford: BAR, 1983), 199.

construction or reconstruction of social identity in the fifth- and early-sixth centuries, rather than a maintenance ethnic identity imported from the continent by migrants.[326] Barbara Yorke has noted the lack of difference between the material culture of the "Jutes" of Hampshire and their "Saxon" neighbors in Wessex.[327] Seiichi Suzuki declared the futility of looking for continental origins of the Quoit Brooch Style which arose in England in the fifth century, identifying it as the product of a new cultural identity that arose in southern England.[328] In their assessment of female graves, John Hines and Karen Høilund Nielsen noted the "much greater degree of regional distinctiveness – and thus probably of group-identity marking – in the dress-accessories that characterized female costume."[329] In addition to glass beads, the brooch presents a ubiquitous and useful object-type to demonstrate the rate of change

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[326] "In contrast to the weaponry and belt-fittings in the men's graves, the distinctiveness of a considerable proportion of the Early Anglo-Saxon women's dress-accessories from their overseas contemporaries is striking." Alex Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London: Routledge, 2017), 520.

[327] Barbara Yorke, "The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the Origins of Wessex," in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. Steven Bassett (London: Leicester University Press, 1989), 92.

[328] Seiichi Suzuki, *The Quoit Brooch Style and Anglo-Saxon Settlement: A Casting and Recasting of Cultural Identity Symbols* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 108.

[329] Bayliss et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 489; "The computer analyses each showed in their way that concomitant material culture groups are to be expected even within small areas and within a single cemetery." Karen Høilund Nielsen, "The Schism of Anglo-Saxon Chronology," in *Burial and Society: The Chronological and Social Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data*, eds. Claus Kjeld Jensen and Karen Høilund Nielsen (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1997), 93.

during this period.[330] Some brooches certainly adhere to fifth-century continental antecedents. Plain cruciform brooches (see fig. 27) like those excavated at Sarre and Howletts in Kent also appear in Jutland; equal-armed brooches found at Hod Hill resemble those from northwestern Germany; and brooches from graves in Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire recall those worn in Lower Saxony and western Saxony.[331] Conversely, long-small brooches (see fig. 28) are found only in England and may be colloquial imitations of the square-headed brooches of Scandinavia. Saucer brooches (see fig. 29), common to the Upper Thames Valley, and quoit brooches (see fig. 30) also only appear in England and were probably based on local Romano-British metalwork.[332] Despite some adherence to the heirlooms or traditions of their continental forebearers, within a generation or two, the settlers of eastern England were fabricating distinct cultural communities that embraced rapidly shifting styles, language, and customs.[333] The resulting material culture was a product of the interactions both between native British and incoming settlers and between the settlers themselves. As Moreland pointed out, "If these regional patterns really are markers of group identity (and I think that they are), then we have to remember that 'identity is a matter of the *outs* as well as the *ins*'; it is a matter of social closure."[334] Styles of

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[330] Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 491.

[331] Walton Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, 113; Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 490-91.

[332] Suzuki, *The Quoit Brooch Style*, 109.

[333] Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, 268.

[334] Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 44.

ornamentation drew upon forms that may have recalled Roman authority as well as memories and legends of a motherland. But ultimately, ornamentation was developed as an expression of participation in and differentiation between emerging regional networks of power.[335]

Although there is a danger in reading a direct hierarchy in a deliberate construction such as the grave, the burial record of smaller settlements of fifth-century England suggest that communities were at least internally ranked.[336] Grave goods may signify if the deceased was defined by gender, age, descent, or a combination of these. Other factors such as regional variation also beg consideration (e.g. wealthy graves in one area of England versus another), as well as factors that may be archaeologically invisible. Regional identity becomes more visible in the sixth century, and this is both reflected in regional variation of brooch types, and burial practices increasingly reflected more profound gender distinctions and incongruity in grave goods.[337] Legal codes such as Æthelberht's code confirm that by the seventh century, a hierarchical structure was in place, differentiating compensation for individuals of varying ranks during legal disputes.[338] In the first half of that century, settlements that differed

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[335] Moreland, "Ethnicity, Power and the English," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 49; See also, "Elite Display in the East of Britain," in Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, 179-205.

[336] Helena Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 71.

[337] Duncan Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: Kinship, Community and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 147.

[338] Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 69.

radically from the norm underwent construction, dominated by large buildings

enclosed within carefully planned layouts. These factors .compliment interpretation of

a burst in occurrences of wealthy inhumations as an emergence of elite

communities.[339] As the disparate groups inhabiting post-Roman Britain began to

combine and enlarge families, landholdings, and resources via intermarriage and

alliances, they differentiated themselves from rival groups through settlement size and

organization, as well as through various jewelry and clothing fashions - not only in life

but in death.[340] Affluence and status were also asserted through a very public disposal

of wealth into the grave, by furnishing the deceased's body with jewelry and weapons.

Toby Martin has suggested that the "growing social significance of dress itself may

therefore have had some influence on the increasing popularity of the inhumation rite

over the cremation rite."[341] Established families of the later sixth and seventh centuries

sought to strengthen authority over labor and resources by normalizing social

differentiation. Origin legends were invented and performed in epic orations;[342]

inhumation practices were ritualized to incorporate lavish displays including barrow

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[339] Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, 102.

[340] Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 176; Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A Seventh-Century Princely Burial Ground and its Context* (London: British Museum Press, 2005), 499.

[341] Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, 226; this was also suggested by Christopher Scull in his essay, "Archaeology, Early Anglo-Saxon Society and the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993): 75-6.

[342] John M. Hill, *The Anglo-Saxon Warrior Ethic: Reconstructing Lordship in Early English Literature* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), 99 and 130-32.

burial and ship burial as expressions of a dynastic and heroic past that legitimized current rule.[343] By the second half of the sixth century the most affluent families were adopting royal titles and began to build substantial communities that would coalesce into the traditional powerhouses of the seventh century - the so-called "Heptarchy" of the *Historia Anglorum* including Mercia, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Kent.[344] Though as Duncan Sayer stressed in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: Kinship, Community and Identity*, the political reality of this era was not so straightforward; rulership fluctuated as did territorial borders, surrounding these "powerhouses" with instability and numerous micro-kingdoms.[345]

While certainly not the only vehicle for advertising and establishing the strength and position of the family, personal adornment was a highly visual and public mechanism whose effectiveness is strongly implied by its widespread adoption. The usage of particular motifs on metalwork may have signaled kinship with a select clan or specific regional or tribal group.[346] As mentioned above, the conformity of types of early-sixth-century ornaments found at Alfriston intimate membership in a specific family group in residence for the first three quarters of that century. Similarities in

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[343] Barbara Yorke, "Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends," in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, eds. Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009), 24.

[344] See "Kingdoms" in Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 207-25 and Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, 269-272.

[345] Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*,147.

[346] Siv Kristoffersen, "Transformation in Migration Period Animal Art," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 28, no. 1 (1995): 3; Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 185.

female grave assemblages at Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight and at Sarre are so striking as to suggest family relations buried over one hundred miles apart.[347] Brooches again constitute a valuable metric for gauging regional identity and how regional identity does not always correspond to traditional views of ethnic or political divisions; in a study by archaeologist Martin Welch, types of brooches excavated in Sussex indicated that the area belonged to a province including Surrey, west Kent, Essex, the north of Thames Valley, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire.[348]

The embodiment of social meaning can be observed in the distinctive designs of early medieval jewelry; the form of jewelry changed in tandem with changing social structures from the so-called Style I (c. 450) to Style II (c. 650). Animal art was first divided into Styles I, II, and III by Bernhard Salin in 1904 and subsequent study of these styles has relied heavily on the scholarship of Günther Haseloff; [349] however, the exact date of importation of these styles into England from the continent is still under debate. An attempt at securing chronology (at least for the late-sixth to eighth centuries) via high-precision radiocarbon dating of furnished burials was undertaken

[347] Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 179 and 185.

[348] Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 163.

[349] Bernhard Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik: typologische Studie über germanische Metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über irische Ornamentik* (Stockholm: K.L. Beckmans büchdruckerei, 1904); Günther Haseloff, *Die germanische Tierornamentik in der Völkerwanderungszeit: Studien zu Salin's Stil I*, 3 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981); Günther Haseloff, "Der Germanische Tierstil. Sine Anfaenge und der Beitrag der Langobarden," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La civilta dei Langobardi in Europa* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974), 361-86.

by Christopher Scull and Alex Bayliss in 1999.[350] In 2013, Scull and Bayliss, along

with a team of additional archaeologists, further refined their chronological framework

through seriation and Bayesian modeling.[351] Bayesian chronological modeling

provides a mathematical framework for incorporating all available dating information,

including radiocarbon dates, stratigraphy, and artifact typologies. In fact, a Style I

harness fitting was used as a crucial reference point for interpreting chronologies of

male graves, "thus containing the parameters of the Bayesian chronological model."[352]

As valuable as a study of the dissemination of decorative styles is to the chronological

framework, it was beyond the scope of the report by Bayliss, et al. Style I was

imported in the mid-fifth century from Scandinavia to southeast England.[353]Although

initially derived from late imperial Roman and provincial Roman small-scale metal

work, Style I discarded the naturalism of Roman art in favor of abstraction and

fragmentation.[354] Ambiguity, which encompasses both abstraction and fragmentation,

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[350] Christopher Scull and Alex Bayliss, "Radiocarbon Dating and Anglo-Saxon Graves," in *Völker an Nord- und Ostsee und die Franken: Akten des 48. Sachsensymposiums in Mannheim vom 7. bis 11 September 1997*, eds. Uta von Freeden, Ursula Koch, and Alfried Wieczorek (Bonn: Habelt, 1999), 39-50.

[351] Alex Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[352] Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 520.

[353] Siv Kristoffersen and Bente Magnus, *Spannformete Kar: Utvikling og Variasjon* (Arkeologisk museum, Universitetet I Stavanger, 2010), 75-81; Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 240; Webster, "Style: Influences, Chronology, and Meaning," 467.

[354] Karen Høilund Nielsen, "Saxon Art Between Interpretation and Imitation: The Influence of Roman, Scandinavian, Frankish, and Christian Art on the Material Culture of the Continental Saxons," in *The Continental Saxons from the Migration*

is a central design feature of Style I jewelry and as such has been related to a visual manifestation of the English delight in riddles or *ænigmata*.[355] Both the pedigree of Roman ornamentation and the potential hidden meanings in the embedded and reversible figures of Style I endowed a prestige and exclusivity upon the wearer. The addition of runic inscriptions on some of these items may too have signaled access to secret knowledge and thus power.[356]

Style II emerged in East Anglia and Kent in the mid-sixth century, whether it originated there or was imported from an earlier site in Scandinavia, Italy or elsewhere remaining controversial.[357] The introduction of Style II and its distinctive interlacing animal ornament in the second half of the sixth century has been characterized as ordering a chaotic world into a microcosm of jewelry – a style mirroring a chaotic century of elite families clashing against one another as they sought to expand and solidify familial territories into kingdoms.[358] The iconography, mimicking the ornate

Period to the Tenth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective, eds. D.H. Green and Frank Siegmund (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003), 193-233.

[355] See Tilghman, "Writing in Tongues, 46; Leslie Webster, "Encrypted Visions: Style and Sense in the Anglo-Saxon Minor Arts, A.D. 400-900," in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), 14-16.

[356] Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 189.

[357] Webster, "Style: Influences, Chronology, and Meaning," 471; Høilund Nielsen, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite," 185-6; Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art*, Oxford History of Art, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 104-5.

[358] Webster, "Encrypted Visions," 14; Yorke, "Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends," 23-4. Conflict between kingdoms was recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though its accounts must be evaluated with caution – see Barbara Yorke, "Fact or fiction? The written evidence for the fifth and sixth centuries," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993): 45-50. The increase in weapons burial also points

style that had become popular in Scandinavia, and rendered in luxury materials, made deliberate allusions to both continental connections and royal heritage.[359] In pre-literate English society, the complex images of metalwork, particularly in personal ornamentation, were precisely rendered so as to be readable in communicating status and origin myths, even if we are unable to know the precise nature of those myths.[360] In the vernacular literature of the seventh century, men were represented in warrior-heroic modes, particularly in poems like *Beowulf*. Interestingly, scholars like Jane Chance have also perceived instances of women in this role. Chance interpreted the narrators of *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulfand Eadwacer* as women, particularly *scopas* (professional poets) with "inverted feminine roles."[361] In *Beowulf's Wealhtheow and the Valkyrie Tradition*, Helen Damico explored the depiction of royal women such as Wealhtheow, queen of the Danes in *Beowulf*, in the English and Norse literary imagination as cup bearers and treasure-givers.[362] To this literary interpretation, Carol

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to conflict, or at least the construction of warrior identities to express power even in peacetime. This expression of power may have been tied to economic/commercial dominance, which could have prompted further aggression between emerging kingdoms – see Arnold, *Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 211-14.

[359] "Regional interpretations of Style II – Anglian Style II and Kentish Style II – have been found primarily in elite, possibly royal burials in East Anglia (e.g., Sutton Hoo) and Kent (e.g., Taplow and King's Field, Faversham)." Høilund Nielsen, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite," 186, 195, 199.

[360] Leslie Webster, "Encrypted Visions," 14-16; Yorke, "Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends," 27.

[361] Jane Chance, *Woman as Hero in Old English Literature* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 81.

[362] Helen Damico, *Beowulf's Wealhtheow and the Valkyrie Tradition* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

Neuman de Vegvar added the valuable archeological component of women's graves containing drinking horns. Neuman de Vegvar eloquently explained that "material traces provided by archaeology complement but do not eclipse the glimpses that Old English literature provides of the interior world of symbolic associations that enriched the lives of the Anglo-Saxons."[363] What becomes clear from this expanded view of women in areas of early medieval England is the collective focus of family members to cement solidarity, power, and identity cooperatively through the visual medium of bodily adornment. Certainly, the symbolic message of a woman's jewelry differed from a man's according to her familial role; for instance, keys or latch hooks suspended from the chatelaine is a common find in female grave deposits, and absent in male graves. This custom, considered with other recurring grave items like spindles and threadboxes, has led to the interpretation of wives as keeper of the household.[364] The responsibilities of women for the care of the family hearth or the royal hall, communicated through accessories worn on the body, may be viewed as a gender division in English society, but more significantly as a vehicle to bring honor onto the collective homestead. As will be elaborated in the latter portion of this chapter, the furnishing of female graves may have been intended to reflect the wealth and status of a male family member more so than her particular station.[365]

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[363] Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "Beyond Valkyries: Drinking Horns in Anglo-Saxon Women's Graves," in *New Readings on Women and Early Medieval English Literature and Culture: Cross-Disciplinary Studies in Honour of Helen Damico*, eds. Helene Scheck and Christine Kozikowski (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 60.

[364] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 95, 178.

[365] Gilchrist, "Ambivalent Bodies," 47.

Constructions of Memory via Adornment

The use of jewelry as a marker of status and ancestry in service of the family unit is inexorably tied to the functions of embodiment and memory. Whereas "embodiment" may be unfamiliar or vague in its definition or interpretation, "memory" may seem evident, requiring no definition. But as demonstrated by Zoë Devlin, such an assumption limits the understanding of early medieval conceptions of the past.[366] The idea of "social memory" further complicates this understanding; the term has been utilized by researchers from sociologists and psychologists to archaeologists and historians, yet lacks a coherent body of theory, or a single approach or definition.[367] Devlin's attempt to wrangle the various aspects of social memory provides a pragmatic approach to explicating the operations of jewelry as related to individual and social memory.

Like many scholars before her, Devlin troubles the rigid line dividing individual and collective memory, acknowledging the inevitable interaction of the two.[368] Devlin does, however, ultimately privilege the individual as the active force in the formation of social memory rather than passively guided by a dominating outside

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[366] Zoë L. Devlin, "Social Memory, Material Culture and Community Identity in Early Medieval Mortuary Practices," in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 14, eds. Sarah Semple and Howard Williams (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).

[367] Devlin, "Social Memory," 38.

[368] James Fentress and Christopher Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), ix–x; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 10–11; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 194-5.

influence.[369] Experience, interpretation, and selection of what is to be remembered occurs within individuals and is conditioned by present sociopolitical contexts; memory becomes social when those individuals come together to discuss, record, or perform past events.[370] The writing down and reenactment of the past is in a sense, an ongoing process of reworking of the past to fit present circumstances or conditions.[371] Yet, this performance, when accompanied by props such as jewelry or other adornments perceived to have a pedigree, may be internalized as maintenance of social memory and thus social boundaries by a contemporary audience.

Accessories displayed on the body can create not only the public perception of a clan but can also reinforce the individual member's identity as participant in a familial legacy. As pointed out by Sayer in his volume on kinship, community, and identity in early medieval England, individual status was itself produced by relationships; one could not be considered the head of a household without servants to labor under them, or a family to provide legal support when needed.[372] Rafael F. Narvaez's assessment of the French sociological approach to collective memory provides a valuable methodology for considering the function of the body in constructing social and personal meaning in early medieval England. "[I]t can help us

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[369] Some scholars such as Rafael F. Narvaez contend that there *are* irresistible forces of culture – collective acts and representations – that dominate and lead individuals. See Rafael F. Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," *Body & Society* 12, no. 3 (2006): 57.

[370] Devlin, "Social Memory," 40.

[371] Devlin, "Social Memory," 43.

[372] Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, 248.

understand how collective pasts become sedimented in individual and 'collective bodies', so that the past thus becomes vivified in shared presents; and social groups thence 'naturally', 'intuitively' march toward inherited futures."[373] This entanglement of individuals within social complexes is highly evident in cemetery contexts. For example, the collective placement of individual furnished burials at West Heslerton, Broadway Hill in Hereford and Worcester, Winterbourne Gunner near Salisbury, Lyminge II, Westgarth Gardens, Berinsfield, Deal, Bargates, Fonaby, and Snell's Corner directed focus on a specific lineage, a particular localized elite family.[374] Clusters of graves or the cemetery overall possessed a particular visual characteristics, whether external features such as markers, ring-ditches, barrows, or grave orientation, or internal features seen only by those at the funeral who witnessed cremation or deposition with grave goods. All these practices communicated recognizable messages about a particular community or a particular social group. Lyminge II, for instance, "separated groups of gendered individuals into specific places, highlighting male or female characteristics in central places, and such arrangements may have been a way to denote key lines of inheritance within dominant families."[375] Disentangling individual life experience from use of the individual as a piece in a larger mortuary expression about the community and families in it has becoming increasingly possible through the kind of holistic approach proposed by Sayer. In his most recent book, Sayer used the body to explore various points of social attitudes in early England. He

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[373] Rafael F. Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," 52.

[374] Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, 188-9.

[375] Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, 188.

combined skeletal pathology, isotope data on diet, and height and teeth metrics to uncover differences between "lifeways" (how an individual lived). He also revealed the constructed memory of the community or family group created by specific arrangement of bodies over time in a cemetery and the objects included or not included with them. But besides biological data, is it possible to know how items were used on the body in life? As Sayer pointed out, calluses on the hand could tell us something about how a person used a weapon in life that interment with a weapon cannot.[376] Can literature or law codes provide clues? Or perhaps wearmarks left on an item itself? In the case of the groups under discussion, it is vital to consider the function of display for the living body versus the deceased body in creating individual and social memory. Personal belongings, as well as who receives those belongings after death, is a matter for the living. As I will address next, the attitudes towards inheritance and the laws governing inheritance in early medieval England can help clarify how individuals felt about kin and ancestry and the objects connecting the past and present.

Beyond a mere transfer of heritable capital, jewelry passed down from one relative to another may have acted to strengthen ties between family relations. Viewing an inherited item could prompt recall of the deeds and words of the deceased, and stir emotions associated with that person or with the tales surrounding them. Though the earliest known wills date to the early ninth century, inheritance laws from

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[376] Sayer, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, 34, 191.

the time of Æthelbert of Kent (recorded 602-3) refer to the bequeathing of heirlooms as an existing practice.[377]

The concepts of heirlooms and inheritance also appear in *Beowulf*. Before facing Grendel, Beowulf lists those to whom he would leave his possessions should he be struck down, describing how his men will look upon and reflect over those items has won as a warrior.

> Wes þū mund-bora mīnum mago-þegnum,
>
> Hond-gesellum, gif mec hild nime;
>
> swylce þū ðā mādmas, þe þū mā sealdest,
>
> Hrōðgar lēofa, Higelāce onsend.
>
> Mæg þonne on þæm golde ongitan Gēata dryhten,
>
> gesēon sunu Hrædles, þonne hē on þæt sinc starað,
>
> þæt ic gum-cystum gōdne funde
>
> bēaga bryttan, brēac þonne mōste.
>
> Ond þū Unferð læt ealde lāfe,
>
> wrætlīc wæg-sweord, wīd-cūðne man
>
> heard-ecg habban;

(If this combat kills me, take care of my young company, my comrades in arms. And be sure also, my beloved Hrothgar, to send Hygelac the treasures I received. Let the lord of the Geats gaze on that gold, let Hrethel's son take note of it and see that I

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[377] For a translation of these laws, see "The Laws of Æthelberht" in Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 52-116, esp. 79. See also Härke, "The Circulation of Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society," 384-5.

found a ring-giver of rare magnificence and enjoyed the good of his generosity. And Unferth is to have what I inherited: to that far-famed man I bequeath my own sharp-honed, wave-sheened wonderblade.) [378]

Decades after his defeat of Grendel, Beowulf faces his final battle with a fire-breathing dragon. Mortally wounded and dying in his comrades' care, Beowulf bemoans his lack of a son to whom he wished to leave his armor,[379] in the end, passing it on to Wiglaf, along with his golden collar and arm ring.[380] As mentioned above, Alison Klevnäs has demonstrated both swords and brooches as inalienable objects, inseparable from the memory and legacy of their owners and maintained through perhaps oral tradition, but definitely in wills and other literature. By comparing these two types of objects worn on the body, I aim to make diverse connections to personhood and memory, specifically as related to ancestry, clearer.

A previous trend in anthropological scholarship on dress accessories was to frame them as abstract signifiers of identity,[381] but on the cusp of the 2000s, anthropologists began to explore the experience and creation of identity and personhood through objects themselves, but critically, objects imbued with human

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[378] *Beowulf,* lines 1480-1490a.

[379] *Beowulf,* lines 2729-2732.

[380] *Beowulf,* lines 2813-2814.

[381] James R. Sackett, "The Meaning of Style in Archaeology: A General Model," *American Antiquity* 42 (1977): 369-80; Polly Weissner, "Reconsidering the Behavioral Basis for Style: A Case Study Among the Kalahari San," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1984): 190-234.

emotion.[382] Duncan Sayer has been at the forefront of this approach in the field of early medieval archaeology. In a co-authored essay with Erin Sebo and Kyle Hughes, Sayer outlined personhood as constructed through use, modification, and burial of swords in early English and Viking contexts.[383] Although the study of swords benefits from comparison with a more robust body of literary sources compared with other early medieval objects, various attitudes towards swords may illuminate views on dress accessories more generally. Two specific aspects of swords may be useful in this regard: wearmarks and modification. Sayer, Sebo, and Hughes agreed with Sue Brunning that "wear makes a sword unique, visually identifiable, and gives it a life-history, or even 'person-like' qualities."[384] They provide numerous examples of swords with explicitly evident signs of wear and what that reveals about the object's life and relationship with its user(s). This is pertinent as it relates to the many pendant crosses to be discussed in the next chapter, interred with obvious signs of wear and repair or the reuse of materials, such as the Cross of St. Cuthbert or the silver cross

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[382] Janet Hoskins was an early pioneer of this approach. See Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Story of People's Lives* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

[383] Duncan Sayer, Erin Sebo, and Kyle Hughes, "A Double-Edged Sword: Swords, Bodies, and Personhood in Early Medieval Archaeology and Literature," *European Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 4 (2019): 542-66.

[384] Sue Brunning, "Crossing Edges? 'Person-Like' Swords in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Life on the Edge: Social, Religious and Political Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. Sarah Semple, Celia Orsini, and Sian Mui (Wendeburg, Germany: Verlag Uwe Krebs, 2017), 409-18; Sayer, Ebo, and Hughes, "A Double-edged Sword," 10.

found in a ring-ditch at Butler's Field.[385] It is telling that the life of the cross was not

erased by replacement of a new pendant or highly skilled concealment of wear or past

damage. This is apparent on numerous other kinds of early English jewelry as well,

such as a brooch found in Grave 3 at Monkton (fig. 31);[386] the silver backplate is off-

center and inscribed with concentric circles and an unfinished triangle pattern, and as

such may be from the backplate of an earlier brooch.[387] A clearer indication can be

found on a brooch recovered from Grave 11 at Harford Farm in Kent (fig. 32); a runic

inscription on the backplate commemorates its repair prior to deposition around the

end of the seventh century.[388] In the case of swords, deletions and additions such as

recycled fittings and reused scabbards were not made only as functional replacements

in the case of damage; Sayer and his colleagues pointed to this practice as deliberate

artifice to make the sword appear older.[389] Removal of rings signaled a change in

ownership, and indeed as many swords switched ownership over time, they acquired

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[385] Angela Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire*, vol. 1, Prehistoric and Roman Activity and Grave Catalogue (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1998), 133-34.

[386] The Monkton Brooch (6.3cm, found 1971, grave 3, gold front with silver back and partly gilded bronze cloisons, blue stones, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1973,1401).

[387] Hawkes, "The Monkton Brooch," 248.

[388] John Hines, "The Runic Inscription on the Composite Brooch from Grave 11," in *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91 Part II: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk,* ed. Kenneth Penn, East Anglian Archaeology Report 92 (Gressenhall, Norfolk: East Anglian Archaeology, 2000), 81-2.

[389] Sayer, Sebo, and Hughes, "A Double-edged Sword," 549.

and bore memories.[390] Through literary and archaeological sources Sayer and his team convincingly demonstrated that, like warriors, swords accumulated status via age and great deeds. Names are recorded for various kinds of weapons in Irish, Welsh, and Scandinavian literature.[391] But only swords were named in English literature, such as Hunferth's sword, Hrunting and Hygelac's sword, Nægling in the *Beowulf* poem.[392] Runic inscriptions on pommels, blades, and scabbards are rare in England and the inscriptions name the owner or maker rather than the sword itself.[393] Swords were anthropomorphized in English riddles and given the same character as warriors of heroic poetry.[394] In the highly charged environment of close quarter combat involving life and death, victory and loss, honor and dishonor upon the individual, his kin, and his lord, the sword itself became an emotionally charged object. If the ornament of a sword was intended to visually proclaim a venerable and emotionally loaded pedigree, it is conceivable that this strategy might have been applied to dress accessories for similar purposes. Mediation of relations between the dead and the living through emotionally imbued objects, particularly the production and sustaining of memory, was advanced by Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey in their 2001 book, *Death,*

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[390] Vera I. Evison, "The Dover Ring-Sword and Other Ring-Swords and Beads," *Archaeologia* 101 (1967): 63; Brunning, "Crossing Edges?" 413-14.

[391] Gáe Bulga, the spear of Cú Chulainn; Hel, the axe of Norwegian King Magnus.

[392] *Beowulf*, lines 1455-1448, 2490-2492.

[393] Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, and Ray Ian Page, "Swords and Runes in South-East England," *The Antiquaries Journal* 47, no. 1 (1967): 3. For the only literary description of an inscribed pommel see, *Beowulf* lines 1695-1697.

[394] Riddle 20," *Exeter Book*, lines 8b-10, 190; "Riddle 80," *Exeter Book*, line 1, 235; Sayer, Sebo, and Hughes, "A Double-edged Sword," 545.

Memory and Material Culture. This concept has been usefully mobilized by scholars like Howard Williams and Zoë L. Devlin to explore this function of objects in early medieval England.

Toby Martin, known for his extensive work on early English brooches, made similar connections to object biography through modification, repair, and use-adaptation of this specific form of jewelry.[395] His dataset of repair rates for over 1,500 brooches of the eleven major types deposited in early inhumations dovetails nicely with Devlin's connection of repair to maintaining memory.[396] Repair rather than replacement, according to Martin, was a visual marker of the biography of the brooch, and though onlookers might not have been aware of the details, they would have recognized the authentic value of the brooch in its retention. Furthermore, customization, like that of swords, augmented the biography of the brooch.[397] Martin also included incised decoration and inscription into the category of customization. He drew attention particularly to runic inscriptions like that of the aforementioned Harford Farm brooch and disc brooch with a similar inscription from Boarley, Kent,[398] as well as single-word inscriptions such as those on a cruciform brooch from grave 177 at West Heslerton, Yorkshire and on a great square-headed brooch from grave 80

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[395] Toby F. Martin, "Riveting Biographies: The Theoretical Implications of Early Anglo-Saxon Brooch Repair, Customisation and Use-Adaptation," in *Make-do and Mend: Archaeologies of Compromise, Repair and Reuse*, eds. Ben Jervis and Alison Kyle (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 53-65.

[396] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," 55-8.

[397] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," 58.

[398] David Parsons, "German Runes in Kent?" *Nytt om runer: Meldingsblad om runeforskning* 7 (1992): 7-8.

at Wakerley, Northamptonshire.[399] Martin linked the fact that all inscribed brooches

have been repaired to the magical importance of the inscriptions. Even the single-word

inscriptions, which may represent name of the owner, maker, or the patron, mark these

objects as significant and vital, not only for retention, but for commemoration of such

moments in their biography.[400] Indeed, he related this rare but recognized practice of

runic inscription to the idea of the brooches' inalienable nature.[401] For Martin, this

inalienability explained the frequent presence of brooches in the grave, as that would

have been one of the few acceptable methods of disposal.[402] As inalienable

possessions, brooches would have functioned as markers of significant life events for

an individual rather than as heritable items; therefore, Martin's view on recycling of

brooches was skeptical.[403] His focus, however, has been on cruciform brooches of

primarily the central and eastern areas of England. A recent study on the recycling of

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[399] *neim*, see Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, 136; *buhu* or *buho*, see Brian Adams and
Dennis A. Jackson, "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wakerley, Northamptonshire:
Excavations by Mr D Jackson, 1968-9," *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 22 (1989):
69-183.

[400] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," 58.

[401] Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, 137.

[402] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," 61.

[403] "Though there may have been some exceptions (such as the aforementioned
brooch fragment from Castledyke South, Grave 156, above), these were items that
were probably only rarely handed down, as they were perceived as part and parcel of
the individual with whom they were interred. High rates of repair also imply that some
types of brooch in particular were unlikely to have been recycled." Martin, "Riveting
Biographies," 61.

materials within saucer brooches of the south of England may suggest a differing regional view on ancestral identity and heritability.

The value of inheritance and a connection with ancestors may have been of such importance as to be imbued into the very material of saucer brooches. Analysis of elemental levels in brooches from numerous sites in Oxfordshire suggests that an ancestral copper-alloy artifact was used as the base material and divided equally between two crucibles in the forging of new brooch pairs.[404] Recycling materials, particularly metals, or the resetting of jewels from older pieces was not uncommon in the Middle Ages,[405] but in the case of the brooches under examination, the lack of functional benefit and technical complexity of this process invites a cultural interpretation of the act. Reusing material from a family heirloom may have imbued the metal itself with ancestral value or power. As I will demonstrate in a later discussion of the affectivity of gold and garnets, such an explanation fits well in a society wherein materials mattered as much as surface decoration. Additionally, it could account for the anomalous makeup of metalwork from this period, including the inconsistent patterns in some copper-alloy compositions and the unusually high silver content in others.[406]

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[404] Chris Caple, "Ancestor Artefacts – Ancestor Materials," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 29, no. 3 (2010): 305-18.

[405] Cath Mortimer, "Northern European Metalworking Traditions in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD," in *Archaeological Sciences 1989: Proceedings of a Conference on the Application of Scientific Techniques to Archaeology, Bradford, September 1989*, ed. P. Budd et al. (Oxford: Oxbow, 1991), 162-8.

[406] Caple, "Ancestor Artefacts – Ancestor Materials," 316.

Motivations for reuse certainly have their practical element of conserving materials, and the creation of an updated piece in line with the latest fashion of the day is a motivation that must also be taken into consideration. Grave chronology indicates that the fashion of saucer brooches was popular in central, southern and eastern England from the fifth through seventh centuries.[407] However, "being fashionable" is not a closed-end motivation; it is a desire with a psychological impetus. The reasons behind the desire to be "fashionable" (however that is defined in a particular culture), are driven by bodily motivations rather than superficial or frivolous wants. This point aside, the goal of acquiring the latest fashion does not explain why craftsmen in this area, in numerous instances, choose a highly difficult and technically complex method of casting the brooches, rather than selling or trading the original item for capital or fresh raw material. As Sayer has emphasized, case studies of particular mortuary sites are instrumental in understanding the values and lifeways of the particular societies situated around them. Comparison of burial configuration and biological data from the cemeteries where these saucer brooches were sourced could reinforce Caple's hypothesis about the value of an "ancestor artefact" versus "reusable material." Martin's dataset on repair rates indicates that of the ninety-three saucer brooches he examined, the majority were fully intact and only a very small fraction were broken or repaired.[408] Furthermore, studies of copper-alloy compositions in other areas could demonstrate this practice as either local to Oxfordshire, or as a widespread cultural practice in early medieval England. In the absence of this data, what remains most

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[407] Caple, "Ancestor Artefacts – Ancestor Materials," 310.

[408] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," Fig. 2, 56.

important is the vein of inquiry this opens regarding the attitudes towards ancestors and ancestry in early southeastern England through *objects themselves* and how that attitude may vacillate regionally. This is a seminal addition to the evidence from the textual records of law codes, later wills, and literary sources.

While more work remains to be done in investigating recycling as reuse of ancestor material, as Martin has said, possessions such as these, "especially inalienable ones (even those circulated as heirlooms), can tell the story of someone's life, as well as legitimate authority, legal rights, and access to knowledge."[409] As I have demonstrated, the "story of someone's life" is not only part of social memory work, but an unstable construction, changeable as certain groups craft "the imaginary" to further certain goals, such as "legitimate authority, legal rights, and access to knowledge." This is clearer than ever in seventh-century England, which spawned heroic tales and ideals such as in the *Beowulf* poem.

Of the few types of gold jewelry worn by the male community, arm rings were especially favored, and a passage in *Beowulf* implies that these ornaments were worn in memory of another person: "treasure no follower will wear in his memory."[410] Indeed one's legacy is what the dead leave for the living. Hrothgar declares that Beowulf's deeds have earned him the kind of fame that will endure forever: "But you have made yourself immortal by your glorious action."[411] In the order of the world

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[409] Martin, "Riveting Biographies," 62.

[410] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 189; …nalles eorl wegan māððum tō gemydum… *Beowulf*, line 3015b-3016a.

[411] Þū þē self hafast dædum gefremed, þæt þīn dōm lyfað āwa tō aldre. *Beowulf*, line 953.

laid out by the Exeter Book *Maxims*, the heritage left by man is the greatest glory.[412] In the words of Bill Griffiths, "[t]o survive in the memory of the tribe may be both a sort of judgement or valediction, and the first step towards becoming legendary and in the course of time a centre of veneration."[413] The wearing of jewelry that commemorated a past family member could enable a clansman or clanswoman to directly embody his or her ancestors, to collapse the temporal divide between the venerable deceased and living kindred. Thus, past time is essentially embedded into the collective, and is therefore tethered to present time; it is materialized, performed, and re-presented by an individual.[414] It is the embodied and performative act of arraying the body with ornamentation that creates meaning, within the family group and the greater social body. The glitter of a noblewoman's finery when caught by the sun as she received guests; the flash of firelight glinting off the jewels of her brooch as she communed with her kinsmen; the tinkle of the accessories of her chatelaine as she passed by members of her village: her body, adorned with each well-crafted and well-placed piece could serve to inspirit collective memory, a living mnemonic medium within the social sphere.[415] In the primarily oral society of early England, the visual (and sometimes aural) instrument of bodily ornament had the power to not only bind

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[412] *Maxims I*, line 80.

[413] Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003), 24.

[414] Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," 54.

[415] Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," 62.

families together under the banner of a shared past, elevating the present status of the clan, but also to direct the future trajectory of the group.

Reliance on the reputation of venerable individuals within kin groups was perhaps most effective in the early rise of influential families in the sixth century, although there were always matters of contesting identities with which to contend;[416] but with the complexities of obtaining and managing larger territories and communities in the later-sixth and early-seventh centuries, the disparity between elite and common, affluent and not so, became more pronounced. This necessitated a shift in strategy by which to legitimize claims for the allegiance of others. The tales of individual exploits or fame told by the fireside were supplanted by the creation of epic founder's tales, which reimagined the humble migrations and settlements of farmers as invasions and conquests of grand war leaders.[417] Though not committed to parchment until the later eighth century, it is conceivable that origin stories were circulating nearly a century prior.[418] David Dumville demonstrated that the royal genealogy known as the "Anglian Collection," originated in Mercia during the reign of King Offa (757-96) and that the collection once existed in a slightly earlier form around 787. He supported this claim by pointing to the Cambro-Latin *Historia Brittonum*, written down in 829-30. This document drew on an earlier version of the Collection, as it extended back beyond Cenwulf (r. 796-821) to Offa's son Ecgfrith who was crowned

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[416] Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," 64.

[417] Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 92.

[418] Fleming, *Britain After Rome*, 92.

in 787.[419] Bede was the first to link the descent of the founders of Kent to the god Woden (thought to be the Old English equivalent to Odin, Scandinavian god of war and law);[420] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the ninth century extended this origin through Woden's sons to the various kings of East Anglia. Founding pairs and triads were not only named but some were consciously associated with place names, as if to cement a clan's history and claims to ancestral territory within the very landscape itself.[421] The concept of "ancestor" was expanded from memory associated with individual family members to social memory of mythic heroes. Shared recollection, as a more abstract form of collective memory, is shaped and perpetuated through performative action on both the macro and micro scales: formalized ritual, whether public orations, commemorative feasts, or funerary rites appeals to a wide public consciousness.[422] Every performance has its props, and for the newly minted elite, adornment could be highly effective in personally embodying legendary warriors descended from the gods in the eyes of the public. Inclusion and subsequent recognition of archetypal symbols can trigger subconscious cognitive processing and

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[419] David N. Dumville, "The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists," *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976): 45.

