

**Sculpture and Identity in Late Saxon
East Anglia**

Vol. 1 of 2

Michael Francis Reed

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Centre for Medieval Studies

University of York

January, 2008

ABSTRACT

Bailey has observed that pre-Conquest stone monuments are unique historical artifacts.¹ Acknowledging their general immobility, such objects have rarely been disassociated from their original contexts; as such, they are important records of local and regional taste² and of the social, economic and religious *milieux* informing their production and resultant styles. As public art, stone sculpture is also invaluable to elucidating identity and the apparent semiotic systems through which it is negotiated, expressed and understood. This thematic investigation of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture is informed by these premises and examines their regional specificity through an interdisciplinary study of sculpture and its corroborative and comparative evidence. It demonstrates that sculptors in tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia utilized oolitic limestone characteristic of the Barnack quarries; it also suggests that monasteries (particularly Ely) controlled quarrying and carving in the region. Finally, in comparison with East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork, it hypothesizes that elite identity was multivalent and its expression(s) were seemingly context-dependent. While this study engages with the typological complexities of East Anglia's Late Saxon stone monuments, it also interrogates the methodologies, theories and supporting evidence that have informed and influenced interpretation of this material. It demonstrates that the region's extant sculptures (seemingly products of a specific intellectual *milieu*) are unique and that existing approaches to contemporaneous evidence in England may not be applicable to this corpus.

¹ R. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London 1980), p. 22; *idem*, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 5 (Toronto 1996), pp. 12-13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22; p. 12.

CONTENTS

VOLUME 1

List of Figures	vi-vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Author's Declaration	ix
1. Introduction	1
2. Sources and Methodologies for Sculptural Studies in Late Saxon East Anglia	7
2.A. Material Evidence	7
2.A.i. Sculpture	7
2.A.ii. Sculpture and Archaeological Theory	19
2.A.iii. Sculpture and Art Historical Theory	26
2.A.iv. Metalwork	32
2.B. Textual Sources	41
2.B.i. <i>Domesday Book</i>	41
2.B.ii. <i>Liber Eliensis</i>	49
2.B.iii. <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>	51
2.C. Secondary Scholarship	53
2.C.i. Place-Name Studies	53
2.C.ii. The "Minster Debate"	60
2.D. Conclusion	73
3. The Physical and Human Landscape of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia	76
3.A. The Physical Landscape	76
3.A.i. Introduction	76
3.A.ii. Topography and Pedology	76
3.B. The Human Landscape	80
3.B.i. Saxon Antecedents	80
3.B.ii. Early and Middle Saxon Periods	84
3.B.iii. The Early Church in East Anglia	91
3.B.iv. Stone Sculpture in Middle Saxon East Anglia	94
3.B.v. The Church in Viking Age East Anglia	96
3.B.vi. Danish Settlement	119
3.B.vii. Rural Landscape	120
3.B.viii. Urban Landscape	128
3.C. Conclusion	131
4. The Sculpture of Late Saxon East Anglia: Form and Function	132
4.A. Introduction	132
4.B. Slabs and Small Crosses	132
4.B.i. Recumbent Slabs—Forms	134

4.B.ii. Upright Slabs—Forms	139
4.B.iii. Recumbent and Upright Slabs—Functions(s) and Date	141
4.B.iv. Lay-burial at Peterborough and Cambridge Castle	150
4.B.v. Small Crosses—Form	154
4.B.vi. Small Crosses—Functions(s)	156
4.C. Monumental Crosses and Figural Sculpture	157
4.C.i. Monumental Crosses—Form	158
4.C.ii. Monumental Crosses—Function(s)	162
4.C.iii. Figural and Zoomorphic Sculpture—Forms	165
4.C.iv. Figural Sculpture—Function(s)	170
4.D. Miscellaneous Sculptures	172
4.D.i. St Vedast Cross—Form and Function	172
4.D.ii. Little Wrating Dedication Stone—Form and Function	173
4.E. Conclusion—Form, Context and Date	174
5. The Sculpture of Late Saxon East Anglia: Style and Significance	181
5.A. Introduction	181
5.B. Figural Sculpture—Style, Date and Significance	182
5.B.i. Figural Sculpture—Style	182
5.B.ii. Figural Sculpture—Date	190
5.B.iii. Figural Sculpture—Significance	198
5.C. Slabs and Small Crosses—Style, Date and Significance	204
5.C.i. Introduction	204
5.C.ii. Recumbent Slabs—Introduction	206
5.C.iii. Recumbent Slabs—Style	207
5.C.iv. Recumbent Slabs—Significance	209
5.C.v. Small Crosses—Style and Significance	228
5.C.vi. Monumental Crosses—Style, Date and Significance	231
5.C.vii. Summary Conclusions—Sculpture	236
5.D. Comparative Material—Metalwork	237
5.D.i. Introduction	237
5.D.ii. Christian Themes	241
5.D.iii. Hybridity	244
5.D.iv. Equestrian Themes	251
5.D.v. Summary Conclusions—Metalwork	254
5.E. Conclusions—Colonization and Cnut's "Northern Empire"	255
6. Sculpture and Cultural Identity in Late Saxon East Anglia	261
6.A. Introduction	261
6.A.i. Theorizing Identity	263
6.A.ii. Medieval Identity	268
6.A.iii. Anglo-Scandinavian Identity	269
6.B. Case-Studies	272
6.B.i. Ixworth recumbent monuments	272
6.B.ii. St Vedast Cross	275
7. Lordship and Patronage in Late Saxon East Anglia	280
7.A. Introduction	280
7.B. Lordship	280
7.C. Patronage	295

7.D. Sculpture, Lordship and Patronage	302
7.E. Case-Studies	302
7.E.i. Whissonsett Cross	302
7.E.ii. Great Ashfield Cross	304
7.F. Conclusion	304
8. Conclusions and Further Study	306
8.A. Introduction	306
8.B. Sources and Methodology	307
8.C. The Physical and Human Landscape	308
8.D. East Anglian Sculpture—Form and Function	309
8.E. East Anglian Sculpture and Metalwork—Style and Significance	309
8.F. Cultural Identity	311
8.G. Lordship and Patronage	311
8.H. Conclusion and Further Study	312
 <i>VOLUME 2</i>	
Appendix 1: “Gazetteer of Late Saxon Sculpture in East Anglia”	316
Appendix 2: “Comparative Material”	554
Bibliography	580

LIST OF FIGURES

VOLUME 1

Fig. 1. East Anglia and Adjoining Areas. © Chatwin, 1961.	79
Fig. 2. East Anglia and the Fens: Drift Geology. © Williamson, 2006.	80
Fig. 3. East Anglia in the Roman Period. © Williamson, 2006.	82
Fig. 4. East Anglia's Principal Navigable Rivers. © Williamson, 2006.	104
Fig. 5. Melbourn, Little Shelford and Whittlesford; Northwold and Bodney. © Ordnance Survey, 2008.	113
Fig. 6. Bury St Edmunds, Great Ashfield and Kedington. © Ordnance Survey, 2008.	119
Fig. 7. Distribution of major place-names containing Scandinavian elements in East Anglia and the Fens. © Williamson, 2006.	123
Fig. 8. Distribution of Fenland recumbent monuments in eastern England. © Everson and Stocker, 1995.	133
Fig. 9. Distribution of Late Saxon stone sculpture in Cambridgeshire by monument-type. © Fox, 1920-1921.	134
Fig. 10. Distribution of Late Saxon stone sculpture in eastern England by monument-type. © Fox, 1920-1921.	134
Fig. 11. "Type 1" and "Type 2" recumbent monuments. © Fox, 1920-1921.	136
Fig. 12. "Type 3" and "Type 4" recumbent monuments. © Fox, 1920-1921.	137
Fig. 13. "Type 5" and "Type 6" recumbent monuments. © Fox, 1920-1921.	138
Fig. 14. "Type A" and "Type B" upright slabs. © Fox, 1920-1921.	139
Fig. 15. Cambridge Castle recumbent and upright slabs. © Kerrich, 1814.	146
Fig. 16. Cambridge Castle recumbent and upright slabs. © Kerrich, 1814.	146
Fig. 17. Small crosses. © Fox, 1920-1921.	154
Fig. 18. Small crosses. © Fox, 1920-1921.	155
Fig. 19. Great Ashfield Cross, Face A. © Reed, 2006.	160

Fig. 20. Kedington Cross, Face A. © Reed, 2006.	161
Fig. 21. Peterborough Cathedral Cross, Faces B, C. © Reed, 2007.	162
Fig. 22. St Vedast Cross, Face A. © Reed, 2006.	173
Fig. 23. Little Wratting Dedication Stone. © Atfield, <i>ca</i> 1998.	174
Fig. 24. Raunds Furnells 1, Conjectured Reconstruction. © Boddington, 1996.	177
Fig. 25. Ipswich 3-5 (“Apostles”). © Reed, 2006.	184
Fig. 26. Ipswich 2 (“Boar Tympanum”), Face A. © Reed, 2006.	185
Fig. 27. Ipswich 2 (“Boar Tympanum”), Face B. © Reed, 2006.	186
Fig. 28. Ipswich 1 (“St Michael and the Dragon”). © Reed, 2006.	186
Fig. 29. Framsdén, Wordwell and Wickhambrook. © Ordnance Survey, 2009	187
Fig. 30. Framsdén 1. © Plunkett, 1998.	188
Fig. 31. Wordwell 1. © Reed, 2006.	189
Fig. 32. Wordwell 2. © Reed, 2006.	189
Fig. 33. Wickhambrook 1. © Reed, 2006.	190
Fig. 34. Dublin Trinity College MS 57 (A.iv.5), f. 2r. (Unknown copyright).	226
Fig. 35. Metalwork finds in England by object-type, <i>ca</i> 700-1100. © Richards, Naylor and Holas-Smith. (Forthcoming 2008).	239
Fig. 36. Early Scandinavian finds in Norfolk (jewellery, household equipment, weapons and horse-trappings) by P. Judge. © Margeson, 1997.	240
Fig. 37. Scandinavian place-names in Norfolk by P. Judge. © Margeson, 1997.	240
Fig. 38. St Vedast Cross, Face A. © Reed, 2006; © English Heritage Photo Library, n.d.	275

VOLUME 2

Fig. 39. Distribution map of Late Saxon sculpture in East Anglia. © Reed, 2007.	315
---	-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend sincere thanks to my supervisors, Prof. Julian D. Richards and Dr. Jane Hawkes, for their wisdom, patience and good humour. They have demonstrated—both in theory and in practice—that archaeology and the history of art are complementary disciplines. I am also indebted to colleagues in Canada and the United States, especially Prof. John Osborne (Carleton University, Ottawa), Dr. Catherine Harding (University of Victoria) and Prof. Heather Orr (Western State College of Colorado); I am humbled by their intellect and grateful for their advice and friendship. Countless church-wardens, rectors and village historians assisted during my fieldwork in East Anglia. The kindness they showed to a stranger was always appreciated.

This thesis is dedicated to my partner, Richard Saucier, who wiped my tears, guided me through periods of self-doubt and braved horizontal rain on the road to Iken. My sister Darlene, my brother David and my close friend and colleague Grace Woutersz also gave unconditional support throughout my studies. I am grateful to you all.

This thesis was funded, in part, by a Centre for Medieval Studies Research Scholarship and a University of York International Studentship. Fieldwork expenses were mitigated by four Elizabeth Salter Awards (Centre for Medieval Studies).

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

A version of chapter six has been published as:

“Intercultural Dialogue in Late Saxon Norwich: the St Vedast Cross”. *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 7 (2006) [2007]. Pp. 119-137.

A version of chapter seven will be published in:

“Sculpture and lordship in Late Saxon Suffolk: the evidence of Ixworth”. *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Using Archaeology and History Together for the Study of Medieval Britain*. Eds. Z. Devlin and C. Smith. BAR, British series. Expected 2009.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Influenced by Richard Bailey's seminal work of 1980,¹ the study of England's Late Saxon (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century) sculpture now embraces new forms of inquiry. Acknowledging the importance of settlement geography, Bailey advocates what would now be termed an "interdisciplinary" methodology, incorporating approaches and evidence which are often considered discipline-specific.² Elucidating the environment in which sculpture was produced and displayed in *ca* tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia³ necessitates adoption of such an interdisciplinary model (in this study, emphasizing archaeological and art historical methodologies), as metal objects constitute comparative evidence for artistic production. Texts seemingly corroborate the existence of religious houses and stone-masons; and onomastic evidence (comprising both personal- and place-names) is also important, as is the growing scholarship on the development of ecclesiastical organization, collectively informing what is termed the "minster debate". Together, this diverse material will facilitate investigation of Danish settlement in Norfolk, Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire and its resultant human landscape (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century), upon which meaningful study of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture is predicated.

However, evidence of East Anglia's pre-Conquest landscape is both fragmentary and contradictory. Indeed, its various manifestations have generated

¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*.

² For example, Bailey demonstrates the usefulness of onomastic evidence *vis à vis* the Middleton crosses and their attribution of date. See Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 209-214. This discussion is a refutation of Peter Sawyer's use of place-names and his conclusion that the Middleton crosses are of *ca* late ninth-century date. See P. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (1962; London 1971), pp. 163-166.

³ In this study, "East Anglia" encompasses Norfolk, Suffolk and north and eastern Cambridgeshire. See below, p. 76, n. 1.

fundamental disagreement regarding the nature of the region's Danish settlement. For example, personal-names evidence in Norfolk (preserved as place-names) suggests elite conquest, while the county's proliferation (and prolonged use) of base-metal dress-accessories is seemingly illustrative of what has been termed "peasant" migration.⁴ Furthermore, scholars have hitherto suggested that the spatial and numerical distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in the northern Danelaw is indicative of both dense settlement and mass consumption.⁵ However, such theorization is counterproductive in East Anglia; despite reliance on imported stone, the region's single extant monument decorated with Scandinavian-style ornament could suggest isolated maintenance or adoption of Danish culture, yet abundant metal objects, executed in a Scandinavian idiom, are seemingly illustrative of mass settlement or acculturation. This apparent dichotomy is further complicated by those texts most pertinent to the region's Late Saxon ecclesiastical and manorial history (*Domesday Book*, *Liber Eliensis* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) which are largely post-Conquest compilations (apparently preserving pre-Conquest material) and are, therefore, temporally removed from the people and events they purportedly describe.⁶ Thus, the evidence and methodologies informing the study of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture (and those processes that affected its production, form

⁴ See, for example, J. Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 62 (Uppsala 1994), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii; and S. Margeson, *The Vikings in Norfolk* ([Norwich] 1997), pp. 6-7, 20-24.

⁵ See, for example, Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 176-206; and K. Leahy and C. Paterson, "New light on the Viking presence in Lincolnshire: the artefactual evidence", *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select papers from the proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Oxford 2001), pp. 181-202, at 189, 183-191.

⁶ See J. Fairweather, "Introduction. The *Liber Eliensis*: Themes, Sources and Context", *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, trans., J. Fairweather (Woodbridge 2005), pp. xiii-xliv, at xiii-xxiii; G. Martin, "Introduction", *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, eds., A. Williams and G. Martin (1992; London 2002), p. vii, at vii; and G. Garmonsway, "Introduction", *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953; London 1977), pp. xv-xlx, at xxxiii-xliv.

and style) require deconstruction, thereby formulating the requisite parameters for interpreting and contextualizing the extant corpus.

Interpreting East Anglia's Late Saxon sculptures as agents in the constructions of both collective and individual identities will facilitate their location in socio-political contexts. This will demonstrate that in tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia, stone and metal were culturally-negotiated media, apparently evoking Anglo-Saxon and Danish associations respectively. While East Anglian sculpture can be interpreted culturally (see below, pp. 261-279), it will be hypothesized that sculptural patronage usually signified social and tenurial privilege. Furthermore, specific religious, political and cultural *milieux* (including an apparent concerted interest in eschatology and Cnut's formation of a Northern empire) can be interpreted as intellectual identities, informing the style and iconography of stone sculptures and metal dress-accessories.

Acknowledging traditions of sculptural research and the limitations of supporting evidence, this investigation interprets East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture thematically, thereby mitigating inconsistencies between material and textual evidence. As East Anglia's pre-Conquest sculpture has not been the subject of a regional volume,⁷ this study adopts both the form and methodology of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, collating all examples identified by the author in a gazetteer (see below, Appendix 1, pp. 316-553), preceded by contextualizing essays, supported by case-studies. The gazetteer is the product of extensive fieldwork undertaken in East Anglia between 2005 and 2008, when sculptures were examined,

⁷ Two county studies have been undertaken. See C. Fox, "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture in the Cambridge district", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 23 (1920-1921), pp. 15-45; and S. Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture and Architecture in Suffolk", *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 84, S. West (Ipswich 1998), pp. 323-357. See also P. Everson and D. Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 5: Lincolnshire* (Oxford 1999), pp. 46-50; and B. Cozens-Hardy, "Norfolk Crosses", *Norfolk Archaeology* 25.2-3 (1934-1935), pp. 297-336, *passim*.

measured and photographed. Interrogation of this data demonstrates that the construction and signification of elite identity in tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia were complex, interrelated processes, often associated with manifestations of tenurial privilege and seemingly influenced by the tradition of the lordly retinue or *comitatus*.

Chapter 2 identifies and interprets the various evidential categories and methodologies that have informed the study of both England's pre-Conquest stone sculpture and East Anglia's Danish settlement. It determines that such diverse evidence and approaches (often characterized by omissions and inconsistencies) warrant careful scrutiny *vis à vis* their application to East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture. Chapter 3 examines East Anglia's regional specificity in the Anglo-Saxon period (*ca* early-fifth to mid-eleventh century), including its topography, pedology, patterns of settlement and its religious institutions. It suggests that waterways (principally, rivers and estuaries) determined the advent of secular and religious polities and enabled the procurement of stone from the Barnack (C) quarries and its probable dissemination from monastic *ateliers* as finished monuments. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the form, probable functions, style and iconography of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture. Informed by stratigraphic evidence from excavations at Castle Hill, Peterborough Cathedral (both C) and the Church of St Martin-at-Palace in Norwich,⁸ various scholars, including Fox, Kendrick and Plunkett, have assigned a date-range of *ca* mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries to East Anglia's pre-Conquest

⁸ See R. Masters, "An Account of Some Stone Coffins, and Skeletons, found on making some Alterations and Repairs in Cambridge Castle. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lort. By the Rev. Robert Masters, B.D., F.S.A. Rector of Landbeach", *Archaeologia* 8 (1786), pp. 63-65, *passim*; *idem*, "A second letter from Mr. Masters to George Steevens, Esq. on the Stone Coffins found in repairing Cambridge Castle", *Archaeologia* 8 (1786), p. 66, at 66; J. Irvine, "Account of the Discovery of part of the Saxon Abbey Church of Peterborough", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 50 (1894), pp. 45-54, *passim*; *idem*, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains discovered at Peterborough Cathedral in 1884", *Reports and Papers Read at the Meetings—Architectural Societies* [Northampton Architectural Society] (1884), pp. 277-283, *passim*; O. Beazley and B. Ayers, *Two Medieval Churches in Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 96 (2001), pp. 1-14, *passim*.

funerary sculptures;⁹ acknowledging their potential association with Ely (see below), the monastery's refoundation in 970 will be proposed as their *terminus post quem*. Evidence suggests that these sculptures (and several monumental crosses in the region) are dedicatory in nature, commemorating either individuals or events, and that their limited repertoire of motifs and motif-combinations are illustrative of centralized production. Their iconography evokes eschatology and its associated tenets and suggests that they are associated with monastic workshops (accounts preserved in *Liber Eliensis* intimate that Ely, in particular, may have been an important centre of sculptural production).¹⁰ Conversely, East Anglia's Late Saxon metal objects (primarily dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings) are illustrative of a Scandinavian idiom and are generally unrelated, stylistically, to the region's contemporary stone sculpture. It is hypothesized that the Danish "character" of such tenth-century objects reflects the culture's secular vitality in Eastern England; whereas eleventh-century evidence could also constitute a regional manifestation of Cnut's foundation and promotion of a Northern or Scandinavian empire. Chapter 6 applies these premises (and theories concerning the formation and signification of medieval and Anglo-Scandinavian identities) to East Anglia's Late Saxon sculptures

⁹ The Iken Cross (S) and panels at Barnack, Castor, Fletton and, possibly, Peterborough (all C) are exceptions. See, for example, Fox, "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture", pp. 34-44.; T.D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949; London, New York 1974), p. 82; S. Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture: Schools, Styles and Patterns of Influence" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of Cambridge, 1984), p. 166; *idem*, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture and Architecture in Suffolk", *passim*, esp. 345-346. Informed by the notion that simplicity and abstraction in decorative chronologies are indicative of later production, Everson and Stocker contend that East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture dates from ca 1000-1068. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 49. These chronological refinements are demonstrative of traditional stylistic analysis and are seemingly uninformed by alternative stylistic methodologies that reconsider temporality, regionality and mutability. See, for example, D. Wilson, "Almgren and Chronology: A Summary and some Comments", *Medieval Archaeology* 3 (1959), pp. 112-119, *passim*; P. Sidebottom, "Stone Crosses of the Peak and the 'Sons of Eadwulf'", *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 119 (1999): 206-219, at 209; and F. Orton, "Northumbrian sculpture (the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments): questions of difference", *Northumbria's Golden Age*, eds. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud 1999), pp. 216-226, at 220-221. This study incorporates these alternative methodologies, interpreting the Fenland Group as a regional rather than derivative corpus.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 106-109.

and metal objects. Through case-studies, it suggests that material expressions of culture were both context- and medium-specific. Finally, chapter 7 examines elite benefaction in Late Saxon East Anglia. It suggests that as land-holding assumed greater significance as an indicator of status, the lord's role as a "giver-of-gifts" evolved into the dual roles of "*seigneur*" and patron. Elite status was then proclaimed through benefaction (especially of churches). In East Anglia's tenurial hierarchy, in which manorial churches were tangible expressions of wealth and status, the display of stone sculptures (usually in funerary contexts) proclaimed and reaffirmed elite/tenurial privilege.

As discussed above, the study of East Anglia's Danish settlement is characterized by disagreement. Interrogating the region's stone sculpture and metal objects as manifestations of particular socio-political *milieux* might help reconcile polarized opinions regarding the size and status of its Danish population. Furthermore, applying interdisciplinary methodology to the study of Late Saxon East Anglia mitigates the apparent contradictions of discipline-specific investigation. Most importantly, interpreting the region's artifactual evidence in the context of its human landscape emphasizes the collective and individual agency that seemingly influenced its form and decoration. Thus, East Anglia's Late Saxon stone sculptures will be interrogated as deliberate manifestations of cultural identity, albeit temporally and regionally situated.

Chapter 2

Sources and Methodologies for Sculptural Studies in Late Saxon East Anglia

2.A. Material Evidence

2.A.i. *Sculpture*

The first substantive discussions of England's pre-Conquest sculpture were products of the antiquarianism associated with nineteenth-century church restoration campaigns and their resultant discoveries of medieval sculpture. Written primarily by churchmen, this corpus laid the foundation for modern pre-Conquest sculptural studies *vis à vis* style, chronology and distribution.¹

Of nineteenth-century scholars of early English sculpture, William Collingwood was the most influential and certainly the most prolific.² Among his earliest work is a series of articles in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (1907, 1909, 1911 and 1916),³ in which he develops a descriptive and typological

¹ The earliest extant accounts of England's pre-Conquest sculpture are associated with the twelfth century. For example, as evidence of their respective foundations' lengthy histories, William of Malmesbury (d. ca 1143) and Symeon of Durham (d. post-1129) describe in relative detail the sculptures at Glastonbury (So) and Durham (Du). The Tudor antiquaries Camden and Leland reference the pre-Conquest sculpture at Reculver (Kt), Dewsbury (YW) and Bewcastle (Cu). During the Commonwealth period, William Dugdale described and sketched the tenth-century sculpture at Penrith (Cu); and other late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers also discussed England's pre-Conquest sculpture in some detail. Such early accounts are usually anecdotal, however, only occasionally preserving oblique references to sculptures' location, shape, size and decorative features. See T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols., Rolls series 75, I, p. 38; W. Stubbs, ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, 2 vols., Rolls series 90, I, p. 25; L. Toulmin-Smith, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in England and Wales*, 4 vols. (1909), IV, pp. 59-61; W. Camden, *Britannia* (1588; [London] 1607), pp. 565, 644; and Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 27.

² Hawkes has recently discussed Collingwood's scholarship emphasizing its methodological and theoretical implications. See J. Hawkes, "Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture: art history or archaeology?", *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., R. Moss (Dublin 2007), pp. 142-152, *passim*.

³ W. Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 19 (1907), pp. 267-413, *passim*; *idem*, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture at York", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 20 (1909), pp. 149-213, *passim*; *idem*, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the East Riding, with addenda relating to the North Riding", *Yorkshire*

methodology, emphasizing collection, transcription and categorization of data. In fact, in his first paper, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire”, he states that “an attempt has been made to collect all accessible remains”.⁴ His study is thus similar in both form and organization to J. Romilly Allen’s and Joseph Anderson’s *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903).⁵ Each begins with a lengthy introductory essay discussing materials, techniques, monument types, inscriptions and decoration (including relationships with other media). Subdivisions of each topic are made, with resultant categories defined and explained.⁶ A detailed catalogue, augmented by fine line-drawings, accompanies each essay recording the regions’ extant pre-Conquest sculpture. Even in this early period, scholars seemingly recognized that precise dating of sculpted stone monuments was exceedingly difficult.⁷ Collingwood, Allen and Anderson, for example, date sculpture by century, akin to contemporary researchers who concede that exact dating is impossible in most circumstances.⁸

Collingwood’s “Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York” (1909) employs the formal typology and organizational strategy introduced in his 1907 paper. This study is an illustrated catalogue of a collection of twenty-five pre-

Archaeological Journal 21 (1911), pp. 254-302, *passim*; and *idem*, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding, with addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a general review of the Early Christian monuments of Yorkshire”, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 23 (1916), pp. 129-299, *passim*.