[420] Bede, *HE*, I.xv, 51.

[421] Bede notes that the spot where Horsa's death (one of Kent's founding pairs) was commemorated with "a monument bearing his name." Bede, *HE*, I.xv, 51; Wihtgar, one of the founders of the royal house on the Isle of Wight, See Helge Kökeritz, *The Place Names of the Isle of Wight* (Uppsala: Appelberg, 1940), xlvii-lvi.

[422] Aubrey Cannon, "Spatial Narratives of Death, Memory, and Transcendence," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 11, no. 1 (2002): 192.

emotional responses in the viewer.[423] As such, both jewelry and weaponry were likely designed to reflect this lineage and prompt reactions.

Perhaps most famous of all such assemblages of such material props within the emergence of elite rulers in the seventh century is the extravagant burial of a man within a wooden boat, filled with treasures from both the Insular and continental worlds, entombed in an earthen mound at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk.[424] It is important, however, to remember that this process was also occurring at places like the Northumbrian royal complex of Yeavering[425] and in lavish inhumations like the man laid out among fantastic objects in a massive oak chamber encased within an earthen barrow at Taplow,[426] Buckinghamshire and the similarly "princely" burial of a man at Prittlewell in Essex.[427] What they all have in common is their function in the construction of "the imaginary." Moreland acknowledges the critical role of kinship in the acquisition of power on the part of the rulers of or associated with these sites. But

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[423] Carl Gustav Jung, "The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious," in *Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Volume 9 (Part 1): Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, ed. and trans. R.F.C. Hull and Gerhard Adler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 3-41; Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen, "'Figure it out!'" 79.

[424] Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial,* vols. 1-3 (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1983).

[425] Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: H.M.S.O., 1977).

[426] Joseph Stevens, "On the Remains Found in an Anglo-Saxon Tumulus at Taplow, Bucks.," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association: First Series* 40, no. 1 (1884): 61-71.

[427] Lyn Blackmore, Ian Blair, Sue Hirst, and Christopher Scull, *The Prittlewell Princely Burial: Excavations at Priory Crescent, Southend-on-Sea, Essex, 2003* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2019).

he stresses the equally influential concept of "the imaginary" in achieving rulership. While this process was potentially propelled by the written and performative process of genealogical records and fireside recitations, for Devlin asserted that "it could be argued that the concept of social memory has the greatest potential when applied to a mortuary context, as in many cultures funerals are key settings for the evocation and manipulation of memories."[428] By wielding objects and images from the ancestral "homeland," and claiming ties to the past (home to the ancestors) itself, control was achieved over their people's history (or imagined history) and therefore enabled rulers to gain tighter control over people, labor, and products of that labor.[429]

As evidenced by these princely burials, the grave is a key material resource for study of the people of England. The preservation of bodies and objects facilitated by furnished inhumation presents one of the primary mechanisms for tracking cultural changes from the fifth to the end of the eighth century. Yet, it is important to note that the tradition of cremation was established concurrent to inhumation in the fifth century, often in the same burial sites, as it offers valuable information regarding the agency of the body after death in early England.[430]

As outlined by Howard Williams, cremation was a highly public and lengthy spectacle, as consumption of the body by fire took hours to complete. The sight, sound, and smell of the body in this transformative process constituted a veritable

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[428] Devlin, "Social Memory," 38.

[429] Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, 18-19.

[430] Howard Williams, "At the Funeral," in *Signals of Belief*, 72; Heinrich Härke, "'Warrior Graves'? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite," *Past & Present*, 126 (1990): 24-5.

assault on the senses of the spectators, impacting not only remembrance of the event, but also memory of the deceased.[431] The flickering motion of the flames and the animation of the corpse as intense heat constricted skin and muscle tissue would have added to the spectacle and may have even created the impression of an active departure of the soul to the next world.[432] Physical contact with bodily remains continued even after the destruction of the flesh, firstly with the washing of bones, then placement of the remains in urns with or without personal possessions, and finally, burial. This process

> appear[s] to have been [an] important means of finishing the 'memory-work' of the dead… Indeed, it might be tenable to argue that the deceased's personhood was constructed and remembered through the post-cremation handling, management and treatment of the cremated bone and associated material culture.[433]

For the early English, it was the body and its associated artifacts, often continuously visible in the landscape when housed within significant mortuary monuments such as reused and constructed barrows, that acted as "extensions of the deceased's personhood, actively affecting the remembrance of the deceased by the living and structuring future social action."[434] The body's role in life and its effect on its people did not end with its demise. Prior to immolating the corpse or burying it

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[431] Howard Williams, "Death Warmed Up: The Agency of Bodies and Bones in Early Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites," *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 271.

[432] Williams, "Death Warmed Up," 275.

[433] Williams, "Death Warmed Up," 278.

[434] Williams, "Death Warmed Up," 266.

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beneath the earth, family or community members most likely outfitted the body in full attire, ornamentation, and artifacts and, for a time, placed it on public display.[435] Martin Carver's excavations at Sutton Hoo have been instrumental in framing the exhibition of the body and its associated grave goods as a grand visual declaration of the heritage, wealth, and status of the family, an event that would be impressed upon the memory and recounted to those who were not there.[436] But even in the case of smaller settlement burial sites, such as the nearby Boss Hall cemetery at Ipswich, Suffolk, reuse of an ancestral cemetery and both concealment and display of jewelry were used to communicate a particular social construction. As described by Crawford, the burial site had not been used for a substantial period, and was brought back into use to inter a woman with a pouch containing a brooch and pendants. In Crawford's compelling interpretation, this combination of a Christian woman in an ancestral site, rather than a church cemetery, may have been a method for "reclaiming or dedicating the ancestral burial space - and with it, the ancestors - to and for the new church."[437] Concealment of precious adornment, rather than display on the body, may have been intended as an appropriate gift for her new god, rather than the typical show of wealth. This performative practice was ancillary to reinforcing clan status in a changing public

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[435] Martin Carver, "Burial as Poetry: The Context of Treasure in Anglo-Saxon Graves," in *Treasure in the Medieval West,* 42; Dunn points to mineralized fly pupae in various found in various Anglo-Saxon graves, particularly at Apple Down and Snape, as possible evidence of exposure before burial. Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons*, 89.

[436] Carver, "Burial as Poetry," in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, 46; Carver, *Sutton Hoo*, esp. chap. 14.

[437] Crawford, "Votive Deposition," 95.

sphere, cementing ties to the ancestors in the memory of individual kin, and propelling the position of the family group into the future as it made its mark in the development of regional dynastic structures or more humble landscapes of evolving faith.

The effectiveness of grave goods as legible indicators of social meaning is apparent, and yet, the specific messages they represent are not always so distinct to the modern observer. Previous acceptance of the inclusion of certain grave goods as reliably concrete determinations of graves as that of a female or a male has been challenged in the last twenty-five years. This opens up the possibility of grave items as deliberate constructions of gender identity, rather than absolute markers of biological sex.[438] It also opens up reconsideration of the actual rank or station of the individual, versus posthumous constructions of their identity by those who buried them. For instance, weapon burials, although predominantly male, may not have marked the graves of actual warriors who had seen combat, but may have intended to signal a "warrior status" based on real or imagined ethnicity and descent.[439] The general office of women has been defined via the objects buried with them, i.e., keepers of the household, responsible for child-rearing and domestic chores such as sewing, washing,

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[438] See Gilchrist, "Ambivalent Bodies: Gender and Medieval Archaeology," in *Invisible People and Processes*, 42-58; Christopher Knüsel and Kathryn Ripley, "The Berdache or Man-Woman in Anglo-Saxon England and Early Medieval Europe," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, 157-192.

[439] Heinrich Härke, "Warrior Graves? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite," *Past and Present* 126 (1990): 22-43. Härke notes that "the peak of the weapon burial rite falls into a period which according to historical sources was marked by an absence of, or at least a sharp decline in, Anglo-Saxon military activity. It would follow from his arguments that the ritual emphasis of a social or ideological "warrior status" would be more important in peace than in times of war when that status could be expressed practically by participation in warfare."

and cooking. The richness and quantity of her grave furnishings has been largely attributed to a woman's individual wealth and social rank; however, as Gale Owen-Crocker pointed out, the level of control a woman could exert over the construction of her identity and establishment of her status is unclear:

> We do not know whether a woman could earn her own jewellery by the work of her hands, bartering, for example, cloth or pottery, or whether the cost of her adornment was borne by her father, husband, or family unit. If the latter, the preparation of her body for the grave may have been as much iconic as personal.[440]

By positioning herself as a "wise-woman," a purveyor of magic and healing in the early English community, a woman may have been able to effectively establish and manage her own identity within society. While the evidence surveyed above indicates that both sexes carried items of apotropaic protection on their person, Theodore's specific charge against women regarded practices of incantation and divination,[441] which correlates to the primarily female associations of amulets and amulet-bags in grave depositions.[442] Both the trend of female spiritual leaders and female burial with

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[440] Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Gold in the Ground or Just Rust in the Dust: Measuring Wealth by Metalwork in Anglo-Saxon Graves," in *De Re Metallica: The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Bork, et. al. (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), 17.

[441] Theodore of Tarsus, *Theodore's Penitential*, I. xv. 4, in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*: *A Translation of the Principal "Libri Poenitentiales" and Selections from Related Documents*, trans. John T. McNeill and Helen M. Gamer (1965; repr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 189.

[442] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 171.

amulets has been proven prevalent in contemporary cultures of the time, specifically in areas such as Scandinavia.[443]

Construction Continues After Death

The desire for protection beyond the expiration of the body is also evidenced by early medieval burial practice. The frequent reuse of ancient barrows as graves may certainly have been part of the social construction of identity via ancestry; however, Marylin Dunn has observed an uncertainty in early England regarding the afterlife and has adduced burial in locations associated with ancestors as a means of easing that anxiety.[444] Though arguably enigmatic, a certain passage in the *Beowulf* poem hints at the ambiguity of the body's destination as it is launched on its course for the land of the dead. Upon his death, the warrior king Scyld was set adrift in a vessel, laid out upon a hoard of treasure:

þa gyt hie him asetton segen geldenne

heah ofer heafod, leton holm beran,

geafon on garsecg; him wæs geomor sefa,

murnende mod. Men ne cunnon

secgan to soðe, selerædende,

hæleð under heofenum, hwa þæm hlæste onfeng.

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[443] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170 and 174.

[444] Marylin Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife* (London: Continuum, 2009), 92-93.

(And they set a gold standard up high above his head and let him drift to wind and tide, bewailing him and mourning their loss. No man can tell, no wise man in hall or weathered veteran knows for certain who salvaged that load.)[445]

The inclusion of amulets can be tracked throughout the entire timespan of furnished burial,[446] adding a further layer of protection as the soul travels an indeterminate path toward a hopeful reunion with its kin. In *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*, Leslie Lockett demonstrated the understanding of the soul as autonomous only in its interaction with the afterlife. The *sawol* resides in the body but remains impotent in life, achieving agency only when separated from the body to represent the individual after death. Old English poems such as *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer*, and *Beowulf* indicate that temporary departure of the soul from the body during life was possible through the act of remembering.[447] Arguably, the idea of the soul becoming fully actualized outside the body might be a later, specifically Christian idea. In poems such as *Andreas*, and visionary tales like that of the Monk of Wenlock and the Old English account of the vision of Fursey, the soul travels outside the body to visit a distinctly Christian version of the afterlife.[448] However, the perceived

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[445] *Beowulf*, lines 46-51.

[446] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170.

[447] "The Seafarer," lines 58a, 59a; "The Wanderer," lines 51, 54, 57b; *Beowulf*, lines 1150b-1a, 1146-50a.

[448] George Philip Krapp, ed. "Andreas," lines 859-70, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 26-7; Kenneth Sisam, "An Old English Translation of a Letter from Wynfrith to Eadburga (AD 716-7) in Cotton MS. Otho C. 1," *The Modern Language Review* 18, no. 3 (1923): lines 7-8, 195-6, 253-72; Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans.

instability of the soul/body relationship may account for the practice of cremation and may also explain the isolation of tombs through ring-ditches. Dunn suggested that cremation was considered "the most effective way of stabilizing the body to foil revenant activity" and the use of ring-ditches around grave sites as magical barriers between the living and the dead.[449] Furnished inhumation may have also served a protective function in assisting the soul in its transformation "from potentially threatening ghost into beneficent ancestor."[450] Anchoring the body to its resting place and facilitating the transportation of the soul to the land of ancestors precipitated as much effort, ritual, and disposal of material wealth as efforts to legitimize clan status. This may attest to the eminence of grave rites in early English society as opposed to votive deposition, or even more likely, the equation of the two. Votive offerings of material objects are made in "sacred space" to honor the gods or ancestors and/or beg their favor. As Sally Crawford wrote in her essay, "Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo-Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual,"

> With the exception of the furnished cemetery sites, Anglo-Saxon archaeology is notably short of 'ritual' deposits or structures until the arrival of Christianity, and we are equally short of ritual centers or sites expressing communal effort.[451]

The only early English ritual center identified as such with any confidence has been Yeavering in Northumbria. Few precious-metal object hoards, such as the bracteate

Thomas Miller, vol. 2 (London: Pub. for the Early English Text Society, by N. Trübner and Co., 1890), 212-16.

[449] Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons*, 95.

[450] Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons*, 91.

[451] Crawford, "Votive Deposition," 87.

hoard from Binham, have been identified in this period.[452] The exceptional nature of

the Staffordshire Hoard has been subject to significant debate, and even after the 2019

publication of the Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the debate

as to whether it is a votive offering or military hoard has not been (and perhaps cannot

be) conclusively resolved.[453] Though weaponry such as swords was deposited in

rivers, this was rare before 700, with spearheads appearing with more frequency than

other weapon types.[454] The relative lack of votive deposition outside of mortuary

contexts in the sixth and seventh centuries may connote the prominence of the body in

religious ritual and the importance of material culture *in contact* with the body.

Crawford posited low incidents of grave robbing in early medieval English

cemeteries as possible evidence of a widely-held cultural respect at the time for the

permanent displacement of artifacts from the realm of the living.[455] Although recent

studies have indicated that looting graves was more prevalent than previously thought,

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[452] Charlotte Behr and Tim Pestell (with a contribution by) John Hines, "The Bracteate Hoard from Binham – An Early Anglo-Saxon Central Place?," *Medieval Archaeology* 58, no. 1 (2014): 44-77.

[453] For a discussion on the possibilities of the hoard as ritual deposition, see John Hines, "The Archaeological Context: Matters of Material and Social Significance," in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, 301-20.

[454] Heinrich Härke, "The Circulation of Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society," in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Fran Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Boston: Brill, 2000), 378; Claus von Carnap-Bornheim and Jørgen Ilkjær, *Illerup Ådal, Volume 5, Die Prachtausrüstungen*, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 25 (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 247-77.

[455] Crawford, "Votive Deposition," 89.

especially in the kingdom of Kent,[456] this may not disprove, but perhaps only complicate the cultural respect for bodies and their possessions. Alison Klevnäs has shown that regardless of condition, swords and brooches were the only objects removed from reopened graves in early medieval England.[457] In many cases, such items may have of course been stolen for their material value, but we must be cautious in terms of assigning "value" according to our own modern cultural definitions. The removal of swords from the grave represents a fascinating parallel with the deposition of swords into waterways, which singles out this kind of weapon as separable from the body. Employing the concept of inalienable valuables as defined by Marcel Mauss and Annette Weiner, Klevnäs differentiated swords and brooches from other deposited goods to demonstrate the transgressive nature of their removal from the body in the grave.[458] Inalienable belongings embody the "prestige and values associated *with each owner*"[459] and memories of these associations are actively maintained, possibly through oral tradition, but certainly in wills that commemorated legacies of

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[456] Alison Klevnäs, "Give and Take: Grave Goods and Grave Robbery in the Early Middle Ages," in *Own and be Owned: Archaeological Approaches to the Concept of Possession*, eds. Alison Klevnäs and Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson (Stockholm: PAG, 2015), 160.

[457] Klevnäs, "Give and Take," 162.

[458] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1954 repr. London: Routledge, 2002); Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[459] Emphasis mine. Klevnäs, "Give and Take," 170.

ownership.[460] Consideration of inalienable goods can add further dimension to the seemingly straightforward purpose of grave robbery for material gain, recalling Caple's hypothesis about the value of an "ancestor artefact" versus "reusable material" addressed earlier in this chapter. Both swords and brooches may be categorized as inalienable valuables as they could be gifted to others or bequeathed to family, with the understanding of the loss incurred by the giver. Brian Costello and Howard Williams applied the phrase "curated heirlooms" to describe swords and brooches and the various cultural meanings tied to them in terms of familial identity and legacy and wider social memory.[461] As items not irrevocably attached to single individuals, these objects were liable to both theft and grave robbing. To remove either item from the grave could in many cases be an intentionally transgressive act meant to undermine the targeted family and injure their reputation.[462] Conversely, Klevnäs argued that items which are almost never looted from graves were tied too intimately with the body and its labor in life to be culturally permissible for removal. Artifacts such as knives and beads did not merely reflect an individual's age or sex, but the marks of daily usage in blade and handle of the knife, and a lifetime of deliberate collection in the amount and variety of beads.[463]

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[460] Linda Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2011); for swords see 194-6; brooches, see 204.

[461] Brian Costello and Howard Williams, "Rethinking Heirlooms in Early Medieval Graves," in *Objects of the Past in the Past: Investigating the Significance of Earlier Artefacts in Later Contexts*, eds. Matthew G. Knight, Dot Boughton, and Rachel Wilkinson (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2019), 115-130.

[462] Klevnäs, "Give and Take," 168.

[463] Klevnäs, "Give and Take," 176-9.

Again, this practice of specific artefact curation for deposition complicates the construction of individual and family identities through enduring and interrupted contact of objects with the body in the grave. Alienable, commodified objects could be deposed with the deceased as a singular act of conspicuous display at the moment of burial; however, interaction with the body and its various objects did not always stop there, but could continue after the deposition through reopening of the grave and/or robbing specific items. As will be explored at length in Chapter 4, cross pendants were a new addition to votive deposition occurring graveside in the seventh century, and not necessarily a replacement for items of amuletic protection. Cross pendants recovered from inhumations often accompanied a larger assemblage, complimenting both jewelry sets and amuletic items. A pair of identical silver cross pendants from Kingston Down grave 142 was part of a lavish collection of grave goods; items of an amuletic nature included twelve amethyst beads and a cowrie shell; a rich collection of adornment included eighty-six beads of other materials, silver rings, a silver-gilt pin, and two kite-shaped pendants, one gold with a cabochon garnet, the other silver set with an amethyst; additional interred items included a toilet set, a comb, and box-fittings.[464] The silver cross pendant with a central garnet from Wye Down was a part of a similar assemblage of amethyst beads, silver wire rings, an electrum pin, and a circular gold pendant with a double cross in filigree work.[465] Gold and garnet cross

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[464] Bryan Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale: An Account of some Antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crundale, in the County of Kent, from AD 1757 to AD 1773* (London: T. Richards, 1856), 66-69.

[465] Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and L.R.A. Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 78 (1963): 31.

pendants, such as the Ixworth Cross and the White Low Cross have also been found with large disc brooches.[466] Most interestingly, the Ixworth Cross was repaired in the medieval period and buried sometime after 650 with the upper plate of a Kentish composite disc brooch which was missing its original settings of glass or precious stones.[467] This example of fragmentation supports Klevnäs's equation of brooches both with ancestral materials and as alienable valuables, subject not only to gifting and robbing, but to mutilation and interment in such a state.

The grave presents a site of deep significance and multivalent meaning, critical to personal and social identity, memory, and religious belief; it is a site of construction, not only for the early English, but for those who study their remains. The body is central to these processes, the ultimate ground from which culture is built and continues to be built even after life signs have ceased. It may be said that the body is hard to find in early medieval England, but it is by no means "missing" or "invisible." From the outset of settlement on the shores of England in the fifth century, the body was visible and active both in life and in death. The body is a setting in relation to the world, our anchor in it and the means of our engagement with it. Granted, interpretations of being-in-the-world vary, even within established societies, and within each individual human of that culture. Deciphering records of the early English

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[466] Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of Past Ages*, IV (London: J.R. Smith 1857), 163; Thomas Bateman, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects Preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman at Lombardale House, Derbyshire* (Bakewell, Derbyshire: James Gratton, 1855), 155.

[467] Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, 163; Hawkes and Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," 30.

experience, gleaned through archaeological recovery and literary analysis, are problematized by our inability to engage in real-time ethnographic study of these ancient peoples. The intention of this chapter has been to lay a foundation for understanding some probable operations of the body in early medieval England, the embodied response to various conditioners, and the resulting manufacture and use of personal adornment. Chapter 3 will introduce a new conditioner that impacted the inhabitants of England at the end of the sixth century – the entrance of Roman Christianity into a non-Christian society. I will trace the ways in which individuals embodied this foreign ideology, how it was iterated into their material culture, and how, over the long span of five centuries, it came to change bodies.

Chapter 3

EMBODYING CHANGE DURING THE LONG SEVENTH CENTURY

The body's ties to environment, kinship, memory, and personhood are the factors whereby we may be able to glimpse a more complete picture of the lived experience of individuals of the past and of the role of cultural artifacts worn on the body. Objects embodied through wear forge an intimate link with the body-brain complex, pushed by human needs into existence and usage, while simultaneously pulling bodies towards them and changing them in sometimes unexpected ways. In the sociological view advanced by influential scholars such as Philip A. Mellor and Chris Shilling, the body is *re-formed* by social and material relationships over evolutionary and generational time.[468] According to Material Engagement Theory in cognitive archaeology, the brain is *remodeled* by experiences significant enough to have a behavioral impact, mediated, and often constituted, by the use of material objects.[469] In the specific case of styles of material culture, such as jewelry styles, the ambiguous construct of "identity" is not the cause of their emergence. Rather, form and style emerges from objects and meanings from their bodily usage, or it is at least a product

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[468] Philip A. Mellor and Chris Shilling, *Re-forming the Body. Religion, Community and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1997); Chris Shilling, "The Challenge of Embodying Archaeology," in *Past Bodies: Body-Centered Research in Archaeology*, eds. Dušan Borić and John Robb (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), 145-151.

[469] Lambros Malafouris, "The Brain–Artefact Interface (BAI): A Challenge for Archaeology and Cultural Neuroscience," *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 5, no. 2-3 (2010): 264-73.

of a two-way process.[470] As explicated by Shilling, changes in artistic representation

do not happen spontaneously, but are generated by "associated changes in people's

bodily capacities and the corporeal modes through which they express the world."[471]

Relating the things that are happening to the body in a given moment in history is

pivotal to understanding such shifts in art and material culture. The following

discussion addresses the specific moment of eastern England in what might be termed

the long seventh century. Eastern England at that time was on the brink of a

momentous change, the Christianization of England, that would gradually, but

profoundly alter jewelry and the bodies that it adorned.

The historical account that dominates conceptions of the Christianization of

England is of course, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, and despite a

vigorous interrogation of his motivations, biases, exclusions, and temporal position a

century after the arrival of Augustine at Canterbury in 597, Bede continues to be used

(in a phrase he would no doubt despise) as the devil we know.[472] The traditional

narrative of the withdrawal of Roman legions from Britain back to the capital in 410

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[470] For the formation of society through objects, see Toby F. Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch*, esp. 164.

[471] Shilling, "The Challenge of Embodying Archaeology," 148.

[472] See John Moreland, "Converting the Peak District? Britons, Angles, and Christians," in *Making Christian Landscapes in Atlantic Europe: Conversion and Consolidation in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Tomás Ó Carragáin and Sam Turner (Cork: Cork University Press, 2016), 277-302; Susan Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English*, (Leeds, Yorkshire: Arc Humanities Press, 2019); Nicholas Brooks, "From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion," in *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov and Nicholas Howe (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), 1-30.

CE, and the return of Roman Christians to England in 597 CE to evangelize the apparently numerous people who were not Christian, whom Bede termed, "Angles and Saxons," excludes some key players, their roles, and reception. Bede's idea of Englishness was quite "Northumbrian," and it did not include the territories of the Hwicce, the Magonssete and the Wreocensaste in the West Midlands, even though these communities were substantially large and known to be Christian.[473] Bede's concept of Christianity excluded the Britons, whose version of the religion he viewed as potentially more dangerous, because schismatic, than the beliefs of non-Christians.[474] Steven Bassett has demonstrated that these West Midland territories, which were settled in the sixth century, were evangelized by an active British church well before missionaries from Canterbury and Iona reached the area.[475] Over twenty-five years ago, Rob Meens demonstrated that questions of proper Christian conduct, posed by Augustine of Canterbury to Pope Gregory, originated in response to practices of *Angli* who had already been converted by British missionaries prior to Augustine'

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[473] See Steven Basset, "Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: The Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control," in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), notes 3 and 4; Bede was aware of the Hwicce and that they were Christians, although he mentioned this only in passing when referring to King Æthelwealh's wife, who was from Hwicce. Bede, *HE*, IV.xiii, 373.

[474] Alan Thacker, "Bede and History," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 185; Nicholas Brooks, *Bede and the English* (Jarrow: St Paul's Church, 1999), 6; Brooks, "From British to English Christianity," 8-10; Damian Tyler, "Early Mercia and the Britons," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nicholas Higham (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007), 91.

[475] Basset, "Church and Diocese in the West Midlands," 13-40.

arrival, and not in response to "pagan" practices.[476] Some British, of course, had declined to work with the English, as seen in the canons of the Synod of the Grove of Victory,[477] but by the same token, some Franks purportedly refused to minister to the English when missionaries were requested.[478] Consequently, even in Bede's time, the British Church may have continued to exert its influence on the English, whether actively or through its legacy of evangelization, and if he had further information on this score he chose not to include it. Though Bede gave little attention to the role of the Franks in the Christianization of the English, he did set the beginning of his account in a location with Frankish ties that he does not emphasize but does not conceal. According to Bede, Augustine and his entourage entered the domain of King Æthelberht of Kent bearing two specific signs of the faith: a silver cross and an image of Jesus Christ.[479] These were not necessarily *unfamiliar* signs. As Christians, the king's Frankish queen Bertha and her chaplain Bishop Liudhard, would most likely also have brought a cross and possibly also an image of Christ from Francia for personal use by the Christian Frankish queen and maybe even some public devotion.

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[476] Rob Meens, "A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1994): 13, 16-17.

[477] *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963), 68-69.

[478] Gregory I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 6.49, 6.57, eds. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891), 423-4, 431-2. Meens cites Gregory's recurrent use of the phrase *sacerdotes e vicino* as referencing the Franks rather than the British, a view also held by Ian Wood. See Meens, "A Background to Augustine's Mission," 35 and Ian Wood, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 8.

[479] Bede, *HE* I.xxv, 75.

Far to the northwest, the Peak District, a territory wedged between Mercia and Northumbria, might have already been familiar with Christ and his cross. The material and placename records from the mid-sixth century through the first quarter of the seventh century suggest the continuity of the British Church in this region. The "Christian" objects found in burials at Benty Grange, White Low, and Wigber Low may represent a landscape that had already been Christianized before the arrival of the missionary bishop credited by Bede with its evangelization, Chad (d. 672).[480] Even if this was the case, we cannot discount the effects of the powers resonating through this area; the varieties of Christianity associated with the Irish/Northumbrians and the Gregorian/Augustinian mission may have also impacted the development of religious practices and material culture of the district (stylistically, the cross pendant in the barrow at White Low has Kentish connections)."[481] Bede's reductionist narrative of a triumphant Roman mission to a warlike and pagan people flattens what was in fact a multifaceted process of interaction and exchange between groups with varying interests and origins throughout England.

Despite the grand arrival of the Christian mission from Rome to southeastern England given such prominence by Bede, the adoption of Christianity was gradual, perhaps following the pattern of the "*longue durée*" conceived by Fernand Braudel, promoted by medieval scholars like Sarah Semple, and convincingly applied to the

[480] Moreland, "Converting the Peak District," 283-4.

[481] Audrey Ozanne observed stylistic connections in the filigree of Kentish pendant discs decorated with equal-armed crosses, citing examples at Kingston, Sibertswold, and Breach Down. See Audrey Ozanne, "The Peak Dwellers," *Medieval Archaeology* 6 (1962): 26-28, esp. fig. 11a. Moreland supported this idea; see, "Converting the Peak District," 290.

emergence of the English in the fifth through eighth centuries by Susan Oosthuizen.[482]

A common explanation for the acceptance of Christianity, drawing on Bede's presentation of the process, utilizes a top-down model in which factions of the early English elite rapidly claimed the religion as a means of establishing ties with the powerful Roman papacy; alliances with Rome allowed kings to expand territorial control in England and solidify power, thus stabilizing clan status on a significant scale.[483] As mentioned, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede described the conversion of King Æthelberht by Augustine, an emissary of Pope Gregory himself.[484] Bede also wrote of Pope Boniface's interest in the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria and the missionary Paulinus's efforts to achieve that end. While in exile at the court of King Raedwald in East Anglia, Edwin was persuaded that faith in God was all that prevented him from retaking his throne.[485] John Blair argued that it was the pre-conversion transition from a tribal to a political organization that made alliances with sophisticated and powerful Christian kingdoms attractive. "Christianity," he wrote, "as an exclusive and hierarchical religion offering normative regulation and written record, had particular attractions for emergent rulers deploying wider and more

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[482] Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences Sociales: La Longue Durée," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13, no. 4 (1958): 725-53; Sarah Semple, "In the Open Air," in *Signals of Belief*, 21-48; Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English*.

[483] Steven Bassett, ed., *The Origin of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989); Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[484] Bede, *HE* I.xxvi, 77.

[485] Bede, *HE*, II,x-xiii, 167-187.

systematic power."[486] It is relevant to question how much of this elite-centric model relies on the recollections of Bede, and on a perhaps an exclusive focus on luxury items in the archaeological record, rather than the longer view of social and political change advanced by Susan Oosthuizen, which will be expanded further below.[487] The political dimensions of conversion have been explored, but these issues are complex. By looking at the way the body and objects were at work in this process, I hope to nuance and reveal a dimension of the story that written sources and top-down political motivations cannot.

Bede's writings do support the notion that Christianity offered methods of quelling anxiety regarding protection of the body in life and after death. His account of King Edwin's conversion, though its function as propaganda for the success of the Christian mission is obvious, may exemplify some of the certainties that many found in the new faith. In Bede's account, Edwin's chief pagan priest, Coifi, declared: "So it follows that if, on examination, these new doctrines which have now been explained to us are found to be better and more effectual, let us accept them at once without any

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[486] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 50; see also 49-51.

[487] Christopher Scull, "Chronology, Burial and Conversion: The Case of England in the 7th Century," in *Dying Gods – Religious Beliefs in Northern and Eastern Europe in the Time of Christianisation*, eds. Christiane Ruhmann and Vera Brieske (Stuttgart: In Kommission bei Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2015), 77; Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 65; Bayliss and Hines, et. al, *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, 552; Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse, eds. *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 22; cf. Richard Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010), 155.

delay."[488] Edwin's inner struggle with the decision to convert is not absent from Bede's history, and the recantation of Christianity by "converted" kings was not uncommon. Bede wrote that King Raedwald of East Anglia wasseduced to return to his pre-Christian ways by his wife; Osric and Eanfrith, exiles during the time of King Edwin, also returned to their former ways after regaining their homelands; and in the event of a devastating plague, King Sigehere of Essex went as far as to restore abandoned places of worship and images of former gods. .[489] Successors to a Christian throne, such as Æthelberht's son Eadbald and the sons of King Saeberht, sometimes abandoned the faith, perhaps returning to a sincere conviction in their pre-Christian beliefs, or more likely, to legitimize their position or by exploiting the original beliefs of the populace.[490] Bede relayed stories of the subjects of Saeberht's heirs, who refused baptism and expelled a bishop from their church, and who continued to refuse conversion even after their apostate kings had perished in battle.[491]

As these kingdoms began to incorporate Christian ideologies during the seventh century, Christian symbols were integrated into items of adornment. The surviving items featuring explicit Christian imagery are predominantly luxury objects assumed to have belonged to wealthy and perhaps elite individuals. Examples of such objects include parade helmets such as those found at Benty Grange, Derbyshire (fig. 9) and Coppergate, Yorkshire (fig. 20), necklaces such as that from Desborough,

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[488] Bede, *HE*, II,xiii, 183.

[489] Bede, *HE*, II.xv, 191; III.i, 213; III.xxx, 323.

[490] Bede, *HE*, II.iv-v, 145-155.

[491] Bede, *HE*, II.v, 153-155.

Northamptonshire (fig. 33), silver cross-pendants and the group of golden cross pendants discussed later in this chapter.[492] Lavish exemplars like these reinforce the top-down Bedan model of conversion of the English elite, and certainly the elite political dimension cannot be ignored. Material objects often emerge as ingredients in religious practice that serve to give shape to formations of power. In early medieval England, material objects played an intrinsic role in political rituals of gift-exchange, and this was no different in the process of conversion performed at the very highest level of Christian elites. Pope Gregory's letter to King Æthelberht upon his baptism was accompanied by "some small gifts" (*parua autem exenid*).[493] Closer to Rome, the pope's attempts to solve the issue of Arianism in the kingdom of Lombardy included gifts of a crucifix, an evangelist text, and several precious rings for the future Lombard king, Adaloald.[494] Pope Boniface V (d. 625) continued this grooming of Christian kings, solidifying the stronghold of Christianity in England with Edwin of Kent, the first ruler to hold sway over both the eastern and western kingdoms on the island.[495] A

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[492] For the Benty Grange helmet and Desborough necklace, see Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, fig. 46, 59-60 and fig. 13, 28-9; for the Coppergate helmet, see Dominic Tweddle, *The Anglian Helmet from Coppergate*, The Archaeology of York: The Small Finds 17.8 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1992), 1093-4; for the Wye Down pendant, see British Museum, inv. no. 1893,0601.200; and for the Kingston Down brooch, see Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 169-70.

[493] Bede, *HE*, I.xxxii, 114-15.

[494] Gregory I, *Registrum*, 14.12 (Ewald and Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 1), 431.

[495] In a letter to Edwin, recorded by Bede, the pope stated that he is sending the king a gold-embroidered shirt and a robe from Ancyra as a "blessing" from "your protector." Bede, *HE*, II.x, 170-1; See also, II.xii, 174-5.

demonstrable play for power between elites in efforts to Christianize early medieval England cannot be denied, though however influential a ruler may be, top-down mandates are far from universally swift, uncomplicated, or completely successful. Furthermore, this model fails to account for the varying interests of the wider communities of various English territories and the levels of input that each group contributed to the debate on conversion. Though few historians still cling to Bede's monolithic accounts of mass-conversion or baptism as gospel, the pronounced absence of lay voices in his history of the English, and indeed in most primary sources, demands rethinking of England's history from not only a wider perspective, but a longer one.

In 1958, French historian Fernand Braudel introduced a new way of viewing the small- and medium-term events of history against the backdrop of longer chronological change – the idea of the *longue durée*.[496] By applying Braudel's concept to the period between 400 and 800 CE, Susan Oosthuizen has shifted the narrative of the exclusive transformation of England through elite display, warfare, and political negotiation, to the agrarian aspect of England. This wider view includes all levels of the social order; as a primarily agricultural economy, everyone, including owners, tenants, and laborers, were concerned with the organization and management of the productive landscape.[497] According to Ooshuizen, access to and the exercise of agricultural property rights connected an individual to a network of acquisition, participation, and obligation: acquisition of a fairly predictable income and avenues

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[496] Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences Sociales: La Longue Durée," 725-53.

[497] Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English*, 100.

for securing a surplus or additional goods, as well as access to elites through tribute or gifts; participation in collective governance at many levels; and obligation to serve in a communal militia and to render public services or taxes.[498] Rights of property expose a "horizontal" system of individuals that enabled co-existence with and complementation of "vertical" hierarchies, whether social, religious, political, or economic.[499] Furthermore, archeological evidence demonstrates the relative stability of the agrarian system of collective governance over the *longue durée* as a backdrop to the medium-term changes (such as the adaptation of Roman structures in the fifth and sixth centuries for administering localities, the judiciary, armies, and the church) and short-term changes (such as the withdrawal of Roman forces in the fourth century, attacks from the Picts or Scots, or the Justinian plague).[500] This view includes the strata of individuals below the king who were engaging in decisions regarding conversion – the ealdormen, *gesiths*, and thegns – nameless players mentioned in Bede and other primary written sources only as following the king's directives.[501] Also included are the "masses," who are likewise absent from the written sources, implicitly characterized as nameless and devoid of agency in communal or political moves to adopt Christianity. In *Becoming Christian, Being Christian in Medieval*

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[498] Oosthuizen, "Beyond Hierarchy: Archaeology, Common Rights and Social Identity," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 3 (2016): 382, 389.

[499] Oosthuizen, "Beyond Hierarchy," 385.

[500] Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English*, 120-3.

[501] …gaudente rege primos prouinciae duces ac milites… Bede, *HE*, IV.xiii, 372; this is excepting the case of the conversion of Edwin which describes the input of one of his (albeit nameless) "chief men," see Bede, *HE*, II.xiii, 182-185.

Europe, Neil Christie considered the material rewards of the religion for the elites (political alliances, marriage dowries, and military aid) while also pondering the perceived benefits for the masses. Christie wrote:

> …lower down the social ladder the rewards will differ, and for the lowest level, the workers, after the initial flurry of excitement and the joy of conversion, the promises made by missionaries may have seemed fairly hollow. Miracles were not an everyday event, not every ill was cured by holy water, crops might still fail and prayers for a fine husband might not be answered. In these contexts, the new Christianity becomes less the beacon of promise and more the shadowy background.[502]

Neil's "what's in it for us?" take regarding the reception of the laity is an important inclusion of this societal demographic; however, like consigning shifts in religion to the desires or aims of the elite, there is a danger in viewing the adoption of a religion solely as a means of gaining material or social benefits. Bodies are bound up in relationships with systems of power ranging from the political and social to the religious; Post-Darwinian biologists and scholars of affect theory have recognized the unruly nature of both evolution and of bodies, especially human bodies, both of which fail to conform to a strict "balance sheet of costs and benefits."[503] The calculable gains of adopting a religion can be subsumed by its very affect. Bodies can be enticed without the promise of advancing self-interest, but for the enjoyment of the act of or

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[502] Neil Christie, "Becoming Christian, Being Christian in Early Medieval Europe," in *The Art, Literature and Material Culture of the Medieval World: Transition, Transformation and Taxonomy*, 79.

[503] Frans B.M. De Waal, *Our Inner Ape. A Leading Primatologist Explains Why We Are Who We Are* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005), 230; Donovan O. Schaefer, *Religious Affects: Animality, Evolution, and Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 16.

affective experience of religion itself..[504] Affect theory reorients the balance of power

to within the body's affects, a thing of the senses; in the words of S. Brent Plate, it

typologizes religions "according to their affective configurations, rather than their

propositional beliefs."[505] When beginning work on his book, *A History of Religion in*

5 ½ Objects, Plate intended to explicate the role of the senses in religious experience,

but as he explained in his preface, objects took over his manuscript.[506] Plate viewed

bodies as "half objects," consistently craving and completed only by interaction with

material culture. Bodies need objects to *sense;* it is impossible to talk about the

experience of the sensing body without including the objects it sees, touches, hears,

smells, and tastes. It is difficult to imagine a medieval Mass without the sight of a

cross on the altar or standing aloft nearby, the intonation of a priest and the answering

murmur of the congregation, the odor of incense in the air, the tap of fingers against

clothing and flesh as they make the sign of the cross, the taste of the bread and wine

administered by the priest's hand. Bede's account of the visible and auditory pomp

that accompanied Augustine's entry into Canterbury makes it difficult to suppose that

the material trappings of the faith did not disseminate quickly into the English

church.[507] The unruly body is often compelled down unexpected paths with no

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[504] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 19.

[505] Schaefer, *Religious Affect*, 14.

[506] S. Brent Plate, *A History of Religion in 5 1/2 Objects: Bringing the Spiritual to Its Senses* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 10.

[507] Bede, *HE*, I.xxv, 75-7.

promise of evolutionary or economic benefit, and there is no greater lure than objects in all their sensory splendor.

Material objects do not only entice and dazzle for their own sake, but can come to function as both as cognitive anchors for and extensions of the mind. According to scientists like Armin W. Geertz, as well as being embodied, cognition is distributed and extended, meaning that it "routinely exploits structure in the natural and social environment (the embedding thesis)" and extends "beyond the boundaries of individual organisms (the extension thesis)."[508] Lambros Malafouris' concept of BAI (the "brain-artefact interface") provides an efficacious system for demonstrating how artefacts are integral in cognition. One of the earliest archaeologically identifiable examples of BAIs is the prehistoric manufacture and use of tools. Such behavior has been viewed by some philosophers as a "set of pre-specified adapted functions, performed in the triggering context of variable non-neural structures and cultural forces, by relatively static, genetically based forms of neural encoding and processing."[509] But Malafouris has encouraged approaching cultural cognition and its evolution as not restricted within the biological form of an individual, but rather, as extending outward to incorporating extra-neural points of connection through bodily

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[508] Armin W. Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture: A Biocultural Theory of Religion," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 22 (2010): 309; See also Philip Robbins and Murat Aydede, "A Short Primer on Situated Cognition," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Situated Cognition*, eds. Philip Robbins and Murat Aydede (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3.

[509] Michael Wheeler and Andy Clark, "Culture, Embodiment and Genes: Unravelling the Triple Helix," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 363, no. 1509 (2008): 3563.

action and cultural practices.[510] In his view, bodily interaction and material culture are a co-evolutionary relationship that continues to be transformative for our uniquely plastic brains. In other words, our cognitive architecture is constantly reordered by engagement with cultural practices and artifacts. We might achieve this by simply reordering the steps of a certain task or by assigning part of a cognitive process to a human or artifact.[511] A practical illustration of utilizing objects as extensions of the mind is the use of clay tokens in the development of the counting system of the Neolithic Period. Malafouris posited that grasping a physical token – a material manifestation of an abstract number – enabled an "*extended reorganization* in the neural connectivity of the critical intraparietal areas associated with approximate numerocity that would have been impossible to achieve by the naked biological brain."[512] A profound change is generated in the mind-body complex by interaction with objects, especially in a specific culturally determined setting or circumstance.

As a cognitive process continuous from prehistory to the current era, this is an applicable methodology for considering changes to the mind-body complex in the cultural moment of evangelism and conversion in early medieval England. Just as the abstract idea of numerocity concretizes into the representation of an exact number, the abstract ideas of religion solidify in the objects of religion, integrated into the mental and bodily schema through acts of perception via touch and sight. Whether or not religious concepts and institutions could have been established without materialized

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[510] Lambros Malafouris, "The Brain–Artefact Interface," 266.

[511] Malafouris, "The Brain–Artefact Interface," 266.

[512] Malafouris, "The Brain–Artefact Interface," 269.

symbols is debatable.[513] What appears less questionable is that material symbols provide the mind with external storage and effect various changes to cognitive organization, scaffolding, and distribution.

The scholarly discipline of material religion rejects the notion that religion is primarily about knowledge and rules disseminated from texts, seeing it instead as the correspondences between bodies and worlds, emerging from lived experience and embodied practice.[514] Scholars have sometimes characterized the rise of Christian ornamentation as a gradual replacement of non-Christian amulets (although this view is no longer as conventional).[515] While it is true that a Christian symbol does not necessarily a Christian item make, the transition between pre- and post-Christian power-objects cannot be so simply explained. The pre-Christian embodiment of jewelry and power-objects discussed in the previous chapter paved the way for a deep, transformative connection between the pendant cross and the body. Christianity was slow to transform the collective mind/body of early medieval England. The amalgamation of Christian and non-Christian views was a prolonged process and resulted in a discernible blending of belief and societal practice throughout the seventh to ninth centuries, before effecting a virtually unanimous change in conception of the

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[513] As suggested by cognitive archaeologist Steven Mithen and questioned by Armin W. Geertz. See Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture," 309.

[514] Plate, *A History of Religion in 5 1/2 Objects*, 15.

[515] Neuman de Vegvar, "In Hoc Signo," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 98; John D. Niles, "Pagan Survivals and Popular Belief," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 130; Audrey L. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford, 1981), 269.

body and soul during the tenth century. The focus of this section of my investigation will utilize the Christian cross as a barometer of the embodied responses to Christianity as evident in early English wearable adornment.

Penetration of the Cross into English Society

The *signum crucis* (the sign of the cross) represents the most enduring of Christian signs and images to enter English society. In her work on popular religion in medieval England, Karen Jolly described the cross as "the simplest and most accessible symbol of the central truth of Christian belief… It was the first and sometimes the only symbol many rural Anglo-Saxons experienced."[516] As I will explore in three separate sections below, the symbol was expressed in various forms, both immaterial and material: the *crux usualis* (the act of signing the body with the form of the cross), monumental crosses in the landscape, and crosses within the church. In the first section I will demonstrate how the *crux usualis* disseminated into public and personal practice through the rite of baptism. In the second section I will consider the appearance of monumental crosses in the English landscape, and in the third section I will consider the installation of altar and processional crosses within the church. The *crux usualis* delivered a modicum of tactile protection for the body from the assault of malevolent forces, as well as a connection to the body of Christ, through baptism and personal use. But for the early Christians of England, these forms of the cross may not have fit their unique bodily requirements. While it is clear that the cross

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[516] Karen L. Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 165. Jolly relates this specifically to monumental crosses in remote areas from which Christians may have harvested lichen for various remedies, such as outlined in the *Leechbook* I:lxiii.

was accepted into English culture, the ephemerality of the *crux usualis* and the physical distance of church crosses may have presented difficulties for a culture that embodied identity, protection, and belief through tactile ornamentation. By tracking the penetration of the cross into early English society, I will reveal the role of the body in dictating its eventual material form as adornment.

The Crux Usualis and Baptism

The *crux usualis* was introduced to early medieval England through the rite of baptism. In the estimation of the Gregorian mission baptism was paramount. At his second council with British bishops already practicing Christianity in the west of England, Augustine impressed upon them the necessity of conducting baptism according to the Roman rite of the apostolic church.[517] According to the *Vita Gregorii*, written at the northern English monastery of Whitby in the seventh century, Gregory the Great held that "without baptism none will ever see God."[518] By Christmas 597 the Pope proudly reported to Patriarch of Eulogius of Alexandria that more than ten thousand English had been baptized.[519] Thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (669-690), Gregory's mission had solidified into a more stable ecclesiastical organization by the seventh century. The archbishop established

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[517] Bede, *HE*, II.ii, 134-142.

[518] Bertram Colgrave, trans., c. 29, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1968), 127.

[519] This is very likely a greatly inflated number. Gregory I, *Gregory to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria*, 8.29, in *The Letters of Gregory the Great, Volume 2 Books 5-9*, trans. John R.C. Martyn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), 524.

territorial dioceses, councils of bishops, and a more rigorous adherence to canon law.[520] Whether every English priest and parish closely followed the tenants of the Roman rite as preached by Augustine and encouraged by Theodore is less certain. In England, surviving liturgical books dating before the tenth century do not include the baptismal ritual (*ordines*), though the ritual is found in continental examples such as the eighth-century Gellone Sacramentary.[521] Presumably, Irish, Merovingian, and Roman missions brought service books with them to England.[522] Considering the number of places from whence these missionaries came and the variety of traditions held in their respective countries, these books likely contained variations on the rites of baptism, although making the sign of the cross was probably standard practice in all of them. Signing the foreheads of the newly baptized had been a critical component of

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[520] See *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge, CSAE II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially 1-29 which details Theodore's career.

[521] Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, eds. Peter Clemoes, Michael Lapidge, and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 94; In the Gellone Sacramentary, the priest begins the baptismal rite by making the sign of the cross on the forehead: "Et nunc primitus facit presbiter in singulorum frontibus crucem cum pollice dicendo: In nomine patris et fili et spritu sancti." Paris BnF lat 12048 fol. 173v, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensi*s, eds. Antoine Dumas and Jean Deshusses, CCSL 159, pl. 312 at #2216.

[522] Sarah Foot, "'By Water in the Spirit': The Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care*, 173-4.

the postbaptismal anointing and hand laying ritual since the time of Tertullian.[523] In

his *On the Catechising of the Uninstructed*, Augustine of Hippo described this seminal

moment of entry into the Church: "And with the sign of His passion and cross, you are

this day to be marked on your forehead… and all Christians are marked with the

same."[524] In addition to Gregory's Roman mission, Irish missionaries such as Aidan

(d. 651) evangelized Northumbria and a fair number of wandering Irish clergy

ministered throughout England.[525] Frankish ecclesiastics such as Birinus (600-650)

and Agilbert (fl. c. 650–680) became bishops of the West Saxons while some English

natives were trained in Francia, such as Wine (d. before 672), who was installed by

King Cenwalh of Wessex (d. 674) to replace Agilbert and was then later appointed as

Bishop of London.[526] Datable to the eighth or ninth century, The Stowe Missal

represents the earliest available documentation of liturgical variation in the Insular

world. It is the oldest surviving Irish Mass book to contain the baptismal rite, and

older Gallican features are evident under the superimposition of the contemporary

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[523] Tertullian, *De Baptismo* c. 7-8 and *De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 8, in E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, rev. ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003) 9, 11.

[524] Cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte hodie tamquam… omnesque Christiani signantur. Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, XX.34, ed. I.B. Bauer, CCSL 46 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1969), 159.

[525] Bede, *HE*, III.iii, 218-221; Later church councils often attempted to stop Irish clergy from ministering to the lay population and administering the sacraments of baptism and communion. See the Council of Chelsea, Cap. V and Egbert's *Dialogi*, IX, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, eds. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, vol. 3 (First published Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871; rprt., Oxford University Press, 1964), 407 and 581.

[526] Bede, *HE*, III.xii, 232-237.

Roman liturgy.[527] Sarah Foot and Brendan Coffey have rightly stressed that caution

must be applied when using a lone book as an exemplar of a nationalized liturgy.[528] It

is also important to keep in mind that shortages of priests, especially those properly

trained to serve the laity, may have further added to the diversity of baptismal rites in

England. If priests were traveling from minsters to villages in their dioceses, they

would have theoretically needed to remain for weeks to oversee the fasting, exorcism,

and instruction that preceded an individual's baptism. Shortcuts and omissions may

have been necessary for overextended clergy, especially in the case of those not well

trained in the baptismal rite.[529] As late as the second quarter of the eighth century,

Bede implored Bishop Ecgberht to ensure that priests were properly ordained and that

teachers were instructed on how to preach to villages and administer the sacraments,

particularly baptism.[530] Even in later cases where English churches possessed

liturgical texts, they were not always put to use. In 810, an incredulous Alcuin (732-

804) replied to a letter from Eanbald of York (d. 796), who had inquired about the

order and arrangements of the missal. "Surely you have plenty of missals following

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[527] Foot, "'By Water in the Spirit'," in *Pastoral Care,* 173; Brendan Coffey, "The Stowe Enigma: Decoding the Mystery," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2010): 75.

[528] See Foot, "'By Water in the Spirit'," in *Pastoral Care,* 175; Coffey, "The Stowe Enigma," 82.

[529] Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship,* 49; Foot, "'By Water in the Spirit'," 176.

[530] Bede, *Epistola Bede ad Ecgberctum Episcopum,* 5 in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 131.

the Roman rite?" wrote Alcuin, "You have also enough of the larger missals of the old rite."[531]

Clearly, the particulars of how the rite of baptism may have been performed in the sixth and seventh centuries is debatable. According to a 2005 study in the *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, what might be more safely surmised is the overarching cognitive impact of this once-in-a-lifetime ritual. Lawrence W. Barsalou and his team contended that such rituals are designed to effect profound changes in an individual's conceptual system, pushing them out of their current worldview into the view held by a specific religion. Though only experienced once, the preparatory activities leading up to baptism coupled with the public nature and pageantry of the multi-stage event, were intended to have a long-term impact on a convert.[532] Reiterating that the brain is embodied rather than an isolated organ is germane to a fuller appreciation of how ritual influences emotional and mental states. The brain is connected to the body through elaborate systems which are effected by internal and external stimuli: the nervous system bridges the brain and body, and is divided into numerous subsystems coordinated by neural maps within the brain; the autonomic system, which originates in the deeper recesses of the brain near the pituitary gland, regulates homeostasis through the sympathetic and parasympathetic subsystems; furthermore, this web of

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[531] Alcuin of York, "Letter 19," in *Alcuin of York, c. A.D. 732 to 804: His Life and Letters*, ed. and trans. Stephen Allott (York, Yorkshire: William Sessions Ltd., 1974), 27-8. Numquid non habes Romano more ordinatos libellos sacratorios abundanter? Habes quoque et veteris consuetudinis sufficienter sacramentaria maiora. Alcuin, *Epistola*, 226, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 370.

[532] Lawrence W. Barsalou, et al., "Embodiment in Religious Knowledge," *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 5, no. 1-2 (2005): 46-7.

subsystems is connected to our emotional center, the limbic system, and the executive control system, where higher cognitive functions and senses of self are generated in the prefrontal cortex.[533] As explained by Armin W. Geertz in his essay, "Brain, Body and Culture: A Biocultural Theory of Religion,"

> The fact that these two crucial areas are intimately bound to the nervous system, hormonal system and the body's homeostatic regulation means that all of these aspects, i.e. bodily processes and stimuli, emotions and feelings, higher order cognition, etc. are connected.[534]

This means that any point in the system is an entry point that can affect the entire system complex. Interpersonal touch, for one, is often overlooked in its profundity in conditioning emotional, hormonal, and affiliative responses.[535] Physical manipulation of the body, such as through the touch of a priest, could potentially influence or alter emotional and mental conditions.[536] The Roman rite of baptism, upon which later versions drew, may provide clues as to the details of the practice and its cognitive effects in the undocumented centuries of early England.

Baptism in the Roman church of the late sixth century was normally administered to infants according the liturgy preserved in the *Old Gelasian*

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[533] Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture," 306.

[534] Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture," 307.

[535] Alberto Gallace and Charles Spence, *In Touch with the Future: The Sense of Touch from Cognitive Neuroscience to Virtual Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), chap. 7, esp. 161, 162, 174.

[536] Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture," 307.

Sacramentary;[537] the more complex form of the catechumenate had to be revised and adapted for the adult and adolescent targets of the Christian missions.[538] The public nature of baptism, particularly in the renunciation of paganism, was of great import and was especially stressed in accounts of the baptismal ceremonies of the first royal converts in England. Declarations of faith by monarchs, their chiefs, and their household before the eyes of their subjects, compelled many to embrace the new faith, although those less inspired often converted only by the king's direct command.[539]

From birth to death, the *crux usualis* was present in every moment of life of the Christian. The sign was initiated at both baptism and entrance into the catechumenate as a visible seal binding an infant or a new convert to the Christian community—the Body of Christ — and according to scripture, an adopted child of Christ.[540] The longstanding practice of spiritual kinship or godparenthood in the Christian east and west was adopted in England with the rite of baptism.[541] Though it differed initially from continental traditions, the core tenants employed by "Germanic" societies, that is as a strategy of peacemaking and consolidation through marriage, oaths, and various

[537] Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 29.

[538] Augustine of Canterbury was vexed by the question of baptizing a pregnant woman. See Bede, *HE* I.xxvii; Boniface wrote often to Pope Gregory with queries as to the baptizing of adults and children. See Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae* 17, 18, 25, 26, ed. Michael Tangl, MGH, Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Press, 1916).

[539] Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, Ch. XLI, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 83.

[540] See Romans 8:14-17; Galatians 4:5-6.

[541] Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 21.

forms of adoption, were embraced.[542] Indeed, Boniface reiterated the long-held understanding of baptism as entry into a new family of Christ, writing, "it is well established that by holy baptism we all become sons and daughters, brothers and sister of Christ and the church."[543] Bede too characterized those who had been baptized with this familial vocabulary as both a rebirth in the Spirit and a new relationship between individuals. On the occasion of King Cynegils' baptism, Bede wrote of his sponsor, King Oswald: "…he accepted him as a son, who was earlier dedicated to God by the second birth [of baptism]."[544] Ancestral heritage, integral to English identity and ceremonial practice, was now affixed to the family of Christ. By the ninth century, some genealogies that had previously connected royal ancestry back to the god Woden,[545] cycled back even further to incorporate Noah, thereby joining the peoples of early medieval England into the lineage of Jesus.[546] Through a public and embodied declaration, men and women who were baptized before the congregation or submitted their offspring for christening, claimed ties to the bloodline of Christ.

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[542] Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, 19.

[543] ...quando omnes in sacro baptismate Christi et ecclesiae filii et filiae fratres et sorores esse comprobemur. Boniface, *Epistolae* 33, 58.

[544] …ipsum prius secunda generatione Deo dedicatum sibi accepit in filium. Bede, *HE*, III.vii, 232.

[545] See R.D. Fulk, "Myth in Historical Perspective: The Case of Pagan Deities in the Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies," in *Myth: A New Symposium*, eds. Gregory Schrempp and William Hansen (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 225-39.

[546] Niles, "Pagan Survivals and Popular Belief," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 135.

In continental Christian practice, the physical touch of the clergy was mandated in initiation rites such as baptism. Contact with the initiate (at this point called a *catechumen*) came in many forms, beginning with an exorcism. For example, in the discussion by John the Deacon, writing in Rome ca. 500, the priest blew (*exsufflatus*) upon the catechumen to expel the devil, anointed the catechumen's mouth with the purifying substance of salt that had been blessed, and laid hands on the catechumen, invoking the Trinity three times.[547] Thus, the catechumen graduated to a *competens* or *electus*, the latter likening the candidate to a fetus conceived in the womb of the Mother Church. The *electus* was then subjected to three scrutinies (*scrutinia*) to test and prove his or her faith.[548] Upon the third and final scrutiny, the priest anointed the *electus*'s ears and nostrils with the "oil of sanctification" and the chest and between the shoulders with the "oil of consecration." He or she was then baptized with a threefold immersion in water and anointed with chrism upon the head.[549] Body and soul now purified by breath, hands, salt, water, and oil, the new Christian was eligible to take his or her first Communion in the Mass that followed.

The initiation rites in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* broadly followed the model outlined by John the Deacon, but also marked several changes made between the sixth and eighth centuries. The prayer of consecration used to bless the baptismal font and

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[547] John the Deacon, *Epistola Iohannis Diaconi ad Senarium*, 3, in "Un florilège carolingien sur la symbolisme des ceremonies du baptême, avec un Appendice sur la lettre de Jean Diacre," in *Analecta Reginensia: Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conserves au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 59, ed. André Wilmart (Vatican City, 1933), 171-72.

[548] John the Deacon, *Epistola*, 4, 173.

[549] John the Deacon, *Epistola* 6, 174.

its waters reflected a theology of Christian initiation as new birth, drawn from John 3

and Titus 3:

> …let your Holy Spirit by the secret admixture of his light give
> fruitfulness to this waster prepared for human regeneration, so that,
> sanctification being conceived therein, there may come forth from the
> unspotted womb of the divine font a heavenly offspring, reborn unto a
> new creature: that grace may be a mother to people of every age and
> sex, who are brought forth into a common infancy…[550]

As pointed out by Maxwell Johnson, this interpretation of baptism is a departure from

the idea of initiation through death, burial, and resurrection in Romans 6, traditionally

considered the theological basis of Western baptism.[551] Furthermore, the three

scrutinies were increased to seven, consisting of many additional pre-baptismal rites.

The physical touch of the clergy remained consistent, with particular attention to the

process of baptizing those of "pagan" upbringing:

> *Then you make him a catechumen: you blow into his face and make the
> sign of the cross upon his forehead: you lay a hand upon his head and
> say these words:* Receive the sign of the cross, as on your brow, so on
> your heart…[552]

After the catechumen had received the salt, he/she would sign his/herself, rather than

an additional signing from the priest. For infants, a post-immersion sign of the cross

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[550] *Gelasian Sacramentary*, XLIV, in E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal
Liturgy*, 233-34.

[551] Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and
Interpretation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 38, 224-5.

[552] *Gelasian Sacramentary*, LXXI, 239-40.

was made with chrism upon the head and then once again after the Mass was completed.[553]

Despite the truncations or omissions that likely took place in the various minsters or rural areas of England, the rite seemed to follow the continental model by the early eighth century. At least that is what church officials encouraged. During the re-baptism of the eighth-century clergyman Herebald, Bede tells us that John of Beverley both catechized Herebald and breathed upon his face, and the practice was also performed by St. Guthlac (674-715) on a man tormented by demons.[554] Bede also complained to Ecgberht that in Northumbria the laying on of hands was too often omitted from the baptismal ritual:

> Now if we believe and confess that some advantage is conveyed to
> believers by the laying on of hands, whereby the Holy Spirit is
> received: it is contrariwise plain that this selfsame advantage is lacking
> to them unto whom the laying on of hands is not granted.[555]

Some accounts of the third scrutiny whereupon the priest touched the elect's nose and ears indicate that saliva, rather than oil, was applied. With this intimate gesture, the priest uttered *effeta* ("be opened"), that ears which had been long deaf to God's voice

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[553] *Gelasian Sacramentary*, LXXV, 242-3.

[554] Bede, *HE* v.VI, 468-9; Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci Auctore Felice*, XLI, in *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 131.

[555] Si autem aliquid utilitatis fidelibus conferre manus impositionem, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, credimus et confitemur; constat e contrario, quia haec ipsa utilitas eis quibus manus impositio defuerit, abest. Bede, *Epistola Bede ad Ecgberctum Episcopum*, 8, 137-8.

may now be receptive to his word.[556] The Stowe Missal also provided instruction for the baptism of young children that incorporated some of the same elements of adult baptism. One rubric, composed in Irish reads, "Here salt is put into the mouth of the child,"[557] and another rubric in Latin says, "Aperiatur manus pueri. Dicens, Signum crucis christi + accipe in man urn timm dexteram…" (Let the boy's hand be opened so that it may be marked with the sign of the cross).[558] Though somewhat later, Alcuin's summary of the baptismal rite included each of the elements of continental practice and the sensual and cultural significance thereof in early medieval belief:

> First the pagan becomes a catechumen and advances to baptism to renounce the evil spirit and all his damnable shows. He also blows out his breath, so that as the devil is driven away an entrance is prepared for Christ our God. An exorcism is performed, that is, the evil spirit is conjured to go out and make way for the true God. The catechumen receives salt, that his rotten perishable sins may be cleansed by the salt of wisdom, the gift of God. Then he is given the faithful of the apostles' creed, that the house that has been left empty by its former occupant may be furnished with faith and prepared for God to dwell in. Then frequent inquiry is made to test whether the sacred words of the faith given him after his renunciation of Satan are rooted in his heart. His nostrils are touched so that he may stand by the faith he has received as long as they draw breath. His breast is anointed with the same oil, that the devil's entry may be blocked **by the sign of the cross** [my emphasis]. His shoulders are marked [the Latin uses *signatur* here as in *signum* in the previous phrase, so probably indicating the sign of

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556 Bede, *In Vigilia Paschae*, PL 94:133-9 (Homily 7), in *Homilies on the Gospels: Lent to the Dedication of the Church (Book Two)*, ed. and trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 54-5.

557 Isund doberar insalann imbelti indlelaet. *Stowe Missal*, *Ordo Baptismi*, in *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, ed. Frederick E. Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881; repr., Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1987), 210.

558 *Stowe Missal*, *Ordo Baptismi*, 217.

the cross] to give protection on all sides. The anointing of breast and shoulders also marks firm faith and persistence in good works. So he is baptized three times in the name of the Holy Trinity… So he is strengthened by the body and blood of the Lord, that he may be a member of that head who suffered for him and rose again. Lastly by the laying on of hands he receives from the Bishop the spirit of sevenfold grace, that he may be strengthened by the Holy Spirit to preach to others, being given in baptism by grace the gift of eternal life.[559]

The continuation of this practice by the church in England suggests an acceptance of, or even perhaps a shared understanding of the power of touch in religious ritual; activation of membership into the Christian community required the touch of sanctified official. Tactile interaction facilitated the transference of blessing and protective power from priest to new believer. The cross was at the very heart of this exchange, transforming the body from non-Christian to Christian as it was inscribed upon it. Humans are not of course, "blank slates," but are rather, profoundly

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[559] Alcuin of York, "Letter 131," in *Alcuin of York, c. A.D. 732 to 804*, 137. Primo paganus caticumenus fit; accedens ad baptismum, ut renuntiet maligno spiritui et omnibus eius damnosis pompis. Exsufflatur etiam, ut fugato diabolo Christo deo nostro paretur introitus. Exorcizatur, id est coniuratur malignus spiritus, ut exeat et recedat dans locum Deo vero. Accipit caticuminus salem, ut putrida ext fluxa eius peccata sapientiae sale divino munere mundentur. Deinde symboli apostolici traditor ei fides, ut vacua domus et a prisco habitatore derelicta fide ornetur et preparetur habitatio Dei. Tunc flunt scrutinia, ut exploretur sepius, an post renuntiationem satanae sacra verba datae fidei radicitus corde defixerit. Tanguntur et nares, ut quamdiu spiritum naribus trahat, in fide accepta perduret. Pectus quoque eodem perunguitur oleo**, ut signo sanctae crucis** diablo **claudatur ingressus**. Signatur et scapulae, ut undique muniatur. Item in pectoris et scapulae unctione signatur fidei firmitas et operum bonorum perseverantia. Et sic in nominee sanctae Trinitatis trina submersion baptizatur… Sic corpore et sanguine dominico confirmatur, ut illius sit capitis membrum, qui pro eo passus est et resurrexit. Novissime per inpositionem manus a summo sacerdote septiformis gratiae spiritum accipit, ut roboretur per Spiritum sanctum ad praedicandum aliis, qui fuit in baptismo per gratiam vitae donatus aeternae. Alcuin, *Epistola*, 134, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 202-3.

social animals. Touch is the earliest sense to develop in the human fetus and interpersonal touch has been identified as one of our species' first forms of communication.[560] Our sociality, combined with the way somatic and psychological manipulations often elude our conscious perception, makes us more susceptible than we might realize.[561] Interpersonal touch alone has been shown to be a highly effective method of gaining compliance from others, convincing them of something, or arousing or regulating their emotions.[562] Ritual represents one of the most arresting methods of manipulating and thus altering or directing the mind, not only in passive receipt of physical contact but in repeated bodily movements or postures. Here we move from the once-in-a-lifetime ritual to the cognitive effects of daily practice.

Although blessing with the sign of the cross was initially the exclusive provenance of the clergy, this distinction eventually became irrelevant to usage of the sign among the laity. In fact, the clergy itself encouraged this. Alcuin (or perhaps pseudo-Alcuin) instructed Christians to mark their lips with the sign of cross as the

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[560] Janice Bernhardt, "Sensory Capabilities of the Fetus," *MCN American Journal of Maternal Child Nursing* 12 no. 1 (1987): 44-7; Andrew J. Bremner, David J. Lewkowicz, and Charles Spence, eds. *Multisensory Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Mark L. Knapp, *Nonverbal Communication in Human Interaction* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972); Ed McDaniel and Peter A. Andersen, "International Patterns of Interpersonal Tactile Communication: A Field Study," *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 22, no. 1 (1998): 59-75.

[561] Geertz, "Brain, Body and Culture," 307.

[562] Gallace and Spence, *In Touch with the Future*,162 and 327; Myriam Valentini, Udo Kischka, and Peter W. Halligan, "Residual Haptic Sensation Following Stroke Using Ipsilateral Stimulation," *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery and Psychiatry* 79, no. 3 (2008): 266-70.

first act upon waking.[563] Bede too entreated Ecgberht to ensure there were enough clergymen to remind individuals to "protect themselves and all they have against the constant assaults of unclean spirits by frequently making the sign of the Lord's cross."[564] This constant usage in daily life was, in fact, beneficial to the entrenchment of the new religion.[565] In an effort to establish a belief system that will guide the populace's daily interpretation of the world, a religion may prescribe embodied actions that help convey, entrench, and recall relevant concepts of the faith.[566] If the touch of a priest's fingers bound the converted to the Body of Christ, a further connection to the actual body of the Savior may have been activated by the gesture of the convert. In "Haptics of the Heart: The Sense of Touch in American Religion and Culture," David Chidester observed that

> [i]n the kinesthetic movements of the body, tactile information is acquired. For the study of religion, kinesthesia calls attention to embodied movements—kneeling, standing, prostrating, walking, climbing, dancing, and so on—not only as types of ritual performance but also as instruments of knowledge.[567]

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[563] Ergo cum a somno evigilas, et crucis signum depingis in labiis, tertio repete: 'Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.' Alcuin, *De Psalmorum Usu Liber I*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, PL 101 (Paris: Apud Garnieri Fratres, 1863), 468. See also, William Oliver Stevens, *The Anglo-Saxon Cross* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977), 34.

[564] Bede, *Epistola Bede ad Ecgberctum Episcopum*, 15, 153.

[565] Neuman de Vegvar, "In Hoc Signo," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 98-99.

[566] Barsalou, et al., "Embodiment in Religious Knowledge," 48.

[567] David Chidester, "Haptics of the Heart: The Sense of Touch in American Religion and Culture," *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1, no. 1 (2000): 71.

The knowledge of Christ's victory over death was made present and personal in the body through the action of crossing – in effect, mapping Christ's physical body onto one's own.[568] In this way, the ordeal of Christ's crucifixion was made experiential through the vehicle of touch; the collapse of time and bodily space enabled the penitent to share in Christ's Passion. In his *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, Gregory the Great encouraged contemplation of the Passion in order to create a point of access between Christ and the faithful. Meditation on Christ's sacrifice fostered an awareness of the savior as living and present rather than an actor in past events.[569] In his Introduction to *Rethinking the Medieval Senses*, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht commented on humanity's fall from grace and Christ's resulting sacrifice as, not solely past occurrences, but events continually active in individual lives. He stated:

> [f]or if the original sin was perceived as a presence, as a sensual presence indeed that neutralized temporal distance, then the drastic cruelty of the crucifixion needed to be equally present, sensually present, in order to keep available and open the hope and the possibility for salvation.[570]

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568 R.M. Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 276.
569 Vir itaque qui apparuit in porta stetit atque ita locutus est, quia Mediator Dei et hominum Christus Iesus in ipso quoque passionis suae tempore praecepta uitae discipulis dedit, ut hi qui in eum credunt ad portam semper aspiciant, et passionem eius sollicita consideratione pensantes, a suo quoque exitu cordis oculos non auertant. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* II.i.16, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1971), 221. For English translation see *Homilies on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Saint Gregory the Great*, trans. Theodosia Tomkinson, 2nd ed. (Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 2008), 275.

570 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Introduction - Erudite Fascinations and Cultural Energies: How Much Can We Know about the Medieval Senses?" in *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascinations, Frames*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas

It is interesting to note that the latter half of Gumbrecht's statement betrays an underlying anxiety in the constancy of signing and an uncertainty regarding the destination of the Christian soul. In a culture already convinced of the work of invisible malevolent forces, the idea of hostile devils was consistent with this worldview. Invocation of the power of the cross was not, however, an invention of the lay imagination, but a practice prescribed by the church itself.[571] Application of the *crux usualis* to oneself, one's children, and one's belongings was encouraged from the time of Tertullian to the time of Jerome, and as evident from the exhortations of Bede and Alcuin, translated into a daily practice of the early English laity.[572] The frequency of signing in popular religion is also preserved in three ninth- and tenth-century compilations of medicine; the *Leechbook of Bald*, *Leechbook Book III*, and the *Lacnunga* list numerous charms invoking the protection of the cross against evil forces.[573] This perceived need for ceaseless crossing was not merely a vehicle to entrench concepts of the faith; this anxious prescription challenged the permanence of

Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 5.

[571] Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 318.

[572] "Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem Crucis signaculo terimus." Tertullian, *De Corona*, III, in *De Corona Liber. De Cultu Feminarum Libri Duo*, ed. Joseph Marra (Turin: Pavaria, 1951), 44; see also, Jerome, *Epistula*, 130.9, in *Epistulae* Pt III, *Epistulae CXXI-CLIV*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 56.1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 188; Bede, *Epistola Bede ad Ecgberctum Episcopum* 15, 153; Alcuin, *De Psalmorum Usu Liber I* 101, 468.

[573] London, British Library, Harley 585, *Lacnunga* fol. 130r–193r/10, s. xi; London, British Library, Royal 12 D.xvii, *Bald's Leechbook* and *Leechbook III*, s. x.

the sign and illustrates social solicitude regarding protection against the persistence of sin and evil spirits. For early English converts, a possible solution to the transitory nature of the seal of the *crux usualis* may have been found in the enduring tactility of the physical artifact of the cross. By the seventh century, material crosses appeared in the English countryside, stood upon the altar, and moved through space, mounted upon processional staffs.

The Cross in the Landscape and the Church

The sacrifice of Christ, both temporally remote and culturally distant from much of pre-Christian England, was made visually accessible and present by the cross in the landscape and in the church. As previously mentioned, Augustine's retinue arrived bearing a silver processional cross, and various areas of England may have already been exposed to the sign by British Christians. It is evident that the abbots of Iona were aware of freestanding crosses in the Holy Land by the seventh century.[574] In his *De Locis Sanctis*, Adomnán (628-704) describes both the wooden cross standing in the River Jordan, the site of Christ's baptism, and the prodigious silver cross on Golgotha, the site of Christ's crucifixion.[575] The earliest textual description of Insular

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[574] Douglas MacLean argued that the Frankish bishop Arculf might not have been Adomnán's only source for information about the Holy Land. See Douglas MacLean, "King Oswald's Cross at Heavenfield," in *The Insular Tradition*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov, Michael Ryan, and Robert T. Farrell (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 81-2; Adomnán refers to additional sources, indicating that Iona may have already had access to pilgrim literature and geographical manuals. See Adomnán, *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, III, ed. Denis Meehan (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958), 12, 90, 96, 98, 100, 102.

[575] Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis*, 48, 86; Bede drew on Adomnán's work when describing Jerusalem. See, Bede, *On the Holy Places*, II.1, XII.1, in *Bede: A Biblical*

monumental crosses can be found in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, written in the late-seventh or early-eighth century.[576] Following the Mediterranean tradition, the crosses in this *vita* were commemorative of holy individuals and events, in this case, St. Columba and his uncle Ernán. Douglas MacLean suggested that the three crosses Adomnán describes were still standing at Iona when he composed Columba's *vita*.[577] Since his conversion took place at Iona, it is likely King Oswald (604 -642) would have encountered the wooden crosses in use there, recalling the same form for the wooden cross he reportedly erected at the Battle of Heavenfield in 634.[578] Though Adomnán wrote of Oswald's divine dream wherein he was promised victory, it was Bede who recorded the installation of the wooden cross.[579] Bede claimed that the cross was still standing in his day and expounded upon the miraculous powers of splinters from its surface as well as the moss which later grew on it.[580] Bede also recorded that St. Cuthbert himself installed a standing cross, presumably also of wood, by his

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Miscellany, trans. William Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 7, 20.