⁴ Collingwood, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture”, p. 267.

⁵ Collingwood acknowledges Allen’s assistance in the preparation of his paper: “Mr. J. Romilly Allen F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., has most kindly read the proof of this paper, and supplied four sites previously overlooked, together with valuable remarks which are acknowledged in the text”. Collingwood, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture”, p. 267.

⁶ Collingwood’s typology of cross-heads (differentiating, principally, between free-arms and wheel-heads and signified by alphabetic identifiers) seemingly influenced Cramp as a model for her formal and decorative typology of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. See Collingwood, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture”, pp. 272-274; and R. Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament: A General Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (1984; Oxford, 1991), *passim*.

⁷ In fact, Collingwood states: “We have really very few fixed dates to rest upon”. Collingwood, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture”, p. 294.

⁸ See, for example, Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 45-75, esp. 73-75; and Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

Conquest sculptures preserved in the museum of the York Philosophical Society. Like his treatment of the North Riding material, Collingwood's approach to the Philosophical Society sculptures is primarily descriptive and typological. Though he does not present the collection as a case-study, he does employ some examples to illustrate his chronology of Anglo-Danish sculpture, which he describes as follows (referencing decoration):

Throughout Northumbria there are sculptures which may be roughly described as presenting Anglian motives with Scandinavian treatment. The first transition (B1) would naturally show Danish motives with Anglian treatment; for local carvers, bred in Anglian traditions, must have been employed by the newcomers to express Danish ideas of ornament and symbolism. In the tenth century, the Anglo-Danes seem to have carved their own stones, having learnt the craft; and throughout stages B2 and B3 they carried out their own ideas, tinged first with Irish and then with Midland character.⁹

This linear evolutionary model is somewhat modified in Collingwood's "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with addenda relating to the North Riding" (1911). In this study, Collingwood discusses twenty-four examples in his characteristic essay/catalogue format. However, he adds "transitional forms" to his linear model such as "AC (Anglian revival, or Anglian tradition and late execution, without Scandinavian character) and BC (Danish survival in eleventh century technique)".¹⁰ This is a significant development in the study of England's pre-Conquest sculpture; at an early stage, there is acknowledgement that methodology must be flexible and responsive to extant evidence.

Collingwood's "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding, with addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a general review of the Early Christian monuments of Yorkshire" (1916) builds on his earlier publications in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and attempts to redress the absence of a

⁹ Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture at York", pp. 149-213, at 152.

¹⁰ Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the East Riding", pp. 254-302, at 255.

national catalogue of pre-Conquest English sculpture akin to Allen's and Anderson's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Presented in his characteristic format, this work is monumental in scale; it records all extant examples, illustrating most, and presents exceptionally detailed categorizations, discussions and indices of decorative elements, sculptural forms, inscriptions and techniques.¹¹ Like Collingwood's earlier *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* articles, his approach is primarily descriptive and typological.

Collingwood's methodology evolves in the work for which he is best known: *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (1927). Like "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding ...", this study can also be interpreted as a *naissant* metanarrative of England's pre-Conquest sculptural traditions, approaching the national scope of the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Unlike his earlier studies, however, *Northumbrian Crosses* advocates a processual approach, emphasizing chronology. For example, Collingwood states that:

This book is ... an attempt to consider ancient styles as phases of a process, and to place the examples in series. Monographs on the more famous monuments are valuable; so are descriptive catalogues. They provide the material for classification. But until the classes are formed, and then connected into some reasonable scheme, we have not done all we can.¹²

Collingwood begins his chronology with what he terms the "rude stone pillar" (Early Christian cross-marked stones) and then traces the development of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from roods to free-standing crosses. A chronology of Anglo-Scandinavian

¹¹ Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding", pp. 129-299, at 261-299. This information is presented in an addendum entitled, "General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire". Collingwood employs Allen's typology of interlace patterns; and in form and content, this addendum closely resembles Cramp's *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*. See n. 6.

¹² W. Collingwood, "Preface", *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (1927; Felinfach, Dyfed, 1989), n.p.

sculpture follows,¹³ emphasizing the two forms most closely associated with Scandinavian colonists: the wheel-head cross and the hogback. Collingwood also contextualizes sculptural production and use in *Northumbrian Crosses*, a fundamental advancement in the study of England's pre-Conquest stone sculpture which had rarely been addressed in earlier research.

The final chapter of the book, "Outcomes of Northumbrian Monumental Art", is perhaps its most significant. It succinctly presents evidence for archaism in some later pre-Conquest sculpture, including architectural decoration at Monkwearmouth (Su).¹⁴ This argument is indicative of an evolution in Collingwood's work (and, by association, in early sculptural studies generally). A substantive progression is discernible from the descriptive/typological approach popularized by Allen and Anderson to one in which contextualization and interpretation play increasingly important roles.

This tentative movement toward location of Britain's early medieval sculpture in its socio-political context(s) continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century, albeit with a noticeable hiatus during the Second World War. The vast documentative/typological studies of Allan, Anderson and Collingwood continued to influence scholars including Victor Nash-Williams and Françoise Henry. Nash-Williams' *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950) and much of Henry's work, including *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* (1940) and *Irish High Crosses* (1964), replicate the national scope of earlier research, yet develop

¹³ Collingwood employs two descriptors for Anglo-Scandinavian colonists in England: "Anglo-Danish" (inhabitants of Yorkshire) and "Anglo-Norse" (inhabitants of Cumbria).

¹⁴ Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, pp. 174-184.

methodologies of contextualization and interpretation more fully than Collingwood.¹⁵

By the 1970s, the study of Insular sculpture was well-developed within the growing field of Medieval Studies,¹⁶ and several scholars (Rosemary Cramp, Richard Bailey and James Lang) displayed particular interest in Anglo-Scandinavian material. Building upon Collingwood's work, they undertook important projects which, collectively, brought attention, interest and significance to the corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture.

Replicating the sequence of English sculptural studies, early work in this specialization was largely descriptive and typological. Like Collingwood's initial preoccupation with formal typologies (thereby distinguishing Anglian and Scandinavian material), scholars in the 1970s were primarily concerned with issues of date and frequently employed iconographic and formalist analyses of the carving as chronological tools.¹⁷ For example, in his 1973 article, Lang argues that the figural scene (which had previously been interpreted as a pagan burial) on a cross from Ryedale (YN), known as "Middleton 2", is a portrait of an enthroned man surrounded by symbols of his secular authority. In addition, he argues that peculiarities in the execution of the beast panel on "Middleton 2" are developments or misunderstandings of other Jellinge-style animals at Ryedale. Thus, Lang interprets idiosyncrasies in the style of "Middleton 2" as a modified continuation or final example of the Jellinge style in England rather than its unsteady beginning.

¹⁵ See V. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 1-5; F. Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* (London, 1940), pp. 1-10; and *idem*, *Irish High Crosses* (Dublin, 1964), pp. 1-4.

¹⁶ The label "Medieval Studies" is used cautiously with reference to the 1970s. The formation of Medieval Studies departments is generally associated with the late 1970s to mid-1980s. Earlier medieval research was generally conducted in those departments which would become the "parents" of Medieval Studies (including languages, History and Archaeology). With reference to Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural studies in the early 1970s, most research was undertaken by archaeologists.

¹⁷ "Iconographic" analyses employ semiotic decoding of both figural and non-figural ornament, whereas "formalist" study utilizes typological evidence.

This later context for “Middleton 2” is supported by Lang’s rejection of the “pagan burial” interpretation of the figural scene.¹⁸

In “The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria” (1978), Bailey also addresses the issue of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture and the attribution of date. He begins by noting the many problems associated with this task including the sheer size of the corpus, its reliance on a limited repertoire of dated motifs, the paucity of securely-dated examples and the possibility that incompetence can explain idiosyncratic carving.¹⁹ Bailey then offers three guidelines for the ascription of date to Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Northumbria. He begins by referencing textual evidence, the Durham *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (ca tenth or eleventh century), which implies that Cumbria was unaffected by Viking raids or settlement until the second decade of the tenth century. Coupled with evidence of Cumbrian elites with Anglian names as late as ca 915 and Lindisfarne monks seeking refuge in Cumbria from Viking raids in the late ninth century, Bailey proposes that sculpture associated with Scandinavian patrons cannot predate the first or second decade of the tenth century in western Northumbria.²⁰ Secondly, he refers to Collingwood’s arguments expressed in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* which associate the wheel-head cross in Northumbria with Viking settlement. He summarizes what is known of this sculptural form as follows:

- a) It does *not* occur in England with ornament which is clearly pre-Viking.
- b) It does occur in England both with animal, figural and knotwork ornament which derives from Scandinavia and with patterns which are frequently associated with those Scandinavian-derived motifs.

¹⁸ J. Lang, “Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire: a re-appraisal”, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 36 (1973), pp. 16-25, *passim*.

¹⁹ R. Bailey, “The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria”, *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. J. Lang (Oxford 1978), pp. 173-203, at 175.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

c) In Ireland and in western Scotland, notably at Iona, the ring-head occurs in a free-cut (non-slab) form at a date before the Viking invasions.²¹

Viking settlement in Northumbria is securely dated to the tenth century and was the result of eastward movement from Ireland to England. Therefore, Bailey emphasizes that wheel-heads in Northumbria cannot predate the tenth century. Finally, he offers evidence that templates were used in the carving of Cumbrian monuments. He notes that template-analysis permits identification of contemporary work; thus, together with traditional stylistic inquiry, sculptures can be distinguished which belong, roughly, to the same generation.²² In summary, Bailey argues that historical, formal and stylistic evidence suggests that Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Northumbria does not pre-date the tenth century.

Such chronological study of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture has been facilitated by developments in formalist analysis. In the 1970s, scholars initiated reinterpretation of the material, documenting its apparent responsiveness to cultural stimuli. Cramp briefly discusses relationships between early Anglo-Scandinavian and Mercian sculpture in "Schools of Mercian Sculpture" (1977).²³ While other scholars presented detailed case studies of the evidence, examining its apparent role(s) in the construction of identities. For example, in "Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York" (1978), Lang demonstrates that the emergence of Anglo-Scandinavian styles was characterized by continuous transition, that residual Anglian conservatism continued through the tenth century, even in areas of Scandinavian settlement, and that many

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²³ R. Cramp, "Schools of Mercian Sculpture", *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 191-233, at 218, 224-225.

elements associated with Scandinavian styles have Insular origins.²⁴ These conclusions are based on an examination of the funerary sculpture excavated from beneath York Minster by Derek Phillips in 1971. Lang posits that these monuments are crucial to an understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural practices throughout Yorkshire:

They represent the art of a metropolitan centre where political, ecclesiastical and commercial influences had their focus. The sculptors of the trading city of York were more likely to have been receptive to outside fashionable trends, have enjoyed more prosperous and accomplished workshops and have been in a position to affect the local provincial art within a radius of the capital.²⁵

Through this case study of the Metropolitan School, Lang determines that English, perhaps even Mercian, exemplars were the principal influence on the sculptors of York; and though Scandinavian design elements are overt amongst the school's extant work, they do not obfuscate the monuments' underlying Anglian traditions.²⁶

Scholarly interest in the carved programmes of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture continued through the 1980s, culminating with Bailey's *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*. However, unlike the descriptive/typological approaches of earlier periods, this work is arranged thematically. Bailey begins his study with historical contextualization and then progresses to a discussion of chronology. The factors which facilitate attributions of date (find-context, inscription and style) are assessed in detail; although Bailey concludes that in most instances it is not possible to date a monument more precisely than "Viking-period".²⁷ Following his discussion of chronology, Bailey assesses the English inheritance in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture and the form, decoration, date and possible function of hogback monuments.

²⁴ J. Lang, "Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York", *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context*, pp. 145-172, at 145.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 74; the role of templates in attributions of date is also discussed. See pp. 242-254.

In his subsequent chapter, “Gods Heroes and Christians”, Bailey interprets the pagan iconography characteristic of many Anglo-Scandinavian monuments. He notes how in the nineteenth century, a rediscovery of England’s Germanic past awoke general interest in pre-Christian religion. This societal trend influenced other scholars; and, with reference to the iconography of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, pre-Christian scenes were interpreted as irrefutable evidence of pagan practice. In fact, Romilly Allen had stated that “it is in the highest degree unlikely that heathen legends were ever adapted to Christian purposes”.²⁸ However, following the *naissance* of specialist studies in the 1970s, the iconography of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was theorized and interpreted in new ways. Bailey summarizes how Wayland and Sigurd scenes, together with the iconographic programme of the Gosforth Cross (“Gosforth 1”), can be interpreted as Christian paradigms.²⁹ He also suggests that the evocation of religious ambiguity by select scenes may have been deliberate.³⁰

Of Bailey’s remaining chapters, “Sculpture and History: a Wider Perspective” and “The Sculptor at Work” are particularly important. The former acknowledges the potential richness of interdisciplinary research and suggests place-names and settlement evidence could help demystify the Middleton Cross (“Middleton 2”);³¹ whereas the latter discusses aspects of the carving process, including preparation of the stone, templates and carving techniques. Prior to publication of *Viking Age Sculpture*, the technical processes involved in sculptural production were noticeably understudied.

²⁸ R. Allen quoted in Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 101.

²⁹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 101-142.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-213.

Though *Viking Age Sculpture* is region-specific, it does not discuss its subject in isolation; the sculpture is placed in its historical context, its methods of production are assessed and most other related issues (including decoration, function and patronage) are considered in varying degrees. This broad approach constitutes a marked evolution in methodology; *ca* 1980, acknowledgement that contextualization and interpretation are fundamental components of sculptural research is seemingly evident.

While *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* has facilitated interpretation of sculptural production in Late Saxon northern England, the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (1984-), presently in eight volumes under the general editorship of Rosemary Cramp,³² is redressing the void observed by Collingwood over eighty years ago: the absence of a national record of English pre-Conquest sculpture akin to *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*.³³ Each volume of the *Corpus* is preceded by Cramp's "General Introduction to the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*". This functions as a handbook of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural ornament, codifying the typologies and terminology associated with their study. Each volume of the *Corpus* is an illustrated catalogue preceded by introductory essays addressing various topics including stone types, carving techniques, style and chronology. The methodology employed by the various authors of the *Corpus* volumes utilizes both typological and interpretive approaches. This unification of what might be termed "historic" and "contemporary"

³² R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 1: County Durham and Northumberland*, 2 pts. (Oxford 1984); R. Bailey and R. Cramp, *CASSS, vol. 2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (Oxford 1988); J. Lang, *et al.*, *CASSS, vol. 3: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford 1991); D. Tweddle, *et al.*, *CASSS, vol. 4: South-East England* (Oxford 1995); P. Everson and D. Stocker, *CASSS, vol. 5: Lincolnshire* (Oxford 1999); J. Lang, *CASSS, vol. 6: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford 2002); R. Cramp, *CASSS, vol. 7: South-West England* (Oxford 2006); E. Coatsworth, *CASSS vol. 8: Western Yorkshire* (Oxford 2008).

³³ Collingwood, "Preface", *Northumbrian Crosses*, n.p.

methodologies *vis à vis* pre-Conquest English sculpture is attributable to the *Corpus*' function: provision of basic data for each extant sculpture (location, size, material, decoration) and contextualization of sculptural production and use in specific regions. Through evocation of the metanarratives characteristic of the early to mid-twentieth century, the *Corpus* is also demonstrative of the apparent cyclical nature of early English sculptural studies.

Since publication of *Viking Age Sculpture* and the various volumes of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, interdisciplinary research has become increasingly important to the interpretation and contextualization of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. Place-names evidence, settlement archaeology and the history of lordship have each contributed to an understanding of the distribution, decoration and patronage of sculpture in Late Saxon England. Interdisciplinary publications such as *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (2000) identify the socio-political context(s) in which sculpture was commissioned, produced and displayed,³⁴ without which any attempt to reconstruct the sculpture's uses, meanings and functions would be impossible.

However, such interdisciplinary methodology has not been applied to East Anglia's pre-Conquest sculpture. Typological county studies have been contributed by Fox and Plunkett, and Everson and Stocker include a *précis* of the Fenland material in their Lincolnshire volume.³⁵ While these studies have identified the sculptures' formal and stylistic complexities, including their apparent exemplars, they generally do not interpret the material as a regional manifestation of socio-

³⁴ D. Hadley and J. Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout 2000), *passim*.

³⁵ Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 15-45; Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 323-367; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 46-50. See also S. Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture: Schools, Styles and Patterns of Influence" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U. of Cambridge, 1984), pp. 112-115, 165-172, 348, 358-359, 352; and Cozens-Hardy, "Norfolk Crosses", pp. 297-336.

political *milieux*. Informed by interdisciplinary methodology, and acknowledging the human landscape in which such monuments were produced, this study will interrogate the sculpture in its regional and temporal context.

In conclusion, contemporary pre-Conquest sculptural studies are the product of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century interest in Britain's extant stone-working legacy. Early researchers employed descriptive and typological methodologies in compiling full surveys of early English sculpture, often approaching national scale. With the advent of specialist research in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in the 1970s, agendas prioritized decorative and iconographic interpretation, culminating in the publication of Bailey's *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (1980). The sculptural legacy of the Anglo-Scandinavians was then portrayed as a distinct cultural artifact rather than a debased Anglo-Saxon form. Recently, sculptural studies have benefited from the interdisciplinary research promoted by Bailey, with other evidential categories contributing to an understanding of patronage, distribution and function(s). With the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* nearing completion, this expanding inquiry will merge with the descriptive and typological methodologies popularized by early researchers; in so doing, the definitive corpus that Collingwood sought will be realized.

2.A.ii. *Sculpture and Archaeological Theory*

The "national" surveys of Insular sculpture published throughout the early to mid-twentieth century emphasize sculpture's intrinsic importance rather than its evidence of cultural processes.³⁶ However, since the 1960s (especially post-1980), Late Saxon sculpture has been interpreted in archaeological discourse as a cultural artifact.

³⁶ Allen and Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments*; Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments*; and Henry, *Irish High Crosses*.

Various theoretical and methodological strategies have been applied to its study, perhaps reflecting the general “theorization” of archaeology in the latter twentieth century, illustrated by the abundance of theory courses in university curricula, by the volume of scholarship devoted to theory since 1960, and by the advent of archaeological colloquia devoted exclusively to theoretical issues. Within this culture of theory, the current traditions of archaeological thought (*processual*—social evolution, taphonomy and middle-range theory, and *post-processual*—hermeneutics, structuration theory and political commitment),³⁷ including instances when they seemingly converge, can potentially enrich the study of Late Saxon sculpture, though their limitations must be acknowledged.

Though Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture is first theorized as a distinct cultural artifact in Bailey’s *Viking Age Sculpture*, and strong currents of archaeological thought are implicit throughout the text, this study is not explicitly theoretical.³⁸ Rather, it is essentially an exercise in what can be termed middle-range theory. From his observation of the static archaeological record (extant Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture), Bailey forms theories about the Danelaw. These contextualize his data, situating them within the socio-political environment of tenth-century eastern England. Without these linking or “contextualizing” theories, Bailey’s data would have no relationship to the historical Danelaw.³⁹

³⁷ M. Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (1999; Oxford 2000), p. 116.

³⁸ In their “Editors’ Foreword” to the Collins Archaeology series (of which *Viking Age Sculpture* is the first volume), Cherry Lavell and Eric Wood state: “This series is intended for the reader who wishes to know what is happening in a given field. He may not be a trained archaeologist, although he may be attending courses in some aspect of the subject; he may want to know more about his locality, or about some particular aspect, problem or technique; or he may be merely generally interested in the roots of our civilization, and how knowledge about them is obtained ... The series presents books of moderate length, well illustrated, on various aspects of archaeology ... They are written in straightforward language by experts ... [and] ... are essentially up-to-date and down-to-earth”. Clearly, the series’ editors assume that Bailey’s audience will not be a specialist one; therefore, with reference to language, arguments and general presentation, the book appeals to a broad audience. See C. Lavell and E. Wood, “Editors’ Foreword”, *Viking Age Sculpture*, Bailey, pp. v-vi, at v-vi.

³⁹ For a summary of middle-range theory, see Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, pp. 49-63.

An explicit example of middle-range theory in *Viking Age Sculpture* is the discussion of sculptural templates:

Mechanical aids were employed. We can trace their use most easily if we look at the cross-heads; and, as an example, I take a group of heads which are now in the Tees valley churches of Brompton *YN*, Northallerton *YN* and Kirklevington *CL* ... It is possible to show that at least ten of the crosses in these churches were carved by using the same template curve.⁴⁰

Binford noted that independent sources of information (such as texts or, in this instance, sculptural templates) could be used to build “robust” arguments,⁴¹ akin to Panofsky’s theorization of iconology in art historical circles (see below, pp. 181-182, n. 3). Such information functions as “pre-existing” middle-range theories, often contemporaneous with the data it contextualizes. Thus, it is valued for its perceived accuracy, drawn from temporal proximity to evidence.

Bailey’s treatment of data in *Viking Age Sculpture* is evocative of the post-processualist movement (similar in many respects to post-modernism). For middle-range theorists, data are atheoretical. Bailey, however, theorizes much of the data employed in *Viking Age Sculpture*. For example, he assumes that traces of paint on some extant Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures is evidence that “many, if not most”, were painted.⁴² He then offers a series of assumptions about the effect of painting monuments, both upon the viewer and upon the monuments themselves:

We are seeing ... [sculpture] at a stage before completion. Any use of gesso would change the contours of a carving; miscuttings would not be visible; changes in geological colouring would be masked. The confusion of lightly-incised lines which decorate carvings ... would be clarified and it would be possible to add details of facial features, clothing, foliage and beasts to the basic carved forms.⁴³

⁴⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 240.

⁴¹ Quoted in Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, p. 155; see also pp. 48-63.

⁴² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Furthermore, throughout his text, Bailey suggests that the spatial and numerical distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture is indicative of mass consumption by the Danelaw populace and reflects a uniform density of settlement.⁴⁴ Again, data is theorized resulting in the abandonment of its assumed neutrality. However plausible and even likely such theories are, their underlying assumptions require examination.

One of Bailey's more recent works, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (1997), illustrates a development in his theoretical approach. Concerned primarily with chronology, this work surveys England's sculptural legacy from the seventh century to the Norman Conquest. Unlike *Viking Age Sculpture*, however, Bailey explicitly utilizes evidence from other disciplines (including literature and art history) to support his arguments. He also places importance on chronological studies in other media:

The current approach to sculptural chronology ... draws upon the dating systems that have evolved for the other art forms of manuscript and metalwork. Detailed ... [studies have been undertaken] by David Wilson, Lesley Webster and James Graham-Campbell on metalwork; ... [and the dating] of painted books has been refined by ... Julian and Michelle Brown.⁴⁵

Bailey's explicit adoption of evidence and methodology from other disciplines is illustrative of a development in post-processual thought, namely, that divisions between disciplines are arbitrary; and as the post-processualist rejects the notion of metanarratives, evidence from other sources becomes not only valid, but necessary.⁴⁶ However, specific forms of inquiry encounter specific sets of variables, and such variables may or may not hinder use of evidence in other contexts.

For example, Bailey states that the current approach to sculptural chronology has drawn upon dating systems from manuscript and metalwork studies.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-206.

⁴⁵ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, p. 162.

Chronological investigations of these media (especially manuscripts) reveal variables specific to the medium that are not present in sculpted stone. Attributing date to manuscripts may be facilitated by the presence of a colophon; by assessing paleographic and/or linguistic details; and by codicological examination. Therefore, to what extent are specific dating techniques genuinely applicable to all media? Some dating criteria transcend media (for example, style, the presence of inscriptions and associations with specific people and/or events). Media-specific variables, however, are anomalous; even style-analysis is somewhat qualified by regional variation, artistic ability and the characteristics of specific materials. While style-analysis can identify general queues that facilitate dating, region- and medium-specific characteristics qualify its chronological precision.

Together with Richard Bailey's collective scholarship, the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* is the most authoritative source for the production, decoration and function of Late Saxon sculpture. While each *Corpus* volume is informed by developments in archaeological thought, the theoretical interests of their respective authors are largely implicit. Nonetheless, the *Corpus* does demonstrate how analyses of static data sets can vary depending on modes of inquiry. Obvious examples are the function(s) of Late Saxon sculpture in the Danelaw and whether its distribution reflects settlement patterns.

In the second *Corpus* volume, Bailey and Cramp interpret Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture using middle-range theory. They emphasize (as Bailey did in 1980) the Christian context for sculptural use (largely for memorialization, perhaps as expressions of faith), interpret iconography in a Christian context and suggest that the size and distribution of the sculptural corpus indicates broad consumption in the

Danelaw and reflects a uniform settlement density.⁴⁷ This approach contrasts with Everson's and Stocker's in the Lincolnshire volume. In their analysis of the county's Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, they determine that secular agendas played important roles in the erection of stone monuments and that their number and distribution is evidence of social competition between large elite groups.⁴⁸ They suggest that such objects emulate the tastes of incoming mercantile elites from York and Scandinavia.⁴⁹ Implicit in Everson's and Stocker's arguments is the notion of conflict between the residents of Lincoln and the incoming merchants. This conflict (specifically, dissimilarity in display of elite status) is associated with Marxist theory and is demonstrated by Everson's and Stocker's presentation of oppositions in both artifact and artifact-placement as evidence of societal relationships.⁵⁰ Everson's and Stocker's approach also evokes the concepts of "core" and "periphery", fundamental components of world systems theory.⁵¹ In this respect, changes in one locale (migration for example) impact the other.