[576] Adomnán, *Adomnán's Life of Columba,* eds. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[577] MacLean, "King Oswald's Cross," note 11.

[578] Bede, *HE*, III.ii, 214.
[579] Adomnán, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 14-16.

[580] Bede, *HE*, III.ii, 214-19. Bede does not specify the function of this cross as commemorative or devotional, but as he refers to the cross when instructing a disciple where to bury him, Bede may have considered it devotional in nature.

oratory on Farne Island in the mid-600s.[581] Unfortunately, most early English sources do not indicate the material of the cross. This is also the case with Irish crosses that pre-date the stone high crosses of the eighth century, though Dorothy Kelly has made a strong case for wooden prototypes and Douglas MacLean has made a compelling connection between stone and woodcarvers.[582] Some sources from neighboring Francia do, however, make the use of wood clear in accounts of monumental crosses.

As early as the fifth century, crosses were erected in Gaul in connection with holy persons such as Germanus of Auxerre (378-448).[583] Ecclesiastics such as Adomnán, who supposedly gleaned his knowledge of the Holy Land from the Frankish bishop Arculf (f. 7th century), and the author of the *vita* of the seventh-century saint, Odile, recorded their knowledge of the cross in the river Jordan.[584]

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[581] Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, XXXVII, in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (1940; repr., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 272-3.

[582] Dorothy Kelly, "The Heart of the Matter: Models for Irish High Crosses," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 121 (1991): 105-45; Douglas MacLean, "The Status of the Sculptor in Old-Irish Law and the Evidence of the Crosses," *Peritia* 9 (1995): 125-55.

[583] Constantius, *Vita Germani*, VI, in *Vie de saint Germain d'Auxerre*, Sources Chrétiennes 112, eds. René Borius and Constance de Lyon (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1965), chap. 30.

[584] Arculf, was reputed by Bede as the source for Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*. See Bede, *HE*, V, 15; See also, *Vita Odiliae abbatissae Hohenburgensis*, 17, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 6 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1913), 46. Whether or not he existed is a matter of lasting contention; see for a recent review of the issue see Lawrence Nees, "Insular Latin Sources, 'Arculf,' and Early Islamic Jerusalem," in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Essays on Medieval Europe in Honor of Daniel F. Callahan*, eds. Michael Frassetto, Matthew Gabriele, and John Hosler (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 81-100, with further literature.

Sources on the lives of two seventh-century Frankish bishops specify their commemorative crosses as made of wood; Audoin's cross was set up in memory of a vision he experienced and Ansbert's cross commemorated his death and was reported to bestow healing on the diseased who visited it.[585] Wood was used at the pilgrimage sites of Christ's Baptism and at a church commemorating the crucifixion where three crosses stood outside, suggesting that wood was suitable for objects of great significance.[586]

In England, it is possible that large crosses were used to publicize locations of Christian worship, perhaps supplanting sacred pre-Christian sites.[587] In 601, Pope Gregory sent a letter to Bishop Mellitus advising that, pagan places of worship need not be destroyed, just the idols within. The "temples" could be purified with holy water, furnished with relics and altars, and then reused as places of Christian

[585] Tali igitur visone gloriosus Domini pontifex laetificatus, iussit sibi afferri lignum, unde signum ipsius viviface crucis effigiare posset. *Vita Leutfridi Abbatis Madriacensis*, 10, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 7, ed. W. Levison (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1920), 13; …in honore et memoria ipsius a fidelibus crux ponitur lignea, ubi infirmi a diversis vexati languoribus, Domino largiente, meritus sancti Ansberti plura frequenter perceperunt sanitatum munera. *Vita Ansberti episcopi Rotomagensis*, 35, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 5 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1910), 639.

[586] For the site of Christ's baptism, see Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis*, 2.16, 86; for the three wooden crosses outside the eastern wing of the church see, Huneberc of Heidenheim, *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis*, 4, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS 15.1 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1887), 96-7; see also, Ian Wood, "Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context," *Northern History* 23 (1987): 30.

[587] John Blair has suggested this several times. See Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society,* 227; Blair, "Holy Beams: Anglo-Saxon Cult Sites and the Place-Name Element Bēam," in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, eds. Michael D. J. Bintley and Michael G. Shapland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 186-210.

worship.[588] A few textual sources tell us that monumental crosses were also erected outside the homes of English noblemen, and possibly used by clergy for open-air gatherings of the faithful. Between 730–740, the East Anglian monk Felix recorded that a cross stood outside the house of St. Guthlac's parents. Huneberc, a nun of English origins residing at a Frankish convent in Heidenheim, composed a vita of Willibald, who was likely born in Wessex around 700 and later became the first Bishop of Eichstatt in Bavaria. When Willibald suffered an illness at age three, Huneberc indicated that Willibald's parents laid him before a cross, not within a church, but outdoors. She wrote that "the custom in the Saxon race" was to have "on many estates of nobles and substantial men not a church but the gracious sign of the holy cross… raised on high."[589] On the continent, Boniface (675-754) complained that Bishop Aldebert (f. 8th century) set up crosses around the Frankish countryside.[590] The practice seems to have been mimicked in England into the eighth century, as Alcuin condemned the practice conducting worship outside the church in a letter to Archbishop Æthelhard.[591] Though the crosses of Columba and Ernán and Audoin and Ansbert were commemorative, Oswald's cross only became so following his victory;

[588] Bede, *HE*, I.xxx, 106-9.

[589] Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, XXIV, 74; Huneberc of Heidenheim, *Vita Willibaldi*, 1, 88.

[590] Boniface, *Epistolae* 59, 111-12.

[591] Et illa conventicula, in quibus deceptus est populus, aecclesias relinquentes et montana petentes loca, ibi non orationibus, sed ebrietatibus servientes; dicente ipso Christo: 'Si quis dicat vobis in desertis, quae sunt Christi, non in aecclesia, qui foras facit congregationes et Christi amittit aecclesias.' Alcuin, *Epistola*, 290, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 448.

its original purpose was devotional, as many of the crosses on estates or in the countryside may have been, a material loci of communal worship in the English sphere.

Another devotional usage for monumental crosses proposed by Carol Neuman de Vegvar, specifically in reference to stone crosses of the eighth and ninth century, may be applicable to wooden precursors of the seventh century. The Christian festival of Rogation Days, or Rogationtide, included three days of penitential processions of clergy and laity together, bearing the cross and relics. Processions originated at a mother church and, along with stops for prayer or preaching, the crowd ambulated to and paused at nearby chapels, sometimes covering great distances before returning to the main church.[592] Due to similarities in observances and dating, the Roman processional holiday, *letania maior* (the Greater Litany), is often confused with Rogationtide, which originated in Francia (both celebrations arose between 450 and 550).[593] Although modern scholars sometimes refer to Rogationtide as *litaniae*

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[592] Bishop Avitus of Vienne (c. 494-518) described processing to a basilica near the walls of the city. See *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis episcopi opera quae supersunt*, ed. Rudolfus Peiper, MGH, Auct. ant. 6.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), 108-12 at 110; Gregory of Tours mentioned processing approximately thirty-seven miles from Clermont-Ferrand to St. Julian's at Brioude. See *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis, Libri Historiarum Decem*, eds. Bruno Krusch and W. Levinson, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 1.1 (Hannover: Bibliopolii Press, 1937), 138.

[593] Nathan J. Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: A Ritual Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 28.

minores (the Minor Litany), [594] medieval sources refer to it as *rogationes*.[595] Stational stops were also a part of *letania maior* processions, particularly those associated with the Cult of the Cross.[596] Neuman de Vegvar posited monumental crosses with vegetal motifs not only as processional stops in early medieval England, but as a tool to Christianize the environment, bridging the gap between church and laity by incorporating symbols of Christ as the True Vine and protector of the harvest.[597]

Though not documented in England until the eighth century, a foretaste of the ritual of Rogationtide may have reached its shores through Augustine's procession into Canterbury. Bede recalled that when King Æthelbert granted Augustine and his retinue a dwelling in the city, they processed upon it carrying the cross and an icon of Christ and singing, "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus.

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[594] Joyce Hill, "*Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 212-14; Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Helsinki: Finish Literature Society, 2002), 34-7, 153.

[595] Avitus of Vienne, *Hom.* 6, 7, MGH, Auct. ant. 6.2, 108.4, 110.20, 111.7-13, 113.4-8, 116.24, 118.1; Council of Orleans (511) [*Concilium Aurelianense*], 27; Council of Tours (576) [*Concilium Turonense*], 18; *Vita Patrum* 4.4, 6.6-6.7 MGH SS rer. Merov. 1.1, 83, 138, 418, 441, 525, vol. 2: 226, 234-5; *Vita Gaugerici* 8, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 3, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, Belgium: Hahn, 1896), 654; Baudonivia of Poitiers, *Vita Radegundis* 2.14, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, Belgium: Hahn, 1888), 386.

[596] Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "Converting the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: Crosses and their Audiences," in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 422-23.

[597] Neuman de Vegvar, "Converting the Anglo-Saxon Landscape," 410-11.

Alleluia" (We beseech thee, O Lord, in thy great mercy, that thy wrath and anger may

be turned away from this city and from thy holy house, for we have sinned.

Alleluia).[598] The verses intoned by Augustine's company echoed the antiphon of the

Rogation processions.[599] The three-day festival of Rogationtide is purportedly derived

from the observance of a three-day fast preceding Ascension Day. There is an oft-cited

foundation story of Bishop Mamertus, who stemmed the flood of natural calamities

afflicting Vienne between 470 and 475 by inventing Rogationtide.[600] What seems

clear is that Rogationtide began to be celebrated with penitential fasting and prayer in

late-fifth century Francia, the addition of a processional of clergy alongside laity

occurring by at least 500.[601] The *litania maior* never spread much farther than Rome,

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[598] Bede, *HE*, I.xxv, 75-7.

[599] The identification was made by William Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877; 2nd ed. 1888), 50-1, and accepted by Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae: Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896), 43, and by Colgrave and Mynors, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 76, note 1. The antiphons are preserved in two twelfth-century antiphonals with likely Gallican origins as they are from St. Denis (Paris, BnF lat. 17296) and St. Maur-les-Fossés (Paris, BnF lat. 12584, fols. 216-373); see René-Jean Hesbert, *Manuscripti "Cursus monasticus,"* in *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 2 (Rome: Herder, 1965), xi, xv-xvi.

[600] *Apollinaris Sidonii epistulae et carmina*, ed. C. Lvetjohann, MGH, Auct. ant. 8 (Berlin, 1887), 87-8 (Epp. 5, 14), 103-4 (Epp. 7, 1); see also *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis episcopi Opera quae supersunt*, 6.6, *Homilia in Rogationibus*, ed. R. Peiper, MGH, Auct. ant. 6.2 (Berlin, 1893), 108-12.

[601] Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth*, 30; cf. Council of Lyon (567-70) [*Concilium Lugdunense*], 6, ed. C. de Clercq, CCSL 148A (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1963), 200-3; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germanii ep. Parisiaci* 33, eds. Freidrich Leo and Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 7 (Hanover: Hahn, 1881-5), 392; *Vita Nicetii* 6, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1886),

but Rogationtide swiftly dispersed throughout Francia over the sixth century, surprisingly due more to Merovingian kings than to bishops of Vienne or the Burgundian monarchy;[602] these kings incited councils at Orleans (511), Tours (567) and Lyon (570) mandating the celebration and standardizing customs for its proper observance.[603] By way of Frankish influence, Rogationtide spread through Spain, Northern Italy, and Brittany,[604] yet we hear nothing of this ritual in England until the eighth century. Rogation Days were not held in Rome until the papacy of Leo III (795-816),[605] but Gregory I tells us that Augustine was a guest of Bishop Desiderius of Vienne, and it is possible Augustine may have read Rogation texts during his sojourn.[606] Ian Wood contends that Augustine probably traveled through Francia in the summer, rather than in the spring when he could have observed the feast firsthand;[607] however, in following Gregory's instruction to adapt existing customs as

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522; Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii* 2.2, ed. Bruno Krusch MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4, (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), 695-6.

[602] Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth*, 28.

[603] Council of Orleans (511) [*Concilium Aurelianense*], 27; Council of Tours (576) [*Concilium Turonense*], 18; Council of Lyon (567-70) [*Concilium Lugdunense*], 6, ed. C. de Clercq, CCSL 148A (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1963), 3-19; 175-99; 200-3.

[604] An eleventh-century *vita* of St. Gildas claims that his relics were translated to the Breton monastery of Rhuys on Rogation Monday in 554; *Vita Gildae*, ed. Theodore Mommsen, MGH, Auct. ant. 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), 101.

[605] John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 36.

[606] Gregory I, *Registrum* 6.52, eds. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 1, 427-8.

[607] Wood cites the date July 596 specifically, implied by the dating of Gregory's first set of letters relating to the mission, beginning with *Registrum* 6.49 (Ewald and

he formed the liturgy for England, Augustine might have incorporated Rogationtide in deference to powerful Franks such as Queen Bertha and her chaplain, who both assisted him with his mission. Canon 16 of the Council of Clovesho (747), which distinguished between the Roman festival of *litania major* and the Frankish celebration of Rogationtide, reads as if introducing the new Roman holiday while treating Rogationtide as a longstanding observance in need of reform.[608] While it may be speculative to imagine the introduction of Rogationtide with Augustine, its regular embrace before the eighth century appears evident; therefore we may be able to infer the character of seventh-century celebrations.

Regarding the enduring popularity of Rogationtide in early medieval England, scholars such as Helen Appleton have asserted (correctly in my estimation) the exploitation of anxiety over crop production as a method to entrench Christian doctrine.[609] While it may be assumed that such anxieties may be present in most agrarian societies, the weather conditions of the fifth to the seventh centuries may have contributed to the specific concerns of lay populations in England. Harsh winters resulting from the volcanic events of 536-40 and subsequent eruption in 626 were

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Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 1), 423-4. See Wood, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 3-4.

[608] Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum, tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini nostri in caelos cum jejunio useque ad horam nonam et Missarum celebration venerantur: non admixtis uanitatibus uti mos est plurimis… Council of Clovesho (747), 16, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 368.

[609] Helen Appleton, "Folk Horror: Hell and the Land in Old English Homilies for Rogationtide," in *The Literature of Hell*, ed. Margaret Kean (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2021), 14.

recorded by Mediterranean writers,[610] though the effects of these events on crop yield

and public health are harder to glean from the documentary and scientific records

further west.[611] Petitions for bountiful harvests began to appear in western

ecclesiastical literature with the Verona Sacramentary (5th-6th c.) and accompanying

rituals such as Rogation Days.[612] In the sixth century, Gregory the Great included

numerous accounts of weather miracles in his *Dialogues*.[613] In his seventh-century

Life of St. Columba, Adomnán recounted how the saint accelerated the growth cycle of

a barley crop and posthumously ended a drought.[614]

      The environmental conditions of this volcanic winter may have shaped early

English conceptions of the natural world as addressed in Chapter 2. The unpredictable

nature of such calamities endangers the organization of the human neuro-cognitive

system (i.e., it can increase entropy).[615] In England, Christian clergy had to shift the

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[610] Antti Arjava, "The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE in the Mediterranean Sources," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 59 (2005): 73-94.

[611] Timothy P. Newfield, "The Climate Downturn of 536-50," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Climate History*, eds. Sam White, Christian Pfister, and Franz Mauelshagen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 465. Gregory of Tours, Marius of Avenches, John of Biclaro, Victor of Tunnuna,and Isidore of Seville mention nothing plausibly related to the dimming of the Mediterranean sun, 536-7.

[612] See Adolph Franz's compilation of western ecclesiastical invocations for bountiful harvests. *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901; rept. Graz, 1960), 1-19, 45-123.

[613] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 1.4, 3.10-13, 15, 19, 36, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959), 24, 125, 127-28, 139, 141, 150, 177.

[614] Adomnán, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 96-99, 172-73.

[615] Jacob B. Hirsh, Raymond A. Mar, and Jordan B. Peterson, "Psychological Entropy: A Framework for Understanding Uncertainty-Related Anxiety,"

threat of the natural world and its invisible forces to a different paradigm of demons, angels, and an almighty God, with different ways of defending against or appealing to them for aid. Relief at the conclusion of winter may explain how the Christian springtime festival of Easter was eventually embraced as a celebration of victory over darkness and death. Likewise, anxiety over the growth and health of crops, particularly in a period where seasons had been more severely cold, may explain the appeal of Rogation rituals, which were tied intimately with the land. Ritual represents one of the most arresting methods of manipulating and thus altering or directing the mind, especially in repeated bodily movements, postures, and intonations.

Certainly the subject of wooden monumental crosses in seventh-century England is a matter of speculation, and in the words of Wood, "[f]ew would now see an interrupted line of development from Oswald's wooden rood to the stone crosses of the eighth and ninth centuries…"[616] Questions as to the inspiration for the erecting of monumental stone crosses have been most thoroughly addressed in the many works of Jane Hawkes.[617] She viewed the sculpted surfaces, brilliantly painted and adorned

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Psychological Review 119, no. 2 (2012): 304-20; See also Martin Lang, Jan Krátký, and Dimitrios Xygalatas, "The Role of Ritual Behaviour in Anxiety Reduction: An Investigation of Marathi Religious Practices in Mauritius," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 375, no. 1805 (2020): 1-8 at 2.

[616] Ian Wood, "Constantinian Crosses in Northumbria," in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, 3.

[617] See in Jane Hawkes, "Northumbrian Sculpture: Questions of Context," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, eds. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishers, 1999), 204-15; Hawkes, *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Significance in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002); Hawkes, "Planting the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Place and Space in the*

with glass and metalwork appliques, as intended to replicate the *crux gemmata* found

in the interior of English churches.[618] Due to the status of metalwork as an opulent art

form, and given the visual similarities in motifs, colors, and finishes, there is little

doubt that this is the case. There is room, however, to include monumental wooden

crosses in the equation, particularly due to the apparent longevity of their use in

Northumbria and in Gaul since the fifth century. Furthermore, MacLean and Blair

have linked the willingness of the Bernician soldiers to pay homage to Oswald's

wooden cross to the traditional veneration of freestanding wooden posts in

Northumbria.[619] The history of the Bernician royal site, Yeavering, stretched from a

prehistoric stone circle to a Bronze Age round-barrow to use by native Britons and

finally use by incoming English.[620] Each of these periods of occupation at Yeavering

included the positioning of wooden posts at key areas for ceremonial, funerary, and

pagan religious purposes. Excavator Brian Hope-Taylor found little evidence of

British Christianity within the region and surmised that Christianity was only

introduced to Bernicia upon the rule of King Edwin.[621] English royal rule of

Northumbria began with Ida in 547 and several wooden uprights were installed

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Medieval World, eds. Meg Boulton, Jane Hawkes, and Heidi Stonerpp (New York: Routledge, 2017), 47-62.

[618] Hawkes, *The Sandbach Crosses,* 146-7.

[619] MacLean, "King Oswald's Cross," 83-9; Blair, "Holy Beams," 190-1.

[620] MacLean identifies the incoming group specifically as "Anglian." See MacLean, "King Oswald's Cross," 84.

[621] Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: H.M.S.O., 1977), 254, 256-58, 282.

through the sixth century even through the reign of King Edwin; therefore, kneeling to a wooden cross would probably not have been a difficult ideological leap for Oswald's men. Blair traced the veneration of posts (*stapol*) back to a veneration of trees (*bēam*), using placename evidence throughout England to theorize a progression of reverence for the tree and post to glorification of the cross.[622] Regardless of the veracity of the story of Oswald's cross,[623] accounts from Gaul, Francia, pilgrims to the Holy Land, Iona, Farne, and the lives of Guthlac and Willibald indicate a possible tradition of wooden freestanding crosses. While the decorous form of the carved cross (wood or stone) may have derived from lavish church crosses, the impetus for posting crosses in the landscape was on the basis of this evidence likely to have been established before the eighth century.

Within the church, the splendor of the c*rux gemmata* was put on display to engender adoration and to impress the legitimacy of the church upon its congregants and patrons.[624] According to Bede, the great golden altar cross of King Edwin, smuggled out of Northumbria after his death in a battle with Mercia in 633, was still on display in a church at Kent in the eighth century.[625] An idea of the grand

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[622] Blair, "Holy Beams," 186-210. See also Calvin B. Kendall, "From Sign to Vision: The Ruthwell Cross and The Dream of the Rood," in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, 131.

[623] Wood calls this into question in "Constantinian Crosses in Northumbria," 3-13.

[624] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 24-43; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 136; Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 8-11.

[625] Bede, *HE* II.xx, 203-05.

appearance of church crosses can be found in the description of a West Saxon church,

penned by Aldhelm between 689 and 709:

> The church glows within with gentle light on occasions when the sun
> shines through the glass windows, diffusing its clear light through the
> rectangular church. The new church has many ornaments: a golden
> cloth glistens with its twisted thread and forms a beautiful covering for
> the sacred altar. And a golden chalice covered with jewels gleams so
> that it seems to reflect the heavens with their bright stars; and there is a
> large paten made from silver. These [*scil.* the chalice and the paten]
> bear the holy medication for our life – for we are nourished by the body
> and blood of Christ. Here glistens the metal of the Cross made from
> burnished gold and adorned at the same time with silver and jewels.
> Here too a thurible embossed on all sides hangs suspended from on
> high, having vaporous openings from which the Sabaean frankincense
> emits ambrosia when the priests are asked to perform mass.[626]

But the ultimate potency of monumental and jeweled crosses was their

embodiment of the prototype of the Cross of Calvary. Victor Buchli's explication of a

copy's relationship to the original can be readily applied to representations of the True

Cross:

> A copy is a reiteration of the prototype and it is a relic because
> haptically it has direct and physically contagious contact with the
> prototype, thus becoming a site of physical exchange and contagion
> with divine power surmounting conventional scales of time and
> space.[627]

The cult of the True Cross began in the east late in Constantine's reign, propelled by

his sponsorship of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The story of the prototype of the

True Cross as "discovered" by Constantine's mother Helena had taken root by the

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[626] Aldhelm, *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, III, in *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael
Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 49.
[627] Victor Buchli, "The Prototype: Presencing the Immaterial," *Visual Communication*
9 (2010): 277.

fourth century.[628] Jerusalem became the epicenter of this growing cult until the Persian

invasion, destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, and theft of the True Cross in the seventh

century.[629] Emperor Heraclius recovered the relic in 628 and the Holy Sepulchre was

restored.[630] Pieces of the True Cross began circulating before this theft and recovery.

Upon sending a piece to Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus of Nola encouraged his colleague

to recognize the immense power of the prototype contained within the fragment:

> Let not your faith shrink because the eyes of the body behold evidence
> so small; let it look with the inner eye on the whole power of the cross
> in this tiny segment. Once you think that you behold the wood on
> which our Salvation, the Lord of Majesty, was hanged with nails whilst
> the world trembled, you too must tremble, but you must also rejoice.[631]

Though the Constantine and Heraclius legends did not appear in western sources until

the eighth century,[632] several splinters of the cross had made their way throughout

Europe beginning in the sixth century. Around 569 Emperor Justin II (565-574) gifted

a fragment of the cross to Radegund (520- 587), queen of Francia. Upon receiving the

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[628] Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, XLI f., ed. O. Faller, CSEL 73 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1978), 395.

[629] "Olympiad 348," in *Chronicon Paschale 284-628*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 156.

[630] Martin Werner, "The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow: The Cult of the True Cross, Adomnán, and Iona," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 2 (1990): 181.

[631] Paulinus, "Letter 31," in *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola, vol. 2, Letters 23-51*, trans. Patrick Gerard Walsh (London: Longman, Green & Company, 1967), 126.

[632] George Philip Krapp, ed. "Elene," *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Hrabanus Maurus, Homily 70, *Reversio sanctae atque gloriossimae crucis domini Jesu Christi*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 110 (Paris: Apud Garnieri Fratres, 1864), 121-4.

relic, Radegund placed it in the oratory of an abbey she had built between 555 and 560, renaming the abbey Sainte Croix in honor of the cross.[633] Justin also prepared a fragment to be set within a *crux gemmata* for Pope John III (d. 574). The next pope, Gregory the Great, sent pieces to the Visigoth king, Reccared I of Spain (559-601), and Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards (570- 627).[634] Although circulation of such prestigious and rare relics was limited to royalty and papacy, it did not undermine the prototype/contagion aspect in facsimiles of the True Cross. Using the example of Oswald's cross at Heavenfield, Amalarius, Bishop of Metz (780-850), assured local churches without a relic that a facsimile of the cross held the same power as the original.[635]

In her work on crucifixion iconography in medieval England, Barbara C. Raw characterized the opulence of the church and its crosses as an effort to establish church legitimacy as a symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem:

> The decoration of churches had to make clear to those who entered
> them that they were in the house of God, a place which could rival the

[633] "The Life of the Holy Radegund by Venantius Fortunatus," in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 89, n. 87, 98, n. 119.

[634] Gregory I, *Registrum*, 14.12 (Ewald and Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 1), 430-2.

[635] Fuerunt quidam qui volebant diere se velle eandem crucem venerari in qua Dominus crucifixus est. Utinam in omnibus ecclesiis haberetur! Prae ceteris merito verneraretur. Quamvis omnis ecclesia non eam possit habere, tamen non deest eis virtus sanctae crucis, in eis crucibus quae ad similitudinem Dominicae crucis factae sunt. Sicut legitur in libro historiae Anglorum de Osvaldo fideli rege et Christianissimo, qui in periculo positus subito fecit crucem, et fixit in terram, eamque adoratam et deprecatum Deum croam illa, dedit eis victoriam. Amalarius of Metz, "On the Adoration of the Cross," 1.14.10, in *On the Liturgy*, ed and trans. Eric Knibbs, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 175.

most wealthy of secular halls. If gold was fitting on a man's sword, as the gnomic poets claimed, it was equally so on the ornaments of the church.[636]

Raw also drew a distinction regarding the source of hope for salvation between the early and later English church; the golden cross, which was equated with Christ's miraculous resurrection, had become the crucifix by the eleventh century, and was thereafter exclusively connected to Christ's sacrificial death.[637] Robin Jensen too asserted this interpretation, stating that due to the lack of representation of Christ's body on a cross, viewers would not associate the symbol with Christ's suffering.[638] Yet, Jensen foregrounded her book from page one with the following:

> At the heart of the story of the Christian cross is the narrative of Christ's crucifixion. For Christians, the cross's meaning is embedded in this narrative and testifies to it. Thus, the cross's tale begins with the event of Christ's crucifixion, as it was both reported and interpreted by the earliest textual and material sources (emphasis mine).[639]

Jensen's statement intrinsically connects the symbol to the story; one without the other is meaningless. Believers did not enter the church without knowledge of these stories. The iconoclastic controversy, the debate over the nature of Christ, and the assertions that lavish church decoration was meant to impress and attract congregants, provided enough of a case to justify *cruces gemmatae* without erasing reference to Christ's suffering and death. Without the cross there is no suffering and death, and without that

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[636] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, 8-11.

[637] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, 50-51.

[638] Robin M. Jensen, *The Cross: History, Art, and Controversy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 98.

[639] Jensen, *The Cross*, 1.

there is no resurrection, and therefore connection between humanity and divine glory. Jensen also referenced a visit to a basilica in Jerusalem by Paula, the mother of Eustochium, wherein she was arrested by the sight of the cross because she imagined she could see Christ hanging on it.[640] Jensen stressed that the object Paula fell before was a cross and not a crucifix. Again, this reinforces my point that Christ's death cannot be separated from objects of or images of the cross. Otherwise, would not Paula have simply adored the cross as it was or had a vision of a glorious iteration of the cross?

Scholars in addition to myself have been less convinced of the definitive divisions between bodily responses to the cross versus the crucifix. In his work, "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," Roy Liuzza wove a history of emotional, embodied veneration of the cross from the earliest establishment of Christianity in England with contemporary practices of invoking the cross for protection.[641] Lawrence Nees has pointed out that depictions of the crucifixion might not be as rare as often posited. Nees reminded us of a sixth-century crucifixion image as recounted by Gregory of Tours[642] and the Durham A.II.17 miniature from the end

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[640] Jerome, *Epistula* 108, ed. Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 55 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1912), 9; Jensen, 100.

[641] Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, 276-320; I would also draw attention to the *Dream of the Rood*, an eighth century poem that juxtaposes the graphic nature of Christ's execution with His shining triumph.

[642] Lawrence Nees, "On the Image of Christ Crucified in Early Medieval Art," in *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg 13-16 settembre 2000*, a cura di Michele Camillo Ferrari e Andreas Meyer (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 2005), 347.

of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.[643] He also questioned the frequently asserted rarity of monumental crucifixes before the ninth century, citing the seventh-century fragment from the "memoria" of Mellebaudis in Poiters.[644] Although the early medieval conception and representation of the cross cannot be divided as cleanly as Raw or Jensen indicated, Raw's ideas lend some credence to the psychological need to embody a symbol of power over death.

As impressive in scale, opulence, and authority as monumental, gemmed, or processional crosses may have been in the English estimation, their physical distance from the body may have presented difficulty for the newly converted. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, items associated with power had a long history of mobility and bodily contact, consistently carried on one's person. Compression of the cross to the proportions of a personal ornament was common in several Christian areas of the east and west, but may have appealed especially to the peoples of England and the bodily security they associated with amuletic jewelry. The diminutive copy served to ease anxiety caused by the distance between the supplicant and the material power-object of the cross. Anthropologist Michael Jackson identified an intelligible advantage to the resizing of a prototype: "Reduction in scale and objectification extend our power over a homologue of a thing, so allowing it to be grasped, assessed, and apprehended at a glance."[645] As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, on the

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[643] Though in the case of the Durham miniature, Nees stressed the image as communicating the victorious state of Christ rather than his suffering. Nees, "On the Image of Christ Crucified," 358-9.

[644] Nees, "On the Image of Christ Crucified," 353.

[645] Michael Jackson, *Paths Toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Enquiry* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 154.

whole, pendant crosses, with their distinctive and recognizable shape, fit into this simple reduction.

Chapter 4

THE PENDANT CROSS

One of the earlies sources attesting the use of pendant crosses among Christians originates in the Greek-speaking eastern Roman Empire. In Gregory of Nyssa's fourth-century *Vita of St. Macrina*, he relates how his sister Macrina wore an iron cross around her neck so that it continually rested *epi tēs kardias* (on her heart).[646] But these ornaments belonged to a broad category of personal objects of distinctly Christian character, magical amulets, and items that combined elements of the two. The terms *phylaktērion* and *phylakton*, for instance, from *phylassō*, "to guard," point to the object's protective role. By contrast, the terms *periapton* and *periamma*, from *periaptō*, "to hang about or upon," signal the object's relation to the body.[647]

As evidenced not only by Macrina's *vita*, but also by the material record, pendant, pectoral, and reliquary crosses were manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean world from the fifth to eighth century in a variety of materials including wood, iron, bronze, rock crystal, silver, and gold. This diversity suggests that the symbolic significance of the cross superseded the material from which it was made. By contrast, the majority of known pendant and pectoral crosses from seventh-century England are made up of a gold alloy, sometimes with a high percentage of gold and frequently inset with garnets.[648] The English appropriated the sign of the

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[646] Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, ed. and trans. Kevin Corrigan (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 47.

[647] Ivan Drpić, "The Enkolpion: Object, Agency, Self," *Gesta* 57, no. 2 (2018): 198.

[648] Staffordshire Cross: 90.7% Au, 7.8% Ag, 1.5% Cu; Eleanor Blakelock, "Gold Enrichment in Staffordshire Hoard K303: Results of SEM-EDX Analysis," British Museum Department of Conservation and Scientific Research (unpublished report,

cross into the established milieu of amuletic adornment in order to satisfy certain bodily requirements. It was these needs that determined the material from which crosses were fashioned, how they were worn and by whom, and how they operated within the traditions of adornment and amuletic practice; yet, despite the universality of the *signum crucis*, designs of the wearable cross may have been conditioned by the kinds of materials were affordable between the greater part of the population and the smaller number of elites. I will begin by examining a group of gold and garnet cloisonné jewelry pieces that embody the qualities of ambiguity and complexity of their non-Christian predecessors, then move on to silver and copper-alloy examples, and lastly, consider possible specimens of perishable materials.

From its earliest origins, adornment such as jewelry and weaponry served as cultural expressions of identity and status,[649] and the addition of crosses to the English repertoire of ornamentation has been widely recognized as an indication of Christian conversion in the middle and upper classes.[650] While baptism, such as that of King Æthelberht of Kent, enacted a public declaration of Christian identity and faith, adornment was a consistently visible affirmation that informed both the body of the wearer and all who saw it of the individual's new status as a Christian. This circle of elite converts was exposed to the education, iconography, and fashion of continental

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October 2012); Holderness Cross: 77% Au, 22% Ag. TAR 98-99; Newark Cross: 77-81% Au, 17-19% Ag, 2% Cu. PAS Unique ID: DENO-89E427; Ord Cross: 53-55% Au, 36-38% Ag, 8-10% Cu. PAS Unique ID: DUR-B62F57.

[649] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 234; Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 135.

[650] Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, 22.

Christianity, thus the style of the wearable cross in England has often been attributed to Byzantine and Frankish prototypes.[651] According to Leslie Webster, the established mode of cultural visual literacy continued to govern the shape and form of post-conversion objects, yet Webster made no mention of pendant or pectoral crosses.[652]

To date, fourteen cross pendants from the mid- to late-seventh century, fashioned of gold and inset with garnets (including three fragmentary pendants) are known, as well as three solid gold pendants. Ten of the gold and garnet crosses were antiquarian or chance finds; I will be referring to these as the Wilton Cross (fig. 34), the Ixworth Cross (fig. 35), St. Cuthbert's Cross (fig. 36), the Holderness Cross (fig. 37), the Newark Cross (fig. 38), the White Low Cross (fig. 39), the Staffordshire Cross (fig. 40), the Thurnham Cross (fig. 41), the Desborough Necklace (fig. 33), and the Milton Cross (fig. 42). The Ixworth, Holderness, St. Cuthbert's, Milton, and White Low crosses and the Desborough Necklace, were all found in graves or associated grave sites, whereas the Wilton, Newark, Staffordshire, and Thurnham crosses represent stray finds.[653] Two fragmentary crosses from Wymondham (fig. 43) and Folkestone (fig. 44) were found in 2018 by metal detectorists and a cloisonné crossarm from Scotland (fig. 45) was a stray find in excavations at Castle Park, Dunbar.[654] Two solid gold crosses, the Newball Cross (fig. 46) and the Ord Cross (fig.

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[651] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 173; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 25.

[652] Webster, "Encrypted Visions," 13.

[653] A detailed summary about the date, location, and circumstances of each find is summarized in Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 8-37.

[654] David R. Perry, *Castle Park, Dunbar: Two Thousand Years on a Fortified Headland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2000), 113-14.

47), were also recently discovered by detectorists. One gold and garnet pendant with an intact chain, found near Catterick Bridge, Yorkshire (fig. 48), is now lost.[655] Only the solid gold Ely Cross (fig. 49), found in 2006, the gold and garnet Trumpington Cross (fig. 1) found in 2011, and the Harpole Necklace (fig. 50), found in 2022, represent crosses excavated from a grave in accordance with modern archaeological standards.

In the 1960s, a comprehensive dating of specimens of English pendant crosses known at the time was compiled in response to new information which came to light in 1958 at the Milton Regis burial site, originally excavated in 1916.[656] Archaeologists Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and L.R.A. Grove rejected dating any cross pendant to the early seventh century, citing that Christianity was not widely accepted in England prior to 630, and in places like Mercia, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, not until after 650.[657] Christianity had been established by 600 in Kent; however, the religion suffered a setback due to the death of King Æthelberht and according to Bede it was not until 640 that the kingdom had recommitted to the faith.[658] Based on stylistically similar adornment and accompanying grave goods, Hawkes and Grove dated the Wilton, Ixworth, and St. Cuthbert crosses to around 650; the Milton Cross to the third

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[655] Rosemary J. Cramp, "A Lost Pendant Cross from Near Catterick Bridge, Yorkshire," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, eds. Andrew J. Reynolds and Leslie Webster, (Leiden: Brill 2013), 73-86.

[656] Hawkes and Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," 29-32.

[657] Bede, *HE*, III.xxi, 280, IV.xiii, 370-6, and IV.xvi, 382-4.

[658] Bede, *HE*, II.xv, 188-191.

quarter of the seventh century; and the White Low Cross and Desborough Necklace to the second half of the seventh century. More recent archeological chronologies of the early medieval period in England were developed in the second decade of the 2000s, based on a wider array of finds and integrating radiocarbon dating with assemblage analysis, correspondence analysis, and Bayesian chronological modelling.[659] Contextualization of the Trumpington Bed Burial benefitted greatly from this chronological framework and the gravesite and its contents constitutes an effective barometer by which to reassess the dating of cloisonné pendant crosses.[660] Ultimately, the dating has not radically shifted from Hawkes' and Grove's conclusions. Sam Lucy, one of the Trumpington site excavators, placed the Trumpington, Ixworth, Holderness, and Wilton crosses in the second half of the seventh century, though she posited that Cuthbert's cross could not have been deposited with the saint before his death in 687 at the earliest. Although, it is also possible that Cuthbert's cross could have been made earlier and could have been deposited later, for example at the time of his translation in 698, or indeed even after that.[661] Lucy concluded that, whatever their material or style, cross pendants had become an established inclusion in burials from the mid- to later seventh century in eastern England. Relying on the final phase chronology established by Bayliss et al., she conjectured that all crosses, even those of earlier

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[659] Alex Bayliss, et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[660] Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 11.