As the post-processualist school of archaeological thought has developed, interdisciplinary research has increased in both frequency and importance. As mentioned above (see p. 18), place-name evidence, settlement archaeology and the history of lordship have each contributed to the interpretation of the distribution, decoration and patronage of Late Saxon sculpture. Interdisciplinary publications, such as *Cultures in Contact* (2000), reconstruct the socio-political context(s) for

⁴⁷ Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13, 24-40, 100-104.

⁴⁸ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 69-87, esp. 76-79. See also D. Stocker, "Monuments and merchants: Irregularities in the distribution of stone sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century", *Cultures in Contact*, eds. Hadley and Richards, pp. 179-212, at 200-206.

⁴⁹ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 80-84.

⁵⁰ "A number of important Marxist concepts have been introduced into British and American archaeology as alternatives to the tenets of processual archaeology. Foremost among these is a concern to explain sociocultural change in terms of a general theoretical framework that accords a central role to social relations ... Social conflicts arising from contradictory interests are identified as vital and pervasive features of human societies and a major source of change". B. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (1989; Cambridge 2006), pp. 339-340.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-312, 404.

sculptural production.⁵² In their paper, "Introduction: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Settlement", Hadley and Richards reiterate the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration to Danelaw studies:

Throughout this volume it is apparent that exciting new interpretations of the Scandinavian impact on England are possible on the basis of a re-evaluation of the existing evidence, and by asking new questions. It is also clear that the future requires interdisciplinary collaboration. In exposing new areas for research, it is often reconciling the different interpretations indicated by different categories of evidence that provides the greatest challenges.⁵³

They also stress the necessity of redefining the Danelaw's settlement, characterizing it as a series of regional variations rather than a single, homogeneous assimilation.⁵⁴

In so doing, Hadley and Richards advocate a functionalist or systems thinking approach for Danelaw inquiry (one which defines a culture as an "intercommunicating network of attributes or entities forming a complex whole").⁵⁵

The strength of this theoretical model is its avoidance of monocausal explanations; however, it fails to examine why particular strategies were favoured in cultural evolution.⁵⁶ Thus, Hadley and Richards suggest that Anglo-Scandinavian lordship should be understood in terms of the "administrative, legal, diplomatic and ideological world of early medieval society", rather than as a series of military victories.⁵⁷

Hadley and Richards also address the notion of Anglo-Scandinavian identity in their introductory essay. They characterize Danelaw ethnicity as a social construction, "malleable and historically situated" and "transmitted and transmuted

⁵² Hadley and Richards, eds., *Cultures in Contact*, *passim*.

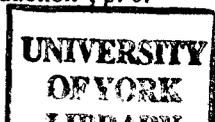
⁵³ D. Hadley and J. Richards, "Introduction: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Settlement", *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 3-15, at 13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ D. Clarke, quoted in Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, p. 67. See, also, Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, pp. 303-312, 404.

⁵⁶ Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, p. 77.

⁵⁷ Hadley and Richards, "Introduction", p. 6.



over time and space”.⁵⁸ These perceptions are related to post-processual archaeology’s belief that culture is adaptive to an external environment and its notion of individual agency (the relationship between people and social rules is characterized by creative manipulation rather than passive adherence).

With the sheer volume of courses, scholarship and colloquia devoted explicitly to thought and process, contemporary archaeology can be characterized as a culture of theory. As such, researchers must familiarize themselves with the schools of thought informing this and related disciplines so that they can engage with theorized data in an active and critical way. In so doing, interpretation of specific material culture (for example, Anglo-Saxon sculpture) will be informed by awareness of the assumed factors (both implicit and explicit) affecting its production, appearance and reception and the relationship(s) between those assumptions and methodology.

2.A.iii. *Sculpture and Art Historical Theory*

Both archaeology and art history interpret objects as cultural artifacts. The former locates them within evidential systems, establishing various shared approximates which, collectively, reflect cultures, groups and/or their beliefs;⁵⁹ while through intensive study of individual objects, the latter facilitates contextualization of inconsistencies and incongruities, identifying what Orton terms “historical and cultural specificity”.⁶⁰ Though typological analysis is paradigmatic *vis à vis* Anglo-Saxon sculpture,⁶¹ other forms of inquiry less reliant on typologies (iconographic for

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; and Matthew Innes, quoted in Hadley and Richards, “Introduction”, p. 6.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, pp. 1-4.

⁶⁰ F. Orton, “Northumbrian sculpture (the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments): questions of difference”, *Northumbria’s Golden Age*, J. Hawkes and S. Mills, eds. (Stroud 1999), pp. 216-226, at 217.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

example) have contributed to an understanding of the patronage and reception of this corpus; thus, the suitability of art historical methodologies for contextualizing sculptural production and display in Late Saxon East Anglia should be assessed.

Hawkes has observed that style-analysis, which characterizes or influences much of the scholarship devoted to Anglo-Saxon stone-carving, has been recently discredited by both archaeologists and art historians.⁶² Through functionalist theories of stylistic inconsistency, this methodology has been challenged by some archaeologists since the 1940s,⁶³ though Sidebottom suggests that style-analysis is inherently unreliable because it represents an “art historical method”.⁶⁴ Conversely, this approach is discredited by art historians for its perceived obsolescence; with the notable exceptions of medieval art and architectural history, stylistic inquiry has not dominated art historical scholarship since the 1950s.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, stylistic (in)consistency, theorized by Sidebottom as “regional variation” rather than “temporal disparity” is pertinent to the East Anglian corpus;⁶⁶ it can inform discussions of the region’s Late Saxon identity(s), its centres of sculptural production and the apparent regional impact of socio-political movements.

As discussed above (pp. 7-11), the *naissance* of Anglo-Saxon sculptural research is associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly with Collingwood’s work on northern England. Throughout his various

⁶² Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture”, p. 142.

⁶³ For example, Walter Taylor’s study of asymmetry in Coahuila Cave basketry designs in the southwestern United States. Quoted in Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, p. 279.

⁶⁴ This implies that art historical methods impair archaeology and/or its reputation. P. Sidebottom, “Stone Crosses of the Peak and the ‘Sons of Eadwulf,’” *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 119 (1999), pp. 206-219, at 206. See also N. Wicker, “Archaeology and Art History: Common ground for the New Millennium”, *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999), pp. 161-171, *passim*.

⁶⁵ Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture”, p. 142.

⁶⁶ Sidebottom, “Stone Crosses of the Peak”, p. 209. A similar rejection of style as chronological indicator is advanced by Almgren (see below, pp. 37-38). Cf., B. Almgren, *Bronsmucklar och djuornametik vid övergången från vendeltid till vikingatid* (Uppsala 1955); and D. Wilson, “Almgren and Chronology: A Summary and some Comments”, *Medieval Archaeology* 3 (1959), pp. 112-119, *passim*.

studies, culminating in *Northumbrian Crosses*, Collingwood characterizes sculptural development as linear progression, employing style as a chronological measure. Though some post-medieval art historians associate style-analysis with the “connoisseur”, thereby marginalizing the methodology as “un-academic”,⁶⁷ the early historiography of Germanic art, including Anglo-Saxon sculpture as specialist study, was influenced by contemporary philosophy; Hawkes associates the resultant analytic use of style with “post-Darwinian, later nineteenth-century constructs of imperial synthesis”, exemplified by John Lubbock’s *Prehistoric Times* (1865).⁶⁸ Thus, early stylistic interrogation of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, reflecting the apparent quantifiability of evolutionary systems, is historically informed and situated; its pejorative association with connoisseurship should be reconsidered.

Collingwood’s early research on northern England’s Anglo-Saxon sculpture is contemporaneous with Montelius’ *Der Orient und Europa* (1899), *Die typologische Methode* (1903) and Salin’s *Die altgermanische thierornamentik* (1904), archaeological treatises which define style as temporal constructs.⁶⁹ This

⁶⁷ Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture”, p. 143; see, also, V.Mynor, *Art History’s History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1994), pp. 129-137. Morelli’s treatise on Italian painters informed and popularized the association between style-analysis and connoisseurship. See G. Morelli, *Italian Painters: critical studies of their works*, trans. C. Ffoulkes (1890; London 1892), *passim*; see, also, E. Fernie, ed., *Art History and its Methods: a critical anthology* (London 1995), pp. 103-115. As an analytic tool, style was first employed in archaeology by Thomsen in 1836 and popularized in England by Worsaae in 1849. See C. Thomsen, *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed* (Copenhagen 1836), *passim*; J. Worsaae, *The primeval antiquities of Denmark*, trans. W. Thoms (London 1849), *passim*; and J. Worsaae, *An account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, trans. W. Thoms (London 1852), *passim*. See also Trigger, *Archaeological Thought*, pp. 73-79. Evans’ scholarship on Anglo-Saxon coins also employs style-analysis. See J. Evans, “On the date of British coins”, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* 12 (1850), pp. 127-137, *passim*; and H. Geake, *The use of grave-goods in Conversion-period England, c. 600-c. 850*, BAR, British series 261 (Oxford 1997), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁸ Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture”, p. 143. J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages* (London 1865), *passim*. See also Trigger, *Archaeological Thought*, pp. 114-118.

⁶⁹ O. Montelius, *Der Orient und Europa* (Stockholm 1899), *passim*; *idem*, *Die typologische Methode: Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* (Stockholm 1903), *passim*; B. Salin, *Die altgermanische thierornamentik: typologische studie über germanische metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. jahrhundert, nebst einer studie über irische ornamentik* (Stockholm, Berlin 1904), *passim*; E. Bakka, *On the beginning of Salin’s Style I in England* (Bergen [1959]), *passim*; and Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 151.

premise is implicit in Collingwood's first study of the Yorkshire material (1907), suggesting both awareness and adoption of contemporary "archaeological" methodology.⁷⁰ This stylistic approach, however, contrasts with Collingwood's initial commentaries on Anglo-Saxon sculpture, influenced, particularly, by the tutelage of John Ruskin.

Following his studies at Oxford and London, Collingwood wrote *Philosophy of Ornament* (1883), informed by Ruskin's theories of "Ideal" and "Real" Art. According to Ruskin, the "Ideal" is associated with the Aristotelian concepts of order, symmetry and the essential and is defined as "dead barbarism";⁷¹ whereas "Real Art" is equated with "living barbarism", whose "every line ... is prophetic of power, and has in it the sure dawn of day", somewhat evocative of Plato's "*techne*" and "*mimesis*".⁷² Furthermore, Ruskin associates "Real Art" with spirituality and learning, interpreting the Anglo-Saxons' artistic legacy as "some likeness of the realities of sacred event in which they had been instructed".⁷³ Thus, in *The Art Teaching of John Ruskin* (1891), Collingwood interprets Anglo-Saxon material as "Real Art",⁷⁴ with its implied vitality, cognition and literacy. His stylistic approach to Anglo-Saxon sculpture is only evident in his various studies of regional groups (published in archaeological journals) suggesting, as Hawkes observes:

That while the art historian could consider the carvings as individual monuments—which in the late nineteenth century was particularly

⁷⁰ Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture", *passim*. This theory is explicit in his subsequent study of the West Riding sculptures. See Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding", pp. 261-299, esp. 291-293.

⁷¹ J. Ruskin, "The two paths", §28-29, *Library Edition: the works of John Ruskin, vol. 16: 'A joy forever' and 'The two paths' with letters on the Oxford Museum and various addresses, 1856-60*, eds. E. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London 1905), pp. 274-275, *passim*; Minor, *Art History's History*, pp. 33-35; Hawkes, "Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture", p. 145.

⁷² Ruskin, 'The two paths,' §30, *Library Edition*, vol. 16, eds. Cook and Wedderburn, p. 275, at 275; Minor, *Art History's History*, p. 31; Hawkes, "Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 145.

⁷³ J. Ruskin, "The pleasures of England", lecture I: "The pleasures of learning", §28-29, *Library Edition*, vol. 33, eds. Cook and Wedderburn, pp. 435-436, *passim*; Hawkes, "Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture", p. 146.

⁷⁴ W. Collingwood, *The Art Teaching of John Ruskin* (London 1891), p. 38.

apposite given that so many of the objects existed in the public imagination within the gallery context—for the archaeologist the sculpture could only be an appropriate object of study when considered as a ‘corpus’.⁷⁵

This perhaps identifies the fundamental tension between archaeologists and art historians concerning pre-Conquest sculpture. Archaeological methodology is usually reliant on large (and often diverse) datasets, while art historical approaches facilitate interrogation of individual objects. Thus, archaeological research is often criticized by art historians for its generalizing paradigms and art history is challenged by archaeologists for its inherent specificity. Nonetheless, influenced by Collingwood’s methodology, many scholars have embraced style- and iconographic analysis, contributing to identification and interpretation of sculptural patronage, regional schools and the relationship(s) between visual and literary culture.

The Scottish, Welsh and Irish surveys of pre-Conquest sculpture (see above, pp. 10-11) also interpret style as a temporal construct. As discussed above, late twentieth-century scholarship, informed by the methodologies explicit in such volumes, often refined dating chronologies through style-analysis, with resultant modifications sometimes eliciting new interpretations of stone sculptures. Lang’s reassessment of the Jellinge-style zoomorph on “Middleton 2” (YN), for example (see above, p. 12), post-dated the monument to the tenth century; it also reaffirmed his contention that the cross’s figural panel referenced secular lordship rather than pagan burial.⁷⁶ Others, including Cramp, demonstrated that style can preserve evidence of culture-contact;⁷⁷ whereas style’s association with particular regions and

⁷⁵ Hawkes, “Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture”, p. 150.

⁷⁶ Lang, “Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale”, pp. 16-25.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Cramp, “Schools of Mercian Sculpture”, pp. 191-233; and Lang, “Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture”, p. 145-172.

schools (of particular importance to this study), has been explored by Bailey, Cramp, Sidebottom, Everson and Stocker, among others.⁷⁸

Some of the most recent studies of Anglo-Saxon sculpture interpret the material iconologically, contextualizing typological data through extant cultural references (specifically, texts; see below, pp. 181-182, n. 3). This approach is particularly useful for elucidating figural programmes and is advanced by Ó Carragáin, Karkov, O'Reilly and Hawkes.⁷⁹ While it will be demonstrated that the non-figural ornament of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture can be interpreted, generally, through extant tenth- and eleventh-century homiletic discourse, specific associations between text and decoration are not supported; thus, the East Anglian corpus cannot be interrogated "iconologically".⁸⁰ However, its decorative programmes (and their constituent elements) can be interpreted "iconographically", informed by semiotic theory.⁸¹ This approach will demonstrate that most East Anglian sculptures are tangible expressions of eschatological belief. Furthermore, the particular style of these monuments (evidenced by recurring motifs, motif-combinations and spatial relationships) and their apparent exclusive association with

⁷⁸ See, for example, Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 176-206, esp. 189-206; R. Cramp, "Anglian-Period Ornament", *CASSS*, vol. 2, Bailey and Cramp, pp. 15-18, *passim*; Sidebottom, "Stone Crosses of the Peak", pp. 206-219, esp. 209 ff.; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 35-46.

⁷⁹ See, for example, É. Ó Carragáin, "Liturgical Innovations Associated with Pope Sergius and the Iconography of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses", *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. Farrell, BAR, British series 46 (Oxford 1978), pp. 131-147, *passim*; *idem*, "Christ over the Beasts and Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses", *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. Szarmach and V. Oggins (Kalamazoo 1986), pp. 37-43, *passim*; C. Karkov, "Naming and Renaming: The Inscription of Gender in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, eds. C. Karkov and F. Orton, pp. 31-64, *passim*; J. O'Reilly, "The Book of Kells, folio 114r: a Mystery Revealed yet Concealed", *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, eds. R. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh 1993), pp. 106-114, *passim*; *idem*, "Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan Genealogy", *The Book of Kells*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot 1994), pp. 344-397, *passim*; J. Hawkes, "Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North", *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*, ed. C. Karkov (New York 1999), pp. 403-421, esp. 405; and *idem*, *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Significance in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Dublin 2002), *passim*.

⁸⁰ A possible exception is the interpretation of the motif on Cambridge Castle 1 (lost; Fox's identifier. See Appendix 2, pl. 164) in the context of specific discourse preserved in the *Vercelli Book* and the *Blickling Homilies* (see below, pp. 219-221).

⁸¹ See Mynor, *Art History's History*, pp. 171-182; and M. Carter, *Framing Art: Introducing Theory and the Visual Image* (1990; Sydney 1993), pp. 66-94.

East Anglia and its hinterlands, suggests that, *stylistically*, the monuments should not be interpreted as a fixed point on a typological continuum; rather they are an apparent regional manifestation of a particular intellectual *milieu*.

2.A.iv. *Metalwork*

Though references to the study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork are found in some sources, an explicit historiography of the subject has not yet been compiled.⁸² The interrogation of Late Saxon material (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century) is particularly difficult to trace, as evidence in far greater quantity from Early Saxon (*ca* early fifth to mid-seventh century) cemetery contexts dominated metalwork research throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. Hinton astutely noted thirty years ago that analysis of Late Saxon metalwork was inherently difficult owing to the relatively small corpus of extant evidence in museum collections.⁸³ This material only increased appreciably with the advent of the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (PAS) in 1997. While the PAS has increased the corpus of Late Saxon material and facilitated its study, the accuracy of find-reporting arguably diminishes the usefulness of its data in some instances, particularly with reference to East

⁸² Examples include E. Coatsworth and M. Pinder, "Introduction: the Background to the Study of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith", *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith: Fine Metalwork in Anglo-Saxon England: its Practice and Practitioners*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 2 (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 1-17, esp. pp. 14-17; A. Evans, "Metalwork and sculpture", *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600-900*, eds. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London; Toronto 1991), pp. 21-22, *passim*; and L. Webster, "Metalwork and bone", "Metalwork, bone, wood and sculpture", "Metalwork, bone, glass and textiles", "Metalwork, ivory and textiles", "Metalwork" and "Metalwork, wood and bone", *The Making of England*, eds. Webster and Backhouse, pp. 47-48, 79-80, 132-133, 167-168, 220-221, 268, *passim*.

⁸³ In 1975, 153 objects were housed in the collection of the British Museum, and a further thirty-nine (together with one possible forgery) were in the Ashmolean's. Smaller collections also exist in Cambridge, Ipswich, King's Lynn and Norwich. See D. Hinton, "Late Anglo-Saxon metal-work: an assessment", *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 171-180, at 171. The British Museum and Ashmolean collections have been published in catalogue form. See D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum* (London 1964), *passim*; and D. Hinton, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford 1974), *passim*. A revised catalogue of the Ashmolean's collection was published in 1993. See A. MacGregor and E. Bolick, *A Summary Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Collections (Non-Ferrous Metals)* BAR, British series 230 (1993), *passim*.

Anglia. Thus, the study of Late Saxon metalwork has been impeded at various stages in its history by a paucity of evidence and by reliability of provenance. These factors have influenced the development of Anglo-Saxon metalwork scholarship; its evolution is complex and is not characterized by linear progression.

The earliest detailed accounts of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, approaching what might be termed “visual analyses”, are attributable to eighteenth-century antiquarians.⁸⁴ Most, including Faussett and Douglas, were primarily interested in the objects themselves, especially those fabricated in gold.⁸⁵ Halsall has noted that antiquarian interest in early medieval cemeteries was inspired by their ready provision of objects for both public and private collections.⁸⁶ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, gold objects were particularly appealing to both museums and collectors; they reflected the grandeur of ancient civilizations which intrigued both antiquarians and the general public. While modern burial archaeology assesses the entire funerary assemblage (including the burial’s form and location; its demarcation

⁸⁴ Earlier accounts are extant, but they are usually brief. See, for example, R. Plot, *The Natural History of Oxford-shire* (Oxford 1677), pp. 359-60, tab. vi. An example of eighteenth-century interest is the fine drawing and lengthy description of the famous gold and garnet *cloisonné* brooch recovered from Kingston Down (K; grave 205) by Bryan Faussett, now in the collection of the Liverpool Museum. Between 1760 and 1773, Faussett excavated approximately 750 Anglo-Saxon burials near his home at Heppington (K). Though he meticulously recorded his finds, he did not recognize that the burials, or their grave-goods, were Anglo-Saxon; he believed they were Romano-British. See Coatsworth and Pinder, “Introduction: the Background to the Study of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith”, p. 15. See, also, B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, ed. C. Roach-Smith (London 1856), *passim*; and S. Hawkes, “Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection: an Assessment”, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: a Reappraisal*, ed. E. Southworth (Stroud 1990), pp. 1-24, *passim*. Another eighteenth-century archaeologist, James Douglas, was also prolific in his excavation of Anglo-Saxon burials. While serving as a Captain with the Corps of Engineers, Douglas undertook the refortification of defenses above Chatham, Medway. A large number of Anglo-Saxon graves lay in the excavators’ path; by 1782, an estimated eighty-six barrows had been levelled and/or opened. In 1783, Douglas left the army and began compilation of a treatise on ancient burial practice in Britain. This work, *Nenia Britannica: or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain*, drew extensively on the author’s collection of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, amassed during his tenure in the Corps of Engineers. For the time, *Nenia Britannica* was an exemplary study, presenting readers with both illustrations and descriptions of grave-goods and the contextual evidence upon which his conclusions were based. Arguably, this was the first instance when archaeological field evidence had formed the basis for a study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork. See J. Douglas, *Nenia Britannica: or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain* (London 1793), *passim*.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the eighteenth-century interest in Anglo-Saxon gold jewellery, see Hawkes, “Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection”, pp. 1-24.

⁸⁶ G. Halsall, *Early Medieval Cemeteries: An Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West* (1995; Glasgow 1997), p. 1.

in the landscape; the treatment and orientation of the body or remains; and the presence, characteristics and placement of grave-goods) for evidence of social, economic and religious history, ancient burials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were valued, almost exclusively, for the treasures they contained. Archaeology of the time was primarily object-centred; the societal processes which informed burial assemblages had not yet received meaningful consideration.

This period also witnessed the discoveries of certain objects of such distinctive style that they were later employed as the principal exemplars in decorative typologies. For example, in 1774, a hoard of gold and silver objects was discovered at Trewhiddle (Co), including an assortment of strap-ends and fittings decorated with unusual zoomorphs and vegetal motifs, characterized by shallow carving and “speckling” with an engraving tool.⁸⁷ Numismatic evidence provided a *terminus post quem* for the objects of *ca* 875.⁸⁸ Equally significant discoveries in Scandinavia (of particular importance to the Late Saxon period) were numerous. Examples include the heavily ornamented gilt bronze mounts recovered in the nineteenth century from a burial mound in Borre, Norway (characterized by mask-like, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic heads and parallel bands of ribbons bound by rings and lozenges in a geometric configuration forming knots termed “ring-chain”) and the silver cup recovered from a royal burial chamber at Jellinge, Denmark in 1820 embellished with continuous zoomorphic decoration.⁸⁹ The creatures on the Jellinge cup have intertwined, “S”-shaped bodies, forming open interlace patterns.

⁸⁷ D. Wilson and C. Blunt, “The Trewhiddle Hoard”, *Archaeologia* 98 (1961), pp. 75-122, *passim*. This style is known as “Trewhiddle”.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸⁹ The objects from Borre served as the typological model for what is now termed the “Borre” style (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-tenth century), whereas those from Jellinge were the exemplars for what is now known as “Jellinge” style (*ca* late ninth to late tenth century). See S. Fuglesang, “Early Viking Art”, *Acta ad Archaeologicam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, series altera 8.2 (1982), pp. 125-173, *passim*.

Their heads are depicted in profile and are further distinguished by a crest which cascades down their neck and by a prominent, upward-curling lip.

Important finds from sites including Trewiddle, Borre and Jellinge initiated concerted interest in the development and progression of Germanic art styles, including their manifestations in England. In the early twentieth century, Bernhard Salin began this investigation with publication of his seminal work,⁹⁰ establishing a sequence of zoomorphic designs, giving each a specific classification. His categories “Style I Animal” and “Style II Animal” are datable in the archaeological record from *ca* 475 to *ca* 650. By the mid-twentieth century, other art typologies informing the study of Anglo-Saxon material had also developed. Borre and Jellinge, together with Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes, all employing site-specific evidence in formulation of their identifying characteristics, were clearly defined and often utilized as the principal evidence in attributions of date.⁹¹ However, the resultant stylistic-dating is not medium-specific; among England’s Late Saxon and Norman sculptures, the aforementioned art-styles are all represented and have influenced theorization of sculptural chronologies.⁹²

⁹⁰ Salin, *Die altgermanische thierornamentik*, *passim*. See also E. Bakka, *On the beginning of Salin’s Style I in England* (Bergen [1959]), *passim*.

⁹¹ This brief introduction to the historiography of Anglo-Saxon metalwork studies precludes discussion of the complex evolution of Anglo-Saxon and Viking art typologies. For discussions of these subjects, see L. Laing and J. Laing, *Early English Art and Architecture* (Stroud 1996), pp. 22-27, 51-55, 69-71, 100-131, 157-191; D. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking art* (1966; London 1980), *passim*; and J. Graham-Campbell, “From Scandinavia to the Irish Sea: Viking Art Reviewed”, *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500-1200. Proceedings of a Conference at University College Cork, 31 October-3 November 1985*, ed. M. Ryan (Dublin 1987), pp. 144-152, *passim*. Some scholars have rejected the existing typologies of Germanic animal art. Karlsson, in particular, has called for “an unconditional review of the fundamental purpose, classification principles, style criteria and nomenclature of Nordic animal ornament”. Quoted in Graham-Campbell, “From Scandinavia to the Irish Sea”, p. 145.

⁹² See, for example, Margeson’s brief discussion of the St Vedast Cross (Norwich Castle Museum), in which she suggests a tenth-century date for the monument based on its Mammen-style decoration and Fernie’s suggestion that an Urnes capital in Norwich Cathedral is probably twelfth-century. See Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 24-25; and E. Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford 1993), pp. 62-64. See, also, S. Margeson, “The Normans in Norfolk”, *The Normans in Norfolk*, S. Margeson, F. Seillier and A. Rogerson ([Norwich] 1994), pp. 2-5, at 2-3.