[661] Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 29.

manufacture, were deposited between 640-85.[662] The archeological evidence of the

past and present decades is invaluable to the dating of these crosses. I do wonder,

however, if Lucy's final thought, that the "sudden flourish of furnished female burial

is characterized by coherent burial assemblages which are not regionally-specific,"

implies that the styles of the crosses themselves were not "regionally-specific."[663] Can

a consideration of findspots, compared with contemporaneous regional styles,

contextualized in the sociopolitical atmosphere at the time of their deposition,

illuminate their stylistic development? To this end, I propose adding two

considerations: first, a mapping of findspots for cross pendants of a particular base

metal (e.g., gold, silver, and copper-alloy); second, an analysis of pendant shape and

construction to add clarity to the development of this new form of ornamentation in

conjunction with contemporaneous meanings of jewelry, styles, and manufacturing

methods. The following sections take up each of these issues in turn.

Distribution of Cross Pendants

As mentioned, archaeological findspots for pendant crosses consist of grave

recoveries and stray finds, which more recently include finds by metal detectorists.

Even in the case of grave deposits, the portable nature of jewelry pieces must be borne

in mind. An individual may not have been buried near the area of their birth. Likewise,

a pendant may not have been manufactured in the territory where it was eventually

buried, accidentally dropped, or hidden as booty; plus, territorial borders were often in

flux. Interestingly, mapping all known cross finds reveals that the largest number and

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[662] See Bayliss. et al., *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*, fig. 8.14c.

[663] Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 36.

widest variety of recovered cross pendants, three gold, four silver, and four copper-alloy, were found in Kent, the first of the Christianized post-Roman kingdoms in southeast England (see fig. 51 Findspots Map). Kent is also the territory featuring a greater number of grave deposits (nine) than stray finds (two) (see fig. 2 Stray vs. Grave Map). Five gold cross pendants and one silver were recovered from East Anglia and six gold crosses from Mercia, though the border of these two kingdoms was disputed and presumably fluctuated over time. The same indeterminacy applies to a silver cross pendant found in grave 187 at Butler's Field, Lechlade (fig. 52), and silver cross pendant in grave 8 at Standlake, Witney (fig. 53), each of which is located near the shifting the border between Mercia and Wessex.[664] Four gold cross pendants have been discovered in the vast territory of Northumbria; three of the four crosses were found on the immediate coast of "Bernicia," rather than the interior, though of these three, only Saint Cuthbert's Cross was found in a grave context. All silver and copper-alloy cross pendant finds have been associated with gravesite excavations; however, the ratio of stray finds to grave deposits for gold cross pendants is 66%.

Design of Cross Pendants

The cloisonné cross pendants can be generally divided into three groups according to their basic shape: circular, square, and tubular. The solid gold, silver, and copper-alloy cross pendants exhibit a wider range of design choices and will be addressed later in this chapter section. The design of the Ixworth, Wilton,

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[664] Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field*, 133-34; Tania M. Dickinson, "Excavations at Standlake Down in 1954: The Anglo-Saxon Graves," *Oxoniensia* 38 (1973): 249.

Trumpington, and St. Cuthbert crosses are based on a compass-drawn circle (see fig.

54), resulting in curved arms of equal length which flare at the ends. The underlying

geometry of this compass-based construction has been compared by various historians

to construction methods of English art forms such as disc brooches, cross-pages of

illuminated manuscripts, and monumental church crosses.[665] A relationship among

metalwork, manuscripts, and sculpture in early medieval England has been well

established in many examples,[666] but the particular significance here lies in the

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[665] Robert D. Stevick, *Insular Art Forms: Their Essence and Construction* (Witan
Publishing, 2012); Elizabeth Coatsworth, "The Pectoral Cross and Portable Altar from
the Tomb of St. Cuthbert," in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community: To AD 1200*,
eds. Gerald Bonner, David W. Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, Suffolk:
Boydell Press, 1989), 291-93; Inga Christine Swenson, "The Symmetry Potentials of
the Ornamental Pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels," *Gesta* 17, no. 1 (1978): 9-17;
Robert D. Stevick, "The 4 x 3 Crosses in the Lindisfarne and Lichfield Gospels,"
Gesta 25 (1986): 171-8; Dorothy Kelly, "A Sense of Proportion: The Metrical and
Design Characteristics of Some Columban High Crosses," *The Journal of the Royal
Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 126 (1996): 108-146.

[666] For example, metalwork and sculptural effects in the decoration of the Book of
Durrow (fols. 21v, 84v, 124v, 191v), in J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts: 6th –
9th Century* (London: H. Miller, 1978), ills. 14-17; sculptural parallels with the carpet-
pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 26v), in Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, ill. 38;
the decoration of the Durham Cassiodorus (fols. 81v, 172v), in Alexander, *Insular
Manuscripts*, ills. 74-5; the millefiori effect of the panel on the north face of the
Bewcastle Cross in Richard N. Bailey and Rosemary Cramp, *Cumberland,
Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands*, Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture,
vol. 2 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press,
1989), ill. 105; and how the Sutton Hoo belt fittings suggest that the relationship could
also go from manuscripts to metalwork in Lawrence Nees, "Weaving Garnets:
Thoughts About Two 'Excessively Rare' Belt Mounts from Sutton Hoo," in *Making
and Meaning in Insular Art: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on
Insular Art held at Trinity College Dublin, 25-28 August 2005*, ed. Rachel Moss
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 1-17. See also, Rupert Bruce Mitford, "The
Decoration," in *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. Thomas Downing
Kendrick, vol. 2 (Oltun et Lausanna Helvetiae: Urs Graf, 1960), 110-259, esp. 250ff;

relationship between cross pendants and composite disc brooches, the latter pre-dating the arrival of the Gregorian mission in medieval England. Circular brooches such as button brooches (fig. 55) were manufactured in Kent since the last quarter of the fifth century, saucer brooches (fig. 29) were popular in areas such as the Upper Thames Valley from the early-sixth to later sixth century, and quoit brooches (fig. 30) were favored south of the Thames Valley.[667] By the last quarter of the sixth century, the square-headed brooch along with other long brooches, had already fallen out of vogue, as circular brooches became the dominant style.[668]

The deliberately circular form of this group of cross pendants offers compelling evidence for a dependence on the existing jewelry form of the disc brooch. This, in turn, may aid in the dating of cross pendants of differing shapes and styles, as it suggests an earlier date for the circular group. In his examination of St. Cuthbert's Cross, Rupert Bruce-Mitford highlighted the striking parallels between the central garnet, surrounded by several bands of gold filigree and seated in a field of white material, and the central settings of Kentish disc and composite brooches, at least some of which may date from the period before 597 and the arrival of St. Augustine from Rome, or at least in the earlier part of the seventh century, before the production

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Høilund Nielsen, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite," 185-6; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 17-23 and 77-8.

[667] Richard Avent, *Anglo-Saxon Garnet Inlaid Disc and Composite Brooches*, vol. 1 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1975), 6; Penelope Walton Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450-700* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007), 113-15; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 41; Martin, "(Ad)Dressing the Anglo-Saxon Body," 29.

[668] Avent, *Anglo-Saxon Garnet Inlaid Disc and Composite Brooches*, 1:7.

of the earliest cloisonné crosses of the class referred to here.[669] Bruce-Mitford went so far as to suggest that the central portion of St. Cuthbert's cross was created from an earlier Kentish disc brooch, cut down and adapted as a new central setting.[670] Further evidence for inspiration from disc brooches can be found in the specific use of the cloisonné style, which both composite disc brooches from southeast England and circular cross pendants share. This will be discussed in the section on style below.

The Holderness, Staffordshire, Newark, Thurnham, White Low, Harpole, and Wymondham cross pendants differ from the first group, as their construction is based more generally on a square rather than a circle. Each arm, excepting the Holderness Cross and the Harpole Cross which have squared-off ends, extends from the center with only a slight flaring at the terminals. Despite a straighter arm-shape, none of the crosses save the Holderness Cross and Harpole Cross is truly equal-armed. The horizontal arms of the White Low Cross are shorter than either vertical, the Wymondham Cross's horizontal arms are longer than either vertical (possibly due to an ancient repair), and in the case of the Staffordshire, Newark, Desborough, and Milton crosses, the top cross arm is longer than the remaining three.

Regardless of geometric group, circular or square, every cross includes a circular element at its center from which the four arms emanate. In each case, excepting the Wilton Cross, the center is set with a garnet or imitation garnet. The stone is incorporated either as part of the cloisonné program, such as those of the

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[669] Rupert Bruce-Mitford, "The Pectoral Cross," in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert: Studies by Various Authors*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 319-20.

[670] Bruce-Mitford, "The Pectoral Cross," 320.

Ixworth and Trumpington crosses, or showcased as a singular central feature, as seen in the remaining crosses of the group. The Newark, Thurnham, and Wymondham pendants are set with an additional garnet in collets at the terminus of each arm. Central stones were either set *en cabochon* (left uncut and polished into a dome) or cut with a single facet across the top to create a flat surface.[671] Some modern replacements of the central stone are probable in the case of the Newark and White Low crosses, and possibly the Holderness Cross, presumably due to losses at some point in the pendant's history. The settings of the Newark and White Low pendants are much larger than their stones and the edges of the collets have been bent inwards, often awkwardly, to hold the stones in place. This is also the case for the smaller stones set in the arms of the Newark pendant, though one is now missing, two are cabochon cut, and one is flat. The remaining stones were all identified as garnets by Raman spectroscopy, though this does not rule out the possibility of the stones as later replacements.[672] Furthermore, the White Low stone is faceted, which is atypical of garnet-work in the seventh century.[673] According to the Reverend James Douglas' 1793 account of the discovery of the cross, it was found with the socket empty, and his illustration of the cross reflects this.[674] During her examination of the pendant in 1999,

[671] G.A. Lester, "The Anglo-Saxon Pendant Cross from Winster Moor, Derbyshire," *Medieval Archaeology* 20 (1976): 137; Francesca Dell'Acqua, "The Carbunculus (Red Garnet) and the Double Nature of Christ in the Early Medieval West," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art* History, 86, no. 3 (2017): 159.

[672] See PAS (record ID: DENO-89E427; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/197535.

[673] Lester, "The Anglo-Saxon Pendant Cross from Winster Moor," 137.

[674] "About twenty years ago, a woman picked up in a field near Winstor, and not far from the barrow which contained the ornament in Mr. Mander's possession, see the

Cambridge doctoral student Alice Chadwick noted a buildup of debris within the setting, which further suggests that the socket had been empty for some time before a replacement was added. Chadwick proposed a possible nineteenth century date for the addition of the new stone, but did not offer a rationale for the dating.[675]

Stylistically, the cross pendants can be divided into nearly the same groups as when categorized by shape. The compass-drawn crosses employ the cloisonné style, though each in its own imaginative pattern. To this group, the Holderness Cross may also be added, as it employs the cloisonné technique.[676] Thinly sliced garnets are set in chambers formed by gold wire and backed with delicate *pointillé* gold foils. The waffle pattern of the foils catches the light through the glass-like material of the garnets, setting the surface sparkling as the texture refracts the light back through the red jewels.[677]

Filigree comprises the primary surface decoration of the square group, employed with the same imaginative variety as the cloisonné group. The arms of the

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Archaeologia above cited, a small brass cross of fillagree-work, (see fig. 2. in the vignette) in the middle is a socket, which probably contained a stone." Reverend James Douglas, *Nenia Britannica: Or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain; from the Earliest Period to its General Conversion to Christianity* (London: Printed by John Nichols; for Benjamin and John White, 1793), 68; vignette on 67.

[675] White Low Cross Pendant, J93.706, Object History File, Weston Park Museum Archives, Sheffield.

[676] Though the cell-work is now buckled due to straightening of the top crossarm, which had been bent. PAS (record ID: YORYM214; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/28631.

[677] The *pointillé* technique had been applied to garnets since the first century CE. See Pliny, *NH*, 37.26 (Eichholz), 243.

Staffordshire and White Low crosses are filled with whorls of spiral filigree, whereas the surface of the Newark and Wymondham crosses features a plaited pattern. In all three a fine beaded border runs around the edges of the cross arms and around the perimeter of the central garnet. The tubular group, by contrast, employs little to no decoration besides a central cabochon jewel. The surface of the Desborough Necklace cross is unadorned, and the Maidstone crossarms are engraved with simple horizontal bands in groups of three per arm.

Two generally distinct styles of suspension loops seem evident from the known specimens, reeded loops and biconical beads. As protrusions from the more stable body of the pendant, reeded loops are the most vulnerable to damage and loss. Most loops of pendant crosses, regardless of shape, appear to have been subject to some aberration of form due to encounters with laborers' tools, farming implements, or other sources of violence while still in the ground. Additionally, an alteration of form cannot be ruled out after discovery, particularly in the hands of over-zealous Victorian conservators who may have used pliers in attempts to restore perfect circularity to damaged loops.[678] Tubular loops with various types of decorative embellishment are present on the majority of known pendant crosses. Though now lost, the size and shape of the area where the loop was broken from the apex of the Newark Cross indicates it too should be included in this grouping. The attention to individualized detail is most striking in that no two tubular loops are quite the same; they range from the wonderfully beaded X-pattern on St. Cuthbert's Cross (which due to a vertical line through the center recalls the Chi-Ro) (fig. 36), to the ornate filigree

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[678] Thanks to Shannon Steiner for this observation via email communication, September 20, 2018.

S-patterns that adorn the Staffordshire Cross loop (fig. 40), to the simple, elegant ridges impressed vertically along the surface of the Maidstone Cross loop. The Ixworth and Wilton crosses, however, feature rather hefty biconical bead loops. On the Ixworth loop, a raised ring of gold bisects the bead at its center, and the crossarm dips in a V-shape to accommodate the protrusion of the ring into the arm's space. Two smaller rings provide symmetrical closure at each end of the bead. The loop of the Wilton Cross, while nearly as substantial, is wrapped in more delicate and regular rows of plaits, like a rope wound around a bollard. Unlike the Ixworth Cross loop, which impinges on the very shape of the top crossarm, the plaited loop of the Wilton Cross stands out in remarkable contrast to the identical flared arms of the pendant. Three arms curl outwards from the cloisonné frame around the solidus, patterns of mushroom and arrow cloisons mirrored on each. Conversely, the arm extending from the pendant's apex features a chevron pattern surmounted by the suspension loop rather than a flared arm. This marked difference calls the variation in the design into question. Did it result as a deliberate preference for variety, perhaps to strengthen the vertical axis, or as a forced solution to a paucity of space in which to fit the mushroom pattern, or as a later alteration to an existing jewelry piece? Though one of the most scrutinized cross pendants, no evidence of later alteration to the Wilton Cross has been posited in the extant literature.[679] Practicality suggests that the manufacture of tubular loops might require less material and less skill for the jeweler, especially as the

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[679] In his analysis of the Wilton pendant, Marion Archibald notes alterations only to the *solidus*. See Marion M. Archibald, "The Wilton Cross Coin Pendant: Numismatic Aspects and Implications," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World*, 58-60.

biconical bead demands more metal and more foresight in the design of crossarms. It is therefore unsurprising that the former outweighs the latter in occurrences for our specimen group. Future discoveries may however complicate this view, as in the case of the Trumpington Cross; as a pectoral, it stands apart from either grouping, featuring four simple loops on the back of each arm of the cross. These loops, as Lucy suggests, may have been threaded with a cord or chain for suspension, though no chain or cord was recovered in the excavation.[680] Furthermore, the placement and size of the cross loops seem more suited to the purpose of sewing the cross into the fabric of the clothing or shroud.

Two of the three pendants which are not inset with garnets are inverted Latin crosses wherein the suspension hole or loop has been added to the longest third arm. Though both are twenty-first century finds of a Latin cross form, having one arm longer than the other three, these two pendants are fairly dissimilar. The Newball Cross (fig. 46) was found just outside of Lincoln by a metal dectectorist in 2005. Its construction is unique among early English cross pendants. Angela Care Evans provided the following description in the *Treasure Annual Report 2005/6*:

> It is made up with one cruciform sheet, which extends into the
> suspension loop, acting as a base-plate. A single strip of gold, set on
> edge, is neatly soldered to this forming a cruciform cell. This is then
> covered by second sheet of gold whose edges are partially enfolded by
> the top of the cell wall. The sheet forming the base-plate is pierced at
> the centre by an equal armed cruciform opening which is partially filled
> by a thin gold sheet, itself pierced with a smaller equal armed cross. In
> the interior of the cross, immediately beneath the smaller opening is

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[680] Although Lucy notes the Trumpington Cross was not designed as a pendant, she asserts that its position in the grave suggests that is how it was used. Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 9-10.

what appears to be a circular element resembling a stud, but no trace of this can be seen on the front plate.[681]

The Latin shape, wherein the lower arm is longer than the other three, is quite rare for cross ornaments in early medieval England, occurring only in the Prittlewell gold foil crosses (fig. 56), the silver cross from grave 9 at Chartham (fig. 57), and in the cross adorning the nasal of the Benty Grange helmet (fig. 9). Equally unique is the slip knot ring of gold wire threaded through the swaged suspension loop. The addition of this ring suggests the cross might have been repurposed from a pendant to an accessory for something like a chatelaine. A precedent for this exists in the silver Standlake Cross (fig. 53), as well as in continental models, e.g., a cruciform ornament suspended from a chatelaine found in a grave in Alemannia (fig. 58). The *Treasure Annual Report* reports a curious lack of wear in the ring, but regrettably, does not address the amount of wear in the suspension loop. The possibility of the Newball pendant as a reliquary cross was ruled as unlikely, though no clear reason was offered. Notably, the cruciform piercing was applied to the back of the cross; this feature, along with its suspension from the longest arm in order to appear "right-side-up" to the viewer, may have enabled practices of private viewing and devotion that will be further addressed in the "Personal Interaction with Cross Pendants" section of this chapter.

A second Latin-shaped cross represents another detectorist find from Berwick on Tweed, within Ord Parish. Though similar in size to the Newball pendant, the Ord Cross (fig. 47) has a much simpler make-up of a solid cruciform plate with straight arms, rounded off at the edges, and it is much lighter in weight. After the loss of its

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[681] Angela Care Evans, "Newball, Lincolnshire: Anglo-Saxon Gold Cross Pendant (2005 T136)," *Treasure Annual Report 2005/6* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2008), 92-3.

suspension loop, the longest arm was perforated for suspension, and diagonally filed to round off the rough edge. The entire surface of the cross is inscribed with runes, undoubtedly etched before the perforation, as the hole was punched right through the leading ᛗ. Fortunately, the text of the runes (ᛗᚠᚹᚱᚾᚹ - ea͡druf) is still clear; what is unclear is the intended meaning of the runic phrase, which has inspired significant perplexity and conjecture among scholars. The general consensus has concluded that ea͡druf is a personal name, though in the words of John Hines, an "etymologically mysterious name."[682] Despite the ambiguities surrounding stray finds like the Ord Cross, scholars have attempted to relate its findspot with local Christian communities of the time. Ord parish is traditionally located within the Chapelry of Tweedmouth, a component of the larger group of estates and townships within Islandshire. Islandshire was part of a parish belonging to Lindisfarne in the early medieval period, later becoming a detached part of the County Palatine of Durham, and then finally ceded to the County of Northumberland in the min-nineteenth century. To date, no archaeological evidence of early medieval settlements has been found in either Tweedmouth or Ord, but along the old Roman road known colloquially as the Devil's Causeway (fig. 59), there may have been a bridge or other crossing point in the vicinity of the later parish church.[683] At the very least, the presence of a trafficked

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[682] For the contributions of Carlos Austin-Gonzalez, David Petts, and John Hines, see PAS (record ID: DUR-B62F57; accessed February 10, 2021), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986027.

[683] PAS (record ID: DUR-B62F57; accessed February 10, 2021), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986027; M.C. Bishop, *The Secret History of the Roman Roads of Britain* (Barnsley, Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2014), 202.

Roman road in this area presents possibilities for travel to Lindisfarne and related areas as well as opportunities for the loss of carried items like the Ord Cross.

The third cross, found at Westfield Farm in Ely (fig. 49), was one component of a necklace that is eclectic, not only because of the cross' missing top arm, but also due to its unusual assemblage of silver and gold pendants. Rather than replacing the top arm, a ribbed suspension loop was soldered directly to the single gold plate making up the horizontal crossarms. The bottom is soldered to the plate and bordered by a single strip of beaded wire extending up into the center of the cross. The horizontal plate likewise has a single strip of beading overlapping the latter's strip. This arrangement creates cells in each arm and in the middle, though there are no remains indicating the cells were ever filled with precious stones, glass, or any other decorative element.[684] Sam Lucy characterized the crossarms as "half kidney-shaped" and the overall form compared with that of the Ixworth Cross, which would put the Ely Cross in our circular category.[685] According to Lucy the arrangement of the pendants from the ends of the necklace to center progress from two silver bullae, then a gold pendant with a stirrup-shaped cabochon garnet setting on the left, an unedged gold bulla on the right, and finally a pair of silver bullae flanking the central cross pendant.[686] This mixture of silver and gold pendants is anomalous in the corpus of early English necklaces with cross pendants.

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[684] Sam Lucy, et al., "The Burial of a Princess? The Later Seventh-Century Cemetery at Westfield Farm, Ely," *The Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009): 89.

[685] Lucy, et al., "The Burial of a Princess?," 121.

[686] Lucy, et al., "The Burial of a Princess?," 122.

Discovery of crosses of other, more widely available metals, such as copper-alloy or silver, has proven rare in comparison to the corpus of gold and silver specimens. The case of the copper-alloy pendants is curious when compared with Joycelyn Baker's study on the prevalence of copper-alloy jewelry from 450-650 CE.[687] Unlike iron, another affordable and ubiquitous metal in this period, copper-alloy was preferred for its luster and color, which on its own could resemble a precious metal, or be coated to create a more convincing illusion of another metal.[688] Gilding with gold and silver plating were popular treatments for copper-alloy ornaments, and the metals were even paired next to one another on some objects to effect a dramatic visual contrast.[689] Gold, however, remained the favored color whether in its pure form, or through gilding and even tinning, which may have sometimes been colored to mimic the look of gold.[690] Four diminutive copper-alloy cross pendants from the seventh century, now at the British Museum, show little visual evidence of an imitative coating, though neither spectrophotometry nor ED-XRF has been applied to any of the samples. The copper of each cross has oxidized to a blue-green hue and each surface is significantly corroded from over 1,300 years in the grave. Two of the pendants are from Breach Down, Kent (figs. 60 and 61), and they share a design of slightly flared arms radiating from a circular center with a ring-and-

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[687] Joycelyn Baker, "The Colour and Composition of Early Anglo-Saxon Copper-alloy Jewellery," (PhD diss., Durham University, 2013).

[688] Baker, "Color and Composition," 7.

[689] Baker, "Color and Composition," 144.

[690] Baker, "Color and Composition," 23, 146.

dot motif, just detectable at the end of each arm. Another pendant from Breach Down (fig. 62) is devoid of ornament, though it shares an elongated arm for suspension present in the other two. The arms of the fourth pendant from Wingham Cemetery, Kent (fig. 63) are flared more dramatically, and the entire surface is punctured with ring-and-dot decoration. Although the PAS lists three similar pendants found by detectorists, only one has been dated prior to the ninth century.[691] As mentioned, the British Museum examples are significantly oxidized and corroded, and one has lost its bottom arm. It is likely that only their placement in the grave preserved these tiny, fragile crosses at all; contemporaneous examples in other parts of England may have easily been lost to time, damage to the gravesite, or corrosive materials in the soil or in other grave goods abutting the crosses. Any inference that less-expensive pendant crosses in silver, copper-alloy, or iron were rarely produced seems therefore unwarranted. The likelihood is that such objects were far more common and not restricted to elite patronage in the way that gold crosses may have been.

Perhaps for some of the same reasons as these English examples, similar cross pendants of copper-alloy from continental areas with connections to eastern England are nearly as rare, apart from a sliver of Frankish territory between the Rhine and Mosel rivers;[692] here a number of mid-seventh-century cross-shaped brooches is

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[691] PAS (record ID: SF9078; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/34933; PAS (record ID: NMS-873F43; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/566420; PAS (record ID: LVPL1711; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/6260.

[692] Volker Bierbrauer, "The Cross Goes North: From Late Antiquity to Merovingian Times South and North of the Alps," in *The Cross Goes North*, 437.

extant from both settlements and graves. Pectoral crosses began to appear at this time as well, though their findspots extend from Cologne along the Rhine and down along the Danube. A diminutive cross found in Diez in 1959 (fig. 64), shares contemporary aspects of animal ornament, but it is unlike any other cross found on the continent or in England. Though discovered during shaft work rather than in a grave context, its gilded surface and unusual form suggest it was owned by a person of means. Reminiscent of the Milton Cross, the center portion of each arm is scored round with four lines. But in a fabulous deviation from the blunt ends of the Milton crossarms, each arm of the Diez cross terminates in a raised collar from which the head of a beast emerges. Though the jaws of the beasts appear closed, the suspension loop is attached to the end of one beast's face, as if protruding from its mouth. More recently in 2011, a copper-alloy cross (fig. 65) with the common ring-and-dot motif was unearthed at a necropolis in Pontarlier. The flat surface features one ring-and-dot for each arm, and one in the center of the cross. The topmost motif is interrupted by a punched hole from which the pendant would have been suspended.

Further afield, some pendants from the Coptic regions of Egypt bear a striking resemblance to our group of English copper-alloy crosses. Two pendants from Qaw el-Kebir are strung together on a necklace of glass, amber, amethyst and carnelian beads and their museum record dates them to the fifth or sixth century (fig. 66).[693] Another cross pendant from the same findspot hangs alongside a more monotone array of gray stone or glass beads and is dated by the museum to between the sixth and eighth

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[693] Necklace; cross pendant, 1923,1103.26, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

centuries (fig. 67).[694] Another pendant found singly in "Mesopotamia," falls between the sixth and seventh centuries (fig. 68).[695] The similarity in shape between these eastern Mediterranean cross pendants and those from Breach Down is remarkable; what is glaringly different is the string of beads accompanying the Coptic crosses. To date, the combination of cross pendants with clay or stone beads has not been found in England, though the Desborough Necklace and the Harpole Necklace include gold biconical beads and garnet pendants. A closer comparison to the Coptic combination may be found in a seventh-century example from Friedberg near Augsburg in southern Bavaria (fig. 69). This sheet silver cross, hung from a necklace of chunky glass beads, was found alongside other goods in the grave of a young woman.[696] The style of the pendant was common in the eastern Mediterranean between the sixth and seventh centuries, usually featuring portraits of the four evangelists or the Virgin, or images of archangels in the roundels at the end the arms and Christ at the center of the cross.[697] Some jewelers, however, substituted the portraits with whorls (fig. 70) or palmettes, or filled in the entire drop-shaped arm with the vegetal motif. [698] In these examples, the

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[694] Necklace; cross pendant, 1923,1103.24, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[695] Cross; pendant, 91310, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[696] Rainer Christlein, Karl Natter, and Irene Nägele, *Die Alamannen: Archäologie eines lebendigen Volkes* (Stuttgart: K. Theiss, 1978), 120.

[697] Necklace with Pendant Cross, 17.190.1650, Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.

[698] Necklace with Pendant Cross, 17.190.1650, Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.

central figure of Christ was replaced with a cross, punched into the gold sheet, and in one pendant at the British Museum (fig. 71), the cruciform cavity was filled with four garnet plates.[699] The roundels of our silver example (fig. 69) are punched with a simple pattern of one central dot ringed by seven more dots; few more punched dots adorn the cross arms and the roundel at the center of the cross features a plain boss with a beaded border. The overall style of the cross roughly adheres to the popular eastern Mediterranean style described above and has thus been identified as originating outside of Bavaria, though I would contend that its more modest stylistic interpretation includes the possibility of domestic manufacture. The Friedberg area where this pendant was located lies inside the aforementioned area of native production along the Rhine and down along the Danube in Alemannia. But its adaptation of a Mediterranean style suggests the extensive contacts between Francia and the eastern Roman world that would also touch the shores of England.

Three silver cross pendants from Standlake, Oxfordshire, Butler's Field, Lechlade, and Wye Down, Kent may be entered into the circular category. The first of these three is a silvered copper-alloy foil cross discovered on Standlake Down (fig. 53). Working against impending gravel extraction, Dr. H.W. Catling excavated five ring-ditches on the site in 1954. The silver cross was found in grave 8, containing the richest assemblage in the cemetery and was identified as a component of a chatelaine that included an iron key, a bone ring, and an openwork girdle-hanger made of copper-

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[699] O.M. Dalton, "A Gold Pectoral Cross and an Amuletic Bracelet of the Sixth Century," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut, à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance (17 octobre 1924)*, ed. Gustave Léon Schlumberger (Paris: P. Geunther, 1924), 386–90, pl. 17.

alloy.[700] At 3.4 cm by 3.7 cm, it represents the largest of the English silver crosses addressed in this study. The shape of the crossarms mirrors that of St. Cuthbert's cross, curving sharply around a boss in the center. A large hole was punched in the top arm, presumably to accommodate a cord for suspension or as a point of attachment to the deceased's garments. Most of the left arm and half of the bottom arm are missing; the remaining arms are filled with a thick interlace, though it is difficult to ascertain through the damage whether it is zoomorphic in nature.

A remarkable example of recycling can be found in our second silver cross (fig. 52) from a grave positioned prominently at the center of a ring-ditch in Butler's Field. Its arms are of equal length with rounded ends and its overall dimension of 2.7 cm makes it slightly smaller than the Standlake Cross. It was discovered at the neck of a woman alongside eight silver hoops, six silver wire rings, three glass beads, and two silver suspension loops.[701] It is unfortunately not possible to discern any clear surface decoration from the excavation illustration or photograph, and the report makes no mention of ornamentation. More apparent is the cross's history of alteration prior to deposition; not only is the top crossarm a replacement for a lost arm, but it does not match the original crossarms. Furthermore, there are marks engraved by a compass on the reverse of the cross, suggesting use of the surface for the practice of inscription or, more likely, former use of the silver for another piece of metalwork. [702] A silver "mount" has become detached from the middle of the pendant; a beaded rim runs

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[700] Dickinson, "Excavations at Standlake Down," 249.

[701] Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field*, 2: 37

[702] Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field*, 1: 134.

around the central element, which, rather than a rounded boss or a cavity for a stone, consists of a globule of material resembling solder. The suspension loop has likewise become detached; though remnants of solder where it was affixed remain, the excavation report does not specify if either of the two suspension loops found in the grave as possible matches for the cross.

Though also of the circular persuasion, the arms of the third and final silver cross from Wye Down (fig. 72) seem to spring from the central element, presumably a cabochon cut garnet, similar to the arms of the Ixworth cross. Like the Ixworth cross, the original findspot of the Wye Down pendant is shrouded in uncertainty.[703] The cross is in pieces, one arm still glued to a textile backing which measures about three centimeters in diameter. Four additional glue stains remain visible on the surface of the textile circle, presumably where the three remaining arms and the hefty suspension loop would have been attached. Two of the arms are mostly intact and the third and fourth have each been split in half. An oxidized copper-alloy hook included among the fragments may represent the remaining half of a suspension loop. The "loop" is plain and quite thick, especially as compared to the exceptional thinness of the cross itself, causing one to wonder if it was a later addition; the presence of a small silver jump ring is more in keeping with the material and delicacy of the assemblage. Centuries of exposure to the air has darkened the surface of the cross with a patina of silver sulfides. The crossarms have been die punched with a double beaded border. Artifacts

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[703] Purchased by the British Museum in 1893 from John Durden, son of previous owner and collector, Henry Durden. See Ian Longworth and Cathy Haith, "Henry Durden and his Collection," *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 114 (1992): 151-160, esp. 154.

and irregularities not trimmed after punching protrude from various points on the edges. Triangles filled with crosshatching incised by hand occupy the center of each arm. The central cabochon is ringed with its own double border of beading. No tests have been conducted on the central jewel to confirm whether it is garnet or glass, and no *pointillé* backing was visible upon my own examination with a microscope.[704] Henry Durden, who excavated this find among many others at Wye, qualified this ornament as a "cross pendant," and this designation continues to be utilized by the British Museum. Unfortunately, Durden was an amateur archaeologist who did not publish his finds, and his son John sold the collection to the British Museum in 1893.[705] The material evidence of the fabric backing for the "cross" is, however, hard to ignore; the five glue stains calls the designation of the ornament into question, not as a pendant, but specifically as a Christian cross.

Within the square grouping I submit a pair of crosses from Kingston Down, Kent and a single cross from Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk.[706] Faussett did not record precisely where he found the tiny pair of crosses (fig. 73) on the body of the woman in grave 142 on Kingston Down. But as they were found among a great quantity of beads and two ornaments "for the neck," a garnet in a gold setting and a purple stone or glass

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[704] Thanks to the British Museum for use of their microscope for this examination.

[705] Biographical entry for Henry Durden, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG83889.

[706] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 66-7; Angela Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field*, 133-34 and fig. 5.106: 187.6, 259; Sam Lucy, Jess Tipper, and Alison Dickens, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk* (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, 2009), 391-3.

set in silver, the crosses were likely part of a necklace.[707] The identical pair are small (only 2 cm) and their thin surface has been gilded on the front and left plain on the reverse. The surface is decorated in a repousse design, four equal length arms emerging from five concentric circles at the center. The right and left arms feature two interlinked arc-like loops with a pellet between, and a diagonal cross pattern made by four triangles in frames fills the top and bottom arms. A reeded suspension loop still remains soldered to the top of one pendant, while the other has been broken off and lost. Originally the pair were both were enclosed in silver frames that had corroded and sadly fell apart as the crosses were removed from the grave.[708]

It is not easy to assert that the final cross in the square category fits that designation perfectly, particularly because it was found in two fragments with its supposed "core" missing.[709] Much like the Desborough Necklace, the silver cross from Bloodmoor Hill (fig. 74) was part of a necklace of bulla; however, rather than a hollow tubular construction, the cross seems to have been comprised of plain silver sheet molded over a flat, thin organic core. If the reconstruction illustration is accurate, the top arm of the cross appears to be shorter than the other three;[710] an

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[707] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 66-7, pl. 4, fig. 6, and pl. 11, fig. 19.

[708] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 67.

[709] Sam Lucy, Jess Tipper, and Alison Dickens, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeological Report No. 131 (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, 2009), 391.

[710] Lucy, et. al., *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill*, 392.

inspection of the original piece would be needed to make a more definitive assessment.[711]

One final silver cross begs comment before closing this section of geometric categorization. The second largest of the silver specimens addressed here, the 3.15 cm cross recovered from a grave on Chartham Down, Canterbury (fig. 57) would fall into the Latin cross category of the Newball and Ord crosses. What is suspect is whether it is a cross pendant at all. As he found it near the neck of a young female, Faussett designated it as such, although there was no evidence of a suspension loop, past or present.[712] Each crossarm has one hole towards its end. In the *Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale: Kentish and Anglo Saxon Grave Goods in the Sonia Hawkes Archive*, the holes are referred to as "rivet" holes, and the cross is designated as a "miscellaneous mount."[713] It is worth considering, however, that the holes may have been used to sew the cross into the deceased garments or burial shroud; though not a foil cross, the Chartham piece is thin enough for such a use. An x-ray fluorescent analysis conducted by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, et al., found no marks indicating wear by the individual.[714] Here we find some of the decorative elements present on our other silver crosses, though the beveling at the edges of the crossarms is unprecedented. The

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[711] The cross is currently held at the Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service in six fragments: 06890, 06891, 06892, 06893, 06895, 06896.

[712] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 169.

[713] Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale: Kentish and Anglo Saxon Grave Goods in the Sonia Hawkes Archive (record ID: M6717; accessed August 18, 2021), http://inventorium.arch.ox.ac.uk/.

[714] Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, J. M. Merrick, and D. M. Metcalf, "X-ray Fluorescent Analysis of Some Dark Age Coins and Jewelry," *Archaeometry* 9 (1966): 115.

central boss is wreathed with beaded silver wire and the arms of the cross feature

various engraved ornamentation. The three shorter arms are edged with incised

parallel lines, diagonal hatching in between. On the longest arm, crosshatching fills the

negative space created by a simple interlace motif: a plain outline interlacing twice

and making a complete loop at either end. The pointed tails protruding from beneath

the last loop suggest that animal interlace may have been on the artist's mind.[715]

Gold and gilded crosses represent the bulk of known cross recoveries, and

silver crosses were available to those unable to afford gold, or conceivably not fond of

that material. Though none survive, is also conceivable that crosses fashioned of

perishable materials such as wood or textiles were included in lay burials. Cross

rituals, such as one listed in *Lacnunga* CXXXIII to protect cattle enclosures, prescribe

the use of crosses made from *cassuc*, a type of grass or sedge.[716] The popularity of

such rites in rural areas has been demonstrated by Karen Jolly, who described the

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[715] Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale: Kentish and Anglo Saxon Grave Goods in the Sonia Hawkes Archive (record ID: M6717; accessed August 18, 2021), http://inventorium.arch.ox.ac.uk/.

[716] See *DOE* s.v. *cassuc*. The charm reads, "Wiþ lungenadle hriðerum: þa wyrt on wordigum, heo bið gelic hundes micgean ðære wyrte, þær wexeð blaco bergean eal swa micele swa oðre pysbeana, gecnuca; do in halig wæter; do þonne on muð þæm hryþerum. genim þa ylcan wyrte, do in glede, 7 finol 7 cassuc 7 godeweb 7 recels; bærn eal tosomne on ða healfe ðe se wind sy; læt reocan on ðone ceap. weorc cristes mæl of cassuce fifo, sete on feower healfe þæs ceapes 7 an to middes. Sing ymb þone ceap: 'Benedicam dominum in omni tempore' [Ps. XXXIII] usque in finem, 7 'benedicite' 7 letanias 7 'pater noster;' stred on halig wæter, bærn ymb recels 7 godeweb, 7 geeahtige mon ðone ceap; syle þone teoþan pænig for gode; læf syþðan beotigean; do ðus þriwa." *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585 The Lacnunga*, ed. and trans. Edward Pettit, vol. 1 (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2001), 97.

cross as a "source of 'tangible grace' accessible to all."[717] This lends credence to usage of the cross in the life of the laity and opens up speculation as to its use in ornamentation in various materials at various levels of the class system in early medieval England.

Materials of Cross Pendants

It is impossible to rule out the fabrication and use of wearable crosses in materials other than gold and silver; yet, the affective qualities of brightness and color, as well as cultural attitudes toward contrasts, may provide a richer explanation for the dominance of gold and garnet specimens than simply the rarity of the materials or popularity of the style. In *What Color is the Sacred?*, Michael Taussig counters the fallacy of bodily autonomy, arguing that aspects of material objects such as color are magnetic, compelling the body to engage with those objects.[718]

As explicated in Chapter 2, both material brilliance and an affinity for juxtapositions are evident in the Old English vernacular and in poetry and prose. The metallic surface of a gold or gilded ornament and the flashing jewels set within its surface maximized the eye-catching qualities of reflective light. Composite brooches such as the Kingston brooch (fig. 75) or the brooch from Monkton now in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 31),[719] were inlaid with blue and occasionally green glass,

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[717] Karen L. Jolly, "Tapping the Power of the Cross: Who and for Whom?" in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, 74.

[718] Taussig, *What Color Is the Sacred?*, 36.

[719] See also another brooch from Monkton, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. AN1934.202.

as well as exotic, non-native varieties of white shell and pearl.[720] These blue and green pieces acted as accents in a field of red garnet inlay and the white shell as "collars" or settings for central or larger statement garnet stones. Garnet cloisonné had been favored since the third century in the northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea along the Crimean Peninsula and in Iberia (present-day eastern Georgia).[721] This preference appeared in England from the fifth to seventh centuries, a taste usually attributed to Kent's close ties with Francia, and thus also beyond. Archaeologist Johan Nicolay has supported the view that North Sea areas were supplied with garnets along the same route as eastern Roman gold, via the Franks.[722] Since the time of Childeric (d. 482), wealthy Merovingians prized garnets and outfitted their jewelry, weapons, and eventual ecclesiastic items with cloisonné.[723] Incorporating garnet cloisonné in English jewelry could signal that the wearer was, not only a member of a particular

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[720] Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, "The Monkton Brooch," *The Antiquaries Journal* 54, no. 2 (1974): 246, n. 4; David Hinton notes that shells used came from the Red Sea area as native shells were too soft or brittle for use, particularly as bosses. David Alban Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 53.

[721] Mark Ščukin and Igor Bažan, "L'origine du style cloisonné de l'époque des Grandes Migrations," *La Noblesse romaine et les chefs barbares du IIIe au VII siècle*, eds. Francoise Vallet and Michel Kazanski (Rouen, France: Association Francaise D'archeologie Merovingienne, 1995), 65.

[722] Johan Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power: Early Medieval Kingship and the Use of Gold and Silver in the Southern North Sea Area* (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing and University of Groningen Library, 2014), 223.

[723] Birgit Arrhenius, "Garnet Jewelry of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," in *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, eds. Katharine Reynolds Brown, Dafydd Kidd, and Charles T. Little (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 216.

regional and/or status group, but also connected with elite continental communities.

Importation of garnets from distant areas for the sole purpose of the beautification of

luxury objects further demonstrated entrepreneurial and diplomatic prowess in

acquiring raw materials.[724] Spectroscopic analysis of garnets used in Merovingian

jewelry indicates that almandines coming into western Europe in the fifth and sixth

centuries were imported from India and Sri Lanka.[725] Smaller Bohemian pyropes

began to appear in ornamentation at the end of the sixth century, a trend attributed to

the interruption of trade routes by the Sassanid invasion of the Arabian peninsula.[726]

Helena Hamerow has demonstrated that the decline in almandine garnets in Francia

had little effect on the usage of garnet cloisonné in England, where the style flourished

until the third quarter of the seventh century.[727] While acknowledging that more

research is needed, Hamerow suggested possible exploitation of new trade routes such

as the Russian rivers systems later used by the Vikings. Jörg Drauschke has

maintained that south Asian routes may not have suffered a total shutdown, as some

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[724] Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 145.

[725] Patrick Périn, et al., "Provenancing Merovingian Garnets by PIXE and μ-Ramen Spectrometry," in *COST Action G8 Non-destructive Testing and Analysis of Museum Objects*, eds. Andrea Denker, Annemie Adriaens, Mark Dowsett, and Alessandra Giumlia-Mair (Stuttgart: Fraunhofer IRB, 2006), 111-18.

[726] Périn, et al., "Provenancing Merovingian Garnets by PIXE and μ-Ramen Spectrometry," 118; Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 25.

[727] Helena Hamerow, "The Circulation of Garnets in the North Sea Zone, ca. 400-700," in *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD: Mines, Trade, Workshops and Symbolism*, eds. Alexandra Hilgner, Susanne Greiff, and Dieter Quast (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2017), 77.

seventh-century almandines could still have originated from there.[728] Analysis of the Staffordshire Hoard garnets at the Louvre's C2RMF lab in 2010 indicated provenances of northern India and Bohemia.[729]

Early Christian writers were aware of the Indian origin of garnets and referred to them by the Latin word *carbunculus,* a literal translation from the Greek ἄνθραξ, "burning charcoal."[730] In his commentary on the book of Genesis, Augustine of Hippo compared the stone's inner luminosity to the light of truth, which neither the nocturnal darkness nor the darkness of falsity could extinguish.[731] Bede echoed Augustine in his own commentary on Genesis, noting the gem's fiery color and its ability to cut through the darkness of the night.[732] Despite their ancient reputation as self-illuminating, garnets are more light-absorbent than light-refractive depending on their cut and the materials used as their backing. It seems even Pliny the Elder was familiar with this issue and with the techniques of jewelers to maximize the brilliance of stone.

[728] Jörg Drauschke, *Zwischen Handel und Geschenk.Studien zur Distribution von Objekten aus dem Orient, aus Byzanz und aus Mitteleuropa im östlichen Merowingerreich* (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2011), 42-3.

[729] Daniel Symons, *The Staffordshire Hoard* (Birmingham, West Midlands: Birmingham Museums Trust, 2014), 49.

[730] Dell'Acqua, "The Carbunculus (Red Garnet) and the Double Nature of Christ," 159.

[731] Augustine, *Augustinus: De Genesi Contra Manichaeos* II, X, 14, ed. Dorothea Weber, CSEL 91 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 134-5.

[732] Bede, *On Genesis* I, 2, 12, trans. Calvin B. Kendall (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 116; Dell'Acqua noted that Bede's use of *inlustrare* recalls Augustine's analogy of the stone's ability to elucidate. Dell'Acqua, "The Carbunculus (Red Garnet) and the Double Nature of Christ," 160, Note 13.

The methods used by Frankish and English artisans were not new; Pliny wrote, "…craftsmen force the opaque stones to become translucent by placing foil beneath them."[733] While laying textured foil inlays behind thinly cut garnets increased their refractive qualities, the inherent hue of the jewels created a deep contrast with the highly reflective surface of the gold in which they were set. As discussed in Chapter 2, Old English color terms were predominantly brightness-based; the exception to this was the color red, which primarily embodied a sense of hue.[734] In his study on the evolution of English color terms, Ronald Casson listed referents made using the Old English word, *reád*, including "roses and the blood reddened cross" and the "reflectivity and luminosity in reference to flames, fire and lightning, dawn and sunset, gold, sword edges, and the waters of the Red Sea."[735] The interrelation of the concepts of red and gold is evident in words such as *reád gold*, a term previously assumed to reference a high level of copper in the gold alloy of early medieval metalwork.[736] The material evidence does not support this assumption as gold was most often debased with silver in late-sixth and early-seventh-century England; that is unless it was a term reserved for the purest and therefore rarest and most valued kind of gold.[737]

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[733] Pliny, *NH*, 37.26 (Eichholz), 243.

[734] Casson, "Color Shift: Evolution of English Color Terms," 226.

[735] Casson, "Color Shift: Evolution of English Color Terms," 228.

[736] William E. Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *PMLA* 14, no. 2 (1899): 195.

[737] Avent, *Anglo-Saxon Garnet Inlaid Disc and Composite Brooches*, 1:17; Baker, "The Colour and Composition," 122 and 125.

Baker has explored cultural understandings and expressions of color in early English jewelry, citing "red" as the most frequently occurring color term in the Old English lexicon.[738] Unfortunately, Baker provided no indication as to how she arrived at this conclusion. In one of the earliest studies of the English conception and expression of color, William Mead asserted that "green" appears most frequently in Old English poetry.[739] In a reassessment of the modern scholarly treatment of this subject, Nigel Barley contended that "black" is the most common and "white" the second most common.[740] Ultimately, Barley's warning against this essentialist emphasis on cataloging and quantifying recorded occurrences of terms is most salient.[741] What is to be gleaned from this emphasis on black and white is the "fundamental nature of the light-dark opposition in Anglo-Saxon culture."[742] Merely compiling the amounts of times that color terms occur without considering the primary stress of the Old English system on brightness rather than hue, creates a malformed image of English thought and sensibilities, skewed through the lens of our modern conceptions of color. As Barley stated, "such explanations lack an anthropological

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[738] "As it is suggested that red is the first colour isolated as a hue descriptor in languages, it is not surprising that it is one of the most frequently used in Old English literature. The most common word for 'red' is *rēad* or *rēod*, with other terms including *rudu*, *rēadbasu*, *rosen*, *rudig*, *teafor*, and *wād*." Baker, "The Colour and Composition," 122.

[739] Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," 200.

[740] Nigel F. Barley, "Old English Colour Classification: Where do Matters Stand?" *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974): 17.

[741] Barley, "Old English Colour Classification," 26.

[742] Barley, "Old English Colour Classification," 17.

perspective and so fail to realize that Old English 'red' is not our red and that we cannot blandly equate the two categories."[743] Recognizing this specific cultural conception denotes the early English attraction to the garnet cloisonné style of jewelry as two-fold: firstly, a desire to express socio-political status by affiliation with powerful kingdoms on the Continent, and secondly, a desire to adopt and adapt a jewelry style that maximized visual contrasts. It is the love of contrasts rather than a love for the color red at work in this interplay between garnet and gold. Light ripples across the surface of a cross pendant as each cloison absorbs or reflects the light, flashing with a sharp brilliance against the golden glow of its metal framework.

What then is the sensual significance of silver cross pendants, moreover, silver pendants set with a central garnet? Is the choice of silver simply that of choosing a more affordable metal? To effectively consider this question, we must understand how the color silver was seen and how it was manipulated when applied to metalwork. In Chapter 2 I addressed the Old English phrase *hwita stan* (white stone) for rock crystal. The root word *hwit* includes not only the hue sense of "white," but also the sense of luminosity of a gemstone like crystal, as well as the reflectivity of light against metal.[744] In the case of metal objects, Baker provided an important case for the deliberate darkening of silver with sulfides to create visual contrasts as well as the polishing of silver to the same effect. She began with literary evidence from a slightly later period, the ninth-to-twelfth century *Mappae Clavicula*, which included recipes

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[743] Barley, "Old English Colour Classification," 18.

[744] Casson, "Color Shift: Evolution of English Color Terms," 227.

for both the coloring silver and the application of niello (a silver sulfide compound).[745]

Baker then examined the case of iron objects inlayed with silver decoration, offering a

contemporary example, that of the fire striker or purse mount from grave 341 at

Mucking, Essex.[746] She concurred with Jack Ogden's argument that, "silver will not

show up against polished iron... Presumably the silver was blackened or the iron blued

or rusted."[747] This question of contrasts can be applied to numerous composite disc

brooches from the sixth and seventh centuries. Five brooches now at the British

Museum feature bands of silver running around the outer rim, enclosing a field of gold

filigree and a central design of garnet, glass, and shell cloisonné. The borders of two

brooches from King's Field, Kent (figs. 76 and 77) are markedly similar. The

outermost band is silver gilded with gold, the gilding deliberately applied to the

beaded ridges; the innermost band contains the feature most relevant to the discussion

of contrasts: a field of silver inlaid with a row of gold circles. If a discernible contrast

was sought between the silver and gold tones, one might surmise that the dark patina

of silver would be preferable, lest the circles be lost in the competition between the

two brilliant values. This is once again demonstrated in another brooch from King's

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[745] Richard Hughes and Michael Rowe, *The Colouring, Bronzing and Patination of Metals: A Manual for Fine Metalworkers, Sculptors and Designers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 15.

[746] Baker, "Color and Composition," 140; S.M. Hirst and Dido Clark, *Excavations at Mucking: Volume 3, the Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2009), fig. 17, 32.

[747] Jack Ogden, "Aesthetic and Technical Considerations Regarding the Colour and Texture of Ancient Goldwork," in *Metal Plating and Patination: Cultural, Technical & Historical Developments*, eds. Susan La Niece and Paul T. Craddock (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1993), 41; Baker, "Color and Composition," 140.

Field (fig. 78); the outermost band is silver inlaid with a repeating golden tooth motif. Even in an example excavated from Wingham, Kent (fig. 79), the niello of the inner band serves to highlight the silver zigzag running through its center. These Kentish brooches are valuable examples of the pairing of two metals characterized for their brightness in Old English contexts. It is difficult to imagine that the small circular, tooth-like, and zigzag patterns would be noticeable if the hues of the silver and gold (or silver and niello) surfaces were too similar in luster. What complicates a true evaluation of contrasts is the conservation treatment applied by the museum, which has routinely applied "light" applications of silver polish, mineral spirits, and acetone to remove "tarnish."[748] Another path of inquiry may involve a consideration of how reproduction jewelers treat this issue. Regardless of whether modern jewelers are aware of the debate on patination versus polish, examples of their work can be useful for a visual evaluation. A "Kentish Style Anglo Saxon Brooch" made by Ganderwick Creations (fig. 80) takes its design primarily from one of the aforementioned composite disc brooches (see fig. 78) at the British Museum.[749] The Ganderwick brooch is composed of gilt bronze with niello and silver plate. Internet photography is admittedly limited in an accurate evaluation of color, but as a general reference, the lightness of both the silver and the gold is prominent in the Ganderwick example and provides little of the contrast under discussion. Despite conservation, the British

[748] Treatment entries for disc brooches, 1879,0524.34; 1916,0211.1, .1030.'70, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[749] "Kentish Style Anglo Saxon Brooch," Ganderwick Creations, https://www.ganderwick.com/ourshop/prod_2226908-Kentish-Style-Anglo-Saxon-Brooch.html, accessed August 29, 2021.

Museum example retains a distinct color contrast between the two metals. If indeed the metalworkers and their clients in the late-sixth/early-seventh centuries were desirous of the contrast we now believe to have been meaningful at the time, then the case for darkened silver appears quite credible.

Baker concluded that more evidence is needed for the use of silver as a "white" metal. She cited the high number of copper-alloy objects that were tinned as a cheaper alternative to silvering or silver plating, found most often in the more affluent cemeteries where silver objects have also been deposited.[750] Tinning can be colored to simulate gold, though archaeologically it is impossible to determine if this technique was used in the sixth and seventh centuries.[751] Baker went on to point out that niello was applied more frequently to silver than to gold, necessitating the contrast of a white metal. Certainly, gold-niello examples such as the Sutton Hoo buckle were present at this time, but they were less common than silver-niello objects. Finally, she compared a reference to silver as white in an Old English translation of Genesis versus the Latin vulgate, which mentions only the amount of silver and not the color.[752] However, it

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[750] Baker, "Color and Composition," 142.

[751] Because the patination process involved only organic compounds, it would be impossible to identify examples. Baker, "Color and Composition," 23, 146.

[752] Genesis 20:16, "…ic him hygetēonan hwītan seolfre dēope bete..." Caedmon, *Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832), 165; Liber Genesis Caput XX:16, "…mille argenteos." *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiguae: seu, Vetus italica, et caeterae quaecunque in codicibus mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quae cum Vulgata latina, & cum textu graeco comparantur*, eds. Pierre Sabatier and Vincent de La Rue (Remis: Apud Reginaldum Florentain, 1743), 59.

seems evident that there was room for strategic manipulation depending on various instances of design, structure, and available funds. Silver appears to have occupied a more malleable sphere in terms of color than gold, occupying the same domains of transparency and brilliance, and yet changeable on that scale as needs dictated.

The glow of gold is celebrated in Old English poetry and is prevalent in other non-poetic literature. As mentioned in Chapter 2, golden treasure proliferates in the *Beowulf* poem far beyond any other Old English work, though golden objects do appear in several others.[753] In a thoroughly Christian context, Bede equated gold with the wisdom that originates from God.[754] While the inlay of red stones on a golden cross-pendant may have called the blood of Christ to mind, this analogy did not appear in Bede's writing nor in any other Christian texts until the tenth century.[755] A possible exception may be *The Dream of the Rood*. Though not transliterated until the tenth century, the poem was probably composed in the age of Bede.[756] Its descriptions of the cross conflate the blood of Christ with the material glory of gold, fluctuating between blood-soaked and adorned with treasure before the dreamer's very eyes.[757]

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[753] *Beowulf*, lines 308-11 and 714-16; "Andreas," lines 842a, 1236a, "The Ruin," line 10a, "The Wanderer," line 98, and "Maxims II," line 22a.

[754] Bede, *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, 14.

[755] *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century. From the Marquis of Lothian's Unique MS. A.D. 971*, ed. and trans. Richard Morris (London, 1880), 9-11.

[756] Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London: British Library, 2005), esp. 2, 58, 308, 332.

[757] George Philip Krapp, ed. "Dream of the Rood," lines 13-16a, 21b-23, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 61.

Elizabeth Coatsworth suggested a possibly earlier, non-textual analogy in the crucifixion miniature of the Durham Gospels, where red was painted over yellow "like garnets over gold."[758] Coatsworth's wording does not quite work here, first of all because garnets were inlaid into and surrounded by gold wire. Additionally, her argument could easily be made for the Lindisfarne "carpet pages," which incidentally resemble metalwork to a greater degree than the Durham miniature. Moreover, there is no way to know if blood or garnets or both were specifically on the mind of the illuminator(s) of either gospel book. In the case of cross pendants, one wonders if the fashion of gold and garnet cloisonne was simply appropriate for elite owners who were *also* becoming Christian, only later inspiring a Christological interpretation, or if it this equation was already in the minds of early medieval patrons.

Most significant in the selection of gold for these ornamental iterations of the cross was the affective quality of the material. For Taussig, color, heat, and religion all share a common force that propels bodies toward them, affecting not only sight but the totality of the senses. "It moves," said Taussig, "It has depth and motion just as a stream has depth and motion, and it connects such that it changes whatever it comes into contact with."[759] In the dim sanctuary, the surface of golden church treasures was set shivering with candlelight or set aglow when hit by sunlight.[760] Handling a personal cross ornament could likewise animate the appearance of the metal and gems. As the holder deliberately turned the form to observe the play of light, one can

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[758] Durham Gospel, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.17, f.38(3)v; Coatsworth, "The Pectoral Cross and Portable Altar from the Tomb of St. Cuthbert," 296.

[759] Taussig, *What Color is the Sacred?*, 40.

[760] Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 25.

imagine the flash or glimmer appearing as something living, the sensation reinforced as the gold warmed to the temperature of the skin. In the context of early medieval English aesthetics, the material was nearly tantamount to the message; if one wished to touch the divine, no other substance was as suitable or effective as gold.

Coins and Crosses

As mentioned, in the last two-hundred and fifty years, only fourteen gold and garnet crosses, three solid gold, seven silver, and four copper-alloy crosses from the seventh century have been discovered in England. The paucity of cross pendant or pectoral cross finds calls into question the proliferation of cross imagery in jewelry, and indeed the symbol of the cross in the general visual culture. Coins, often used as jewelry as well as currency, may represent the most overlooked and most widely circulated version of the image of the cross in early English society.

Modeled after Merovingian gold coinage, the bulk of English gold coins (c. 580-675) were impressed with images of the cross, though the English rendered the cross in a creative array of designs.[761] The motif of a cross mounted on four steps, as seen on the gold *solidus* of the Wilton Cross (fig. 34), originated with the coinage of Emperor Tiberius II (r. 578-82) and primarily passed to England through Merovingian intermediaries.[762] The Wilton *solidus* was minted for the court of Heraclius (r. 610-

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[761] Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eight Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 157; Ian Wood, "Thrymsas, Sceattas and the Cult of the Cross," in *Two Decades of Discovery*, ed. Tony Abramson (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 23.

[762] Philip Grierson and M.A.S. Blackburn, eds. *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 1, The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 442; Wood, "Thrymsas, Sceattas and the Cult of the Cross," 25.

641), the emperor reputed to have regained the True Cross from the Persians in 628.[763]

The merger of Merovingian garnet cloisonné with an imperial image in a distinctly

English style, created a powerful and beautiful statement of continental Christian

heritage. Coins had been long used to advertise religious and political connections, not

only in England, for their Scandinavian associates used an object with the form of

coins to do so. Bracteates came into fashion in fourth-century Scandinavia as an

adaptation of Roman gold coinage, not for monetary exchange, but for personal

adornment. The imperial portrait was replaced with an image sometimes interpreted as

that of Woden, wreathed with symbols and runes of northern mythology, and worn in

ornate mounts. Emulating the Roman custom of wearing medallions and ranks of

honor, but bearing distinct northern iconography, was employed as a highly visual

means of demonstrating influential connections as well as one's wealth and influence

in society.[764]

 Coin pendants in England similarly related to elite ties. Although familiar with

coinage as currency, the early English did not employ a money economy and thus

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[763] For the authenticity of this minting, see Archibald's extensive numismatic assessment, "The Wilton Cross Coin Pendant: Numismatic Aspects and Implications," 52-8; Norman H. Baynes, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem," *The English Historical Review* 27, no. 106 (1912): 287-89.

[764] Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 9; Nancy Wicker contends that we cannot definitively identify the central figure as Woden or Odin. Nancy L. Wicker, "Figurative and Animal Art in Southern Scandinavia: Find Contexts, Modes of Discovery, and Divergent Functions," (Paper presented at the 97th Annual Meeting Medieval Academy of America, March 11, 2022).

valued coinage as bullion or reemployed it as jewelry.[765] From the fifth through the seventh centuries, Roman bronze coins were routinely pierced and used as pendants, added to necklaces and bracelets, or attached to belts, bags, or scarves as showy spangles.[766] The vogue for perforated coins diminished somewhat in the early seventh century, though the influx of contemporary Roman, Merovingian, and Spanish gold coins inspired use as jewelry items themselves.[767] Coins were affixed with gold loops and suspended from necklaces, sometimes alternating between rows of colorful beads, as on a necklace from Sarre, Kent (fig. 81).[768] Adoption of coinage began in southeastern England with small gold shillings called *thrymsas*, modeled after Merovingian gold coins called *tremisses*.[769] The kingdom of Kent began issuing *thrymsas* in the mid-seventh century stamped with the names or images of its rulers.[770] These coins acted as material embodiments of the affluence and might of the royal house and material equivalents to members of the royal family. In literary accounts, royal women were often personified by an object of wealth associated with them.[771] In

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[765] Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, 35; Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 8.

[766] Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, 195.

[767] Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 8.

[768] See Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, fig. 31(b), 48-9.

[769] The term *thrymsas* is used "without contemporary justification" according to Marian Archibald in *The Making of England*, 35.

[770] Gareth Williams, *Early Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008), 18-19.

[771] Yorke, "'The Weight of Necklaces'," 108.

the account of her death, the nun Eorcengota was represented as a "golden coin (*aureum nomisma*) which had been brought thither from Kent."[772] As daughter of King Eorcenbert of Kent (640-664) and granddaughter of King Eadbald (616-640), such a coin was an appropriate allusion to the riches the former princess bestowed upon her abbey. Furthermore, the fact that Eorcengota's abbey was located at Faremoûtier-en-Brie reinforced the political ties between Kent and France, from where the fashion for wearing Merovingian *tremisses* had originated.[773]

Inseparable from statements of linage and political status were the Christian connotations of the use of coins as jewelry. An early precedent for utilizing a coin pendant as a public symbol and personal reminder of faith can be found in the *vita* of a fifth-century Frankish saint. Bishops Germanus (378-448) and Lupus (c. 383 - c. 478) stopped to rest in a town outside of Paris their way to England. The pair was assailed one day by a crowd of people seeking their blessing and among that throng, Germanus singled out a small girl named Genovefa. Drawn to her by inspiration from the Holy Spirit, Germanus declared that she would become a great leader of souls to God.[774] He asked if she would openly promise her chastity as a bride of Christ and she confirmed it as her greatest wish. Before leaving for England the next morning, Germanus reminded Genovefa of her promise and

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[772] Bede, *HE*, III.viii, 236-240.

[773] It is important to note here that Faremoûtier-en-Brie was part of the Columban orbit of monasteries founded in Francia by an Irish "exile." The association of this Columban group with aristocratic families has been addressed in detail by Yaniv Fox in *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[774] McNamara, et al., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 20.

plucked a copper coin bearing the sign of the cross from the ground, where by God's favor it had fallen, and gave it to her as a great gift. He said to her, "Have this coin pierced, and wear it always hanging about your neck as a reminder of me; never suffer your neck or fingers to be burdened with any other metal, neither gold nor silver, nor pearl studded ornament. For, if your mind is preoccupied with trivial worldly adornment, you will be shorn of eternal and celestial ornaments."[775]

Queen Bertha's chaplain, Liudhard, accompanied her as a personal spiritual minister, but may have also been charged to aid her in persuading her husband Æthelberht to accept Christianity. Anna Gannon aptly refers to Liudhard as a "broker" for the faith as well as for "*romanitas*, coinage, and literacy."[776] In this light, a commemorative gold coin, the so-called "Liudhard Medalet" (fig. 82), seems equally apt as a form of honor for the bishop and his mission. Found at St. Martin's in Canterbury, the looped pendant features a left-facing portrait of Liudhard on the obverse and a double barred cross on the reverse. The image of Liudhard conforms with classical numismatic depiction of the bust of emperors; however, the obverse deviates from older Gaulish coinage by substituting the usual personification of "Victory" with a Christian cross.[777] Whether it was meant to celebrate the victory of Christianity in Kent, or as argued by Martin Werner, to commemorate the arrival of the True Cross relics in Poitiers,[778] Liudhard's medalet signaled the advent of the Cult of the Cross in southeastern England.

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[775] McNamara, et al., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 21.

[776] Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 157.

[777] Philip Grierson asserted that in Roman Gaul, "Victory types were still dominant." See Grierson, "The Canterbury (St. Martin's) Hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Coin-Ornaments," *British Numismatic Journal*, 27 (1952): 42.

[778] Martin Werner, "The Liudhard Medalet," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991): 27-41.

Not only adapted as jewelry pieces in and of themselves, coins may have also inspired cross forms on disc pendants. Anna Gannon has drawn attention to the similarities between coins featuring crosses wreathed with beaded borders and three-dimensional iterations of this design in the form of open-work disc pendants; she compared a gold shilling at the British Museum (fig. 83) and a silver penny in the de Wit Collection (fig. 84) with an open-work disc pendant with beaded wire from Faversham now at the Ashmolean (fig. 85).[779] Within the plethora of disc pendant designs, a cross surrounded by a wire beaded border(s) appears with much more regularity compared to other designs and is well attested in the east of England, particularly Kent and Norfolk. To Gannon's example may be added another Faversham pendant now at the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 86), a grave recovery from Harford Farm in Norfolk (fig. 87), and numerous examples from the PAS Database.[780] In the 1930s, the well-known numismatist C.H.V. Sutherland made connection between coins, disc pendants, and brooches that remains well-known, but he struggled with the question of whether coins inspired brooches or the reverse.[781] Leslie Webster was convinced East Kentish composite brooches were translated into the composite

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[779] Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 160, fig. 5.4 and 161, fig. 5.5*c* and *e*.

[780] Kenneth Penn, ed. *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91 Part II: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Harford farm, Markshall, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 92 (Gressenhall, Norfolk: East Anglian Archaeology, 2000), 50-1 and 118, fig. 93.3. See PAS, https://finds.org.uk/ (record ID: NMS-B42421; KENT-D23D23; SWYOR-293CB4; KENT-6E1652; KENT-C162C6; KENT-D01456).

[781] C.H.V. Sutherland, "Numismatic Parallels to Kentish Polychrome Brooches," *Archaeological Journal* 94, no. 1 (1937): 116-27.

pendants such as the Canterbury Pendant (fig. 88).[782] Like Sutherland, we are

presented with the sticky question as to influence of disc pendants featuring the cross

on the design of cross pendants. A circular gold repoussé pendant from Ash, Kent (fig.

89) dramatically recalls bracteate forms rather than Roman or Merovingian coinage,

but most notably, the bearded heads incorporated into the cross arms resemble heads

pressed into gold foil crosses.[783] One cross from the cemetery of Giengen an der Brenz

(fig. 90) and a cross from Milan, now in the German National Museum. (fig. 91),

represent the commonality of this motif in both Alemannic and Lombardic areas.[784]

Furthermore, the same quatrefoil knot appears in the center of both the pendant and

the Alemannic cross.

Wearing Cross Pendants

Beyond their impressive composition of gold and garnets, the most singular

feature of seventh-century cross pendants is their diminutive size. Of the fourteen

known pendants, not one exceeds six centimeters in height or width. Although their

material suggests a luxury item intended for public display, their size suggests an

intimate relationship with the wearer. Most likely, the actuality of how these crosses

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[782] Leslie Webster, "The Canterbury Pendant," *Antiquity* 56, no. 218 (1982): 203.

[783] For examples see, Gian C. Menis, *I Longobardi*, (Milano: Electa, 1990), IV.102, 210, V.8, 227, X.191b, 427.

[784] Peter Paulsen and Helga Schach-Dörges, *Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Giengen an der Brenz: (Kreis Heidenheim)*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg, Bd. 10 (Stuttgart: Müller und Gräff [in Komm.], 1978), 9ff., 78 ff.; Wilfried Mengin, *Gotische und langobardische Funde aus Italien im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, Heft 2 (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1983), S. 46, Kat. 6, Taf. 9.

were worn falls somewhere in between. The variety of designs in cross pendants applies not only to their visual appearance but also to how they were intended to be worn. Despite their small size, most pendants, excepting the thin White Low Cross and the hollow Desborough and Milton Crosses, are surprisingly weighty; their hefty suspension loops suggest the pendant hung from a long cord or chain. The acidic soil of England is unforgiving toward textiles buried within it, so no original suspension cords have been discovered, except in the case of a singularly preserved burial. The famous Cross of St. Cuthbert was discovered when the saint's tomb was opened in 1827 and its relics reinterred. The cross was reported to have hung round the sainted neck by a "silken cord twisted with gold."[785] There is no mention as to the length of the cord, though the cross was said to have been found deep within the folds of the saint's robe close to the skin of his chest.[786]

The only intact metal chain reportedly discovered with its corresponding cross pendant is now lost to us, though a drawing by Alfred Way (fig. 48) in the Way Collection at the Society of Antiquaries of London records the pendant and chain in tantalizing detail. The circumstances of its discovery are still murky, though what is certain is that it was found near Catterick Bridge in Castle Hills, Yorkshire sometime around 1846, when it came into the possession of the Countess of Tyrconnel. The

[785] James Raine, *Saint Cuthbert: With an Account of the State in Which His Remains Were Found Upon the Opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral, in the Year 1827* (Durham: G. Andrews, 1828), 211.

[786] Raine wrote that he found the cross "deeply buried among the remains of the robes which were nearest to the breast of the saint." *Saint Cuthbert*, 211; Bruce-Mitford asserted that, "the decay of the internal silver repairing plate (Pl. XVI, Fig. 3) can only be accounted for on the grounds that the cross had been in contact with the body at the time of its putrefaction." See "The Pectoral Cross," 309.

cross pendant is listed in Lady Tyrconnel's will, but its fate after her death continues to confound researchers. Rosemary Cramp, who published a study on the Catterick Cross, dated it to the late-seventh/early-eighth century.[787] Cramp described the cross's suspension chain as "plaited."[788] From Antiquity through the tenth century, chains fashioned from gold were characteristically of the loop-in-loop type. The basic units are small, closed links, initially shaped like paper clips, but bent upwards at each end to form two loops per link, one at each end. Recoveries of suspension chains for early medieval pendants have been virtually non-existent in England, but there are a few surviving examples of gold loop-in-loop chains. The Sutton Hoo cuirass clasps offer a fine example (fig. 11), as do the pin suites from Roundway Down, Wiltshire (fig. 92), Cowlow, Derbyshire (fig. 93), and Trumpington, Cambridgeshire (fig. 94). Way's drawing, however, suggests a more complex chain construction – the multiple loop-in-loop chain technique, which has a tightly linked cylindrical form often misidentified as "plaited" (see fig. 95).[789] Comparanda for this kind of chain are found in the antique world and in the contemporaneous medieval world of the eastern Mediterranean and the Franks. Several gold necklaces in the collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Dumbarton Oaks, purportedly of eastern Mediterranean origin, feature

[787] Cramp, "A Lost Pendant Cross," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World*, 75-6.

[788] Cramp, "A Lost Pendant Cross," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World*, 73.

[789] Jack Ogden, "The Technology of Medieval Jewelry," in *Ancient & Historic Metals: Conservation and Scientific Research: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Conservation Institute, November 1991*, eds. David A. Scott, Jerry Podany, and Brian B. Considine (Marina del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1994), 172.

multiple loop-in-loop chains.[790] Another compelling comparison was recovered from one of the royal Frankish burials found in the tombs under Cologne Cathedral. A high-status woman was buried with a gold chain (fig. 96) hung with a Theodosius II (r. 408-50) coin pendant, a pair of gold and garnet bow brooches, and a pair of garnet button brooches featuring gold crosses in the center.[791] The majority of her chain was made with the multiple loop-in-loop technique; perhaps due to loss or damage, one third of it was replaced at some point with the looser loop-in-loop type seen in early English pin suites.

The lost Catterick cross pendant was described as gold in both Lady Tyrconnel's will and Way's drawing. The chain, the pair of biconical metal beads below the eyelets, and the lone, round (glass/ceramic?) bead suspended between one biconical bead and the cross, are not addressed by either document. These features, particularly the ornate gold filigree of the biconical beads, the animal-head terminals of the eyelets, the complexity of the chain threading, in combination with the intricate wire work and garnets of the cross, elevate this piece to the level of other high-status jewelry of the southern kingdoms of England. It is likely that most elaborate cross

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[790] Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.1659; Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.1660; Dumbarton Oaks, inv. BZ.1950.20; Dumbarton Oaks, inv. BZ.1938.2.D2009a.

[791] See Otto Doppelfeld, "Das fränkische Frauengrab unter dem Chor des Kölner Domes," *Germania: Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* Bd. 38. Nr. 1/2 (1960): plate 15, fig. 12.

pendants such as this would also have had gold suspension chains of simple loop-in-loop or multiple loop-in-loop construction.[792]

Outside of the presence of obvious scratch-marks, it is not usually possible to distinguish between wear patterns resulting from a metal chain and wear patterns from an organic material such as a leather or textile cord.[793] In the case of the Wilton Cross, the dramatic breakage at the upper edge of one side of the loop (see fig. 97) may present evidence of something beyond normal wear. The particular crimping present in the loop is unlike that of the other crosses in this study. Microscopic imaging of the loop suggests several possibilities. A metal chain may have been ripped violently against the gold suspension loop. The goldsmith may have deliberately added a crimp to seat the chain, which resulted in deeper and more rapid wear, causing a break.[794] Alternatively, the damage could have resulted from a flaw in the beaded wire before it was soldered onto the metal tube of the loop. The tear could have occurred where the two ends of the wire meet, had they not been adequately attached. The extreme wear evident on the opposing beaded wire edge (see fig. 98) may too have been caused by the friction of a chain or cord.[795]

The Holderness Cross is a difficult case, as the entire pendant is warped and the cloisons have buckled or been squashed. How this damage was inflicted upon the

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[792] Many thanks to archaeologist and art historian Niamh Whitfield for her analysis of my microscopic images via email message, December 23, 2020.

[793] Many thanks to archaeologist Nancy Wicker for her analysis of my microscopic images via email message, March 7, 2020.

[794] Thanks to Niamh Whitfield.

[795] Thanks to Nancy Wicker.

pendant is unclear as the cross was discovered, not in a grave, but in the stackyard of a farm in the 1960s.[796] The loop of the pendant, however, bears a marked resemblance to the loop of another stray find – a pendant found in Little Thetford, Ely; this kind of wear is also evident in thinner reeded loops such as that of the White Low Cross (see fig. 99). T.C. Lethbridge surmised the loss of the Thetford pendant along an old Roman road between Stretham and Ely could have been from the friction of a cord against the loop, subsequently causing the cord to break.[797] One wonders if the same scenario could have caused the loss of the Holderness Cross.

Conversely, the Staffordshire Cross is remarkably pristine, not only regarding wear marks within its loop, but in terms of its condition overall. There is evidence of deliberate violence to the object;[798] the top arm was ripped away from the body of the cross and the left crossarm was bent at a sharp angle towards the center, though it did not result in a full break. Yet, under microscopic examination, both the edges of the arms and the filigree ornament are crisp and show little flattening or rounding to indicate wear (see fig. 100). The top of the suspension loop is squashed towards its center, which likely occurred during the dismantling of the crossarm, yet the interior displays none of the wear seen in the loops of the other crosses within this study (see fig. 101). The condition of the pendant suggests a few scenarios; the cross may have

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[796] Arthur MacGregor, "A Seventh-Century Pectoral Cross from Holderness, East Yorkshire*," Medieval Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2000): 217.