Following publication of Salin's influential study in 1904, interest arose in the technical processes employed by Anglo-Saxon metalworkers. Gerard Baldwin Brown, for example, identified various techniques: incising/engraving, stamping, *repoussé*, casting, plating/inlaying, enamelling and setting stones.⁹³ His discussion of technical processes is primarily descriptive and comparative, referring extensively to individual objects. A later scholar, Thomas Downing Kendrick, undertook closer, analytic discussion of Anglo-Saxon metalworking techniques, especially the *cloisonné* process employed in the fabrication of gold and garnet jewellery.⁹⁴ Focusing on extant evidence from Kent, Kendrick identified two styles of jewellery.⁹⁵ His resultant categories, "Style A, I and II" and "Style B", are unusual in the early history of Anglo-Saxon metalwork studies, employing technique rather than decoration as typological identifiers.⁹⁶ Though Kendrick's study has surpassed Brown's in its lasting importance, another scholar, Rupert Bruce-Mitford, contributed the seminal work on technical analysis. His detailed examination of the jewellery from Mound One at Sutton Hoo (Sf), published in 1978, is acknowledged as the most influential contribution made to the study of Anglo-Saxon metalworking techniques.⁹⁷

⁹³ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. 6, 2 pts. (London 1915), i, pp. 291-292.

⁹⁴ Kendrick's two surveys of pre-Conquest art in England are still valuable sources for the study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork. See T.D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1972; London 1938), *passim*; and *idem*, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1974; London 1949), pp. 87-110.

⁹⁵ T.D. Kendrick, "Polychrome Jewellery in Kent", *Antiquity* 7 (1933), pp. 429-452, *passim*.

⁹⁶ See R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, "Sir Thomas Downing Kendrick 1895-1979", *Interpreters of Early Medieval Britain*, ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford 2002), pp. 399-426, *passim*.

⁹⁷ Coatsworth and Pinder, "Introduction: the Background to the Study of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith", p. 16; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, II. Arms, Armour and Regalia* (London 1978), *passim*. Insular metalworking techniques have been documented by Whitfield. See, for example, N. Whitfield, "The original appearance of the Tara Brooch", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 106 (1978), pp. 5-30, *passim*; *idem*, "Round wire in the Early Middle Ages", *Jewellery Studies* 4 (1990), pp. 13-28, *passim*; and *idem*, "A filigree panel and a coin from an Irish crannog at Alnwick Castle, with an appendix on the discovery of crannogs at Strokestown, Co Roscommon", *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 10 (2001), pp. 49-72, *passim*.

Following the establishment of decorative and technical typologies, scholars initiated a lengthy process of object-categorization.⁹⁸ Brooches, for example, are distinguished by their shape. General categories include cruciform, long, equal-armed and disc. Sub-groupings, often defined by formal characteristics and scale, are extracted from these categories, resulting in a precise, though complex, object-lexicon.

While most twentieth-century studies of Anglo-Saxon metalwork were typological (decorative, technical and/or artifactual) in nature, an influential monograph by Bertil Almgren demonstrates the limitations of typological study, especially its resultant chronologies.⁹⁹ His principal argument is that stylistic dating, generally informed by the notion that artistic evolution is linear with abstraction preceding naturalism, is simplistic.¹⁰⁰ Almgren also discusses why there is little reason to firmly locate an artistic style in the chronological record; employing evidence from Oseberg and Broa i Halla, he illustrates that styles characteristic of particular periods were sometimes utilized earlier and later.¹⁰¹ An important concept in the chronological theory subsequently proposed by Almgren is termed “margin of uncertainty”.¹⁰² This concept acknowledges the chief variables in dating early medieval metalwork: periods of manufacture of particular object-types and their

⁹⁸ It is beyond the scope of this brief introduction to discuss, or even list, the innumerable object-typologies established from the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon metalwork. For discussions of various categories, see T. Dickinson, “Early Saxon Saucer Brooches: a Preliminary Overview”, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993), pp. 11-44, *passim*; G. Thomas, “A survey of Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends from Britain”, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of London, 2000), *passim*; S. Ross, “Dress pins from Anglo-Saxon England: their production and typochronological development”, (unpublished D.Phil thesis, U of Oxford, 1992), *passim*; D. Williams, *Late Saxon Stirrup Mounts: a Classification and Catalogue*, Council for British Archaeology Monograph 111 (York 1997), *passim*; and N. Smedley and E. Owles, “Some Anglo-Saxon ‘Animal’-Brooches”, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 30.2 (1965), pp. 166-174, *passim*.

⁹⁹ See Almgren, *Bronsnycklar och djuornametik*, *passim*. Owing to its publication in Swedish, this provocative work was largely overlooked until Wilson summarized Almgren’s theories in 1959. See Wilson, “Almgren and Chronology”, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ Almgren, *Bronsnycklar och djuornametik*; quoted in Wilson, “Almgren and Chronology”, p. 112.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

duration of use.¹⁰³ Therefore, with reference to burial contexts, “an object could ... be placed in a grave in the first year of manufacture or in the last year of a generation which bought it in the last year of manufacture”.¹⁰⁴ The resultant margin of uncertainty is at least half a century.¹⁰⁵ Though Almgren’s study addresses Scandinavian material (Vendel and Viking Age bronze keys), his theory that the chronology of metal objects can be expressed as an equation where date equals period of manufacture plus time of use, has influenced many scholars, including those specializing in Anglo-Saxon material. Contemporary chronologies of Anglo-Saxon objects are less static than those arising from early typological studies.

Throughout the early history of the study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, most data employed by scholars were recovered from pagan contexts. The earliest archaeological excavations, such as those undertaken by Faussett and Douglas, targeted those sites which retained visible evidence of ancient burial, barrows for example. The resultant object-corpus reflected, almost exclusively, elite, pagan Anglo-Saxon culture. Late Saxon objects, not interred in burials owing to Christian practice, were rare finds, sometimes arising from controlled excavations, though usually found by chance in fields or construction trenches.¹⁰⁶ Until the mid-twentieth century, the small corpus of excavated Late Saxon metalwork effectively prohibited its study. The increased use of base-metals and alloys in the Late Saxon period, together with the virtual disappearance of *cloisonné* technique and stone-inlay, arguably made this material less interesting to scholars and thereby contributed to its academic marginalization.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Hinton, “Late Anglo-Saxon metal-work: an assessment”, p. 173.

Knowledge of Late Saxon metalwork, unlike any other manifestation of Anglo-Saxon culture, has drawn, principally, from the work of hobbyists. With the advent of inexpensive metal-detecting equipment in the 1960s, the corpus of Late Saxon metalwork has increased exponentially. Since the 1970s, metal-detecting has become a popular activity in the United Kingdom. Enthusiasts have formed organizations dedicated to its promotion and, in some instances, the interpretation and publication of their findings.¹⁰⁷ Professional archaeologists have also formed organizations dedicated to the study of metal objects. Those employed in museum contexts established the *Finds Research Group 700-1700* in 1984. Its principal founders, Sue Margeson and John Cherry, both museum curators, acknowledged the growing importance of metal-detectorists to historical archaeology.¹⁰⁸ In addition to its members' contributions to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, the *Finds Research Group* also publishes a useful *Datasheet* series which has informed the study of Late Saxon metalworking, featuring important articles which have expanded, and in some instances refined, object-typologies.¹⁰⁹ Magazines directed at the metal-detecting community have also featured useful articles, albeit intended as aids for finds-identification,¹¹⁰ while county archaeological journals have served as venues for the publication of particularly significant metal-detected finds.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Arguably the most influential of such organizations is the National Council for Metal Detecting. See <<http://www.ncmd.co.uk/index.htm>>, n.d., retrieved 09/10/2005.

¹⁰⁸ Finds Research Group 700-1700, *Datasheets 1-24: A consolidated reprint of Datasheets issued by the Finds Research Group between 1985 and 1998* (Oxford 1999), n.p. T. Gregory and A. Rogerson, formerly employed with the Norfolk and Suffolk archaeological units respectively, also acknowledged the importance of metal-detectorists and actively collaborated with them.

¹⁰⁹ For example, see D. Williams, "Stirrup Terminals", *Datasheets 1-24*, n.p.; G. Thomas, "Late Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends 750-1100: Part 1", *Datasheet 32* (2003), pp. 1-8, *passim*; and *idem*, "Late Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends 750-1100: Part 2", *Datasheet 33* (2004), pp. 1-7, *passim*.

¹¹⁰ Examples include R. Whitehead, "Viking Metalwork in England Part 1: The Borre & Jellinge Styles", *Treasure Hunting Magazine* Feb. (1999), pp. 19-24, *passim*; and R. Whitehead, "Viking Metalwork in England Part 2: The Ringerike and Urnes Styles", *Treasure Hunting Magazine* May (1999), pp. 19-24, *passim*.

¹¹¹ Such articles are innumerable. An example is S. Margeson, "Viking Period Trefoil Brooches", *Norfolk Archaeology* 38.2 (1982), pp. 208-210, *passim*.

The foundation of the *PAS* in 1997 constitutes what is arguably the most significant contribution to the study of Late Saxon metalwork. This is a voluntary programme which now covers most of England and Wales; its mandate is to record the increasing numbers of small archaeological finds recovered by the general public and to raise awareness of the importance of such objects for understanding past cultures.¹¹² Information gathered by the *PAS* is uploaded to its online database, which has facilitated the study of Late Saxon metalwork like no other source; it permits typological, metallurgical and regional analyses of objects, and its applications for identifying centres of metalworking and patterns of distribution are considerable.¹¹³

The *PAS* also funds the posts of Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) at local museums or county councils. FLOs are professional archaeologists who interpret artifacts, assessing date, material and function; they are also responsible for uploading this information to the *PAS* database. Accuracy of entries is a growing concern of database-users. In many instances, information is missing from fields, even the most essential such as location (including Ordnance Survey grid reference numbers). Inclusion of photographs with each entry is not yet standard practice. Though the *PAS* is redressing these issues, frequent omissions (specifically find-

¹¹² "About the Portable Antiquities Scheme", n.d., retrieved 09/10/2005 from <<http://www.finds.org.uk/background/aboutus/php>>.

¹¹³ The *PAS* is primarily directed at metal-detectorists and encourages them to report their finds, although non-metallic objects are also covered by the scheme. Objects which legally constitute treasure in Britain (those fabricated from precious metals, prehistoric base-metal and finds in association with them) are subject to the *Treasure Act* of 1996 and must be reported to coroner. All other finds are not recognized as treasure and prior to the inception of the *PAS*, few were documented. All objects which are not recognized as "Treasure" in accordance with the *Treasure Act, 1996*, remain the property of the finder. See "The *Treasure Act* 1996: Code of Practice (Revised) England and Wales", n.d., retrieved 09/10/2005 from <http://www.finds.org.uk/documents/treasure_act.pdf>.

location and images) presently reduce the usefulness of the *PAS* for East Anglian research.

The study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork has thus followed a complex progression from the first documented excavations of Anglo-Saxon burials in the eighteenth century. Relying almost exclusively on evidence from elite, pagan contexts, early studies were object-centred and rarely addressed the cultural, economic and religious issues that had informed their deposition (Douglas's work is a notable exception). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the discoveries of objects of such distinctive style that they would later become the exemplars for decorative typologies. Interest in metalworking techniques characterized much scholarship in the early to mid-twentieth century, followed by intensive study and formulation of object-typologies. With the advent of inexpensive metal-detecting equipment in the 1960s, the corpus of Late Saxon metalwork increased exponentially, facilitating research. The growth of metal-detecting as a hobby in Britain ultimately determined foundation of the *PAS* in 1997, which has facilitated study of Late Saxon metalwork more than any excavation or publication. Though *PAS* data is sometimes incomplete, its datasets are now large enough for use in cultural and regional studies. Thus, expansion of the corpus of Late Saxon metalwork, coupled with the continuing strength of typological analysis, suggests that metalwork studies will be considerably influential in future examinations of Late Saxon England's socio-cultural environment.

2.B. Textual Sources

2.B.i. *Domesday Book*

The account of William the Conqueror's royal inquest, collectively known as *Domesday Book*, is a record of the disposition of wealth and power in England in 1086-1087. Its scope and detail have accorded it pre-eminent status among primary sources of England's early county and economic history.¹¹⁴ Attesting to the assiduousness with which the inquisitors carried out their investigation, *Domesday Book* retained considerable importance throughout the Middle Ages as a legal document;¹¹⁵ Richard Fitz Neal (Treasurer to Henry II), writing *ca* 1179, captures the sense of awe and reverence which *Domesday Book* elicited:

This book is metaphorically called by the native English, Domesday, i.e., the Day of Judgment. For as the sentence of that strict and terrible last account cannot be evaded by any subterfuge, so when this book is appealed to on those matters which it contains, its sentence cannot be quashed or set aside with impunity. That is why we have called the book 'the Book of Judgment', ... not because it contains decisions on various difficult points, but because its decisions, like those of the last Judgment, are unalterable.¹¹⁶

Early commentators on *Domesday Book*, such as Fitz Neal, are uncommon; the first *Domesday* "scholars" (those who make a concerted effort to understand and

¹¹⁴ The data compiled by the inquisition is arranged in two volumes, transcribed in Latin, known as "*Great Domesday*" and "*Little Domesday*" (now bound in two and three parts, respectively), housed in the Public Record Office, London. *Little Domesday* covers Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex; and its text, less abbreviated than that of *Great Domesday*, contains a wider range of information. *Great Domesday*, written in a truncated form, records thirty-one counties bounded by the English Channel and the River Tees. There are three other extant manuscripts which are closely associated with the *Domesday* inquisition: (1) *Liber Exoniensis* (a survey of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire); (2) *Inquisitio Eliensis* (a collection of holdings and taxation returns for the Abbey of Ely, drawing material from six counties); and (3) *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (probably a later copy of the *Domesday* returns for Cambridgeshire). It is assumed that the original transcription of these texts is roughly contemporary with *Domesday Book*. *Little Domesday* records numbers of ploughs and farm-labourers with greater regularity than does *Greater Domesday*. *Little Domesday* also records numbers of livestock, whereas *Great Domesday* does not. Martin has suggested that this additional information is an "undigested remnant" of an intermediate stage of the survey. See Martin, "Introduction", p. vii.

¹¹⁵ *Domesday*'s judicial use was primarily in the settlement of land-disputes, especially those concerning tenures and boundaries. See E. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries* (London, 1986), p. 37. *Demesne* cases, which concerned special privileges enjoyed by peasants on estates which could be shown to have been royal *demesne* of William the Conqueror and Edward the Confessor, also employed *Domesday Book* as evidence. See Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*, p. 175.

¹¹⁶ C. Johnson, ed., *Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis* (Oxford 1983), pp. 62-64; quoted in Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*, p. 32.

elucidate the text) appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these, Arthur Agarde and Sir Robert Brady were the most influential.¹¹⁷

With the advent of facsimile editions in the nineteenth century, *Domesday* studies increased in both number and scope.¹¹⁸ Consequently, the *naissance* of modern *Domesday* scholarship is usually associated with this period, especially post-1860. This era also witnessed the birth of many county journals, which further stimulated interest in the *Domesday* survey, facilitating J.H. Round's and F.W. Maitland's seminal research. Round's fundamental belief that *Domesday* was a geld-book influenced scholarship for over half a century; he first elucidated this hypothesis in 1886 and then developed it further in his monograph *Feudal England* (1895).¹¹⁹

Round's work as author and/or editor of many of the *Domesday* sections in the *VCH* volumes is his other notable contribution to *Domesday* scholarship.

¹¹⁷ From 1570-1615, Agarde was Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer and was for many years the custodian of *Domesday Book*. He studied the contents of *Domesday* extensively and developed a particular interest in the measurements and terminology it employed, sharing his research with contemporaries including Sir Henry Spelman and Sir Robert Cotton. Agarde's contributions to *Domesday* studies are extensive. Among his most notable are production of the first guide to *Domesday Book*'s contents and his transcription of numerous annotations on the survey's folios. In the later seventeenth century, Brady also studied *Domesday Book* in great detail and used it extensively in compiling his *Complete History of England*, published in 1685. Brady was arguably the first scholar to recognize and promote *Domesday*'s importance as a primary source for historical research. See D. Bates, "Domesday Book 1086-1986", *Domesday Book Studies*, Cambridgeshire *Domesday* 3, eds. A Williams and R. Erskine (Cambridge 1987), pp. 1-15, at 6. For a list of Agarde's published works, see appendices to R. Gale, *Registrum Honoris de Richmond, exhibens terrarum et villarum quae quondam fuerunt Edwini comitis infra Richmondshire descriptionem, ex Libro Domesday* (London, 1722). For a discussion of the works of Robert Brady, see D. Douglas, *English Scholars* (London, 1939), pp. 170-173.

¹¹⁸ *Domesday Book* proper, that is, the two volumes together, was first published in 1783 (edited by Abraham Farley). This revolutionized *Domesday* studies through its provision of a complete facsimile. Prior to this publication, access to *Domesday Book* was both difficult and costly. For example, in 1692, it cost 4s. 8d. to consult it and 4d. for transcription of a single line. Two further volumes, containing an introduction by Sir Henry Ellis, indices, and the texts of *Liber Exoniensis* and *Inquisitio Eliensis* (as well as two other surveys, *Boldon Book* and *Liber Winton*), were published in 1816. A photozincographic facsimile of *Domesday* was produced between 1861 and 1864 by the OS Office and translations were included in most volumes of the *Victoria County History of England* (*VCH*). See Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*, p. 62. For a discussion of the early publication history of *Domesday Book*, see M. Condon and E. Hallam, "Government printing of the Public Records in the eighteenth century", *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 7 (1984), pp. 373-383, *passim*.

¹¹⁹ J. Round, *Feudal England* ([London], 1895), pp. 3-146.

Between 1900 and 1908, Round wrote thirteen *VCH Domesday* introductions, one in collaboration with L.F. Salzman, and edited all the accompanying translations. He edited a further eleven sections prepared by others. Round worked in collaboration with other editors on the *VCH* volumes, notably Frank Stenton and James Tait, who were to make important contributions to *Domesday* studies themselves.¹²⁰

Maitland's work was also influential in the late nineteenth century. He sought to explain the origins of English society, characterizing it as an association of free peasants which was gradually subjugated by the systems of lordship and manorialism.¹²¹ In his study *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), Maitland concurs with Round that *Domesday* was primarily a geld book through his hypothesis that the manor was a unit of geld assessment.¹²² Maitland begins his study with thirteenth-century manorial records and works backwards through *Domesday Book*, to Anglo-Saxon laws and land-books. He discusses the concept of land-ownership in Anglo-Saxon England and how it functioned in practical terms.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Round's and Maitland's hypotheses about *Domesday Book* were challenged and expanded by numerous historians; and the feudal, legal and economic dimensions of the survey were discussed in greater detail. For example, soon after the publication of *Domesday Book and Beyond*, James Tait challenged Maitland's emphasis on the borough's military origin and his theory that the manor was a unit of geld-assessment.¹²³ Subsequent work also criticized Maitland's arguments for private jurisdiction in Anglo-Saxon society and a

¹²⁰ For the works of Stenton and Tait, see D. Bates, *Domesday Bibliography* ([London] 1986), "General Works".

¹²¹ Bates, "Domesday Book 1086-1986", p. 7.

¹²² F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* ([London] 1897), *passim*.

¹²³ J. Tait, No title, *English Historical Review* 12 (1897), pp. 768-777, *passim*.

universal hide of one hundred and twenty acres.¹²⁴ While *Domesday* scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century was largely critical of its Victorian antecedents, the general accuracy of such early investigation is now widely accepted by the scholarly community.¹²⁵

The publication of H.C. Darby's multi-volume *Domesday Geography of England* (1952-1977) was, arguably, the most influential contribution to *Domesday* scholarship since Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*. However, during the eighty-year interval separating Maitland's work and the completion of Darby's survey, numerous other researchers made significant and, in some instances, prolific contributions to *Domesday* scholarship.¹²⁶ One of the most contentious issues surrounding *Domesday Book*—namely, its origins—was also debated during this interval. Round's hypothesis about the "original returns" was largely accepted until 1942, when V.H. Galbraith refuted his theory in his influential article "The Making of *Domesday Book*". His thesis that *Great Domesday* represents the intended final stage of the survey and that *Little Domesday*, *Liber Exoniensis*, *Inquisitio Eliensis* and *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* represent its earlier stages was further

¹²⁴ See, for example, J. Tait, "Large Hides and Small Hides", *English Historical Review* 17 (1902), pp. 280-282, *passim*; H. Cam, "The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise", *Speculum* 32 (1957), pp. 427-442, *passim*; and T. Aston, "The Origins of the Manor in England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series 8 (1958), pp. 59-83, *passim* (reprinted with "a postscript" in T.H. Aston et al., eds., *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton* (Cambridge 1983), pp. 1-43).

¹²⁵ For example, the accuracy of early statistical inquiry has been demonstrated by computer-assisted research. See R. Abels, "Bookland and Fyrd Service in Late Saxon England", R. Brown, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies VI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984* (Woodbridge 1985), pp. 16-25, *passim*.

¹²⁶ For example, Mary Bateson, a student of Maitland's, and James Tait each undertook extensive research on boroughs; Frank Stenton studied the social and political history of the Danelaw and wrote what is widely considered the definitive text on Anglo-Saxon charters; and Reginald Lennard published many important articles which culminated in *Rural England* (1959). See M. Bateson, ed., *Borough Customs* 2 vols. (London 1904), *passim*; J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: studies on its origins and history* (Manchester 1936), *passim*; F. Stenton, *Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw* ([Oxford] 1969), *passim*; *idem*, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford 1955), *passim*; and R. Lennard, *Rural England, 1086-1135: a study of social and agrarian conditions* (1959; Oxford 1997), *passim*.

developed in his monograph of the same name, published in 1961.¹²⁷ Round also attempted to place *Domesday* in its administrative context, although his hypotheses were largely inconclusive.

Following completion of Darby's *Domesday Geography of England* in 1977, new areas of inquiry emerged in *Domesday* scholarship, including paleographic, facilitated by publication of the Alecto Historical Editions *Domesday* facsimile in 1986.¹²⁸ Michael Gullick, for example, associated the principal scribe of *Great Domesday* with other manuscripts.¹²⁹ Caroline and Frank Thorn undertook extensive study of *Domesday*'s erasures, insertions and marginalia; they also examined the folios' lining and thereby posited an order of composition.¹³⁰ And David Roffe undertook a paleographic assessment of the manuscript, proposing an order of composition first for Yorkshire and then for the remainder of *Great Domesday* by examining standard repeated phrases.¹³¹

In addition to its interest in paleography, contemporary *Domesday* scholarship is also characterized by a re-examination of legal evidence. The renewed interest in *Domesday Book*'s legal data began with Patrick Wormald, who associated

¹²⁷ V. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford 1961), *passim*.

¹²⁸ Other areas of *Domesday* research include the lay aristocracy, tenure, women, geography, population, towns, the church and local history. The Alecto facsimile of *Great Domesday* is an edited version of the *VCH* translation (textual inconsistencies have been mitigated through the standardization of names and the removal of antiquated words). The facsimile of *Little Domesday* employs a new translation commissioned especially for the Alecto project. The resultant editions replicate the layout of the original manuscript's folios and include editorial devices which inform readers of idiosyncrasies. For example, a "[...]" indicates a gap in the manuscript text. See "A Note on the Text", *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, eds. A. Williams and G. Martin (1992; London 2002), p. ix, at ix.

¹²⁹ M. Gullick, "The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts", *Domesday Book: Studies*, eds. A. Williams and R. Erskine, pp. 93-112, especially p. 102b.

¹³⁰ C. Thorn, "Marginal Notes and Signs in Domesday Book", *Domesday Book: Studies*, eds. Williams and Erskine, pp. 113-135, *passim*.

¹³¹ D. Roffe, "Domesday Book and Northern Society", *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), pp. 310-336, *passim*; *idem*, "The making of Domesday Book reconsidered", *The Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), pp. 153-156, *passim*.

the manuscript with the Norman *pancarte*.¹³² He demonstrated that *Domesday* records numerous disputes, both resolved and unresolved.¹³³ C.P. Lewis published an important study of the *Domesday* jurors; and Robin Fleming collated all the manuscript's legal evidence with ancillary information both pre- and post-dating 1066-1086,¹³⁴ arguing persuasively that "*Domesday Book* can and should be read as a legal record".¹³⁵

While paleographic and legal study of *Domesday* has flourished since the publication of the Alecto facsimile, other forms of inquiry have lessened in both scope and frequency. Following the poorly-received work of John McDonald and G.D. Snooks, economic study of *Domesday Book* has decreased substantially.¹³⁶ Financial interpretation of King William's motives has also weakened, as has the belief that *Domesday* was a geld-book.¹³⁷ Emerging from this shift in the subjects of *Domesday* scholarship is a seemingly overt interest in methodology. J.C. Holt has observed that contemporary *Domesday* scholarship can be arranged in roughly three groups based on approach: (1) scholars who adopt traditional forms of investigation, akin to those employed by early researchers such as Stenton and Galbraith; (2) those who are concerned with new techniques (for example, electronic or paleographic);

¹³² J. Holt, "Domesday Studies 2000", *Domesday Book*, eds. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud 2001), pp. 19-24, at 20.

¹³³ P. Wormald, "Domesday Lawsuits: a provisional list and preliminary comments", *England in the Eleventh Century*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2, ed. Carola Hicks (Stamford 1992), pp. 61-102, *passim*.

¹³⁴ C. Lewis, "Domesday Jurors", *The Haskins Society Journal* 5 (1993), pp. 17-44, *passim*; R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge 1998), *passim*.

¹³⁵ Fleming, *Domesday and the Law*, p. 5.

¹³⁶ Poorly-conceived and -interpreted statistical analysis is the principal criticism of McDonald and Snook's work. See J. McDonald and G. Snooks, *The Domesday Economy* (Oxford 1986), pp. 209-227.

¹³⁷ With reference to *Domesday*'s function as a geld-book, Holt succinctly states, "[It] is now a comfort rather than a conviction". Holt, "Domesday Studies 2000", p. 20.

and (3) those who employ these and other modes of inquiry in the construction of new interpretations.¹³⁸

The historiography of *Domesday* studies is thus lengthy and complex. Spanning some nine centuries, *Domesday* commentary and scholarship has evolved from what can be most appropriately termed “reverence” in the twelfth century to that which employs a plurality of methods and exhibits interest in many interconnected subjects. Like the historiography of Insular sculpture, the history of *Domesday* research in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterized by metanarratives. Scholarship became progressively focused throughout the mid- to late twentieth century, informing the case-studies which characterize most contemporary research. Coupled with such “micro-studies” is a profound interest in methodology, also similar to contemporary sculptural research. Though *Domesday Book* preserves unparalleled economic, legal, social, religious and onomastic evidence of Late Saxon England (and is, therefore, invaluable to the study of contemporary settlement, land-tenure and ecclesiastical patronage), scholars have hitherto minimized the text’s weaknesses. Like the *PAS*, *Domesday Book* often exhibits inconsistencies and omissions. For example, two East Anglian villages where Late Saxon sculpture is documented, Beachamwell (Nf; Norwich Castle Museum) and Stretham (C) are not recorded in *Domesday*, despite the likelihood that wealth was concentrated there (as evidenced by the sculptures themselves).¹³⁹ While some pre-Conquest land-holders are named (“Aki” at Ixworth, Sf, for example),

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* Category 1 is represented by A. Williams’ “Little Domesday and the English: the hundred of Colneis in Suffolk”; category 2 by J. Palmer’s “Great Domesday on CD-ROM”; and category 3 by S. Baxter’s “The representation of lordship and land tenure in Domesday Book”. See A. Williams, “Little Domesday and the English: the hundred of Colneis in Suffolk”, *Domesday Book*, eds. Hallam and Bates, pp. 103-120, *passim*; J. Palmer, “Great Domesday on CD-ROM”, *Domesday Book*, eds. Hallam and Bates, pp. 141-150, *passim*; and S. Baxter, “The representation of lordship and land tenure in Domesday Book”, *Domesday Book*, eds. Hallam and Bates, pp. 73-102, *passim*.

¹³⁹ See Appendix 1, pp. 317-319, 396-397; pls. 4-7, 134.

most are unrecorded, as are church-forms (“minster”, “lesser minster” or “*feldcyrican*”, see below, p. 64) and dedications. Such omissions may be attributable to the inquisitors’ oversight or to clerical and/or editorial errors at later stages of transcription. Nonetheless, such omissions demonstrate that *Domesday* is not exhaustive and that its record of land-tenure and lordship in eleventh-century England should be scrutinized.

2.B.ii. *Liber Eliensis*

Unlike *Domesday Book*, *Liber Eliensis*, or *Historia Eliensis*, has not been a subject of lengthy academic inquiry. Though the chronicle survives in two complete manuscripts (“E” and “F”)¹⁴⁰ and was edited, in part, by D.J. Stewart in 1848,¹⁴¹ an inclusive Latin edition was only published in 1962, followed by an English translation in 2005.¹⁴² Thus, unlike many pre-Conquest chronicles and related texts, *Liber Eliensis* has not been subjected to systematic interrogation, either as a literary artifact or as an historical document.

Liber Eliensis is a cartulary-chronicle, spanning the seventh to twelfth centuries, probably compiled post-1173.¹⁴³ In monastic contexts, cartularies are usually interpreted as charter-*précis*, comprising collated texts rather than integrated

¹⁴⁰ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS.O.2.1 (Gale), twelfth century; and Ely, Dean and Chapter, MS. (*Liber Eliensis*), thirteenth century. Other manuscripts preserve fragments of *Liber Eliensis* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud. Misc. 647 (“O”); British Library, London, MS Cotton, Vespasian A xix (“A”, *LE* iii and *Libellus Æthelwoldi*); British Library, London MS Cotton, Domitian A xv (“B”, *LE* i and ii, *Chronicon*, *Book of Miracles*); British Library, London, MS Cotton, Titus A i (“G”, *LE* ii and Cartulary); Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.41 (“C”, Cartulary and *Libellus Æthelwoldi*); British Library, London, MS Cotton, Tiberius A vi (“D”, Cartulary); Cambridge University Library: Ely Diocesan Registry, Liber M (“M”, Cartulary).

¹⁴¹ D. Stewart, ed., *Liber Eliensis ad fidem codicorum variorum* (London 1848).

¹⁴² E. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Society, third series 92 (London 1962); J. Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth* (Woodbridge 2005).

¹⁴³ Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis*, p. xxii.

histories.¹⁴⁴ They describe the foundation and endowment of religious houses, utilizing both charter-transcription and edited material from vernacular documents.¹⁴⁵ Despite such extensive and diverse evidence, however, the compiler of *Liber Eliensis* questions its authority, disclaiming any aspiration to be a “*bonus hystoriographus*” (“good historiographer”) or a “*philosophus*” (“philosopher”).¹⁴⁶

Fairweather observes that many vernacular texts informed *Liber Eliensis*, including commemorations of Ely’s abbesses, abbots, bishops and benefactors; land-transactions; title-deeds; wills; legal proceedings; inventories; episcopal edicts; miracle stories; and historical narratives.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, she notes that some texts referenced by the compiler (*vitae* for example) did not originate in Ely.¹⁴⁸ This is demonstrated by the account of St Æthelthryth, seemingly preserving local traditions of the saint’s life associated with Coldingham, Durham and north Lincolnshire; by charters which relate to Ely but were formulated beyond its boundaries, recording dispensations by both secular and ecclesiastical elites; and by a document relating to Ely preserved in the archives of Bury St Edmunds.¹⁴⁹ Such diversity suggests that *Liber Eliensis* is potentially invaluable to elucidating the human landscape of Late Saxon East Anglia, despite the compiler’s self-deprecation.

Though the accuracy of any medieval text is qualified by historic and contemporary transcriptions, translations and editions, *Liber Eliensis*’ unique record of Ely and its hinterlands throughout the Anglo-Saxon period elevates its importance in East Anglian research. For example, the text identifies many of the sites at or from

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

¹⁴⁶ *Liber Eliensis*, I, “prologue” (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 1 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, I, “prologue” (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 1-2 (translation).

¹⁴⁷ Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis*, p. xv.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

which Late Saxon sculpture is preserved in the region as dependencies of Ely.¹⁵⁰ This apparent association perhaps explains consistencies both in monument form and style throughout Norfolk, Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire. Persons, dates and events mentioned in *Liber Eliensis*, for example, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth and the Battle of Maldon, are recorded in other sources (in this instance, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). Therefore, such corroborative evidence, both material and textual, perhaps suggests that *Liber Eliensis* is generally reliable as a primary source for East Anglia's Late Saxon human landscape,¹⁵¹ though like *Domesday Book*, it is unlikely that the text is definitive.

2.B.iii. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

Few Anglo-Saxon texts have been subjected to greater interrogation than those collectively termed the "*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*". These annals of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, including events pre- and post-dating the Anglo-Saxon period, survive as nine manuscripts (either complete or fragmentary),¹⁵² the earliest of which, the *Winchester Chronicle*, is apparently dated no later than 892 based on marginalia.¹⁵³ It is assumed that the annals were written at Winchester during the reign of Alfred (871-899); Keynes and Lapidge posit that their composition and subsequent dissemination may have been effected by renewed Danish incursions in southern and

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, *Liber Eliensis*, II.84.

¹⁵¹ Other examples include the wills of Byrhtnoth and Ælflæd. See, for example, *Liber Eliensis*, II.62 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 134-135; and D. Whitelock, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge studies in English legal history (Cambridge 1930), no. 15, pp. 38-43.

¹⁵² *Parker or Winchester Chronicle* ("A"), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173; *Abingdon Chronicle I* ("B"), British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A vi; *Abingdon Chronicle II* ("C"), British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B i; *Worcester Chronicle* ("D"), British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B iv; *Laud or Peterborough Chronicle* ("E"), Bodleian Library, MS Laud 636; *Bilingual Canterbury Epitome* ("F"), British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A viii; copy of the *Winchester Chronicle* ("G", "A2" or "W"), British Library, Cotton MS Otho B xi, 2; *Cottonian Fragment* ("H"), British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A ix; and *Easter Table Chronicle* ("I"), British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A xv.

¹⁵³ M. Swanton, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1996; London 2003), p. xxi; S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (1984; New York 2004), p. 55.

eastern England *ca* 892-893.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the *Chronicle* may have functioned as a form of propaganda and/or cultural preservation in the wake of invasion and annexation.

Each copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* probably derives from a common exemplar; however, Swanton has demonstrated that the manuscripts have complex, interrelated associations, including apparent regional influences, which transcend shared inheritance.¹⁵⁵ The *Peterborough* or *Laud Chronicle* ("E"), for example, is seemingly informed by the same sources as the *Worcester Chronicle* ("D"), including Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and eighth-century Northumbrian annals.¹⁵⁶ It is hypothesized, however, that the *Peterborough Chronicle*'s immediate exemplar was a Kentish manuscript (copied from a Canterbury edition), utilized in retranscription following a fire at *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) *ca* 1116.¹⁵⁷

Owing to its association with *Medeshamstede* (a possible centre of sculptural production in East Anglia), the *Peterborough Chronicle* is, potentially, an important source for the region's Late Saxon history. While this text includes detailed references to the monastery and the tenth-century Benedictine Reform not found in other versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, specifically an unusually detailed foundation story of *Medeshamstede* and a summary of Æthelwold's programme of monastic refoundation in southern and eastern England, Stenton argues that these passages are probably attributable to the twelfth century and have "no authority for the pre-Danish period".¹⁵⁸ They are possibly associated with *Medeshamstede*'s apparent significance in England's post-Conquest ecclesiastical system, evidenced

¹⁵⁴ Keynes and Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great*, p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ See Swanton, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xxi-xxviii.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ F. Stenton, "Medeshamstede and Its Colonies", *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, eds., J. Edwards, V. Galbraith and E. Jacob (Manchester 1933), pp. 313-326, at 325.

by the wealth expended on the monastery's reconstruction post-1116.¹⁵⁹ Thus, like the other textual sources that inform the study of East Anglia's Late Saxon human landscape, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, particularly manuscript "E", preserves information relevant to East Anglia but is not exhaustive. Furthermore, considering the temporal distance separating their transcription(s) and the events they purportedly describe and the various motivations that may have effected and/or directed their transcription(s), the texts most pertinent to East Anglia's Late Saxon history should only be employed as contextualizing sources; in instances where corroborating evidence exists, textual accounts may assume greater authority.

2.C. Secondary Scholarship

2.C.i. Place-Name Studies

Unlike the "Minster Debate" which has been guided by specific theoretical assumptions, including the meaning(s) and usage(s) of the terms "*mynster*" and "*monasterium*" in the Anglo-Saxon period and the functions attributed to churches deriving from those assumptions (see below, pp. 62-63), the study of England's place-names has not developed, in any substantive way, from a similar theoretical foundation. At best, place-names scholars are guided by what might be termed "statements of principle", explicating methodology.¹⁶⁰ In general, such statements acknowledge that the study of English place-names is a philological discipline relying, principally, on written evidence. This consists of the earliest spellings of names, ranging in date from Antique texts referencing Britain to nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps. Where possible, archaic spellings are associated with contemporary place-names, and the evolution of individual spellings is presented

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

¹⁶⁰ M. Townend, personal communication, 16/05/05.

chronologically, illustrating the development of spoken sound. The philologist studies this evolution, thereby forming hypotheses about the name's original form and meaning.¹⁶¹

The first substantive contribution to England's onomasticon, deducing etymologies from early spellings in accordance with recognized philological processes, was Skeat's *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (1901), followed by volumes addressing Hertfordshire (1904), Huntingdonshire (1898-1903), Bedfordshire (1906), Berkshire (1911) and Suffolk (1913).¹⁶² Other scholars contributing county surveys in this early period include Mawer (*The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, 1920) and Ekwall (*The Place-Names of Lancashire*, 1922).¹⁶³ Recognizing this flourish of scholarly activity in the early twentieth century, Wilson delivered a seminal paper to the British Academy in 1922 entitled, "English Place-Name Study" in which he made an impassioned plea for a national place-names survey.¹⁶⁴ This paper is remarkably influential in the history of English onomastic study, as it generated financial support from the British Academy for a national place-names survey, precipitating the foundation of the English Place-Name Society in 1923.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ M. Gelling, "Introduction to the First Edition", *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (1978; Chichester 1997), n.p.

¹⁶² W. Skeat, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 36 (1901); *idem*, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (Hertford 1904); *idem*, "The Place-Names of Huntingdonshire," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 10 (1898-1903), pp. 317-360; *idem*, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire*, publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 42 (1906); *idem*, *The Place-Names of Berkshire* (Oxford 1911) and *idem*, *The Place-Names of Suffolk*, publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 46 (1913).

¹⁶³ A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge 1920); E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (1922; Wakefield 1972). For an early examination of the historical value of onomastic evidence, see *idem*, *Scandinavians and Celts in the Northwest of England* (Lund 1918), *passim*.

¹⁶⁴ D. Wilson, "English Place-Name Study" (unpublished conference paper 1922), referenced in A. Armstrong, "Some Notes on the History of the English Place-Name Society", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 25 (1992-1993), pp. 1-8, at 1.

¹⁶⁵ Since the Society's foundation, seventy-seven volumes of the national onomasticon have been completed, representing thirty-four counties. Each volume contains an explanation of the meaning and

Though the publications of the English Place-Name Society are generally held in high regard by the academic community, some debate the usefulness of place-names research, especially for the period of Scandinavian colonization in England (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century). Though textual accounts of this settlement are sparse, the evidence which place-names studies has generated for historical research has been sharply criticized by some academics, despite the relative paucity of evidence other than material culture. Hadley, for example, has characterized the use of place-names evidence in this context as “tired” and “unsophisticated”,¹⁶⁶ whereas Wainwright proclaimed with great confidence in 1962 that “without archaeology and place-names, ... the significance of the Scandinavian impact on the British Isles would scarcely be comprehended at all”.¹⁶⁷ While scholars hope that place-names research can help elucidate Scandinavian settlement in England, including the size and date of migrations, agreement on the use and value of onomastic evidence is elusive.

Though the study of Scandinavian settlement in England is characterized, primarily, by supposition rather than demonstrable fact, Cameron’s pioneering research on Scandinavian place-names in the region of the Five Boroughs established a theoretical framework for settlement-chronology which continues to influence

origins of the county’s place-names, augmented by their linguistic, historical, ethnic, geographical and archaeological significance. The *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, established in 1969, plays an equally important role in onomastic study. The *Journal* is a forum for current research, often featuring case-studies of specific parishes, regions, words or word-elements. A third forum for English onomastic research, also established by the English Place-Name Society, is the computerized database of material contained in the county surveys. This project, begun in 1992, has evolved into the *Key to English Place-Names*, an online, map-based resource under development in the University of Nottingham’s Institute for Name-Studies. When complete, this project will facilitate pre-Conquest settlement research considerably. See English Place-Name Society, “Our Purpose”, 2001, retrieved 06/04/05 from <<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/research/EPNS/purpose.htm>>; and Institute for Name-Studies, “Key to English Place-Names”, n.d., retrieved 06/04/05 from <<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/epntest/keytoepn.html>>.

¹⁶⁶ D. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c 800-1100* (London 2000), pp. 329-330, 21-22.

¹⁶⁷ F. Wainwright, *Archaeology and Place-Names and History: An Essay on Problems of Co-ordination* (London 1962), p. 3.

settlement scholarship.¹⁶⁸ Between 1965 and 1971, Cameron published a series of three studies examining the Scandinavian onomastic evidence of the northeast Midlands, in which he proposes three stages of settlement. His first stage is characterized by what is termed the “Grimston-hybrid”, a place-name in which the first element is a Scandinavian personal name and the second is Old English “*tun*”, meaning “farmstead” or “village” (examples include “Ubbeston” (Sf), incorporating the name “*Ubbi*” or “*Úlfr*” and “Thuxton” (Nf), preserving the name “*Purstān*”).¹⁶⁹ Cameron contends that the Grimston-hybrids derive from the initial period of Scandinavian settlement and represent seizures of English villages.¹⁷⁰ His second settlement stage is illustrated by place-names ending in Old Norse “-*by*”, also meaning “farmstead” or “village” and also frequently incorporating a Scandinavian personal name (examples include “Barnby” (Sf), preserving the name “*Biarni*”, and “Oby” (Nf), incorporating the name “*Auði*” or “*Óthi*”).¹⁷¹ He associates “-*by*” names with the arrival of new Scandinavian immigrants in the late ninth and early tenth centuries.¹⁷² Cameron’s third settlement phase is characterized by the presence of “-*thorp*” place-names which, like the Grimston-hybrids and those ending in “-*by*”,

¹⁶⁸ K. Cameron, “Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence”, 1965, *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements: Eight Studies Collected by Kenneth Cameron*, ed. K. Cameron ([Nottingham 1977], pp. 115-137, *passim*; *idem*, “Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence, Part II: Place-Names in Thorp”, 1970, *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion*, ed. K. Cameron, pp. 139-155, *passim*; and *idem*, “Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence, Part III: The Grimston-Hybrids”, 1971, *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion*, ed. K. Cameron, pp. 157-171, *passim*. Other scholars had addressed this material before Cameron, notably Stenton; however, Cameron’s studies are considered the seminal works. See F. Stenton, “The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: the Danish Settlement of Eastern England”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series 24 (1942), pp 1-24, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Cameron, “Place-Name Evidence, Part III: The Grimston-Hybrids”, pp. 157, 160. While Scandinavian place-names in England often feature a personal name as their initial element, other nouns, including places and things, are also employed. For example, Cameron translates “Ferriby” (L) as “the village near the ferry” and “Sutterby” (L) as “the village of shoemakers”. Cameron, “Place-Name Evidence”, p. 118. For a discussion of the etymology of “*Ubbi*,” see Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, p. 433.

¹⁷⁰ Cameron, “Place-Name Evidence, Part III: The Grimston-Hybrids”, p. 170.

¹⁷¹ Cameron, “Place-Name Evidence”, pp. 116, 118-119. For a discussion of the etymology of “*Auði*,” see Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

often feature a Scandinavian personal name as the initial element. Cameron concurs with Ekwall that Old Norse “-thorp” is a secondary, dependent settlement, more accurately translated as “farm” than as “village” (examples include “Akethorpe” (Sf), preserving the name “*Āki*” and “Bagthorpe” (Nf), incorporating the name “*Bakki*” or “*Bak*”).¹⁷³ He attributes “-thorp” place-names to a “later stratum of name-giving ... when a greater integration had taken place between Dane and English”, perhaps *ca* late tenth to eleventh century.¹⁷⁴

While Cameron’s three stages of Scandinavian settlement have influenced many scholars of England’s Viking Age, others have criticized his use and interpretation of onomastic evidence. Though Sawyer’s contention that the Viking armies were small seemingly supports Cameron’s calculation of 472 Scandinavian-derived place-names in the vicinity of the Five Boroughs,¹⁷⁵ he disagrees with his proposed phases of settlement. Sawyer concurs with Cameron’s chronological progression from Grimston-Hybrids to “-by”-names, though he contends settlement occurred in two discreet phases: 876-880 and 896.¹⁷⁶ He argues that “-by”-names mark an early, specifically Scandinavian, settlement-expansion, which he characterizes as the beginning of “internal colonization” in England.¹⁷⁷ In 1982, Sawyer theorized that Scandinavian name-production reached its zenith in the early tenth century, a product of a series of military defeats.¹⁷⁸ Sawyer is also critical of

¹⁷³ Cameron, “Place-Name Evidence, Part II: Place-Names in Thorp”, pp. 139, 141; E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford 1960), p. 468. For a discussion of the etymology of “*Bakki*”, see Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁷⁴ Cameron, “The Place-Name Evidence, Part II: Place-Names in Thorp”, p. 143.

¹⁷⁵ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 167-168; Cameron, “Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence”, p. 119; *idem*, “The Place-Name Evidence, Part II: Place-Names in Thorp”, p. 140; *idem*, “The Place-Name Evidence, Part III: The Grimston-Hybrids”, p. 158.

¹⁷⁶ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 166-167. In 1982, Sawyer added a third settlement phase involving the Hiberno-Norse seizure of York, pre-920. See P. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe A.D. 700-1100* (London 1982), p. 102.

¹⁷⁷ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 174-175.

¹⁷⁸ Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 102-107.

Cameron's association of "settlement" with the emergence of Scandinavian place-names, as he says:

It ... appears that areas recovered from the Scandinavians early in the tenth century, or retained by English landowners, have fewer Scandinavian place names than most parts of the Danelaw. This suggests that the Scandinavian names reflect the fragmentation of estates rather than settlement, and that this process of fragmentation did not begin until some time after the ninth-century conquests.¹⁷⁹

Fellows-Jensen concurs with Sawyer's hypothesis that Scandinavian-derived place-names in England reached their greatest florescence in the tenth century, and both argue that "-by"-names inclusive of personal names or personal name elements are especially indicative of tenth-century date; however, Cameron has posited that "-by"-names combined with other noun elements might be earlier, characterizing them as the "the earliest identifiable names indicative of Scandinavian colonization in the strict sense".¹⁸⁰ Hadley has also challenged the settlement phases theorized by Cameron. She contends the proliferation of Scandinavian place-names is a product of Anglo-Scandinavian cultural assimilation in the tenth and eleventh centuries,¹⁸¹ and she suggests that contemporary naming-processes actually reflect fashion rather than language practices. She argues that Scandinavian names were also popular among the English during this period. Therefore, she concludes that place-names carry little importance in settlement-scholarship, arguing that they are "the product of the conscious and unconscious decisions made by the inhabitants of the ... Danelaw".¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁸⁰ Cameron, "The Place-Name Evidence Part III, The Grimston-Hybrids", pp. 170-171.

¹⁸¹ D. Hadley, "'And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves': the Scandinavian settlement of England", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19 (1997), pp. 69-96, at 75; *idem*, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 17-22, 329-335; *idem*, "'Cockle amongst the wheat', pp. 122-128; *idem*, "In search of the Vikings: the problems and the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches", J. Graham-Campbell, *et al.*, eds., *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Oxford 2001), pp. 13-30, at 13-14; and *idem*, "Viking and native: re-thinking identity in the Danelaw", *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), pp. 45-70, at 56-62.

¹⁸² Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 334; *idem*, "Viking and native", pp. 56-57; Sawyer also alludes to "fashion" in naming-processes. See P. Sawyer, "The density of the Danish settlement in England", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 6 (1957-1958), pp. 1-17, at 10-14.

Thus, the historiography of Scandinavian place-names studies in England is characterized by considerable disagreement. Scholars have struggled with compilation and interpretation of the onomastic corpus. Some have approached England's onomasticon with preconceptions of the Scandinavian settlement. For example, if, as Sawyer contends, the numbers of Scandinavian settlers were few, how might the country's many Scandinavian place-names be explained? One theory proposed is the settlers' status. It has been argued that a "politically and socially dominant elite ... will influence naming practices to such an extent that the effect will be disproportionate, and quantities will therefore mislead".¹⁸³ It would be equally reasonable to assume that the proliferation of Scandinavian place-names in England is suggestive of a large colonial-population. Few scholars have approached onomastic evidence objectively; judicious use of this corpus necessitates acknowledgement of all vestiges of Scandinavian words in the human landscape (for example, those denoting natural features—"lundr" ("grove"), "fors" ("waterfall") and "hulm" (a small island or land surrounded by marsh)¹⁸⁴ rather than standard reliance on the Grimston-Hybrids and "-by"- and "-thorp"-names.¹⁸⁵ Such thorough and objective use of place-names evidence will help elucidate England's Scandinavian settlement.

Owing to their unparalleled scope, all English onomastic studies employ publications of the English Place-Name Society; fortuitously for East Anglian

¹⁸³ L. Abrams and D. Parsons, "Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England", *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement at Cardiff, July 2001*, eds. J. Hines, A. Lane and M. Redknapp (Leeds 2004), pp. 379-432, at 385.

¹⁸⁴ Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 216; K. Cameron, *English Place-Names* (1961; London 1969), p. 79. With reference to the Scandinavian spelling of "hulm", Cameron states: "hulm(e) is in fact found in the early spellings of many more names which are now holme. In Middle English u and o both tended to be represented by o, due to Anglo-Norman influence, so that it is impossible to decide which was the original vowel, though the general history of the Scandinavian settlements in England would suggest that in many cases it was in fact u, i.e. hulm". Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 79.

¹⁸⁵ This methodology is demonstrated in K. Sandred, "Scandinavian Place-Names and Appellatives in Norfolk: A Study of the Medieval Field-Names of Flichtam", *Namn Och Bygd* 67 (1979), pp. 98-122, *passim*.

research, the onomastic corpora of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire have been published as either volumes in the English Place-Name Society's national survey, or as independent studies pre-dating the Society's formation.¹⁸⁶ Though the resultant inventories of East Anglia's place-names suggest that the region's Danish settlement was generally sparse, scholars must acknowledge that human landscapes, including the terms used to denote settlements within them, are not static; they are palimpsests. Absence of culturally-specific names within a given landscape is not definitive evidence of sparse settlement by a particular language-group. It can also suggest regional failure of that group's legacy or "imprint" over time.¹⁸⁷

2.C.ii. *The "Minster Debate"*

As the extant corpus of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture is primarily associated with funerary contexts,¹⁸⁸ the region's ecclesiastical organization offers possible insights concerning the evolution and transmission of monument forms and decoration; the significance of context in proclamations of identity; and, potentially, the diffusion of workable stone from quarries in border areas, such as those in the Barnack region of northeast Cambridgeshire. Consequently, the historiography of ecclesiastical organization, especially the contentious "minster debate", both informs and enriches discussions of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture.