[797] T.C. Lethbridge, "Jewelled Saxon Pendant from the Isle of Ely," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 45(1953): 1-2.

[798] Chris Fern, "Life of Objects: Wear, Modification, Repair and Damage," in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, 201.

been owned by a member of the clergy and reserved for special occasions, rather than worn daily. Regardless of the identity of the owner, the cross may have only been crafted and worn for a short time before its capture as war booty.

Little to no pictorial evidence exists for how necklaces were worn in sixth and seventh century England. Visual comparanda from associated kingdoms that might have influenced necklace styles is equally scant from these centuries. First-century Roman funerary stele and encaustic portraits from Fayum connote a preference for necklaces worn fairly tight around the throat. The paintings also indicate a trend for wearing several necklaces of graduating length, the longest falling right at or above the top edge of a lady's tunic. Portraits of ladies as depicted on gold glass demonstrate that necklace length continued to remain rather conservative in fourth-century Rome. Two Romano-British artifacts, one from Lincoln and one from Hoxne, are rare examples that this fashion might have continued, not only into the fourth or fifth century but into northeastern and southeastern areas of England. A third-century grave stele found in Lincoln (fig. 102) bears the likeness of two women identified by an inscription as Volusia Faustina and Claudia Catiotu[a]. In the inscription below the portraits, Senecio, *decurio* (councilor) of Lincoln dedicates the stele to the memory of his wife Volusia Faustina, but does not acknowledge the identity of her companion.[799] Though each woman is similarly garbed in a tunic and mantle draped over the left shoulder, Volusia Faustina wears a tight necklace of large beads above the line of her tunic. Claudia's lack of adornment and her position slightly behind Volusia Faustina

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[799] Tombstone, 1862,0423.1, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

may signal her status as a handmaiden or slave.[800] The so-called "Empress" pepper pot (fig. 103) was one of four *piperatorium* found among the items of the Hoxne Hoard excavated in Suffolk.[801] The empress wears the involved hairstyle typical of elite Roman women of fourth-century, teardrop earrings, and a hefty necklace that hangs just below the fabric of her collar. The Hoxne Hoard offers more than merely the visual representation of fourth-century necklace style; seven gold chains of various loop constructions were found among the contents of the hoard.[802] All except one (a body chain) measure around seventeen inches in length including terminals and clasps. The Theodora mosaic at San Vitale (fig. 104) presents a wider variety of necklace styles and lengths for elite women of the eastern Roman Empire in the sixth century. Archeological recoveries of jewelry from the sixth century supports the notion that the necklaces depicted reflect actual exemplars and therefore actual elite styles from the time.[803] The empress positively drips with jeweled adornment, but among these various ornaments is a simple gold chain with green stones suspended just above the neckline of her mantle. The lady just to Theodora's left wears a tighter, higher necklace of gold bullae and the lady to her left wears a slightly looser gold chain with more delicate suspended ornaments and a central blue stone. Of particular note,

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[800] Tombstone, 1862,0423.1, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[801] Pepper-pot, 1994,0408.33, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[802] Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, 202.

[803] Dominic Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 31, 116; Greifenhagen (1974), 60-1; K.B. Brown, esp. fig. 2; Ross (1979), 299.

however, are two women in the grouping at the far left of Theodora; each wears a dark chain or beaded cord that dips into a sharp V and disappears under the neckline of their garments. The shape of the chain or cord strongly suggests the weightier single ornament of a pendant necklace, pulling the chain or cord into a V-shape. It is tempting to suggest that the weighty single object might have been a cross.

At a glance, museum collections of chains from the fifth to seventh centuries, seem to indicate the longevity of the trend of shorter necklaces. Necklace lengths, particularly those with cross pendants in the Christian areas of the eastern Mediterranean, continue to between sixteen to eighteen inches (see fig. 105 Chain Length Chart). This would put the cross pendant, not directly over the heart, but just above. There are fewer examples at twenty-seven to thirty inches that would situate the cross closer to the heart.

The woman's grave found under the choir chapel in Cologne Cathedral offers some contemporary material comparanda, however with the same uncertainties as to necklace length. The aforementioned chain found under Cologne Cathedral (fig. 96) is fourteen inches long and was found between two garnet rosette brooches. Excavator Otto Doppelfeld thought it was possible that the necklace might have connected the two since the hook at the end of the chain was oxidized to the left brooch, close to its needle; though the other end of the chain did not touch the right brooch, Doppelfeld thought it lay close enough to support his theory. Two more necklaces – one a medley of coins, garnet cloisonné pendants, disc pendants, and gold and cloisonné beads, and the other a string of various glass beads – were also found in the grave. Doppelfeld designated the first as "Großer Halsschmuck" but he did not record the actual length for either necklace in his excavation report. While he believed the two to be separate

pieces, he could not rule out that they may have once been a single necklace, the glass beads sinking deeper into the coffin due to their weight as the cord disintegrated.

Designs such as that of the Desborough Necklace demonstrate the array of ways jewelry might have been worn in seventh century England. The necklace is just shy of ten inches long, which would imply that it would have hung tight around the neck; however, it is uncertain if the necklace is complete or not. The excavation report indicates the workmen that had found the necklace while digging for ironstone had divided the pendants and beads between themselves before being persuaded to surrender them to the British Museum for a small reward.[804] In the British Museum reconstruction the proximity of the bulla causes them to strike each other when the piece is lifted, emitting a delightful tinkling sound. Wearing the necklace tightly about the throat may have limited the aural qualities of the piece. Assuming the sound might have been a desired effect of the bulla, a longer cord or metal chain would have allowed the various pendants to hang loosely and bump against each other. Helen Geake pointed out the presence of a singularly large garnet pendant that outsizes the others, suggesting that perhaps the grave contained two necklaces, one featuring the oval garnet, and one featuring the cross.[805]

Necklaces strung with combinations of gold and cabochon garnet pendants and gold bullae were fairly common throughout England. They have been recovered at sites such as Galley Lowe, Derbyshire (fig. 106), Westfield Farm, Ely (fig. 49), Boss

[804] Desborough Necklace, 1876,0504.1, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London.

[805] Helen Geake, "Powerful Anglo-Saxon Women," *PASt Explorers Blog*, PAS, March 8, 2018, https://finds.org.uk/counties/blog/powerful-anglo-saxon-women/.

Hall, Ipswich, Barfreston, Kent (fig. 107), Roundway Down, Wiltshire, and Garton Station, East Yorkshire,[806] although they are incomplete and therefore offer little insight as to their original length. The Derbyshire example is a mere eleven and a half centimeters and only one cabochon pendant, one bulla, and one gold sheet cross remain of the Ely necklace. In terms of archaeological evidence, Angela Care Evans pointed to the Lombard cemeteries of Cividale and Castel Trosino as the origin point for necklaces made up of beads, pendants, and bullae. According to Evans, this fashion made its way to England via Francia or Frisia in the second half of the sixth century.[807] Curiously, only one of the examples from Lombardy or Francia offered by Evans features bullae, a necklace from a necropolis in Castel Trosino.[808] In terms of shape and design, the other Lombardic pendants she referenced resemble nothing found in England. Stone, glass, and ceramic beads are an exceedingly common necklace element throughout the world and Evans was not specific as to which kinds she believed filtered through Francia to England. The only example related to Francia that she provided was the Wieuwerd Hoard uncovered in Frisia, but in relation to English necklaces with coin and/or disc pendants, and not necklaces of cabochon pendants and bullae. The Frisian hoard contained gold disc pendants with garnet cloisonne, kidney-shaped pendants, and twenty-nine coins, all mounted as jewelry,

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[806] Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, 28-9.

[807] Evans was specifically referencing the Desborough Necklace. Angela Care Evans, "13 Necklace," in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900*, eds. Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 29.

[808] Raniero Mengarelli, *La necropoli barbarica di Castel Trosino presso*, Monumenti Antichi 12 (Ascoli Piceno: R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1902), plate XI, 2.

recalling necklaces like those from Sarre (fig. 81) and Boss Hall (fig. 107). Considering the more numerous comparanda from England itself, one wonders if it is in fact necessary to look for continental precursors in this case.

Fortunately, a singularly valuable English comparandum was unearthed in April 2022 in the same area of Northamptonshire where the Desborough Necklace was found. An intact necklace (fig. 50), composed of thirty ornaments including eight late Roman coins, four cabochon cut garnets, five glass pendants, twelve biconical gold spacers, and a square gold and garnet cloisonné pendant, was found in a grave near the village of Harpole.[809] The reconstructed Desborough Necklace is made up of thirty-seven ornaments including nine gold bullae, eight cabochon cut garnets, seventeen gold biconical spacers, and two cylindrical gold spacers at the terminals of the string. Each ornament is separated by a gold spacer, whereas in the case of the Harpole Necklace, there are too few spacers to continue along the string to the back of the neck. The progression of coins and pendants continues without the spacers, theoretically along a cord that has rotted away; therefore, the cord could have been of any length – perhaps only long enough to showcase the biconical beads from a frontal view of the wearer. This brings into question the reconstruction of the Desborough Necklace and its true original measurements, as well as the proximity of cross pendants to the heart.

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[809] Leo Sands, "'Once-in-a-Lifetime' Find of 1,300-Year-Old Necklace Dazzles Historians," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 2022, Europe, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/12/07/necklace-medieval-burial-harpole-treasure/.

As the century progressed and grave goods waned, further changes in clothing and jewelry styles occurred, with special intensity for possibly the most pious of Christians. The young girl buried at Trumpington was interred only with a pectoral cross (fig. 1) and a gold and garnet pin set (fig. 94). Her cross is unique among the thirteen known gold and garnet crosses in that it is not technically a pendant. Rather than a single suspension loop at the top of the cross, four small loops, one for each arm, are attached to the backplate, strongly suggesting that the ornament was sewn into the clothing. As mentioned above, Lucy asserts that placement of the cross on the upper chest indicates that the cross was used as a pendant "even if it was not designed as such."[810] This seems extremely unlikely, as the loops are each around an inch wide, and threading a chain or cord through the top loop only would result in the cross sliding to the right or left and hanging lopsided.[811] As the loops are incredibly thin, this would cause extended wear, if not excessive warping, neither of which was evident in my microscopic examination (see fig. 108). It still is unclear, however, if the Trumpington Cross was made specifically *for* deposition. The unusual form of the Trumpington Cross evokes comparison with gold-foil crosses found in burials from Lombardy and Alemannic regions north of the Alps, though finds also occurred in Christian graves in Merovingian Gaul and Francia up to the seventh century.[812] These delicate crosses were sewn either directly into the shroud of the deceased over the

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[810] Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," 9-10.

[811] Thanks to Nancy Wicker for this observation.

[812] Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 158.

heart or attached to fine cloth or leather and placed on the mouth.[813] Unlike the tradition of crosses purpose-made for attachment to death shrouds, no evidence for such a custom exists in England. The anomalous burial of the so-called Prittlewell Prince offers a tenuous comparison. In 2003 a grave on par with the Taplow or Sutton Hoo burials was uncovered at Priory Crescent, Southend-on-Sea in Essex. Two small gold foil crosses were placed in the grave, hastily cut specifically for deposition, as were many of the continental examples. The excavation report recommended caution, however, in analogies between Prittlewell and Lombardic and southern German practice. The Prittlewell crosses lack the perforations for sewing the crosses to a backing, their size is smaller than most continental examples and their Latin cross-form is atypical as is the appearance of a pair versus a lone foil cross.

The Trumpington Cross too exhibits various features that necessitate caution in equating it with crosses purpose-made for deposition. There is some evidence of wear on the tips of the crossarms (see fig. 109), suggesting repeated contact with something like fabric or skin. It is not impossible that the cross could have been worn as a pendant, then modified as a shroud ornament. All of the surfaces of the crosses within this study, and indeed most jewelry pieces of this type, were enriched with gold. Prominent pitting on the backplate of the Trumpington Cross (see fig. 110) demonstrates that it was not surface treated in this way. It might be assumed that since the back of the cross would not be viewed in the grave, the jeweler was unconcerned with the appearance. But as evinced by the numerous examples provided later in this chapter, the reverse of a jewelry piece was often decorated and intended for viewing in

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[813] Bierbrauer, "The Cross Goes North: From Late Antiquity to Merovingian Times South and North of the Alps," in *The Cross Goes North*, 439.

life; the elaborate back of the Kingston Brooch (fig. 75) is a stunning example. One wonders if the Trumpington Cross was originally constructed and worn as a pendant, then modified upon the sixteen-year-old's death as a burial shroud ornament. The suspension loop could have been removed and a new backplate added with loops for threading. The effort required does seem somewhat implausible, as a cross pendant could be easily hung around the deceased's neck, but it does explain the equally odd instance of wear on the crossarms and pitting on the backplate. Though there are no English parallels to the prevalent Lombardic tradition of shroud crosses, a connection can be observed in the shroud of a woman thought to be from England.

Balthild, who according to her *Vita* was an English slave made queen to the Frankish King Clovis II, was buried in 680 only in her funeral garment or "chemise" or "chasuble" (see fig. 111). As a queen befitting elaborate grave goods, but also as the pious founder of the nunnery at Chelles, Balthild's tunic was woven in clever compromise. The front of the chemise was embroidered with an emulation of gold necklaces hung with pendants.[814] Most notable of the ornaments dripping from one necklace is the large gold cross encrusted with jewels. Embroidery simulating gem motifs and necklaces was applied to garments as far back as the third century, and tunics featuring jeweled pendant crosses began to appear in the sixth century. A sixth-

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[814] Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty, "Chasuble de la reine Bathilde," in *Les temps mérovingiens: trois siècles d'art et de culture (451-751): Musée de Cluny-musée national du Moyen Âge, 26 octobre 2016-13 février 2017*, Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty, Charlotte Denoël, and Inès Villela-Petit, eds. (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2016), 80. Effros does not indicate the number of necklaces and Yorke refers to the necklaces as "two jewelled collars." Bonnie Effros, "Symbolic Expressions of Sanctity: Gertrude of Nivelles in the Context of Merovingian Mortuary Custom," *Viator* 27 (1996): 2; Yorke, "'The Weight of Necklaces'," 107.

century tunic fragment at the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 112) and a seventh-century fragment in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 113) both situate an image of a gemmed cross pendant over the heart of the wearer.[815] A cross over the chest and one between the shoulder blades was also embroidered into an intact tunic held at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 114), though the shirt's small size suggests it probably belonged to a child.[816] These three examples survive in part to their Egyptian origins and Balthild's survives due to its preservation at the abbey of Chelles. Foundations like St. Denis, Faremoutier, and Perrusson also preserved several fabrics from the Frankish kingdom, and yet, garments like Balthild's still remains unique within western Europe. Stylistically, the necklaces of the and cross of the Balthild chemise have been compared to the finery of the eastern Mediterranean, especially that of Empress Theodora as depicted in the mosaics at Ravenna (fig. 104).[817] Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty also made a connection between the embroidered medallions with the decorative principle of the *orbiculi* of Coptic textiles.[818] The arrangement of multiple necklaces also supports the continuation of the style seen in the Fayum portraits, but the addition of the bejeweled cross directly over the heart in the case of the chemise is significant.

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[815] Tunic Front with Marine Motifs, 38.753, Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art, Brooklyn Museum Archives, New York; D. Thompson, "Catalogue of Textiles in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection" (unpublished catalogue, Washington, DC, 1976), no. 125.

[816] D. Thompson, "Catalogue of Textiles in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection" (unpublished catalogue, Washington, DC, 1976), no. 156.

[817] Bardiès-Fronty, "Chasuble de la reine Bathilde," 80; Effros, "Symbolic Expressions of Sanctity" 2; Yorke, "'The Weight of Necklaces'," 107.

[818] Bardiès-Fronty, "Chasuble de la reine Bathilde," 80.

Only the front of the garment has been preserved, and it is clear it was never included in a tomb; it is less clear if it was ever worn in life, and if it was, *how* it would have been worn. Alexandra Gajewski and Stephanie Seeberg questioned previous reconstructions of the chasuble: "Practically, the garment would have required a belt to hold it together, but the extent of the stitched motifs would have meant that, even for a tall woman wearing a low-hanging belt, the embroidery would have been distorted to some extent."[819] Alternatively, they proposed that Balthild, in imitation of the pious Queen Radegund, might have worn the cloth as a veil or cape.[820] Here it is tempting to posit the use of both the Trumpington Cross and Balthild's embroidered shroud echo the Lombard tradition of sewing crosses directly over the heart at a critical moment of vulnerability for the body. But as Balthid's chasuble was never interred, it remains more comparable to the Coptic tunics and the cross pendants displayed through wear in life. The positioning of the cross over the heart, however, is still highly significant in relation to the Christian usage of *crux usualis*, and also in light of early medieval conceptions of the heart and mind.

The culturally accepted localization of the mind and heart in the breast in early medieval England may provide a strong case for wearing pendant crosses near the center of the chest. Identification of the mind-in-breast is evident in the vocabulary of

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[819] Alexandra Gajewski and Stefanie Seeberg, "Having Her Hand in It? Elite Women as 'Makers' of Textile Art in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no.1 (2016): 41.

[820] In her *vita*, Venantius Fortunatus wrote that Radegund often dressed in a linen *sabanum* (cloth or apron) decorated with gold and jewels that she wore like a new *mavorte* (veil or cape). Gajewski and Seeberg, "Having Her Hand in It?," 41-3.

Old English poetry, such as in the *Maxims I*, which locates the mind in the *breostum*[821] and in *The Wanderer*, which places it in the *breostcofa*.[822] As expressed in the *Maxims*, the *Wife's Lament*, and *The Seafarer*, thoughts originate in the heart (*heortan geþohtas*), and as opposed to the rational seat of cognition, the mind is equated with both thought and emotion. *Hreþer*, glossed as "bosom" or "breast" in Bosworth-Toller, seems to capture this understanding of the mind.[823] Malcom Godden supported this interpretation with examples from *The Order of the World*: "I can tell you more than you, *hygecræftig*, can comprehend with *mod* in your *hreþer*" and *Precepts*: "let not anger overpower you in *hreþer*".[824] Leslie Lockett's interesting work on the "hydraulic model" of the mind expressed in Old English narratives and poetry treated the concept as literal rather than metaphoric.[825] Lockett's survey of Old English poetry and prose revealed a cultural localization of the mind-in-the-breast, counteracting the modern assumption of an understanding of the brain as the seat of thought and

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[821] *Maxims I*, line 123.

[822] *The Wanderer*, line 18.

[823] Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), 560; cf. DOE: "breast, heart; mind."

[824] Malcom Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, 303. For the original OE see, *The Exeter Book*, eds. George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936): "The Order of the World," lines 23b-26a, "Ic þe lungre sceal meotudes mægensped maran gesecgan, þonne þu hygecræftig in hreþre mæge mode gegripan." 164; "Precepts," lines 83-84a, "Yrre ne læt þe æfre gewealdan, heah in hreþre…" 143.

[825] Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

emotion. The term "hydraulic" refers to the psycho-physiological reactions within the chest cavity, described in Old English literature as sensations of rising and falling pressure, as though in a heated or cooling container. Deliberate control of these reactions, and thus one's mind, is characterized as an exercise in restraint both admirable and heroic.[826] Lockett attributed the more traditional metaphorical reading of the mind-in-breast concept to a "modernist bias" of mind-body duality, and to a "medievalist bias" that assumes Platonic-Christian dualism was most widely disseminated through writers such as Augustine. According to Lockett's research:

> prior to the eleventh century the dominant psychological discourses consulted in Anglo-Saxon libraries were not those of Augustine and other representatives of the Platonist-Christian tradition: instead, the ideas about the soul and the mind that were most widely disseminated at all levels of literate culture were those contained in the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great and the encyclopedic works of Isidore.[827]

Latin and Greek sources had long identified the head or brain as the seat of the soul,[828] but corresponding suggestions in Old English literature were rare[829] and only appeared

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[826] For example, *Beowulf*, lines 1876b-80a; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 83.

[827] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 14.

[828] Plato, *Timaeus*, 69c-d; Cassiodorus, *De anima*, IX, ed. J. W. Halporn, CCSL 96 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1973), 501-75.

[829] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 23. Even the Christian commentaries of Alcuin in the eighth century and Ælfric in the tenth century do not seat the mind or soul in the head. See Alcuin, *De animae ratione liber ad eulaliam virginem*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, PL 101 (Paris: Apud Garnieri Fratres, 1863), 639-50 and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text*, I, ed. Malcom Godden (London: Published for The Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1979), 612; For translations see *De animae ratione: A Text with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Translation*, ed. and trans. James Joseph Mark Curry (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1966) and *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First*

in English medical texts after 1000.[830] Evidence of wearable items featuring a cross inscribed on the forehead (such as the Benty Grange helmet, fig. 9) is similarly scarce. The Old English poetic corpus characterizes the *sawol* (soul), as an "entity… incapable of autonomous action or of efficacious thought while residing in the body."[831] The body and mind are not portrayed as dual or conflicting forces, but as a "mind-body complex" sharing a single will that affects the eternal soul for good or for ill. The soul is only granted the capability to act on its own once released from the mortal coil, as a representative of the self in the afterlife. Perhaps then for the English Christian, virtue, as well as protection, was sought through contact with the wearable cross. In the *Juliana* poem, a devil outlines his strategy for compromising the mind of a victim:

> Though he know in his spirit something of God, I am immediately
> ready, that I might survey all his intention, how fast his mind be within,
> the defense constructed - I open the gate in the wall through injury;
> when the tower is penetrated, the entrance opened, then I at once send
> in to him, with the shooting of an arrow into his breast-mind, bitter
> thoughts through the various desires of his mind, that it seems to him
> better to perform sins and lusts of the flesh than the praise of God.[832]

Part, Containing the Sermones catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971).

[830] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 23 and 442.

[831] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 33; See also Malcom Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, 302.

[832] þeah he godes hwæt ⁊ onginne gæstlice, ic beo gearo sona, ⁊ þæt ic ingehygd eal geondwlite, ⁊ hu gefæstnad sy ferð innanweard, ⁊ wiðsteall geworht. Ic þæs wealles geat ⁊ ontyne þurh teonan; bið se torr þyrel, ⁊ ingong geopenad, þonne ic ærest him ⁊ þurh eargfare in onsende ⁊ in breostsefan bitre geþoncas ⁊ þurh mislice modes willan, ⁊ þæt him sylfum selle þynceð ⁊ leahtras to fremman ofer lof godes, ⁊ lices lustas. Cynewulf, *Juliana*, 397, quoted in Soon Ai Low, "The Anglo-Saxon Mind Metaphor

Here I use Soon Ai Low's translation for her precise interpretation of the Old English *breostsefan*, a compound of *breost* (breast) and *sefa* (mind/seat of thought). Indeed, it is possible that this conception continued into the next century as Alcuin too recognized the sign of the cross upon the chest as a protective barrier against entrance by the devil, and the Dream of the Rood poem also uses the Old English, *in breostum*.[833] As a physical weight upon the breast, the pendant or pectoral cross may have been worn to shield the gateway of mind and flesh from the arrows of evil, as well as to serve as a constant reminder to care for the needs of the soul. The English tradition of commemorating the dead through the wearing of jewelry (such as arm rings),[834] may have translated effortlessly into the wearing of the cross as an anamnestic device to keep the Savior in mind.

Personal Interaction with Cross Pendants

Reduction of the prototype of Christ's cross to a small personal ornament, especially in elite cross pendants, did not always result in a simplification of surface decoration. While the display of artistry to communicate affluence might certainly have been at play, the design of many pieces also suggests specific intentions for

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and Common Sense Psychology in Old English Literature" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998), ProQuest (AAT 3300426), 41. See also Low's "Approaches to the Old English Vocabulary for 'Mind'," *Studia Neophilologica* 73, no. 1 (2001): 11-22.

[833] Pectus quoque eodem perunguitur oleo, ut signo sanctae crucis diabolo clauditur ingressus. Alcuin, *Epistola*, 134 and 137, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 202 and 214; Ne þearf ðær þonne ænig unforth wesan, þe him ær in breostum bereð beacna selast. "Dream of the Rood," lines 117-18, 64.

[834] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 189; *Beowulf*, line 3015.

individual contemplation and private viewing. Webster has noted a tradition of complex imagery and meaning packed into the confined space of metalwork in the early medieval minor arts of England. She saw representations of the cosmos, condensed within a microcosm of metal as "a style intended to tease the eye and brain, a style designed for interrogation."[835] Tilghman echoed this idea in his characterization of the Old English riddling tradition as contemplations of the enigmatic complexity of the cosmos. Through his own close examination of three early medieval objects, he convincingly demonstrated their functions as material manifestations of *ænigmata*, which by nature demand visual interrogation.[836] Within this vocabulary of visual contemplation, perceiving the image of the cross through sight must have been a necessary element of its affectivity. The pendant cross discovered in Wilton, Norfolk, with its clever geometric inlay of gold and garnet, is replete with opportunities for visual interrogation. Most striking is the gold *solidus* mounted in its roundel bearing the image of the cross standing upon four steps representing Golgotha. Curiously, the *solidus* was struck with the reverse die upside-down in relation to the obverse.[837] This aspect may have been the very feature which inspired its selection by the jeweler or his client for installation in the roundel. The image of the cross would have appeared right side-up to the wearer, providing a strong

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[835] Webster, "Encrypted Visions," 15.

[836] Benjamin C. Tilghman, "On the Enigmatic Nature of Things in Anglo-Saxon Art," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 4 (2014): 1-43.

[837] Angela Care Evans, "The Wilton Cross," in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900*, eds. Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 27-8.

case for intimate personal contact with the object.[838] Instances of orienting coins upside down occurred with some regularity in coin pendants and coin necklaces from the sixth and seventh centuries. Seven out of ten of the coins on a necklace found at Brighthampton were pierced for suspension at the base of the bust rather than the head.[839] Six Merovingian *tremissises* which make up a necklace from King's Field in Faversham (fig. 115), were fitted with suspension loops rather than pierced. According to the museum inventory, all six were struck with a cross on the reverse, though the record does not specify whether they appear upside down or right side up. Three coins feature a cross on an orb; one, a two-armed cross on a semi-circle; one, a cross potent above three bars; and one, a cross between two standing figures. Curiously, the reverse of two coins were struck sideways.[840] The museum display also shows that the reverse of one *tremissis*, with a cross surmounting a globe, was indeed struck and mounted upside down.

Several finds reported to the PAS in the last decade have added to the body of evidence for the trend of mounting coins upside down for the viewer's benefit. The finds consist of single pendants utilizing or imitating eastern Roman *solidi*, the majority discovered in Kent. The most recent find to date is an imitation of high

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[838] Care Evans, "The Wilton Cross," 28; Archibald, "The Wilton Cross Coin Pendant," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World*, 61-2; Richard Hoggett, *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion*, 113.

[839] Roger H. White, *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves: A Catalogue and an Interpretation of Their Use* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1988), fig 43, 299; Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 8.

[840] Coin pendant, inv. 1884,1221.12 and inv. 1884,1221.12, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London; also shown in Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, fig. 34(d) and (f), 53.

quality, found in 2018 in Hoath, Kent, notable for its resemblance to the *tremissis* from King's Field. The Hoath coin pendant belongs to a "pseudo-imperial" series issued from Marseilles that, although contemporary with genuine Roman coins, combines iconography on the obverse and reverse not used in the official issues.[841] The obverse portrait is a forward-facing bust of Maurice Tiberius (582-602), outfitted in a helmet, cuirass, shield on his left shoulder, and a spear on his right. The reverse, like the King's Field coin, is struck upside down and displays a cross on a globe. Though the King's Field inscription is somewhat garbled, the initial phrase (VICVORIA…) is close to that of the Hoath inscription (VICTORIA AVGGV). The use of Roman *solidi* for a necklace, and even imitations made abroad, may be itself a statement of wealth and wider continental connections.

Orienting the cross for the benefit of the wearer as opposed to the onlooker is also evident in the orientation of pendants with a Latin cross shape. Though the bottom arm of the Latin cross is longer than the other three, pendants including the Newball and Ord crosses were suspended by that longer arm, presumably to appear "upright" to the wearer. Though not of an obvious Latin shape, other pendants from Milton and Desborough, to the copper-alloy examples from Wingham and Breach Down, are suspended from an arm of a slightly longer length than the remaining three. This kind of orientation-for-the-viewer was a regular occurrence in several other types of early English jewelry as well, such as the square head of the sixth-century Chessell Down Brooch (fig. 3) described in Chapter 1. As pointed out by Lawrence Nees, the boars on the famed Sutton Hoo shoulder clasps (fig. 11) would appear upside-down to

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[841] PAS (record ID: KENT-AC7E52; accessed October 11, 2021), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/940501.

a viewer, but right-side up to the wearer.[842] The backplates of mid-to-late sixth-century composite brooches often featured imagery incised on the surface. The silver backplate of a brooch found in Grave 3 at Monkton[843] (fig. 31) is off-center, and as such may be from the backplate of an earlier brooch.[844] The design was made using a scribing compass and consists of four, doubled, concentric circles. In the zone emanating from the pin's base is an unfinished pattern of etched triangles, one of which is marked with cross-hatching. The backplate design of a larger composite brooch found at King's Field (fig. 116) appears more intentional, and is difficult to see in reproductions A triangle pattern similar to the one started on the Monkton brooch surrounds the pin socket, radiating outward from the circular socket like rays of the sun. Reminiscent of the backward-biting beasts of the Sutton Hoo shoulder clasps, a lightly incised parade of interlaced beasts biting their own bodies runs around the perimeter of the brooch. The remarkably detailed execution of this backplate bears a resemblance to a mid-seventh century buckle from Crundale Downs in Kent (fig. 117). Stamped rather than incised, a cross-hatched triangle pattern runs along the border of the backplate of the belt. Within the rectangular panel below the belt loop, we find the beginnings of an incised creature that mirrors the beasts of the Faversham brooch.

The Kingston brooch (fig. 75) takes private viewing to a highly sophisticated level artistically; the intricacies of gold casting, zoomorphic design, and gold filigree

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[842] Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113.

[843] The Monkton Brooch (6.3cm, found 1971, grave 3, gold front with silver back and partly gilded bronze cloisons, blue stones, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1973,1401).

[844] Hawkes, "The Monkton Brooch," 248.

usually dedicated to the front of composite brooches was used to decorate the pin and catchplate of the reverse. A two-headed animal (the curled "beak" suggests a raptor), adorned with two parallel rows of filigree spirals, curls in a C-shape around the pin attachment. An elaborate cast of a dragon's head serves as the catchplate; its neck is composed of delicate plaits terminating in bird heads, in a more squared-off C-shape. The neck itself is made up of alternating bands of plaiting and filigree spiral and a lone band of filigree spiral runs between the dragon's eyes and down its snout to its nostrils.

A pseudo-coin pendant from Norfolk presents perhaps the most compelling comparison to the composition of the Wilton Cross, particularly as they were both found in the same county. This late sixth-/early-seventh-century pendant (fig. 118) is set with an imitation coin of Maurice Tiberius (r. 582-602), surrounded by a double-headed snake formed of interlacing garnet cloisonné. Visually recalling the portico carving at Monkwearmouth (fig. 19), the snake's long jaws interlock at the apex of the pendant, and similar to the Ixworth Cross, the suspension loop dips to fill in the space created by the V-shaped-void of their intersecting heads. Like other coin pendants wreathed in garnet cloisonné, the back of the pendant could have concealed the *solidus* with the addition of a solid backplate;[845] rather, the backplate was constructed with an opening to accommodate viewing of the reverse of the coin and its image of the cross. Although the pseudo-coin pendant and the Wilton Cross switch which image (ruler or cross) is privileged for the obverse or reverse, the intentionally open design invites handling and contemplation of each image by the pendant's owner. Concepts of

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[845] See British Museum inv. 1835,0803.1 and 1879,0714.1.

prestige, piety, the temporal, and the spiritual are bound up in these two luxury objects. Their sumptuous and fashionable materials signaled access to continental trade and skilled craftsmen; their royal portraits of emperors insinuated connections with powerful Christian empires. Each emperor was a favored portrait for seventh-century jewelry in England, especially Heraclius, who was famed for regaining the True Cross from the Persians.[846] Their images of the cross signaled a personal affiliation with the Christian religion and may have facilitated private adoration of the cross.

Though perhaps the most lavish, the Wilton Cross is not the only pendant wherein a cross image within a cross occurs. Placement of a cruciform opening pierced through the backplate of the Newball Cross (fig. 46) indicates its intention as a locus for private viewing and devotion. The pendant's hollow construction bolsters this assumption; if indeed this was a reliquary cross, a visual portal to the relic within could be quite powerful. Even if only suggested by the tiny opening, the symbolic point of access, echoing the shape of the pendant had the potential for immense cognitive impact. As will be demonstrated in the remaining portion of this chapter, visual perception is actually enhanced when an object is engaged with an area of tactile spatial attention, e.g., the sight of a cross clutched in one's hand.[847] Connecting

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[846] A necklace found in a female grave at Sarre, Kent features two coins of Maurice Tiberius and one of Heraclius; see Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, fig. 31(b), 48-9.

[847] José van Velzen, Elena Gherri, and Martin Eimer, "ERP Effects of Movement Preparation on Visual Processing: Attention Shifts to the Hand, Not the Goal," *Cognitive Processing* 7, no. 1 (2006): 100-1; Martin Eimer, Bettina Forster, José Van Velzen, and Gita Prabhu, "Covert Manual Response Preparation Triggers Attentional

the body to the Christian faith via the cross may have been achieved most significantly by the habitual touch and sight of personal cross ornaments. As Michael Taussig observed, "[O]nly at the depth of habit is radical change effected, where unconscious strata of culture are built into social routines as bodily disposition."[848]

Physical Evidence of Interactions with Cross Pendants

Further examination of the surface of pendant and pectoral crosses for wearmarks produced specifically by touching or rubbing has the potential to provide more evidence of kinesthetic activation. To that end, I examined eight gold and garnet, four silver, and four copper-alloy crosses between 2017 and 2022. Before discussing my findings, it is important to reiterate the kind of knowledge that is unmediated by magnifiers or microscopes. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, physically handling these pendants added a necessary and revealing dimension to understanding their interaction with the body. The diminutive dimensions of the gold and garnet crosses were especially pronounced as I held them to my neck (see fig. 119), their weight often quite surprising considering their size. Earlier in this chapter I imagined how handling a jeweled cross pendant could animate the appearance of the ornament. By doing this myself, I no longer had to imagine; as I turned a pendant in my hand the reflection of light off burnished gold and glass-like garnets brought the surface to life (particularly in the case of sunlit rooms) and I recorded videos of this phenomenon for

Shifts: ERP Evidence for the Premotor Theory of Attention," *Neuropsychologia* 43 (2005): 957-66.

[848] Michael T. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 25.

future reference. The oxidized surface and delicately light quality of copper-alloy crosses provided a fascinating contrast. Their even tinier dimensions challenged the idea of ostentatious display implied by the golden crosses, yet the inclusion of ring-and-dot motifs indicated a consistent desire/need for embellishment. The most striking element of the silver crosses I was able to handle was the tremendous variety between size, heft, and form compared to both gold and copper-alloy examples. Though certainly filtered through my own cultural and temporal filters, physical interaction with the variety of cross pendant forms bridged some of the theoretical with the experiential.

Upon formal magnified and microscopic examination, some shared patterns of wear were evident between specimens. High purity gold is soft, which is one of the reasons why it is easily beaded and why that beading is susceptible to wear.[849] The greatest levels of wear on the cross pendants in this study is obviously within the loop, caused by friction with a cord or chain, but the second highest level is on the outside. Several pendants in this study exhibit wear spanning the circumference of the outermost edges of the loop opening (see fig. 120). The cause of this wear might be from regular friction against clothing; however, additional wearmarks on these loops calls this into question. The largest of loops, as in the Wilton Cross, the Ixworth Cross, and the Wymondham Cross (though not the Staffordshire Cross which is fairly unworn), exhibit wear appearing on the highest point of both the obverse and reverse of the suspension loop (see fig. 121). This suggests these pendants might have been handled by the suspension loop. But can wear on other areas of the crosses in this

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[849] Thanks to Niamh Whitfield.

study indicate repeated touch of the fingers elsewhere on their surfaces? The pointed tips of the arms of the Trumpington Cross are more rounded and shinier than other areas of the gold plating. In the raised ring-and-dot motif that fills the central sections of the crossarms, the dots are more visibly worn at the ends of the crossarms, as is especially pronounced in one of the four arms.[850] The unique nature of this cross prompts numerous questions: Without a loop by which to grasp the cross, does this flattening indicate repeated handling by the ends of the arms, possibly one in particular? Without a loop, which arm was considered the "top" or "bottom"? If the cross had been sewn into a garment from its inception, why touch it at all? Flattening offers the same clues (or possibly questions) on the Wilton Cross as on the Trumpington Cross. On the obverse of the inset coin, flattening is noticeable on the beading below the foot of the steps of the cross and the remainder of the beading appears fairly unabraded. What is telling is that there is corresponding flattening above Emperor Heraclius' head on the reverse of the coin.[851] Did the forefingers of the pendant's owner touch or even rub the front of the coin while their thumb held the back? Did she stroke the pendant during prayer, or in anxiety, or both, or neither? This question can never be definitively answered, but the evidence of wear patterns compels consideration of a religious ornament in contact with its owner in what would have been daily, or at the very least, many years of consistent wear. Precedent for repeated tactile interaction with Christian objects has been well established in the case

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[850] On-site research, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge, May 11, 2018.