¹⁸⁶ K. Sandred and B. Lindström, *The Place-Names of Norfolk*, 3 pts. (Nottingham 1989, 1996, 2002); W. Skeat, *The Place-Names of Suffolk*, Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 46 (Cambridge 1913); and P.H. Reaney, *The Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Survey of English Place-Names 19 (Cambridge 1943).

¹⁸⁷ Failure of a language-group to imprint itself on a landscape in the form of place-name-survival can be attributable to numerous factors, including deliberate eradication by an in-coming group or the degree of cultural-assertion by the new-comers.

¹⁸⁸ Possible exceptions are the dedication stone at Little Wratting (Sf); the monumental crosses at Great Ashfield, Kedington (both Sf) and Peterborough Cathedral (C); and the figural sculptures at Cambridge (St Benet's; C), Framsdon, Ipswich, Wickhambrook and Wordwell (all Sf). See Appendix 1, pp. 351-352, 339-340, 351, 385-387, 359-360, 338-339, 347-349, 355-356; pls. 68-69, 39-44, 66-67, 120-123, 78-82, 38, 54-60, 72-76.

England's medieval parish churches have been the subject of concerted academic inquiry since the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁹ Throughout this period, discourse on parish churches was primarily descriptive, recording church furnishings and establishing chronologies of architectural style.¹⁹⁰ This pattern of investigation continued, with some notable exceptions, until the 1980s, when scholars initiated a lengthy exploration of the social history of the parish church and its role in settlement geography.¹⁹¹ This new emphasis in parish church studies stimulated interest in the functions of minsters throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. This interest has evolved into a debate concerning the proliferation and significance of minster foundations.¹⁹² While the participants in this dialogue hold divergent opinions regarding the number and importance of minster churches in Anglo-Saxon England, they do concur, ostensibly, about the functions of minsters and their attributes, both architectural and topographical.

Issues concerning the proliferation of minster churches and their significance, together with evidence from the Late Saxon period which may influence traditional understanding of their functions, inform what is termed the

¹⁸⁹ In this context, "parish churches" also refer to minsters. Though the parochialization of England post-dates the minster era, many, if not most, minsters were reused as parish churches. Most nineteenth-century scholarship discusses minsters in this latter incarnation.

¹⁹⁰ Several factors influenced the methodology of nineteenth-century architectural studies: (1) the birth of architectural history as a discipline; (2) establishment of an architectural vocabulary for the Gothic Revival; and (3) establishment of a philosophy and protocols for the preservation of old buildings. For a discussion of the factors influencing nineteenth-century architectural scholarship, see R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London 1989), pp. 2-3.

¹⁹¹ For example, see C. Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England* (London 1981), *passim*; and Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, *passim*. Works by earlier scholars displaying an interest in the social history of the parish church include W. Page, "Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey", *Archaeologia* 14 (1915), pp. 61-102, *passim*; D. Gifford, "The Parish in Domesday Book", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U. of London, 1952); and Lennard, *Rural England*.

¹⁹² Regarding Blair's theory of minster churches, Cambridge and Rollason argue that "minster" churches are likely a Late Saxon phenomenon. However, they do acknowledge that earlier monastic churches (what they term "mother churches") may have existed on the sites of such Late Saxon foundations. Careful reading of their argument reveals that the evangelical function of such "mother churches" is not refuted. Furthermore, the functions they ascribe to Late Saxon minsters are generally compatible with those identified in other scholarship. Thus, there is ostensible agreement concerning the functions of Anglo-Saxon minsters. See E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, "Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'", *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), pp. 87-104, *passim*.

“Minster Debate”, evolving, principally, from the theories of John Blair, Eric Cambridge and David Rollason. Essentially, this debate is a response to the extensive research on English minsters undertaken by Blair, culminating in what is understood as his “Minster Hypothesis”. Blair’s hypothesis is based on what he characterizes as a two-stage development of the Anglo-Saxon church. In the pre-Viking period, Blair postulates that virtually all churches other than subordinate ones, such as *feldcyrican* (“field churches”) or chapels, were served by communities of clergy, providing pastoral care for the laity in their often substantial *parochiae*. In the post-Viking period, Blair theorizes that the *parochiae* attached to these churches or “minsters” were fragmented as private manorial churches (“lesser minsters”) were founded within them, as new churches were founded by the episcopal hierarchy and as the boundaries of large agrarian estates were reconfigured. Thus, the parochial system emerged, though minsters retained vestigial traces of their earlier status and territories.¹⁹³

Of central importance to the “Minster Debate” are the meaning(s) and usage(s) of the terms “*mynster*” and “*monasterium*” in the Anglo-Saxon period. The term “minster” is the modern variant of the Old English “*mynster*”. In vernacular Old English, “*mynster*” and the Latin “*monasterium*” (“monastery”) are synonymous.¹⁹⁴ However, contemporary understanding of “monastery” as a community of monks following a monastic rule, removed from parochial affairs and devoted to worship, contemplation and learning is somewhat removed from its connotation in Anglo-

¹⁹³ J. Blair and R. Sharpe, “Introduction”, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester 1992), pp. 1-10, esp. pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ J. Bosworth and T. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, D.D., F.R.S., Edited and Enlarged by T. Northcote Toller* (Oxford 1898), updated University of Kentucky, Department of English, n.d., retrieved 20/05/05 from <<http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/BT/bosworth.htm>>. For a discussion of the relationship between the terms “*mynster*” and “*monasterium*”, see S. Foot, “Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology”, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe, pp. 212-225, *passim*.

Saxon England.¹⁹⁵ In Anglo-Saxon usage, “*mynster*”/“*monasterium*” refers to houses of priests as well as of monks, reflecting a range of functions which were in some sense “monastic”.¹⁹⁶ Based on textual evidence, this usage is demonstrable at various stages in the Anglo-Saxon period. For example, in Ceolfrid’s eighth-century letter to Nechtan, Wearmouth and Jarrow are termed “*monasteria*”.¹⁹⁷ During the reign of Athelstan (925-939), when there were few monasteries conforming to contemporary interpretation of the term (see above), the king could still command that “every Friday at every minster all the servants of God are to sing fifty psalms for the king”,¹⁹⁸ and though a distinction was made in the tenth century between “true” monasteries and the numerous minster churches, no corresponding change in terminology evolved. In fact, in the eleventh century, both “*monasterium*” and “*mynster*” could still denote any kind of religious establishment with a church.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the nature of “minsters” is somewhat ambiguous. In the sense that they house religious communities, they resemble monastic foundations; however, their active association with the laity distinguishes them from such ordered communities.

It is generally thought that throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, the provision of pastoral care was ultimately the responsibility of bishops. Religious communities depended on bishops for their spiritual well-being as did the laity; in turn, they could extend the ministry by preaching and/or teaching.²⁰⁰ However, the formal elements of pastoral care, including provision of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist,

¹⁹⁵ J. Blair, “Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church”, *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford 1988), pp. 1-20, at 1. See also J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford 2005), pp. 1-7, at 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Bede, *HE*, V.21 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 532-533.

¹⁹⁸ For a summary of the evidence, see Whitelock, *et al.*, eds., *Councils [and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church]*, I, p. 54. In this context, “minsters” and “servants of God” likely refer to churches and priests respectively.

¹⁹⁹ Blair, “Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church”, p. 1.

²⁰⁰ Blair and Sharpe, “Introduction”, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, p. 1. In areas of more concentrated settlement, pastoral care was provided by the cathedral—if one existed. Minsters provided such care in the absence of cathedrals, primarily in areas with diffuse population.

necessitated priests and deacons working both among the laity and among religious not in orders.²⁰¹ The administration of this ministry gradually evolved into a system of pastoral organization with minster churches as its nucleus.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period, Blair characterizes minsters as mission centres, their primary function being evangelical. Priests would travel to surrounding villages, preaching to the un- or only recently-converted.²⁰² An understanding of the kinds of churches which existed in this early period (and whether they were organized in a clearly-defined hierarchy) is somewhat unclear. By the early eleventh century, however, canon law identified four categories of churches according to the penalties prescribed for violation of their rights of sanctuary: (1) cathedrals or “head minsters”; (2) “*medemra mynster*” (those churches which had functioned as mission centres); (3) village churches or “lesser minsters” (largely of private ownership); and (4) field churches (“*feldcyrican*”) or chapels, lacking burial grounds.²⁰³

Though this system formed under episcopal jurisdiction, Blair contends it was rapidly secularized by the influence of wealthy land-holders. Many eighth-century minsters had been founded by kings and endowed from early “*regiones*” or “*tuns*”, their *parochiae* coterminous with the wards’ boundaries.²⁰⁴ Following Scandinavian settlement *ca* late ninth to tenth century, new systems of land-tenure and local government coalesced, forming a territorial aristocracy which assumed

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Bede records how St Cuthbert undertook such preaching: “*Nec solum ipsi monasterio regularis uitae monita simul et exempla praebebat, sed et uulgus circumpositum longe lateque a uita stultae consuetudinis ad caelestium gaudiorum conuertere curabat amorem*”./ “Not only did he teach those in the monastery how to live under the Rule and show them an example of it at the same time, but he also sought to convert the neighbouring people far and wide from a life of foolish customs to a love of heavenly joys”. Bede, *HE*, IV.27 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 432-433.

²⁰³ J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1962), p. 321. Traditionally, possession of burial ground signified a church’s superior status. A cemetery’s importance was both financial and jurisdictional: a “soul-scot” or burial fee accompanied the corpse, and the recognition of the church’s status was implied by receipt of this payment and by the burial itself. The wealthy paid a higher soul-scot than the poor, and it was probably social convention that those of status were buried at a minster. The prerogative of burial was gradually extended to privately-owned churches (“lesser minsters”). Blair, “Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church”, p. 13.

²⁰⁴ Blair, “Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church”, p. 2.

leadership, if not *de facto* control, of the minster system. This was achieved through the proliferation of private churches throughout minster *parochiae*, usurping many of the rights and revenues of the minster system and bestowing considerable prestige upon their founders. In the tenth century, for example, King Athelstan might elevate a *ceorl* to the rank of *thegn* if he had amassed an estate of four hides and a church,²⁰⁵ while in an eleventh-century text entitled *Of Peoples Ranks and Law*, ownership of a church is listed as a condition for promotion.²⁰⁶ In addition to its elevation of one's status, ownership of a church also generated many tangible benefits. Not only did the owner and his heirs retain the right to appoint the foundation's priest, but they acquired an interest in their church's offerings and tithes, though this interest was disputed by bishops and minster-clergy.²⁰⁷ In essence, such "lesser minsters" or manorial churches were both essential to the status of an Anglo-Scandinavian *thegn* and part of his capital worth, as were his estate, his hall and his weaponry.²⁰⁸

In addition to the functions of minster churches throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, there is scholarly consensus concerning the buildings' architectural and topographical attributes. Though the design of minster foundations in the early Anglo-Saxon period is somewhat speculative, scholars assume that most followed a cellular plan and were of stone construction, incorporating a nave and a chancel (whether apsidal or square).²⁰⁹ Lateral chapels or "*portici*" and narthexes may also have been characteristic of such churches.²¹⁰ Based on extant evidence, some

²⁰⁵ J. Godfrey, *The English Parish 600-1300* (London 1969), p. 44.

²⁰⁶ Quoted in G. Addleshaw, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-1099)*, St Anthony's Hall Publications 6 (1954), p. 13.

²⁰⁷ Platt, *Parish Churches of Medieval England*, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ See H. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (1965, 1978; Cambridge 1980), I, pp. 13-14. For another useful account of the design of early Anglo-Saxon churches, including minsters, see M. Kerr and N. Kerr, "Form and Function", *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Aylesbury, 1983), pp. 11-29, esp. p. 14.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* For example, excavation at the site of the Old Minster at Winchester (where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that King Cenwalh erected a church in 648) has revealed that the earliest phase of

basilican minsters were roughly contemporaneous with cellular models. Examples of such early basilicas include Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Hexham (all Nb) and Brixworth (Nh; earliest construction phases *ca* late seventh century).²¹¹ It is possible that minsters did not exist in isolation; they may have been part of complexes, including other churches and outbuildings, such as dormitories and workshops, sometimes contained within a curvilinear enclosure.²¹² These complexes might incorporate reused Roman buildings, stone and/or Iron Age hillforts.²¹³ It is probable the cellular and basilican minsters coexisted for some time; and based on surviving examples and excavation, this coexistence is demonstrable as late as the ninth century, evidenced by Britford (W), the south *porticus* and nave of Bishopstone (Sx) and the basilica discovered at Cirencester (Gl).²¹⁴ Throughout much of the tenth and eleventh centuries (perhaps beginning in the late ninth), minster architecture evolved considerably. On the eve of the Norman Conquest, the typical minster church was essentially cruciform in design, incorporating a tall aisleless nave, north and south *porticus*, functioning as a “transept”, a central tower and a rectangular chancel.²¹⁵

construction (presumably a church) consisted of a nave, square chancel and what were probably two square *porticus*. See M. Biddle and R. Quirk, “Excavations near Winchester Cathedral”, *Archaeological Journal* 119 (1962), pp. 150-194, *passim*.

²¹¹ See Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, pp. 338-349, 432-446, 110, 307. See also E. Cambridge and A. Williams, “Hexham Abbey: A review of recent work and its implications”, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fifth series 23 (1995), pp. 51-138, *passim*, for a more recent account of the early basilican church.

²¹² Outbuildings are not extant, and their sites have rarely been excavated. Examples of minsters with associated outbuildings and curvilinear enclosures include Hanbury in the West Midlands and Tetbury (Gl). J. Blair, “Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review”, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds. Blair and Sharpe (Leicester 1992), pp. 226-266, at 229, 258.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-264. Reuse of Roman material or construction within a Roman town or fort is exemplified by the church at Reculver (K) and St Martin’s, Brampton (Cl). The church at Eccleston (Ch) was constructed within an Iron Age hillfort.

²¹⁴ Illustrated in Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, pp. 106, 72; figs. 48, 32; For an illustration and a brief discussion of the Cirencester basilica, see R. Gem, “Church Architecture”, *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600-900*, eds. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London 1991), pp. 185-188, at 187; fig. 17. Like Wilfrid’s churches at Hexham and Ripon, the Cirencester example included a crypt.

²¹⁵ J. Blair, “Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book”, *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (London 1985), pp. 104-142, at 121 following C. Radford, “Pre-Conquest Minster Churches”, *Archaeological Journal* 130 (1973), pp. 120-140, *passim*. All of the principal Norman minster

There is also evidence of Norman three-cell minsters with central towers but without transepts and those which comprise a west tower, a nave and an eastern chancel.²¹⁶ However, whether such designs are indicative of earlier minster architecture in England is unclear.

While scholars assume that most Anglo-Saxon minsters were of stone construction, literary accounts, coupled with archaeological evidence, confirm the existence of timber churches, some of elite status and patronage. For example, Bede records that Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne constructed a wooden church on the island, *ca* mid-seventh century, with a thatched roof “suitable for an episcopal see” (“*Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam*”).²¹⁷ He notes that Bishop Eadberht, Finan’s successor, “removed the thatch and covered both roof and walls with sheets of lead” (“*Sed et episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct ablata harundine plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curavit*”).²¹⁸ Bede also mentions the church of St Peter the Apostle at York which King Edwin of Northumbria “had hastily built of wood” for his baptism by Archbishop Paulinus in 627 (“*quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum cathecizaretur atque ad percipiendum baptismum inbueretur, citato opere construxit*”).²¹⁹ Owing to the building’s resultant political and religious significance as the site of the Northumbrian dynasty’s adoption of Christianity, Bede records that “[King Edwin] set about building a greater and more magnificent church of stone ... in the midst of which the chapel which he had first built was to be enclosed” (“*Mox autem ut*

churches in England are cruciform with a central tower. It is probable that many minster-towers predating 1066 were heightened during the Norman period.

²¹⁶ C. Bond, “Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire”, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, ed. Blair, pp. 119-158, at 138-141.

²¹⁷ Bede, *HE*, III.25 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 294-295.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* Cook suggests that lead was used for roofing “greater churches” for centuries before the Conquest. See G. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London 1956), p. 246.

²¹⁹ Bede, *HE*, II.14 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 186-187.

baptisma consecutus est, curavit docente eodem Paulino maiorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cuius medio ipsum quod prius fecerat oratorium includeretur").²²⁰ Together with these early accounts of elite timber churches, possibly functioning as minsters, is Abbo of Fleury's reference to the tenth-century wooden church at Bury (Sf), constructed to house the relics of St Edmund, and Hermann, Archdeacon of St Edmund's, eleventh-century statement that this church was served by a community of secular priests (see below, p. 117). This literary evidence of wooden churches is corroborated, archaeologically, at Greensted (Ex; *ca* tenth-twelfth century). Based on excavation, Greensted was originally a modest church of cellular plan, incorporating a rectangular nave and a square chancel;²²¹ its extant timber nave is the only example of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical architecture in wood. A timber church is also documented at Potterne (W; *ca* tenth-eleventh century),²²² and tenth-century finds at Wharram Percy (YN) have revealed fragmentary evidence of timber churches which were replaced by stone architecture sometime later in the Anglo-Saxon period.²²³ Such literary and archaeological evidence suggests that stone architecture is not a reliable criterion for attribution of minster status. Wood was certainly the principal medium in the Anglo-Saxon period for secular architecture; it was also utilized for ecclesiastical buildings (probably to a greater degree in the early period).²²⁴ Elite wooden churches existed in Anglo-Saxon England, and based on their extant descriptions, likely functioned as minsters. While some authors have imposed a theory of evolution from wooden to stone church, governed by available resources, as both a logical and desired process

²²⁰ *Ibid.*; this project was completed by Edwin's successor, Oswald.

²²¹ Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I, pp. 262-264.

²²² *Ibid.*, II, p. 734.

²²³ See M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (1990; New Haven 1991), pp. 57-58.

²²⁴ See M. Kerr and N. Kerr, "Wooden buildings", *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Aylesbury 1983), pp. 57-63, *passim*.

in the Anglo-Saxon period,²²⁵ this negates wealthy foundations, Lindisfarne for example, whose choice of wood as an architectural medium was seemingly deliberate. Thus, Anglo-Saxon minsters were likely of both stone and wooden construction, and the factors informing choice of architectural medium were probably of greater complexity than economics and resource-availability.

In addition to the Anglo-Saxon minster's characteristic architectural forms, scholars agree that specific topographic evidence is indicative of such foundations. Aside from a few *wics*, the settlement geography of seventh- to eighth-century Anglo-Saxon England is not characterized by the presence of towns; thus, no seventh-century minster could be "urban" in the later medieval sense.²²⁶ As discussed above, such churches served as bases from which pastoral care was extended over an often large and diffusely-populated area. Minsters were therefore constructed in prominent localities that facilitated communication with the laity.²²⁷ During the Late Saxon period, minsters often occupied the best agricultural land, promoting interaction with the largely agrarian population (especially in East Anglia) and probably functioning as societal nuclei, representing both secular and religious authority. As Blair astutely observes, sites characteristic of English minsters "can be defined, very simply, as prominent but not remote".²²⁸

A central criticism of Blair's characterization of the early Anglo-Saxon church is lexical, relating, specifically, to his contention that "minster" is the only term that can appropriately describe pre-Viking religious foundations.²²⁹ Cambridge and Rollason have demonstrated that other, non-monastic, churches existed in this

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, for example.

²²⁶ Blair, "Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review", p. 227.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Blair, "Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church", p. 1.

early period.²³⁰ For example, they note the church at York intended as Paulinus's cathedral and his church at *Campodunum*, both identified as "*basilicae*" by Bede,²³¹ and a further reference in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to "*oratorium uillulae*" ("oratory in the village", possibly a small or private oratory) in the story of Drycthelm's vision.²³² Such evidence is suggestive of a greater variety of churches in the early Anglo-Saxon period than Blair's "Minster Hypothesis" allows.

A second supposition upon which Blair's promotion of the term "minster" is founded—that churches served by a single priest were either rare or non-existent in the pre-Viking era—is discounted by Cambridge and Rollason.²³³ However, they

²³⁰ They also note that the churches of some religious communities are not termed "*monasterium*", suggesting that the word may have had a greater subtlety of meaning than Blair permits. For example, Christ Church, Canterbury, is described by Bede as an "*ecclesia*" with a "*habitatio*": "*At Augustinus, ubi in regia ciuitate sedem episcopalem, ut praediximus, accepit, recuperauit in ea, regio fultus adminiculo, ecclesiam quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine sancti Saluatoris Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi sacrauit, atque ibidem sibi habitationem statuit et cunctis successoribus suis*".¹⁶ After Augustine had, as we said before, received his episcopal see in the royal city, he with the help of the king restored a church in it, which, as he was informed, had been built in ancient times by the hands of Roman believers. He dedicated it in the name of the holy Saviour, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ; and there he established a dwelling for himself and all his successors". Bede, *HE*, I.33 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 114-115. Though "*ecclesia*" could refer to the church itself rather than the community it housed, it is distinguished from the "*monasterium*" of SS Peter and Paul at Canterbury, which Bede records Augustine founded "in addition": "*Fecit autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem, in quo eius hortatu Aedilberct ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ...*".¹⁷ He also founded a monastery not far from the city, to the east, in which Æthelberht, encouraged by him, built from its foundations the church of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul". Bede, *HE*, I.33 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 114-113. See also Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 89.

²³¹ Bede, *HE*, II.14 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 186-189. Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 89. Like "*ecclesia*", it is possible that "*basilica*" refers to a building rather than an institution. This is supported by the dedication stone at Jarrow. See J. Higgitt, "The dedication inscription at Jarrow and its context", *Antiquaries Journal* 59 (1979), pp. 343-374, at 343-344, 349. See also Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 90.

²³² "*Statimque surgens abiit ad uillulae oratorium, et usque ad diem in oratione persistens ...*"¹⁸ "He rose and went to the oratory in the village and continued in prayer until daylight came". Bede, *HE*, V.12 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 488-489. Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 90. Richard Morris has suggested that "*oratorium*" may have been employed by Bede as a descriptor for baptismal churches. An association between "*oratoria*" and baptism suggests that such churches may have been closely aligned with episcopal administration and, thus, of higher status than once thought. See R. Morris, "Baptismal places 600-800", *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, eds. I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge 1991), pp. 15-24, *passim* and Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 90.

²³³ Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", pp. 90-91.

acknowledge and demonstrate that there is little evidence to support their suggestion that such foundations played a significant role in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The sole example they offer in support of their hypothesis is the seventh-century *Penitential of Theodore*, specifically, its stipulation that a priest must remain to discharge pastoral duties when a *monasterium* relocates.²³⁴ Ironically, this source adds greater credence to Blair's theory of the pastoral role of *monasteria*. While the *Penitential of Theodore* does suggest that a single priest could constitute a church's staff, significant, diverse evidence (as discussed above) supports Blair's contention that most early Anglo-Saxon churches housed clerical communities.

The *Penitential of Theodore* also seemingly refutes a second fundamental criticism of Blair's "Minster Hypothesis": that provision of pastoral care was under episcopal jurisdiction in the Anglo-Saxon period. Bede's eighth-century letter to Egbert in which pastoral care is explicitly associated with bishops is often cited in support of this interpretation.²³⁵ So, too, are Ælfric's letters (tenth- to eleventh-century) in which he reiterates that only bishops can ordain priests, confirm children, consecrate churches and supply sacramental oils.²³⁶ While it seems likely that pastoral provision was officially managed by diocesan hierarchies, it is equally probable that bishops were far removed, perhaps even uninvolved, with its delivery in outlying *parochiae*.

Building on their criticisms of Blair's "Minster Hypothesis" and emphasizing the strength and centralizing-tendencies of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, especially in the later period, Cambridge and Rollason advance an alternative interpretation of

²³⁴ Paraphrased in *ibid.*, p. 91. See also A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils [and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland]*, 3 vols. (London 1869-1871), III, p. 195.

²³⁵ Paraphrased in Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 92. See also Bede, *OH* (Plummer, ed., 1896), I, pp. 405-423.

²³⁶ Paraphrased in Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church", p. 92. See also Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, eds., *Councils [and Synods ...]*, I, p. 205.

minster churches, one which characterizes such foundations as Late Saxon phenomena.²³⁷ Relying heavily on the evidence of law-codes, the authors present a hierarchy of churches in which dependence is demonstrated through the payment of tithes. In support of their contention, Cambridge and Rollason paraphrase II Edgar (the *Ordinance on Tithe*, ca 959-962) clauses 1-2.2, which describes a tri-level system of subdiocesan churches: (1) “*eald mynstru*” (corresponding to Blair’s pre-Viking “minsters”); (2) “*cyrican*” with cemeteries on *thegns*’ bookland (Blair’s “lesser minsters”) and (3) “*cyrican*” without cemeteries (presumably also on *thegns*’ bookland, representing Blair’s “*feldcyrican*”).²³⁸ Of particular importance to Cambridge and Rollason’s minster theory are specific connotations deriving from “*eald*”. They stress that “*eald*” (“old”) “*mynstru*” were not necessarily of pre-Viking origin. For example, foundations from the reign of Athelstan (925-939) may have been considered “*eald*” in Edgar’s time. Furthermore, “*eald*” may have been suggestive of wisdom in addition to temporality. Ælfric remarked of the “*eald-wita*” among clergy, “*eald sy on wisdom*” (“he is old in wisdom”), suggestive of “great” or “eminent” rather than old.²³⁹ Thus, Cambridge and Rollason conclude:

It is possible that II Edgar represents not an ancient system in decay as the proponents of the ‘Minster Hypothesis’ believe, but rather a system of mother churches, probably imposed by royal authority and as such not necessarily of pre-Viking origin.²⁴⁰

In summary, the essential question provoking the “Minster Debate”—whether such foundations were pre- or post-Viking phenomena—is exceedingly

²³⁷ Cambridge and Rollason, “Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church”, pp. 99-104. Palliser would disagree. With reference to the later medieval parochial arrangements at Beverley and Ripon, Palliser has demonstrated that these were likely influenced by earlier minster churches. See D. Palliser, “Review article: The ‘minster hypothesis’: a case study”, *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996), pp. 207-214, *passim*.

²³⁸ [Paraphrased in] *ibid.*, p. 99. See also F. Liebermann, ed., [*Die*] *Gesetze [der Anglesachsen]*, 3 vols. (Halle 1898-1916), I, p. 196.

²³⁹ Quoted in Cambridge and Rollason, “Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church”, pp. 99-100. See also Whitelock, *et al.*, eds., *Councils [and Synods with other documents relating to the English church]*, I, p. 204.

²⁴⁰ Cambridge and Rollason, “Debate: The Pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church”, p. 100.

difficult. As has been demonstrated by evidence advanced by the leading participants in this dialogue, either explanation is somewhat supportable by lexical and literary references. At this stage, the “Minster Debate” would be reinvigorated by a series of regional case studies which, ideally, would reserve the theories espoused by Blair, Cambridge and Rollason and examine evidence, lexical, literary and archaeological, afresh. Assessing how “minsters” functioned through time in specific areas will contribute to an understanding of the evolution of their pastoral role; furthermore, such studies might demonstrate regional differences, which may be suggested by the contradictory evidence employed by Blair, Cambridge and Rollason. The “Minster Debate” also requires a thorough assessment of material culture. Sequences of ecclesiastical architecture have been contributed to the discussion, but memorial sculpture’s potential significance is considerable. For example, sites where there is evidence of both Middle and Late Saxon sculpture, including Peterborough Cathedral and Barnack, St John the Baptist (both C) could suggest continuity of ecclesiastical use from early period to late,²⁴¹ it could also imply continuation of stoneworking and/or the survival of networks of trade in either stone or finished monuments. Such evidence would enrich the current debate on the date and function of minsters, illuminate the social history of early churches, *parochiae* and their inter-related systems of secular authority and likely support Blair’s contention that minster churches are not a Late Saxon phenomenon.

2.D. Conclusion

The evidence, methodologies and theories informing the study of East Anglia’s Late Saxon sculpture are characterized by omissions, inconsistencies and traditions of

²⁴¹ However, such use could indicate removal and reuse of earlier stones from other sites.

data-gathering and interpretation that may not be applicable to this corpus. Pre-Conquest sculptural and onomastic research has evolved from “metanarratives” to regional and case-studies, often emphasizing the cultural and political implications of artistic patronage and naming traditions, while the collection of Late Saxon metalwork developed outside academia, and its study has only recently engaged with socio-political interpretation. The means through which this diverse evidence is now accessible, including both digital and print formats, is reliant on data’s presumed accuracy, including historical transcription. However, the assumed “neutrality” of this evidence has been negated by scholars who have either implicitly or explicitly theorized data. Thus, the comparative and corroborative evidence for East Anglia’s Late Saxon sculptural production require careful consideration. Generally, such data can only inform discussions of the environments (both physical and cultural) in which stone monuments were produced; their evidence of carving and quarrying practices is limited. However, as will be discussed in the succeeding chapter, some textual accounts are suggestive of sculptural centres.

As East Anglia’s Late Saxon sculpture has been the subject of selective typological assessments by Fox and Plunkett (with further discussion by Everson and Stocker), this study will emphasize the monuments’ socio-political context(s), building on Plunkett’s interpretations of the Suffolk material.²⁴² By contextualizing the carvings as apparent expressions of cultural association and lordship, and by comparing them with contemporaneous metalwork, it will be demonstrated that stone sculpture played an active role in the promotion and affirmation of elite identity and that proclamation of that identity was seemingly mutable and context-dependent. Specific texts, including *Liber Eliensis* and *Domesday Book*, record that monastic

²⁴² Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, *passim*; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS vol. 5: Lincolnshire*, pp. 46-50; and Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture”, pp. 343-357.

and ecclesiastical elites amassed large land-holdings in the region; thus, expressions of elite identity in tenorial contexts employed the medium (stone) and iconography of the Church. Such evidence and methodology will contribute to elucidating the southern Danelaw's complex landscape in which stone monuments conveyed messages of authority, status and belief.

Chapter 3

The Physical and Human Landscape of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia

3.A. Physical Landscape

3.A.i. *Introduction*

Norfolk, Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire form a well-defined geographic unit in eastern England, demarcated by the Wash in the northwest, the River Stour in the south, fen and marshland to the west and the North Sea to the east.¹ This region is part of England's lowland zone, shaped by glaciation and comprised of sedimentary rock.² Despite evidence of specialized farming communities of *ca* eighth- to eleventh-century date in the English highlands (the Peak District, the Pennines, Exmoor and Bodmin Moor), England's plains supported larger populations throughout the post-Roman and early medieval periods.³ From the ninth to eleventh centuries, evidence suggests that the human landscape of one such plain, East Anglia, was generally predicated on earlier settlement and agricultural patterns, influenced by the region's unique topography and soil conditions.⁴

3.A.ii. *Topography and Pedology* (see below, fig. 1, p. 79).

¹ For the purposes of this thesis, East Anglia is restricted to the modern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Britain's Geological Survey defines East Anglia more broadly, including Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and south Lincolnshire in its confines. *Cf.*, C. Chatwin, *British Regional Geology: East Anglia and Adjoining Areas*, 4th ed. (London 1961), p. 1. Owing to the topographical distinctiveness and unique material expressions of cultural identity, this thesis treats East Anglia as a discrete unit, often employing the term "province" as a descriptor.

² Most of East Anglia is below 300-ft contour. For an account of East Anglia's sedimentary deposits, see Chatwin, *British Regional Geology*, pp. 1-77.

³ England's highlands have been interpreted as marginal areas, presenting difficulties of transport and communication. See, for example, A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape* (1999; Stroud 2002), p. 19.

⁴ Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 65-110; see also D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London; Washington, 1998), pp. 105-138.

East Anglia is characterized by its flatness, consisting of plains, fens and reclaimed marshes, though low hills distinguish parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. The region can be divided into three latitudinal zones, each of approximately equal size, comprising (from west to east): fen and marsh with large deposits of clay to the southwest;⁵ chalk (porous limestone); and loose gravel with stretches of sand to the south (sometimes termed the “Broads”).⁶ This landscape’s heterogeneity is determined by geology. Chalk deposits form the region’s underlying strata; and through glaciation and seismic drift, these strata have tilted to the south and east, forming a narrow western escarpment that reaches 65 m above mean sea level (AMSL) at Hunstanton (Nf).⁷ As the chalk slopes down to the southeast, it reaches a depth of approximately 180 m below AMSL at Great Yarmouth (Nf).⁸

Within this topography, eight distinct geological zones are identifiable. (1) “Fenland” of two types (silt-fen or marshland to the north and peat-fen to the southwest, extending into Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Suffolk) lies to the west of the western escarpment. (2) The “Good Sands”, where sandy soil overlies chalk, are in northwestern Norfolk, abutting the escarpment. To the south, straddling the Norfolk/Suffolk border, is (3) the “Breckland”, a drought-prone area whose infertile soil is composed of acidic glacial sand. In northwestern Suffolk, south of the “Breckland”, is (4) the “Fielding”, where glacial sand of moderate acidity also

⁵ An important deposit of oolitic limestone stretches northwest from the city of Bedford for approximately ten miles. Oolitic limestone is a sedimentary rock composed largely of mineral calcite. Marine organisms are the primary source of such calcite, and their remnants are usually visible in strata. Some of East Anglia’s extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon sculpture (especially that which survives in Cambridgeshire) exhibits shelly inclusions. See Chatwin, *British Regional Geology*, p. 9.

⁶ Chatwin, *British Regional Geology*, pp. 1-5.

⁷ Median sea level in the U.K. is determined at Newlyn, Cornwall (though East Anglia’s coastlines are roughly 80 cm lower than the Cornish coasts). See National Tidal and Sea Level Facility, retrieved 05/09/06 from <<http://pol.ac.uk/ntslf/>>. See also T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c. 650-1200*, *Anglo-Saxon Studies* 5 (Woodbridge 2004), p. 12.

⁸ Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*, p. 13.

overlies chalk.⁹ East of these zones are (5) the “Claylands” (once heavily-forested), arcing from north-central Norfolk through southwestern Suffolk and extending into Essex and Hertfordshire. The soil in this region is distinguished by its degree of water retention, facilitating variable cultivation.¹⁰ Bisecting this zone is what has been termed Norfolk’s “central watershed”, limiting communication with the county’s woodland and wood-pasture.¹¹ (6) “Northeast Norfolk” is characterized by fertile loam and deep valleys which transitions into (7) the “Broadland” marsh, previously a large estuary containing numerous islands. This zone can be divided into two distinct areas: marshland near Halvergate and Breydon Water (both Nf) and various river valleys preserving large tracts of undrained fen and reed beds. To the south of the “Broadland” are (8) the “Sandlings”, characterized by sandy soil, though heathland did exist near Woodbridge and Saxmundham (both Sf) until the mid-twentieth century.¹² Together, these eight geological zones form a diverse, but mostly arable landscape, parts of which have been cultivated since the second millennium B.C.¹³ However, with the notable exception of flint, East Anglia’s surface or “drift” geology preserves no workable stone (see below, fig. 2, p. 80); sculptural traditions seemingly employed oolitic limestone from the Barnack region of Cambridgeshire. Similar deposits near Bedford may also have been exploited.

⁹ The name is derived from the region’s open fields which were enclosed in the mid-twentieth century. See N. Scarfe, *The Suffolk Landscape* (London 1972), p. 27.

¹⁰ Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*, p. 15.

¹¹ T. Williamson, *The Origins of Norfolk* (Manchester 1993), p. 19. The “central watershed” continues into Suffolk, though it is less distinct. In Suffolk, an arc of clayland divides the county latitudinally, approximating the traditional east/west divide.

¹² Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*, pp. 13-15.

¹³ I. Moore, J. Plouviez and S. West, *The Archaeology of Roman Suffolk* (Ipswich 1988), p. 9.

Fig. 1. East Anglia and Adjoining Areas (©Chatwin, 1961).

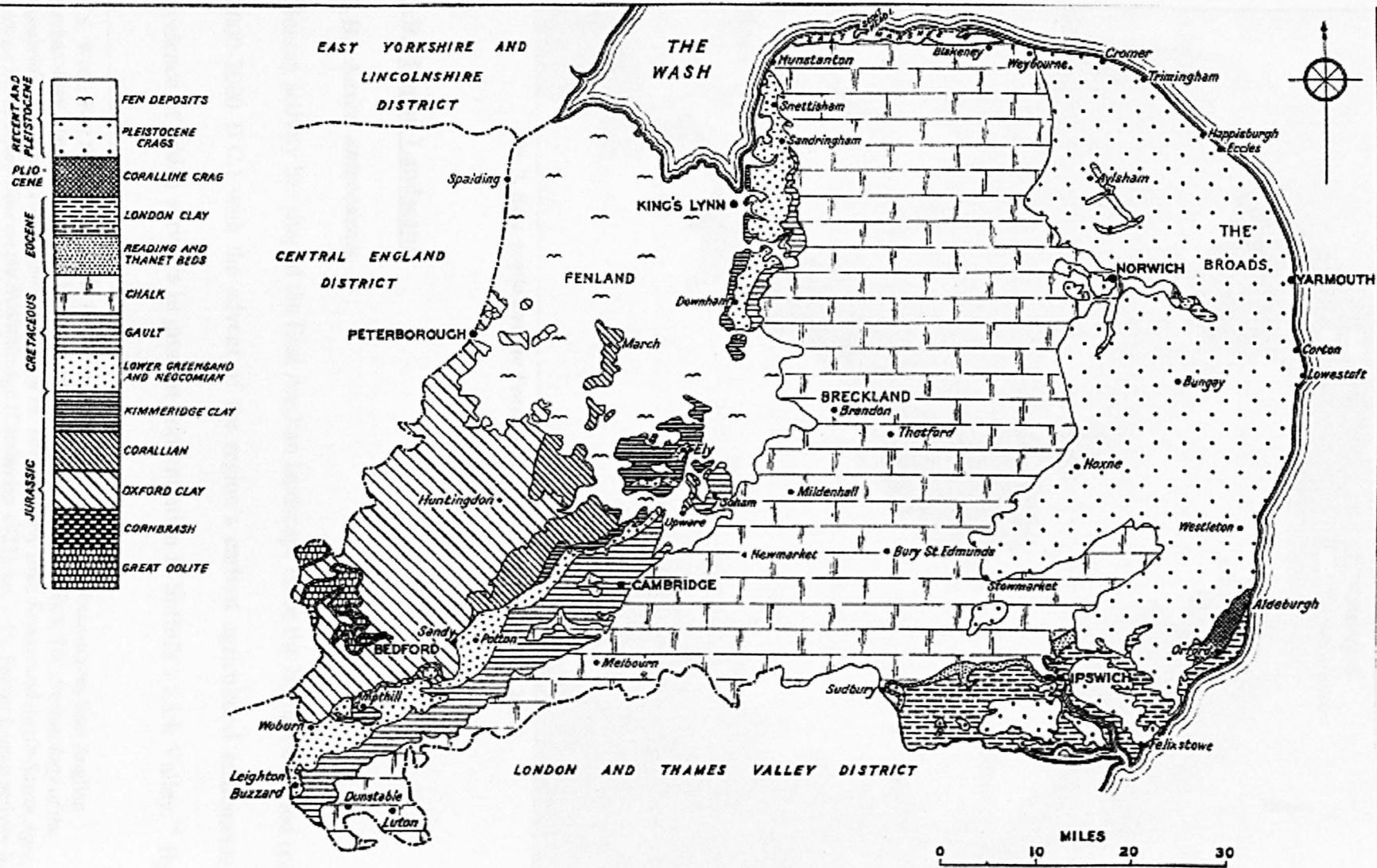




Fig. 2. *East Anglia and the Fens: Drift Geology* (©Williamson, 2006).

3.B. Human Landscape

3.B.i. *Saxon antecedents*

Human activity has shaped the East Anglian landscape since the Neolithic Period (*ca* 4000-2000 B.C.) with the advent of the region's earliest agricultural settlements, evidence of which survives in greatest concentration in Suffolk's Lark Valley.¹⁴ By

¹⁴ S. West, *West Stow, Suffolk: The Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupations*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 48 (Bury St Edmunds 1990), p. 106. See also C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region: A Topographical Study of the Bronze, Early Iron, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Ages, with an Introductory Note on the Neolithic Age* (Cambridge 1923), pp. 1-14. Earlier human activity in East Anglia is well-documented, though such evidence is illustrative of Hunter-Gather societies. For example, see West, *West Stow, Suffolk*, p. 5.

the fifth century B.C., such agricultural activity had intensified;¹⁵ communities expanded in both size and number, and light soils and river valleys retained their privileged status in the settlement-hierarchy. Sites including Swaffam (Nf), Eriswell (Sf) and Saffron Walden (Ex) also demonstrate that pottery and metalworking industries were well-developed in East Anglia and its environs during this period¹⁶ (activities that continued through the tenth century), facilitating reconstruction of the agrarian societies of the *Iceni* and *Trinovantes*, among others,¹⁷ though evidence of contemporary settlements is slight.¹⁸

With the advent of Roman governance following Claudius' annexation of Britain in A.D. 43, the foundation of new urban centres was promoted as the chief instrument in the *provincia*'s Romanization (see below, fig. 3, p. 82). Once aristocratic British families adopted Roman customs, urban centres tended to develop on or near their traditional seats of power. These centres, such as *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor St Edmund, Nf), the "Market of the *Iceni*", and *Camulodunum* (Colchester, Ex) functioned as Roman-supported tribal capitals.¹⁹

¹⁵ For discussions of the intervening periods see, for example: B. Green, *Grimes Graves* (1984; London 1990), *passim*; R. Clarke, *Grime's Graves, Norfolk* (London 1963), *passim*; R. Mercer, *Grimes Graves, Norfolk: excavations 1971-1972, etc.*, Department of the Environment Archaeological Reports 11 (London 1981), *passim*; J. Clutton-Brock, *et al.*, *Excavations at Grimes Graves, Norfolk 1972-1976*, 5 vols. (London 1984-1996), *passim*; and S. West and K. Wade, "The Origin and Development of the Kingdom of East Anglia Project", *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*, ed. M. Carver (Woodbridge 1993), pp. 18-20, at 19.

¹⁶ See Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, pp. 47-49; J. Newman, "East Anglia Kingdom Survey—Interim Report on the South East Suffolk Pilot Field Survey", *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*, ed. Carver, pp. 10-12, at 10; and S. Bassett, *Saffron Walden: excavations and research, 1972/80*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 45 (London 1982), *passim*.

¹⁷ See, for example, C. Haselgrove, *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England: the archaeological context*, BAR, British series 174 (Oxford 1987), *passim*; B.W. Cunliffe, *Iron Age sites in central southern England*, CBA Research Report 16 (London 1976), *passim*; and Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, *passim*, esp. pp. 104-109.

¹⁸ Communities at Trumpington and Grantchester (both C) have been identified, together with some elite, fortified settlements, including Cherry Hinton (C). Settlement in Iron Age East Anglia favoured river valleys, plains and marshes and probably exploited riverine communication and transport. See, for example, T. Hughes, No title, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 10 (1904), p. 452.

¹⁹ Moore, Plouviez and West, *Archaeology of Roman Suffolk*, pp. 38-44; S. Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times* (Stroud 2005), p. 19. Such centres are generally characterized by rectangular street grids



Fig. 3. East Anglia in the Roman Period (©Williamson, 2006).

incorporating the standard *cardo/decumanus* arrangement. *Camulodunum* also possessed stone architecture. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, Roman stonework, when available, was often reused by Anglo-Saxon masons. See T. Eaton, *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain* (Stroud 2000), pp. 10-30.

In addition to such urban centres, numerous large settlements were also founded throughout East Anglia *ca* A.D. 43-410. Though they cannot be termed “towns” in the strictest sense, they would have fulfilled some urban functions.²⁰ Such settlements include Scole (Nf), Icklingham, Pakenham, Wixoe, Long Melford, Coddensham, Wenhaston, Hacheston and Felixstowe (all Sf).²¹ Similar examples, but of smaller size, include Knodishall, Capel St Mary, Sicklesmere and Exning (all Sf).²² With the exception of Wenhaston, all the larger settlements lie on Roman roads or near river-crossings; furthermore, they are never separated by more than 10 miles, suggesting they may have functioned as market centres (see above, fig. 3).²³

Like the indigenous societies ultimately conquered by the Romans, including the *Iceni* and the *Trinovantes*, southeastern *Britannia* was largely supported by an agrarian economy. Rural settlements supplied urban centres with food and animal products, receiving manufactured goods and services in return.²⁴ Through taxation, both rural and urban settlements sustained the army and the colonial administration. This “circular” economy was dependent on agricultural surplus, without which the *provincia*’s infrastructure would collapse.²⁵

Thus, from A.D. 43-410, farms in East Anglia were of various sizes. Pottery scatters, occasionally with tile fragments, are often indicative of simple, timber dwellings; whereas wall-plaster, *tesserae* and hypocaust tile may indicate larger, more elaborate structures, which, when excavated, normally exhibit flint

²⁰ Moore, Plouviez and West, *Archaeology of Roman Suffolk*, p. 38.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45. In the Romano-British period (*ca* A.D. 43-410), much of East Anglia was extensively cleared and farmed; only the heaviest areas of boulder-clay were not exploited. See J. Newman, “The East Anglian Kingdom Survey: South-East Suffolk”, *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*, ed. Carver, pp. 29-31, at 30.

foundations. These elite sites are usually termed “villas”²⁶ and are assumed to have been the nuclei of large agricultural estates which were often supported by secondary structures, examples of which are found in Ipswich (Castle Hill), Lidgate and Stanton (all Sf).²⁷

3.B.ii. *Early and Middle Saxon periods*

Unlike the human landscape of Roman Britain, with its emphasis on urbanism and large agrarian estates, early Saxon settlement was markedly rural, characterized by non-nucleated farmsteads of modest scale.²⁸ A significant modification to the landscape of sub-Roman Britain (*ca* 410-597) was the introduction of open-field agriculture.²⁹ In the *provincia*, fields were generally square, of varying sizes and seemingly enclosed with hedges, banks or ditches.³⁰ However, with the demise of large urban populations and resident armies, agriculture was less intensive,³¹ and field-boundaries were generally abandoned, though it is hypothesized that the fields themselves, especially in those areas with greatest agricultural productivity, such as East Anglia, were continuously farmed.³² Unlike the *provincia*'s delineated estates,

²⁶ *Ibid.* For a complete listing of Suffolk villas, see pp. 47-53.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45. It is possible that such villas influenced the formation and organization of the Anglo-Saxon manor.

²⁸ The term “Saxon” was employed by classical writers, including Gaius Tacitus and Claudius Ptolemaeus, as a general descriptor for those peoples (Saxons, Angles and Jutes) who inhabited the north German plain between the rivers Elbe and Weser and the southern part of Jutland. “Saxon” is used in this general sense. For a discussion of the socio-economic factors precipitating the Saxon invasions and the demise of Roman Britain, see P. Salway, “The Restoration of Order” and “The Collapse of Imperial Rule”, *Roman Britain* (1981; Oxford 1992), pp. 374-412, 415-444, *passim*. See also M.F. Reed, “Roman Britain and the Germanic Invasions”, “The Pagan Origins of Anglo-Saxon Monumental Stonework” (unpublished M.A. dissertation, U of Victoria, 2000), pp. 6-37, *passim*.

²⁹ D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London; Washington 1998), p. 114.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 113. See also Salway, *Roman Britain*, pp. 593-595, 601-602; and, for example, D. Hall, *et al.*, *The Fenland Project, Number 6: The South-western Cambridgeshire Fenlands*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 56 (Cambridge 1992), p. 38.

³¹ H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400-900* (2002; Oxford 2004), p. 152.

³² C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in England* (London 1983), p. 120; Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 114; T. Williamson, *England's Landscape: East Anglia* (London 2006), p. 43.

the resultant open-field agriculture is suggestive of common tenure and co-operative systems of land use.³³ Thus, individual farmsteads, occasionally clustered together, constitute the earliest Saxon settlements in East Anglia.³⁴

In many parts of England, including Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, evidence of Early Saxon (*ca* 410-650) settlement is slight. This is largely attributable to the ephemeral nature of Early Saxon architecture.³⁵ The archaeology of Early Saxon farmsteads, including building typologies and spatial relationships, is dependent on data generated from excavated sites, and few have contributed more to an understanding of Early Saxon settlement than West Stow (Sf). Like settlements at Catholme (Nt) and Chalton (Ha), West Stow (active *ca* 450-650) appears to have comprised a group of small, associated farmsteads which evolved, perhaps through settlement drift, into what might be termed a “proto-village”.³⁶ The farmsteads were founded in the Lark River valley, on a promontory overlooking the river and bounded on one side by a Roman road.³⁷ This siting conforms to earlier settlement practices in East Anglia, privileging the fertile soils, protection and transport afforded by river valleys.

Though West Stow is invaluable to the study of East Anglia’s Early Saxon landscape, settlement features have played a minor role in the research due to the

³³ Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 114.

³⁴ For a succinct discussion of Early Saxon settlements, see P. Rahtz, “Buildings and rural settlement”, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. Wilson (Cambridge 1976), pp. 52-61, *passim*; and Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, pp. 152-155.

³⁵ Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 106. Early Saxon buildings are either sunken-floor structures (often termed, “*grubenhäuser*”) of timber and thatch construction, whose recessed chambers were either floored-over or left exposed, or larger, rectilinear “halls” of post and beam design. See S. James, *et al.*, “An Early Medieval Building Tradition”, *Archaeological Journal* 141 (1984), pp. 182-215, *passim*; and Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 107, 109-110.

³⁶ S. West, *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon Village*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 24, 2 vols. (1985) I, pp. 1-5; see also Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 36-39; and C. Hills, “The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of England”, *The Northern World: The History and Heritage of Northern Europe, A.D. 400-1100*, ed. D. Wilson (1980; London 2003), pp. 71-94, at 88. Various authors, including West and Hills, have grappled with terminology *vis à vis* West Stow. West employs “village”, whereas Hills prefers the phrase, “a group of small farms”. Here the term “proto-village” has been employed in an attempt to reconcile these apparent differences.

³⁷ West, *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon Village*, I, pp. 1-5.

infrequency of their preservation. In Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, where evidence demonstrates that pottery was widely used and can be dated with relative precision, settlements have usually been identified by pottery-scatters, though such identification is sometimes complicated by the friable nature of extant sherds.³⁸ Where pottery-scatters have been intensively studied, especially in eastern England and the East Midlands, they demonstrate that settlement patterns were largely dispersed in the Early Saxon period, even in areas later characterized by nucleated villages.³⁹ Thus, clusters of buildings (such as those at West Stow) seem to have been scattered throughout regions where settlement later became nucleated, including sites on boundaries and marginal land.⁴⁰ In these regions, multiple Early Saxon settlement clusters have been found in many parishes such as Brixworth and Great Doddington (both Nth), which are both well-documented.⁴¹ Nevertheless, some settlements were probably short-lived, with settlement-drift, facilitated by the impermanence of Early Saxon architecture, continuously reshaping the human landscape.⁴²

In addition to architectural evidence and pottery-scatters, cemeteries have also contributed important data about Early Saxon settlement in East Anglia. Many fifth- and sixth-century cemeteries and what are now isolated interments have been excavated in the region,⁴³ though the mound-burials at Snape and Sutton Hoo (both Sf) have been particularly important to the study of those processes (particularly

³⁸ *Ibid.* See also, for example, R. Silvester, *The Fenland Project Number 3: Marshland and the Nar Valley, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 45 (1988), p. 156; and S. West, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 84 (1998), pp. 312-315.