[851] On-site research, British Museum, May 27, 2018.

of eastern Roman icons, manuscripts, and relics.[852] Although slightly later, though not geographically far, the example of the Gellone Sacramentary (790-c. 804) may offer some evidence that this compulsion to touch was also felt in the West. This Carolingian sacramentary features a tiny crucifixion initial wherein Christ's face, hands, and feet are noticeably effaced. Celia Chazelle posited repeated touching or kissing as the cause of this erosion, though she acknowledged this may have occurred long after the manuscript was completed.[853]

The cross in the landscape and in the church may have acted as typological antecedents for wearable crosses or may have emerged parallel to their development. Both quotations and embodiments of the might of Christ's cross, what differentiated the wearable cross from larger, public exempla was a personal, tactile potency. For many early English Christians, understanding and embodying the Christian God and the power of His Son's sacrifice was abetted by reduction of the prototype to the familiar form of jewelry. The personal and portable nature of the wearable cross would have granted individuals access to the power of the cross outside of fixed religious sites and enabled worship in the private sphere of the individual at all levels of society. Just as the sight, sound, movement, and emotion of past events involving

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[852] Roland Betancourt, "Tempted to Touch: Tactility, Ritual, and Mediation in Byzantine Visuality," *Speculum* 91, no. 3 (2016): 660-89; Liz James, "'Seeing's Believing, but Feeling's the Truth': Touch and the Meaning of Byzantine Art," in *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings: Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker*, ed. Angeliki Lymberopoulou (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 1-14; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 631-55.

[853] Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 97.

ancestors and family exploits could be recalled through personal ornaments, memories of worship could be recollected at any time through interaction with the wearable cross. Continual intimate contact through wear, sight, and touch made present the sacrifice of Christ an ongoing act of salvation in the body of the wearer, deflecting sin and evil from life unto death.

Material Agency over Material Minds

An overlap between pre-Christian and Christian spiritual practice is clear as the English people embraced the new religion. The Gregorian mission, which had ideally sought to convert not by "force of arms but by preaching and miracles,"[854] was initially tolerant of this mixture of foreign and familiar faith. Pope Gregory wrote to Augustine of Canterbury:

> For in these days the holy Church corrects some things with zeal and tolerates some things with gentleness, while in her wisdom she connives at other things and so by forbearance and connivance often succeeds in checking the evil which she resists.[855]

Christian tenants "found a sufficient affirmative echo in indigenous culture to lodge themselves in the traditions of the early church."[856] But an echo reverberates back to the body from which it was generated, distorting as it travels, familiar but changed. As will be demonstrated in the final section of this chapter, the body dictates the shape of material things, but those things in turn shape the bodies of their makers. In the pre-

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[854] Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998), 17.

[855] Bede, *HE*, I.xxvii, 85.

[856] Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*, 18.

conversion period, ornamentation conditioned the memory of past events and people, and molded future trajectories of individuals, their families, and their society as a whole. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the wearable cross likewise transformed ideas of early medieval English identity and society through imagination and recall.

Memory, particularly of the visual, motor, somatosensory, and affective states of worship, plays a vital role in acts of embodiment. Studies in cognitive science have increasingly embraced the phenomenological view of the acquisition of knowledge through the body (which *includes* the brain) and its environment, as opposed to the disembodied idea of the mind processing and acting autonomously. Rejections of the Cartesian mind-body duality have led to more holistic and informative methodologies in studies of human perception and cognition. Neruophenomenological approaches have also been applied in archaeology in an attempt to weave together material evidence with neurological findings and considerations of subjective experience.[857] In the words of Nicole Boivin, "I would argue that such interdisciplinary approaches are not only critical to the study of ritual, but also of potential interest to scholars trying to unravel the complexities of the relationship between the material world and society."[858] Scientists such as Lawrence Barsalou, Aron Barbey, W. Kyle Simmons, and Ava Santos have utilized the idea of embodiment to locate mundane and religious

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[857] Boivin references Jennifer Dornan's use of neurophenomenology to understand archeologically documented changes in the Maya religious system. "Her analysis demonstrates that attention to shared physiological regularities in the human body does not preclude consideration of culturally variable experience, nor confine investigation only to the most unusual kinds of religious experience." Nicole Boivin, *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 126.

[858] Boivin, *Material Cultures, Material Minds*, 122.

knowledge in modality-specific systems; regarding the possibility that religious thoughts originate from truly spiritual sources, like the aforementioned scientists, I will "remain agnostic on this matter."[859] In their study, Barsalou et al. outlined the cognitive process wherein *interaction* with an object is captured and stored for later conceptual purposes: "In later remembering the object, a simulation of it is evoked, as opposed to the retrieval of transduced symbols that describe it."[860]

According to the psychological and empirical study of the last hundred years, the simulations cited by Barsalou et al. are in fact "felt imitations" that occur in the body. The discovery of this bodily phenomenon began with the identification of the psychology of empathy in the early 1900s.[861] Irving Massey pulled together various quotations of philosopher Robert Vischer and art historian Heinrich Wölfflin that seem nearly prophetic of the function of the visuomotor neurons in the premotor cortex of the brain that govern our internally simulated somatic reactions to what we see.[862] Massey cited Vischer's attestation to our "wonderful ability to project and incorporate our own physical form into an objective form" and Wolfflin's more objective suggestion that "[i]nstead of an inexplicable 'self-projection,' we might perhaps imagine that the optic nerve impulse directly stimulates the motor nerves, which cause

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[859] Barsalou, et al., "Embodiment in Religious Knowledge," 36.

[860] Barsalou, et al., "Embodiment in Religious Knowledge," 23.

[861] Irving Massey, *The Neural Imagination: Aesthetic and Neuroscientific Approaches to the Arts* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 35-36.

[862] David Freedberg, "Memory in Art: History and the Neuroscience of Response," in *The Memory Process: Neuroscientific and Humanistic Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Nalbantian, Paul M. Matthews, and James L. McClelland (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2011), 341.

specific muscles to contract."[863] Mirror neurons, identified in the early 1990s by

Giacomo Rizzolatti, enable us to recognize emotional expressions or postures in our

fellow humans and thus induce an empathetic response. But even more significantly,

the viewing of movement, whether live or pictorial, activates motor and

somatosensory cortices as if we were ourselves, performing the same action.[864]

Giacomo Rizzolatti explained the necessity of this neural function in understanding

the action one has witnessed:

> It might sound bizarre that in order to recognize an action, one should
> activate the motor system. As a matter of fact, this is not so strange. A
> mere visual perception, without involvement of the motor system
> would only provide a description of the visible aspects of the
> movements of the agent. It would not give, however, information on
> the intrinsic components of the observed action, on what means doing
> it, and of the links of the observed actions with other actions related to
> it. To put the observed action into a motor semantic network is simply a
> necessity, if one has to understand… what the observed action is really
> about.[865]

Rizzolatti went on to explain that "in analogy with action understanding… feeling

emotions is due to the activation of circuits that mediate the corresponding response,

and namely, in this case, viscero-motor responses."[866] Thus, any imagery or

performance of Christ's Passion involving the gesture of his figure would trigger not

only emotional empathy, but a "felt imitation" in the body of the viewer. The memory

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[863] Massey, *The Neural Imagination,* 35.

[864] Freedberg, "Memory in Art," 341 and 350; Giacomo Rizzolatti, "The Mirror
Neuron System and its Function in Humans," *Anatomy and Embryology* 210, no. 5
(2005): 420.

[865] Rizzolatti, "The Mirror Neuron System and its Function in Humans," 419.

[866] Rizzolatti, "The Mirror Neuron System and its Function in Humans," 420.

of these events is thus shaped by the body and may condition subsequent responses to images of the cross, including wearable versions. In the same way that an individual would map Christ onto his or her body through the motion of signing, a mapping of movement, meaning, and emotion could be projected onto the form of the wearable cross. The imagistic and somatic information from past experience obviously pertains to a Christian's previous encounters with the cross in worship, whether through objects of the cross, images of it, or descriptions of the Crucifixion. As the material instrument of Christ's torture and death, and thus the salvation of humanity, the cross cannot be separated from the event of the Crucifixion; through the liturgy, priests would have described the Crucifixion in detail, or read it directly from the Gospels, to impress the weight of Christ's sacrifice, and triumph over death, on the populace. Encounters with the cross could also extend to personal devotion, wherein a vision of the Crucifixion as understood from objects, images, or church instruction was conjured and imagined experience becomes a shared experience in the body of the believer. In the words of Kerry Martin Skora, it is "imaginative thinking that reproduces and gives rise to divine reality, not representational thinking, but mimetic thinking."[867] The extent to which images of the Crucifixion, with the body of Christ on the cross, were available in the early seventh century was probably quite limited, but according to Bede visual aids were important to Benedict Biscop, founder of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Two of the many images that Biscop brought back from Rome around 680 to display at St. Paul's included an image of Christ carrying his

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[867] Kerry Martin Skora, "The Hermeneutics of Touch: Uncovering Abhinavagupta's Tactile Terrain," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 21 (2009): 103.

cross to his crucifixion and an image of Christ hanging on the cross.[868] No other extant sources mention images as part of church decoration, though is not unimaginable as the actual state of places of worship at the time.

When considering literary sources and toponymy, Bernadette Filotas concluded a general antipathy for physical effigies of gods in early medieval England. Though, importantly, Filotas also allowed for the possibility of wooden images of spirits or deities.[869] Pope Gregory I wrote to Bishop Mellitus and Pope Boniface V (d. 625) to King Edwin instructing them how to dispose of or resist worship of *idola*, though neither references effigies of wood specifically, and it is doubtful if they were referring to a true contemporary understanding of the religious practices in early medieval England.[870] If such images existed, they may have been lost due to their perishable material or deliberate destruction in the wake of Christianity. Personal ornamentation in England was the primary surviving medium for the iconography of the sixth and seventh centuries, and it made little use of human representation. The few full-body figures that remain are found almost exclusively on male ornamentation such as buckles, helmets, and coin purses, and feature armed men. Melissa Herman has pointed out that though many have attempted to link these warrior images to

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[868] …et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem, proxima super inuicem regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum comparauit. Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 9, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 45.

[869] Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 67-8, note 10.

[870] Bede, *HE*, I.xxx, 106-9; II.x, 168-170; II.xi, 172.

Woden, this cannot be done with any certainty; it is perhaps enough to recognize their emphasis on male potency and their possible apotropaic functions in relation to the dangers of warfare.[871] In his assessment of the phenomenological operations of clothing and adornment, Toby F. Martin noted the calculated display of the male body versus the concealment of the female body in early medieval England.[872] Whether the intention was to embody a warrior god or a celebrated ancestor, or to simply project an expected or idealized masculine role within society, what may be of most importance here is the human body as referent. Concealing or revealing the body is powerful because in the human experience, the body is the *first* referent, preceding the images of the body as crafted by humans. The concept of revealing/concealing may also apply to disarticulated human features as the gripping hand motif seen on objects like the drinking horn mount from Taplow.[873] Despite their ostensibly instructive and conditioning effects on the mind, images of the body, are perhaps even parts of the body, derive their potency from the prototype.[874]

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[871] Herman, "Something More Than 'Man'," in *The Art, Literature and Material Culture of the Medieval World: Transition, Transformation and Taxonomy*, 290-2.

[872] Martin, "(Ad)Dressing the Anglo-Saxon Body," 27-38.

[873] For more on the unexplored corpus of human imagery in the early medieval North, see Lisa Brundle, "The Body on Display: Exploring the Role and Use of Figurines in early Anglo-Saxon England," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 13, no. 2 (2013): 197-219; Nancy L. Wicker, "Humans and Animals: The Changing Corpus of Danish Viking Art," in *Viking Encounters: Proceedings of the 18th Viking Congress*, 413-425, eds. Anne Pedersen and Sindbæk Søren (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2020).

[874] As previously mentioned, Lawrence Nees also suggested the possibly a greater abundance of wooden Christ figures than is usually assumed, now lost due to the perishability of wood. Nees, "On the Image of Christ Crucified," 353.

The meditation prescribed by Gregory the Great had blossomed through the rise of the early English church to an embodied practice that would become prevalent later in the Middle Ages. The Book of Cerne, an eighth- or ninth-century prayer book, details each of Christ's injuries, from the bite of the thorn to the foulness of the vinegar.[875]

> The most detailed recollection of Christ's sufferings, however, is contained in the series of prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster where each detail is separately invoked: the kiss of Judas, the crowning with thorns, the taunting, the removal of Christ's clothes, the darkness which descended to earth, the promise to the repentant thief, the closing of Christ's eyes in death, the wound in his side.[876]

Many such prayers were performed in front of a cross and encouraged prostration or kneeling, and were recited both in the church and in private.[877] The ancient method of praying with arms outstretched was enacted by abbesses and brothers of early England. Ecgburgh of Repton Abbey and the monk she sent with a

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[875] *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop Commonly Called The Book of Cerne*, ed. A.B. Kuypers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 114-17.

[876] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, 57-58.

[877] Some prayers are headed, "Ante crucem domini deprecatio sancta legenda," or "Ante crucem domini oratio sancta." Some include phrases like "prostratum coram adoranda tua crce sancta," "tibi flecto genua mea," or "deprecor coram sancta cruce tua." BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i, 158r. See also Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, 58.

gift to Guthlac both utilized this posture,[878] a position in which "the self becomes the cross-shape through sympathetic association."[879]

In summation, the vehicles of emotion, imagination, and memory, prompted by visual and tactile interaction with a wearable cross, broke down temporal structures and triggered neural bridges of empathetic access to the suffering and redemption of the body of Christ. The ability of the wearable cross to forge such connections between the body of the believer and the body of Christ was one of the building blocks in transforming the identity of the non-Christian body into that of the Christian body. Embodiment through ornamentation allowed the wearer to claim identity and authority by embodying the personhood of an ancestor. It is not clear to what extent pagan Anglo-Saxons worshipped their ancestors, if at all, and although amulets may have invoked the power of the gods for protection, there is little to indicate they were used in a religious capacity.[880] In addition to applications of protection, commemoration, and identity-building, the specific application of ritual devotion adds an extra dimension of agency to the wearable cross that, without access to past pagan ritual, we cannot attribute with certainty to amuletic ornamentation. Repeated motor actions have been shown to enhance memory, and in the case of ritual, which includes recurrent gestures such as the *crux usualis*, such repetition can establish new

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[878] "…adjurans per nomen terribile superni Regis, seque ad patibulum Dominica; crucis erigens…" Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, XLVIII, 146.

[879] Sarah Larratt Keefer, "The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 143-84.

[880] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 170.

conceptual systems in the body. The concreteness of visual and tangible objects associated with a religion, such as the wearable cross, can also serve not only to embed abstract ideas in memory, but to make them more intelligible. In the famed words of Merleau-Ponty, "in the acquisition of habit it is the body that 'understands.'"[881] As we have seen, the psychological need for the durability, portability, and tactile engagement of objects motivated the manufacture of the wearable cross in England. Rather than an impassive object on which to encode symbolic meaning, the cross acted as a social agent in the lives of the English people, effecting change in their bodies that they most likely could not have predicted. As Boivin observes, "The relationship between idea and material is not one way - the material as a simple medium for the idea - but instead involves an interesting play between the two."[882]

The Cross in Death

The connotations of crosses in the grave are numerous, the majority relating to issues of identity and anxiety regarding protection of the body and soul beyond this mortal life. In the decades c. 670-720, a marked change occurred in the furnishing of graves in England; items professing life cycle or gender waned even as Christian items (such as wearable crosses) persisted.[883] Hence, the psychological need for bodily contact with sacred Christian objects may have carried as much weight as claims to

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[881] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, ed. Donald A. Landes (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 145.

[882] Boivin, *Material Cultures, Material Minds*, 131.

[883] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 234.

identity. If the seal of the *crux usualis* was temporary in life, so it may have been in death. Augustine professed most emphatically at the closing of *City of God* that after death the faithful would experience a resurrection, not merely of the soul, but of the physical body.[884] Was furnished burial then a carry-over from the pagan approach to the afterlife, inserted into Christian praxis, or was it representative of an Augustinian understanding of resurrection? Lockett contended that "[s]uch precise theological distinctions are not the stuff of OE poetry, however, and OE verse narratives typically portray resuscitation and resurrection in virtually identical terms."[885] Despite the certainties afforded by the Christian religion, anxiety regarding protection of the body in death and the journey of the soul to the afterlife persisted into the tenth century. In his poem to the saint, Cynewulf appealed to Juliana for aid at the time of his death, lamenting ignorance of his soul's final destination.[886] When facing his end on the battlefield, the hero Byrhtnoth implored God to allow his soul safe passage to His heavenly kingdom, unscathed by "hell-demons."[887] It is interesting to note that unlike the commentary on amuletic practice, clerical texts issue no complaint against

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[884] "As for the words of the above-mentioned Job, as they are found in the Hebrew manuscripts, 'And in my flesh I shall see God,' no doubt they were a prophecy of the resurrection of the flesh." Augustine, *The City of God,* XXII.29, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Random House, 1950), 862.

[885] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* 21.

[886] "My soul shall part from my body upon its way to an unknown land, I myself know not whither…" Cynewulf, "Translation of Cynewulf's Juliana," Herbert Spencer Murch, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 5, no. 3 (1905): 319.

[887] *The Battle of Maldon: Text and Translation*, line 180, trans. Bill Griffiths (Middlesex, London: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991), 58.

furnished burial.[888] In the absence of commentary, what may be deduced is that wearable crosses were designed to operate in the spiritual realm as well as the earthly, and therefore their protection was expected to continue as the body passed into it. In his assessment of the wearable cross in Byzantium, Henry Maguire has pointed to the dual purpose of jewelry as not only functional in the physical world, but as effective protection from the supernatural world that exists alongside it.[889] The history of deposition of amulets and other grave goods in early medieval England would suggest that people there shared this view of the power of bodily ornament. Grave items were not considered passive markers of identity, but as active agents of protection, equally applicable to life and death in the transition from non-Christian to Christian belief in the sixth and seventh centuries.

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[888] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 234; Crawford, "Votive Deposition," 89.

[889] Henry Maguire, "Introduction," in *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, 2.

Chapter 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BODY POST-SEVENTH CENTURY

Changes in attitudes toward the body and towards materialism can radically limit the form of objects within that culture. In the initial centuries of conversion, the English embraced the practices of the Christian faith guided by their unique bodily needs. But as individuals continued to embody Christianity, the religion became more entrenched in the strata of cultural experience, and albeit slowly, views of the body began to shift away from a holistic mind/body/soul model to a dualistic conception of the struggle between the rational mind and sinful body for the salvation of the incorporeal soul. The body was debased as evanescent and corrupt, as were material things, which could neither save the soul nor follow the body into the hereafter.

Furnished burial, with the exception of occasional knives, came to an end around the 720s.[890] Although it is not possible to rule out the deposition of perishable wooden or textile crosses with the dead, evidence of their inclusion would still point to an adoption of the spartan modes of burial used by clergy and monks.[891] This shift in burial practice may denote an increasing reliance on abstract ideas of faith and a devaluation of the material world in the eighth century; yet, the delineation of material value with godliness was a concept slow to filter into popular morality. Visions such as the *Dream of the Rood* were resplendent with gold and precious stones, churches were lavishly adorned, and manuscripts were bound in gilded treasure covers, their folios painted with gold. The concept of the Heavenly Jerusalem and its material

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[890] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 240.

[891] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 240.

splendor was heartily embraced by the English imagination and provided fuel for poetry and justification for church decoration.

Challenges to rich personal ornamentation were not seriously posed before the tenth century, though the seeds of dissent were sown by St. Etheldreda as early as the seventh century. As recounted by Bede, the abbess connected her sin of materialism with an affliction brought on by God:

> It is said that, when she was afflicted with the said tumour and with pain in her jaw and neck, she was very pleased with this kind of malady and used to say: 'I know for certain that I deserve to bear this wearisome weight on my neck for I remember wearing the idle weight of jewels when I was young. And I believe that God in His goodness wishes me to endure this pain in the neck so that I may be absolved from the guilt of that idle levity as long as a red and inflamed tumour stands out on my neck instead of gold and pearls.[892]

Pious rejection of material wealth would not fully manifest in popular religion until the time of Ælfric, who perhaps not coincidentally translated the story of Etheldreda into Old English rhythmical prose.[893] By 1008 the laws of Æthelred prohibited the wearing of jewelry in churches on days of national fasting.[894] The grandeur of the Heavenly Jerusalem was to be reverently awaited, not anticipated via earthly adornments.

Although many women like Etheldreda were designated as saints in the seventh century and venerated for many hundreds of years, the acceptance of female

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[892] Bede, *HE*, III.xix, 397.

[893] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 30.

[894] Algernon Okey Belfour, *Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343* (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909), 130.

spiritual leadership within the Church was short-lived. Reforms of the eighth century over episcopal governance inevitably established an institutional structure that limited women to the conventional roles of Roman Christendom.[895] In a section of Theodore's *Penitential* titled, "The Rite of Women, or Their Ministry in the Church," which had permitted the participation of women in the liturgy and the mass, was revised in later versions to exclude women from administering sacraments such as the Eucharist, hearing confession, or standing or eating with the clergy.[896] Nuns and abbesses continued to serve the Church throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, but with a severe reduction in status and control. Arguably, the motivations for church reforms were as much political as moral, but at the heart of this shift lay the Christian antipathy regarding the female body. In her work on the attitudes of women in the early English church, Stephanie Hollis attested that as descendants of Eve, the Church promulgated a "conception of women as unholy beings who embodied sexual temptation and profaned the sacred mysteries of the church."[897] The permeation of Christian thought into English society led not only to the bifurcation of body and soul, but to a stark division between the bodies of men and women. The egalitarian view of the male and female genders, long held in English culture, proved unable to exist indefinitely within the Body of Christ.

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[895] Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*, 11.

[896] Theodore of Tarsus, *Theodore's Penitential*, II.vii.2, 205.

[897] Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*, 114.

Conclusion

The phenomenological view of the body as the ground for culture allows us to probe the bodily motivations that contributed to the adoption of the wearable cross in early England. Pendant and pectoral crosses as expressions of identity and as apotropaic devices have been well documented by numerous scholars of early medieval history. However, I would submit the most vital operation of the wearable cross in relation to the body was its function as a material anchor. Continual intimate contact through wear and haptic touch may have enabled the owner to participate in a shared suffering and a shared victory through the body of Christ that ensured salvation in life and in death. The tangible permanence of the wearable cross superseded the ephemerality of the act of signing, which could not be taken into the grave by the individual. But just as performing the *crux usualis* with one's hands was necessary to invoke the protective agency of the sign, physical engagement with the wearable cross was necessary to activate its protection. To classify the use of wearable crosses solely as a gradual replacement of pagan amulets would be reductive and inaccurate; comparison with the amuletic tradition in early medieval England does, however, underscore the importance of embodied contact with tangible implements of protection. English amuletic practice demonstrates a cultural history of the embodiment of power objects, and the wearable cross represents a bridge between the need for tactile assurance and the new Christian religion.

The manufacture of a physical, apotropaic ornament, comparable to established cultural practice, but overtly Christian, allowed the English to link their bodies with Christianity by providing a familiar, sensorial method of connection to their new deity. This defines the wearable cross as far more than a new form amulet, distinguishing it

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as an object designed to respond to the senses—a visual, tactile stimulus that called Christ to mind and encouraged mimetic embodiment through devotion.

Phenomenologists, cognitive scientists, and art historians have stressed the role of touch in perception as a crucial method of acquiring and appropriating knowledge and British historians such as Webster have noted the prowess of the English in incorporating foreign ideas such as Christianity into their culturally conditioned idiom.[898] Even amid the tension of ecclesiastics who advocated for wholesale rejection of non-Christian tradition, Christian ideologies enjoyed a period of coexistence in the bodies of the newly converted. But it was this embodiment of Christian faith that enabled its accretion and entrenchment on the Isle that would eventually precipitate changes in cultural attitudes toward the body. The process was incremental and was disrupted (though perhaps hastened) by the Viking invasions of the ninth century; it would take nearly two hundred and eighty years for the Augustinian psychology to permeate all levels of English society. At the end of the tenth century, Ælfric's homilies solidified "the oppositional relationship between the body and the incorporeal soul, while treating the transcendent soul and the rational mind as a single entity" in the realm of popular thought.[899] The *crux usualis* certainly persisted throughout the entirety of English history, and the wearable cross too continued to be donned by the faithful. But further study is needed to reveal how methods of embodying personal, material objects may have fundamentally changed with the denial of the flesh that Augustine espoused and Ælfric popularized.

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[898] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, 24-26; Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 41.

[899] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 9, 423, and 424.

Reconstructing the shadowy period of early medieval England is a tenuous task of threading together clerical complaints, tales of conversion, and magical and/or Christian formulas for protection with archaeological discoveries, some poorly documented and others meticulously so. The addition of phenomenology and cognitive science can lead early medieval scholarship into some fascinating and truly enlightening paths of discovery. Focusing on the wearable cross serves to cast light on the question of the presence and role of the body in English society, as well as the larger issue of the ability of objects which are embodied to change entrenched cultural notions about the mind/body relationship. Regarding the personal act of embodiment of the cross in the individual, it is my hope that undergirding the investigation with an understanding of the human body and its conditioners has provided a clearer picture of this ancient people and the glittering crosses they carried with them in life and beyond.

FIGURES

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Appendix A

GOLD AND GARNET CROSS PENDANTS, PECTORALS, AND PENDANT FRAGMENTS RECOVERED IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Name: Wilton Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: Wilton, Norfolk

Find Context: Stray find by men digging gravel in 1852.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1859,0512.1

Figure: 34

Bibliographic Literature: G. J. Chester, "Notice of a Gold Cross Found at Wilton, Norfolk," *Norfolk Archaeol*. 3 (1852), 375-6; Marion M. Archibald, "The Wilton Cross Coin Pendant: Numismatic Aspects and Implications," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World*, eds. Andrew J. Reynolds and Leslie Webster, (Leiden: Brill 2013) 58-60; Angela Care Evans, "The Wilton Cross," in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900*, eds. Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 27-8; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 16-18.

Name: Ixworth Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: Stanton, near Ixworth, Suffolk

Find Context: Bed burial accidentally uncovered by laborers in 1856.

Location: Ashmolean Museum, inv. AN1909.453

Figure: 35

Bibliographic Literature: Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of Past Ages*, IV (London: J.R. Smith 1857), 163; Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and L.R.A. Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 78 (1963): 30; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 13-16.

Name: St. Cuthbert's Cross

Date: Not before 687

Findspot: Coffin of the saint in Durham Cathedral, Durham

Find Context: Discovered upon opening of the saint's tomb in 1827.

Location: Durham Cathedral Treasury

Figure: 36

Bibliographic Literature: James Raine, *Saint Cuthbert: With an Account of the State in Which His Remains Were Found Upon the Opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral, in the Year 1827* (Durham: G. Andrews, 1828); Elizabeth Coatsworth, "The Pectoral Cross and Portable Altar from the Tomb of St. Cuthbert," in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community: To AD 1200*, eds. Gerald Bonner, David W. Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989), 291-93; Rupert Bruce-Mitford, "The Pectoral Cross," in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert: Studies by Various Authors*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 319-20; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 18-21.

Name: Holderness Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: Holderness, East Yorkshire

Find Context: Found around 1968 by Ronald Wray in his stackyard at Gray's Garth Farm, after exposure by rain.

Location: Ashmolean Museum, inv. AN1999.206

Figure: 37

Bibliographic Literature: Arthur MacGregor, "A Seventh-Century Pectoral Cross from Holderness, East Yorkshire*," Medieval Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2000): 217-22; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 21-3.

Name: Trumpington Cross

Date: 661-722

Findspot: Trumpington, Cambridgeshire

Find Context: Bed burial excavated by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit in 2011.

Location: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, inv. 2017.58. 342

Figure: 1

Bibliographic Literature: Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 7-37.

Name: Newark Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire

Find Context: Metal detectorist find, 2007.

Location: National Civil War Centre & Newark Museum, inv. NEKMS: 2010.3

Figure: 38

Bibliographic Literature: Pendant, Portable Antiquities Scheme (record ID: DENO-89E427; accessed September 18, 2018), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/197535; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 31.

Name: White Low Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: White Low barrow, Winster, Derbyshire

Find Context: Found when a barrow on Winster Common was demolished around 1767, during which other seventh-century objects were recovered; the assemblage thus suggests a destroyed burial.

Location: Museums Sheffield: Weston Park, inv. J93.706

Figure: 39

Bibliographic Literature: Thomas Bateman, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects Preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman at Lombardale House, Derbyshire* (Bakewell, Derbyshire: James Gratton, 1855), 155; G.A. Lester, "The Anglo-Saxon Pendant Cross from Winster Moor, Derbyshire," *Medieval Archaeology* 20 (1976): 136-7; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 31.

Name: Staffordshire Cross

Date: 630-660

Findspot: Staffordshire, West Midlands

Find Context: Hoard deposit discovered by a metal detectorist in 2009.

Location: Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery, inv. K303

Figure: 40

Bibliographic Literature: Chris Fern, Tania Dickinson, and Leslie Webster, eds. *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2019); Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 29-31.

Name: Thurnham Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: North Downs, Thurnham, Kent

Find Context: Stray find ploughed up from a field below the southern escarpment of the North Downs in 1967.

Location: Auctioned by Sotheby's to private collector, April 6, 1967

Figure: 41

Bibliographic Literature: Rupert Bruce-Mitford, "The Gold Cross from Thurnham, Kent," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 47 no. 2 (1967): 290-91; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 32.

Name: Desborough Necklace

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: Desborough, Northamptonshire

Find Context: Found in 1876 in a group of approximately sixty graves that were disturbed by workmen digging for ironstone.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1876,0504.1

Figure: 32

Bibliographic Literature: Angela Care Evans, "13 Necklace," in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600-900*, eds. Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 29; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 33-4.

Name: Milton Cross

Date: Third quarter of the 7th century

Findspot: TQ 90496477, just north of Cooks Lane in Milton Regis, Kent

Find Context: Found by brickearth digger, R. Mills in 1916. Other items accompanying the cross pendant indicate origination from a female grave context.

Location: Maidstone Museum

Figure: 42

Bibliographic Literature: Hawkes and Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 78 (1963): 29-32; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 32-3.

Name: Harpole Necklace

Date: 630-670

Findspot: Harpole, Northamptonshire

Find Context: Bed burial excavated by MOLA in 2022.

Location: MOLA (Museum of London Archaeology)

Figure: 50

Bibliographic Literature: Leo Sands, "'Once-in-a-Lifetime' Find of 1,300-Year-Old Necklace Dazzles Historians," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 2022, Europe, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/12/07/necklace-medieval-burial-harpole-treasure/.

Name: Catterick Cross

Date: Late 7th century

Findspot: Castle Hills, Yorkshire

Find Context: Stray find near Catterick Bridge sometime around 1846; acquired around this time by the Countess of Tyrconnel.

Location: Now lost

Figure: 48

Bibliographic Literature: Rosemary J. Cramp, "A Lost Pendant Cross from Near Catterick Bridge, Yorkshire," in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, eds. Andrew J. Reynolds and Leslie Webster, (Leiden: Brill 2013), 73-86.

Name: Wymondham Cross (fragment)

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Near Wymondham, Norfolk

Find Context: Stray find by metal detectorist, 2018.

Location: Norwich Castle Museum

Figure: 43

Bibliographic Literature: Pendant, Portable Antiquities Scheme (record ID: NMS-6E94EA; accessed March 25, 2020),

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/935609.

Name: Folkestone Cross (fragment)

Date: 7th century

Findspot: North of Folkestone, Elham, Kent

Find Context: Stray find by metal detectorist, 2018.

Location: Kent Archaeological Society Collection

Figure: 44

Bibliographic Literature: Pendant, Portable Antiquities Scheme (record ID: KENT-9D33EB; accessed March 25, 2020),

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/898453.

Name: Castle Park Cross (fragment)

Date: 600-650

Findspot: Castle Park, Dunbar, Scotland

Find Context: Stray find on a gravel surface during excavations of Castle Park, 1988-93.

Location: National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. X.1997.529

Figure: 45

Bibliographic Literature: David R. Perry, *Castle Park, Dunbar: Two Thousand Years on a Fortified Headland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2000), 113-14.

Appendix B

SOLID GOLD CROSS PENDANTS RECOVERED IN ENGLAND

Name: Newball Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Newball, Lincolnshire

Find Context: Stray find by metal detectorist in 2005.

Location: Returned to Finder

Figure: 46

Bibliographic Literature: Angela Care Evans, "Newball, Lincolnshire: Anglo-Saxon Gold Cross Pendant (2005 T136)," *Treasure Annual Report 2005/6* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2008), 92-3.

Name: Ord Cross

Date: 700-900

Findspot: near Berwick upon Tweed, Northumberland

Find Context: Stray find by metal detectorist in 2009.

Location: Berwick Museum and Art Gallery

Figure: 47

Bibliographic Literature: Carlos Austin-Gonzalez, David Petts, and John Hines, see Portable Antiquities Scheme (record ID: DUR-B62F57; accessed February 10, 2021), https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/986027.

Name: Ely Cross

Date: 660-680

Findspot: Westfield Farm, Ely, Cambridgeshire

Find Context: Grave deposition in cemetery excavated by the Cambridge Archeological Unit, 2006.

Location: Cambridge Archaeological Unit

Figure: 49

Bibliographic Literature: Sam Lucy, Richard Newman, Natasha Dodwell, Catherine Hills, Michiel Dekker, Tamsin O'Connell, Ian Riddler, and Penelope Walton Rogers, "The Burial of a Princess? The Later Seventh-Century Cemetery at Westfield Farm, Ely," *The Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009): 81-141; Sam Lucy, "The Trumpington Cross in Context," *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016): 35.

Appendix C

SILVER CROSSES RECOVERED IN ENGLAND

Name: Butler's Field Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire

Find Context: Found in a ring-ditch, grave 187, excavated by Oxford Archaeology in 1985.

Location: Corinium Museum

Figure: 52

Bibliographic Literature: Angela Boyle, et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire*, vol. 1, Prehistoric and Roman Activity and Grave Catalogue (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1998), 133-34.

Name: Standlake Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Standlake Down, Oxfordshire

Find Context: Grave 8, in one of five ring-ditches excavated in by 1954 Dr. H. W. Catling on behalf of the Ashmolean Museum.

Location: Ashmolean Museum, inv. AN1971.452

Figure: 53

Bibliographic Literature: Tania M. Dickinson, "Excavations at Standlake Down in 1954: The Anglo-Saxon Graves," *Oxoniensia* 38 (1973): 249.

Name: Chartham Cross

Date: Second half of the 7th century

Findspot: Chartham Down, Canterbury

Find Context: Excavated from a female grave (Grave 9) by Bryan Faussett in 1773.

Location: World Museum, Liverpool, inv. M6171

Figure: 56

Bibliographic Literature: Bryan Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale: An Account of some Antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crundale, in the County of Kent, from AD 1757 to AD 1773* (London: T. Richards, 1856), 169; Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale: Kentish and Anglo Saxon Grave Goods in the Sonia Hawkes Archive (record ID: M6717; accessed August 18, 2021), http://inventorium.arch.ox.ac.uk/; Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, J. M. Merrick, and D. M. Metcalf, "X-ray Fluorescent Analysis of Some Dark Age Coins and Jewelry," Archaeometry 9 (1966): 115.

Name: Bloodmoor Hill Cross

Date: Grave dated no earlier than 675

Findspot: Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk

Find Context: Early medieval settlement and associated cemetery (Grave 11) excavated by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit between 1998 and 2001.

Location: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, inv. 06890, 06891, 06892, 06893, 06895, 06896.

Figure: 59

Bibliographic Literature: Sam Lucy, Jess Tipper, and Alison Dickens, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk* (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, 2009), 391-3.

Name: Kingston Down Crosses (pair of identical pendants)

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Kingston Down, Kent

Find Context: Female grave (Grave 142), excavated by Bryan Faussett in 1771.

Location: World Museum, Liverpool, inv. M6271a/b

Figure: 73

Bibliographic Literature: Bryan Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale: An Account of some Antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crundale, in the County of Kent, from AD 1757 to AD 1773* (London: T. Richards, 1856), 66-7.

Name: Wye Down Cross (fragment)

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Wye Down, Kent

Find Context: Excavated from a gravesite by amateur archaeologist Henry Durden in 1858 or later and gifted by his son to the British Museum in 1893.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1893,0601.200

Figure: 72

Bibliographic Literature: Ian Longworth and Cathy Haith, "Henry Durden and his Collection," *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*,

114 (1992): 151-160, esp. 154; Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and L.R.A. Grove, "Finds from a Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Milton Regis," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 78 (1963): 31; Biographical entry for Henry Durden, Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum Archives, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG83889.

COPPER-ALLOY CROSSES RECOVERED IN ENGLAND

Name: Breach Down Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Breach Down Cemetery, Kent

Find Context: Acquired by the British Museum from previous owner/collector,
Albert Denison, 1st Baron Londesborough.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1879,0524.62

Figure: 60

Bibliographic Literature: Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker, Wolfgang Walter,
Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter, Katalog zur Ausstellung in zwei
Teilbänden (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013).

Name: Breach Down Cross (fragment)

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Breach Down Cemetery, Kent

Find Context: Acquired by the British Museum from previous owner/collector,
Albert Denison, 1st Baron Londesborough.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1879,0524.63

Figure: 61

Bibliographic Literature:

Name: Breach Down Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Breach Down Cemetery, Kent

Find Context: Acquired by the British Museum from previous owner/collector, Albert Denison, 1st Baron Londesborough.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1879,0524.64

Figure: 62

Bibliographic Literature: N/A

Name: Wingham Cross

Date: 7th century

Findspot: Wingham Cemetery, Kent

Find Context: Acquired by the British Museum from previous owner/collector, Albert Denison, 1st Baron Londesborough.

Location: British Museum, inv. 1879,0524.36

Figure: 63

Bibliographic Literature: N/A