³⁹ See *The Fenland Project*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 27, 35, 45, 52, 55, 56, 61, 66, 70, 78, 79 (1985, 1987, 1988, 1991-1994, 1996), *passim*; see also Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 106.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, pp. 113-117.

⁴² Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 107.

⁴³ See *The Fenland Project*, *passim*.

societal stratification) that influenced settlement patterns.⁴⁴ While these elite, seemingly royal, burials were possibly monumental responses to external stimuli,⁴⁵ they demonstrate that by the late sixth century, an hegemony had been established in East Anglia. Bede records in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that this dynasty took its name from Wuffa, grandfather of the *bretwalda* Rædwald (ca 599-625).⁴⁶ It is probable that the Wuffings' heartland, southeastern Suffolk, with the royal *vill* of Rendlesham as their *de facto* capital, gave them proximity to, and command of, maritime trade, both coastal and overseas.⁴⁷ Their control of East Anglian waterways, especially those in southeastern Suffolk, facilitated their economic prosperity and enabled the monumental expressions of their dynastic power at Snape and Sutton Hoo. Thus, this dynasty consolidated power in the region, exploiting and expanding its network of riverine and coastal settlements.⁴⁸

The advent of the Middle Saxon period (ca 650-850) in East Anglia is characterized by the political and territorial consolidation of Norfolk, Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire into a Christian kingdom and the founding of the region's

⁴⁴ See M. Carver, "Why that, why there, why then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality", *Image and Power in early medieval British archaeology: Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp*, eds. A. Macgregor and H. Hammerow (Oxford 2001), pp. 1-22, *passim*; C. Scull, "Before Sutton Hoo: Structures of Power and Society in Early East Anglia", *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in Northwestern Europe*, ed. M. Carver (Woodbridge 1992), pp. 3-23, *passim*; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 3 vols. (London, 1975, 1978, 1982), *passim*; A. Evans, *The Sutton Hoo ship burial* (1986; London 2002), *passim*; W. Filmer-Sankey and T. Pestell, *Snape Anglo-Saxon cemetery: excavations and surveys, 1824-1992*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 95 (2001), *passim*; W. Filmer-Sankey, "Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: the current state of knowledge", *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, pp. 39-51, *passim*.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Carver, "Why that, why there, why then?", *passim*.

⁴⁶ "Erat autem praefatus rex Redwald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis, filius Tytili, cuius pater fuit Uuffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Uuffingas appellant". "Rædwald, who was noble by birth though ignoble in his deeds, was the son of Tytil, whose father was Wuffa, from whom the kings of the East Angles are called Wuffings". Bede, *HE*, II.15 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds. and trans., 1969), pp. 190-191; Garmonsway, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 60-61. The most recent scholarship on the Sutton Hoo ship burial identifies the burial as that of Rædwald. See Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 82-97.

⁴⁷ Scull, "Before Sutton Hoo", p. 22; Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 75-79.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

first urban centres since the collapse of the *provincia*.⁴⁹ The period is also distinguished by the abandonment of Early Saxon settlements and cemeteries (particularly in the west) and the foundation of new sites which often formed the nuclei of later Saxon and medieval villages.⁵⁰ Documentary evidence of Middle Saxon East Anglia is sparse, however, relating primarily to large settlements and religious foundations, though four *vitae* provide additional information about the East Anglian province and its rulers.⁵¹ It is probable that ninth-century Scandinavian raids and subsequent settlement resulted in the displacement or impoverishment of the region's major archive-holders, including its two bishoprics ("Dommoc"—either Dunwich or Felixstowe, both Sf,—and "Helmham", either Sf or Nf; see below, pp. 92-94) and its major religious houses.⁵²

The Middle Saxon period is also generally characterized by the growth of "wics", trading emporia associated with riverine and coastal sites.⁵³ These

⁴⁹ West, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, p. 317.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; see also B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England* (1990; London 1992), p. 59. These *vitae* are Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* (written in East Anglia at the request of King Ælfwald, d. 749), the *Life of St Foillan* (written at Nivelles, Bel., ca mid-seventh century), the *Life of St Æthelbert* (perhaps written in the Midlands and surviving in three principal versions of ca twelfth- to thirteenth-century date) and Abbo's *Life of St Edmund* (written at Fleury, Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, Fr., between 985 and 987). See Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 59.

⁵² These houses include St Fursey's monastery at *Cnobheresburgh* (possibly Burgh Castle, Nf), St Guthlac's monastery at Crowland (L) and St Etheldreda's monastery at Ely (C). Conclusive evidence of *Dommoc*'s location is not extant. However, it is probable that such a foundation would be near a *civitas* (a royal *vill*). Felixstowe is very near the Wuffings' *vill* of Rendlesham. See S. Rigold, "The supposed see of Dunwich", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series 24 (1961), pp. 55-59, *passim*; and S. Rigold, "Further evidence about the site of Dommoc", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series 37 (1974), pp. 97-102, *passim*. Excavations at North Elmham have revealed evidence of an episcopal palace complex. Perhaps in response to Danish raids, the site was levelled and rebuilt sometime after 917, replete with a large timber hall, perhaps functioning as a bishop's palace. Following transferal of the bishopric to Thetford in 1072, the site was adapted for secular use, demonstrated by evidence of peasant dwellings and animal husbandry (the see was subsequently moved to Norwich ca 1094). See P. Wade-Martins, *Excavations in North Elmham Park 1967-1972*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 9, 2 pts. (Gressenhall 1980), i, pp. 125-137, 151-191, 241, 244.

⁵³ *Lundenwic* (London) and *Eoforwic* (York) had served eastern Britain since the fifth century; *Gipeswic* (Ipswich) dates to the early sixth century. See K. Wade, "Ipswich", *The rebirth of towns in the West, AD 700-1050: a review of current research into how, when, and why there was a rebirth of towns between 700 and 1050, based upon papers presented to the Fourth Joint CBA/DUA International Conference on the Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700-1050, held at the Museum of London on 21-23 March 1986*, eds. R. Hodges and B. Hobley, Council for British Archaeology

settlements were seemingly related (perhaps administratively) to inland centres: for example, Dover, Fordwich and possibly Sarre and Sandwich to Canterbury (all K); *Hamwic* (Southampton) to Winchester (both Ha);⁵⁴ and *Gipeswic* (Ipswich) possibly to Rendlesham.⁵⁵ While no early textual references to Ipswich are extant,⁵⁶ its function as a *wic* and the extent of its Middle Saxon occupation are demonstrable archaeologically. Sited where the Orwell estuary widens, Middle Saxon Ipswich comprised roughly 50 ha and included residential, mercantile and manufacturing areas.⁵⁷ An Anglo-Saxon street system has been identified, together with numerous buildings, refuse pits, ditches and wells.⁵⁸ Trade was seemingly associated with the river embankment, enforced with timber revetments, and with various inlets, perhaps functioning as wharves or docks.⁵⁹ Evidence of metalworking, bone-/antler-working,

Research Report 68 (London 1988) pp. 93-100, at 93. Such emporia were seemingly characteristic of much of the North Sea coast, demonstrated by excavations at Quentovic (FR), Domburg (NL), Dorestad (NL) and Ribe (DK). See E. Ennen, "Das Städtewesen Nordwestdeutschlands von der Fränkischen bis zur Salischen Zeit", *Das erste Jahrtausend*, ed. V. Elbern, 2 pts. (Düsseldorf 1964), ii, pp. 800-809, *passim*; *idem*, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters* (Göttingen 1972), pp. 46-52, *passim*; H. Jankuhn, "Die frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplätze im Nord und Osterseeraum", *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens* (Konstanz; Lindau 1958), pp. 451-498, at 463-472; *idem*, "Spätantike und merowingische Grundlagen für die frühmittelalterliche nordeuropäische Stadtbildung", *Early Medieval Studies* 1 (1970), pp. 23-34, at 30-32; *idem*, *Typen und Funktionen vor- und frühwikingzeitlicher Handelsplätze im Ostseegebiet* (Wien 1971), pp. 12-13, 26-36; F. Petri, "Die Anfänge des mittelalterlichen Städtewesens in den Niederlanden und dem angrenzenden Frankreich", *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens* (Konstanz; Lindau 1958), pp. 227-295, at 248-267; W. Van Es, "Friesland in Roman times", *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 15-16 (1965-1966), pp. 37-68, *passim*; *idem*, "Die neuen Dorestad-Grabungen 1967-1972", *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, eds. H. Jankuhn, *et al.* (Göttingen 1973), pp. 202-217, *passim*; D. Hill, *et al.*, "Quentovic defined", *Antiquity* 64 (1990), pp. 51-58, *passim*; C. Feveile and S. Jensen, "Ribe in the 8th and 9th Century: A Contribution to the Archaeological Chronology of North Western Europe", *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000), pp. 9-24, *passim*; J. Callmer, "Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region c. A.D. 700-1100: trading places, centres and early urban sites", *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking age*, eds. B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke (Stockholm 1994), pp. 50-81, *passim*; and O. Crumlin-Pedersen, "Ships as indicators of trade in Northern Europe 600-1200", *Maritime topography and the medieval town: papers from the 5th international conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen, 14-16 May 1998*, eds. J. Bill and B. Clausen (Copenhagen 1998), pp. 11-19, *passim*.

⁵⁴ M. Biddle, "Towns", *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. Wilson (1976; Cambridge 1986), pp. 99-150, at 115.

⁵⁵ Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 75-76.

⁵⁶ The earliest reference to Ipswich is preserved in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 991. See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953; Garmondsway 1977), p. 127.

⁵⁷ Wade, "Ipswich", pp. 93-100.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95-97; Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 76.

weaving and spinning has been recovered, though it is hypothesized that such industries were of modest scale.⁶⁰ Ipswich's pottery industry, however, was very large; scatters of the resultant "Ipswich Ware" (ca 650-850) have been recovered over a 12 ha area on the north bank of the River Orwell,⁶¹ including evidence of kiln-waste, extending 160 m along the south side of Carr Street, perhaps indicating mass-production.⁶² Ipswich Ware has been recovered elsewhere in Suffolk and in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, suggesting it was sold or traded throughout the East Anglian province.⁶³ Ipswich's economic significance in the Middle Saxon period is also attested by the presence of Carolingian artifacts (primarily glass and pottery) implying the *wic* was also a locus of international trade.⁶⁴

Material evidence suggests that Ipswich was probably the largest East Anglian settlement in the Middle Saxon period.⁶⁵ However, this urbanized, commercial centre is differentiated from the region's other systematically excavated Middle Saxon site. Brandon (Sf; ca 600-900) is a four-acre aristocratic or monastic settlement, occupying a small island in the Little Ouse estuary. The site comprises twenty-eight timber buildings, a seventh-century church (rebuilt ca 700-730) and preserves evidence of cloth-production, including weaving and dyeing.⁶⁶ The community possessed considerable wealth, as evidenced by over two-hundred

⁶⁰ Wade, "Ipswich", p. 95.

⁶¹ Biddle, "Towns", p. 115.

⁶² Wade, "Ipswich", p. 95.

⁶³ See J. Newman, Note in "Archaeology in Suffolk", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 35 (1984), pp. 10-11, *passim*; *idem*, Note in "Archaeology in Suffolk", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 36 (1985), p. 49, at 49; *idem*, "East Anglian Kingdom Survey", pp. 10-12, *passim*; and *idem*, "East Anglian Kingdom Survey—Final Interim Report on the South East Suffolk Pilot Field Survey", *Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee* 6 (1989), pp. 17-19, *passim*. Ipswich Ware has also been recovered at ecclesiastical and aristocratic sites in Kent and North Yorkshire. See Wade, "Ipswich", p. 96.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Biddle, "Towns", p. 115.

⁶⁵ West, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, p. 319.

⁶⁶ R. Carr, "The Middle-Saxon settlement at Staunton Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk—a final up-date", *Quarterly* 5 (1992), pp. 16-22, at 16.

decorated pins, imported glass, styli, keys and *sceattas* of 740-770.⁶⁷ Its most famous artifact (a gold plaque depicting a zoo-anthropomorphic symbol of St John) likely decorated the cover of a deluxe Gospel book.⁶⁸ While the nature of the Middle Saxon settlement at Brandon is inconclusive (aristocratic or monastic), the site's riverine location and its history of continuous use are characteristic of East Anglian monastic sites, including *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) and Ely (see below, pp. 100-116).

3.B.iii. *The Early Church in East Anglia*

Following the demise of the *provincia*, Latin Christianity was reintroduced to southern England by the Augustinian Mission of ca 597. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* records that Rædwald (d. ca 625) was the first East Anglian king baptized, probably by order or influence of the *bretwalda* Æthelberht of Kent (ca 560-616).⁶⁹ However, the *Historia* suggests that Rædwald's faith was pragmatic, recounting his practice of both Christian and pagan observance.⁷⁰ Indeed, Christianity's tenuous presence in early seventh-century East Anglia is further illustrated by Bede in his account of the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁶⁸ L. Webster, "An Anglo-Saxon plaque with the symbol of St John", *British Museum Occasional Papers* 10 (1980), pp. 11-15, at 11.

⁶⁹ "*Redwald iam dudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianae fidei inbutus est, sed frustra*". Rædwald had long before been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain". Bede, *HE*, II.15 (Colgrave and Mynor, eds., 1969), pp. 190-191. See also Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 62.

⁷⁰ "*Redwald iam dudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianae fidei inbutus est, sed frustra; nam rediens domum ab uxore sua et quibusdam peruersis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei deprauatus habuit posteriora peiora prioribus, ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum et Christo seruire uideretur et diis, quibus antea seruiebat, atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi et arulam ad uictimas daemoniorum*". Rædwald had long before been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain; for on his return home, he was seduced by his wife and by certain evil teachers and perverted from the sincerity of his faith, so that his last state was worse than his first. After the manner of the ancient Samaritans, he seemed to be serving both Christ and the gods whom he had previously served; in the same temple he had one altar for the Christian sacrifice and another small altar on which to offer victims to devils". Bede, *HE*, II.15 (Colgrave and Mynor, eds., 1969), pp. 190-191.

recrudescence of paganism under Rædwald's immediate successors Eorpwald (ca 625-627) and Ricberht (ca 627-629).⁷¹

According to Bede, Christianity was only established in East Anglia during the reign of Sigeberht (ca 630/1-635). A Burgundian ecclesiastic, Felix (d. ca 653), sent from Canterbury by Archbishop Honorius (d. 653) as a missionary bishop, was received by Sigeberht, who established his see at *Dommoc*.⁷² Whether this can be identified as Dunwich or Felixstowe,⁷³ it is likely Felix would have established there a community of priests and deacons akin to the community at Canterbury. From such an ecclesiastical settlement, it is probable that pastoral care was organized and administered throughout the East Anglian province.⁷⁴ Though a much later codification, *Dommoc* can probably be associated with the "head minster" of eleventh-century canon law.⁷⁵ Felix is also associated with the seventh-century foundations at *Cratendune* on the Isle of Ely, *Saham* (likely Soham, C), a Fen Isle in

⁷¹ "*Verum Eorpwald non multo, postquam fidem accepit, tempore occisus est a uiro gentili nomine Ricbercto; et exinde tribus annis prouincia in errore uersata est, donec accepit regnum frater eiusdem Eorpauldi Sigberct*".⁷¹ "Eorpwald was killed not long after he had accepted the faith, by a heathen called Ricberht. Thereupon the kingdom remained in error for three years, until Eorpwald's brother Sigeberht came to the throne". Bede, *HE*, II.15 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 190-191; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 62.

⁷² "*Uir per omnia Christianissimus ac doctissimus, qui uiuente adhuc fratre, cum exularet in Gallia, fidei sacramentis inbutus est, quorum participem, mox ubi regnare coepit, totam suam prouinciam facere curauit. Cuius studiis glorioissime fauit Felix episcopus, qui de Burgundiorum partibus, ubi ortus et ordinatus est, cum uenisset ad Honorium archiepiscopum, eique indicasset desiderium suum, misit eum ad praedicandum uerbum uitae praefatae nationi Angloru ... episcopatus in ciuitate Dommoc, et cum X ac septem annos eidem prouinciae pontificali regimine praeesset, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit*".⁷² "The latter [Sigeberht] was a devout Christian and a very learned man in all respects; while his brother was alive he had been in exile in Gaul, where he had been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith. As soon as he began to reign he made it his business to see that the whole kingdom shared his faith. Bishop Felix most nobly supported his efforts. This bishop, who had been born and consecrated in Burgundy, came to Archbishop Honorius, to whom he expressed his longings; so the archbishop sent him to preach the word of life to this nation of the Angles ... He received the seat of his bishopric in the city of *Dommoc* (Dunwich); and when he had ruled over the kingdom as bishop for seventeen years, he ended his life there in peace". Bede, *HE*, II.15 (Colgrave and Mynor, eds., 1969), pp. 190-191.

⁷³ For a succinct discussion of the possible location of *Dommoc*, including the onomastic and archaeological evidence that suggests Dunwich and Felixstowe were Roman settlements, see Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 101-102.

⁷⁴ For additional examples of such systems, see J. Blair, "Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review", *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester 1992), pp. 226-266, at 231.

⁷⁵ J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1962), p. 321.

the seventh century where the saint's relics were deposited,⁷⁶ and various sites in Norfolk, including Babingley, Shernborne, Flitcham and Sedgeford.⁷⁷

The Scottic monk Fursey (d. ca 650) was also an active participant in East Anglia's conversion. Bede records that like Felix, Sigebert received Fursey and granted land for the establishment of his religious community.⁷⁸ Though Burgh Castle (Nf) is often promoted as the likely site of Fursey's monastery at *Cnobheresburgh*, Shotley (Sf) on the Orwell Peninsula near Rendlesham has also been suggested.⁷⁹ No evidence survives of dedications to Fursey in East Anglia, though it has been noted that *Dommoc* might preserve a Gaelic word,⁸⁰ suggesting the Scots' contribution to East Anglia's evangelization, often considered ancillary to Felix's mission, may have been significant.

By the mid-seventh century, following the successful missions of Felix and Fursey, Bede's account implies that East Anglia's Christianity was entrenched through the expansion of the bishopric and the advent of hermetic and royal monasticism. Probably in response to the size and geography of the East Anglian diocese, coupled with *Dommoc's* and *Cnobheresburgh's* achievements *vis à vis* conversion, Archbishop Theodore (d. 690) divided the *parochia* in 673 and founded

⁷⁶ Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p 102.

⁷⁷ T. Jones, *The English Saints: East Anglia* (Norwich 1999), p. 58.

⁷⁸ "*Qui cum ad prouinciam Orientalium peruenisset Anglorum, susceptus est honorifice a rege praefato, et solitum sibi opus euangelizand ... Qua uisinoe confirmatus, curauit locum monasterii, quem a praefato rege Sigbercto acceperat, uelocissime construere ac regularibus instituere disciplinis*". / "When he came to the kingdom of the East Angles, he was honourably received by the king and followed his usual task of preaching the gospel ... After he had been strengthened by the vision, he set himself with all speed to build a monastery on a site which he had received from King Sigebert and to establish there the observance of a Rule". Bede, *EH*, III.18-19 (Colgrave and Mynor, eds., 1969), pp. 268-271.

⁷⁹ S. Johnson, *Burgh Castle: Excavations by Charles Green, 1958-1961*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 20 (1980), p. 2ff. Jones has also noted that "Shotley" could derive from OE meaning, "the wood of the Scots". Jones, *English Saints: East Anglia*, p. 64.

⁸⁰ D. Parsons, "Scandinavians and Gaels in Northern England: Some Reflections", Jim Lang Memorial Lecture, University of York, U.K., 08/12/06. During Penda's incursions in the mid-seventh century, Fursey fled to France where he later died ca 650. His remains were interred at Péronne, perhaps explaining the absence of dedications to Fursey in East Anglia. See J. Blair, "A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints", *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, eds., A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford 2002), pp. 495-565, at 564.

a second bishopric at *Helmham* (probably North Elmham, Nf, though South Elmham, Sf, has also been suggested).⁸¹ While diocesan expansion and consolidation enabled the evangelization of East Anglia, this process was likely facilitated by foundation of monastic communities. For example, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Botolph established his monastery at *Icanhoe* (usually identified as Iken, Sf) in 653/654, and the earliest occupation at the possible monastic settlement at Brandon (Sf) also dates to the seventh century.⁸²

3.B.iv. *Stone Sculpture in Middle Saxon East Anglia*

While evidence of stone churches is extant at these sites, particularly North and South Elmham (including an apsidal eastern feature at North Elmham), none is of seventh-century date.⁸³ Unlike northern England and the Midlands, where textual and material evidence suggests that stone sculpture, particularly free-standing crosses, was often associated with early churches,⁸⁴ no comparable tradition of stoneworking and sculptural production in East Anglia is evident. Given the absence of workable stone in the region (see above, p. 78; fig. 2, p. 80) this is, perhaps, not surprising. Thus, although excavation and chronicle accounts suggest that *Medeshamstede* and Ely may have been early sculptural centres (see below, pp. 102-103, 105-109, 116), the sculptures preserved at Peterborough (including the "Hedda Stone"), the Iken Cross, and panels at Barnack, Fletton and Castor are the region's

⁸¹ Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 123.

⁸² "Her Onna cyning wearþ ofslægen. 7 Botulf ongon mynster timbran æt Icanho". "In this year king Anna was killed, and Botwulf began to build a monastery at *Icanhoh*". C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1892; Oxford 1965), p. 28 (text); G. Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953; London 1977), pp. 28-29 (translation); Carr, "Middle Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow", p. 16.

⁸³ See Wade-Martins, "Excavations in North Elmham Park", pp. 1-7, 37-119, 240.

⁸⁴ Examples include the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses (ca late seventh to early eighth century); "Acca's" Cross (ca mid-eighth century); and the smaller cross in the churchyard of All Saints' Church, Bakewell (ca mid-eighth century). See Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 19-22, 61-72; fig. 11; ills. 90-117, 119, 682-687; and T. Bateman, "Notes on Saxon remains from Bakewell Church, Derbyshire", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 2 (1844), pp. 303-305, *passim*.

only examples of Middle Saxon sculpture.⁸⁵ Whether such preservation is indicative of the scale of “Anglian” sculptural production in the region (and its reliance on stone-importation) and/or the effect of Danish raids is unclear.

However, acknowledging East Anglia’s unique surface geology, bereft of stone deposits other than flint, it is likely that the province’s sculptural production was limited throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. While various regional studies have demonstrated that the distribution of Middle Saxon sculpture is generally restricted throughout England (apparently reflecting institutional patronage),⁸⁶ the North and the Midlands preserve the greatest quantities of Middle Saxon carvings, despite Danish settlement and lordship in the ninth and tenth centuries. Tenth-century modifications to Middle Saxon stone crosses in North Yorkshire (for example, Nunburnholme 1, Weston 1)⁸⁷ evoke political and/or cultural appropriation and might suggest that destruction of Middle Saxon stone sculptures (at least monumental crosses) was not standard practice in the North. Furthermore, the surface geology of northern and central England is characterized by large, accessible deposits of workable stone.⁸⁸ Thus, resource-availability, coupled with quantities of

⁸⁵ See Appendix 2, pls. 156, 153-154, 158-160. See also S. West, N. Scarfe and R. Cramp, “Iken, St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity”, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 35 (1984), pp. 279-301, at 291-292; Cramp, “Schools of Mercian Sculpture”, pp. 191-233, *passim*. The other sculptures in Peterborough Cathedral include an interlaced fragment (mounted on the south side of the crossing’s southwest pier; Appendix 1, pls. 118-119) and a figural plaque (possibly post-Conquest) mounted on the west wall of the south transept; Appendix 2, pl. 155). See Irvine, “Account of the Pre-Norman Remains”, pp. 277-283, *passim*; *idem*, “Account of the Discovery”, pp. 45-54, *passim*.

⁸⁶ See Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 1-4; Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 10-11; Lang, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 16-17; Tweddle, et al., *CASSS*, vol. 4, pp. 31-94; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 69-70; Lang, et al., *CASSS*, vol. 6, pp. 18-19; Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 7, pp. 25-27; Coatsworth, *CASSS*, vol. 8, pp. 66-77.

⁸⁷ Weston 1 is presently displayed in the Yorkshire Museum (illustrated in Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 168, fig. 75). For a discussion of Nunburnholme 1, see Lang, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 38-39, 189-193; ills. 709-728.

⁸⁸ Examples include the Millstone Grit characteristic of many of the Anglo-Scandinavian stone monuments of York, likely ashlar *spolia* from the Roman fortress at *Eboracum* (ultimately procured from quarries near Thorne, YN); Westphalian sandstone derived from quarries near Otley and Ilkley (both YN); and dolomitic limestone probably from the *principia* under York Minster, quarried near Tadcaster (YN). For a complete list of quarries in North Yorkshire exploited in the Anglo-Saxon

extant monuments, suggests that stone-carving was prevalent in Northern and Central England in the eighth and ninth centuries. However, East Anglia's relative dearth of Middle Saxon stone-carvings is probably indicative of the limited scale of sculptural production in the province, and its reliance on stone-importation, rather than any wholesale destruction by Danish raiders or colonists,⁸⁹ especially considering the evidence, albeit limited, of sculptural appropriation in northern England and the absence of damaged and/or defaced monuments in East Anglia of Middle Saxon date.⁹⁰ The province's brief florescence of Late Saxon sculptural production (with apparent loci at *Medeshamstede* and Ely) suggests that recurrent stone-importation required institutional resources and infrastructures, both readily available in the later-tenth century following the refoundations and extensive endowments of many East Anglian monasteries.

3.B.v. *The Church in Viking Age East Anglia*

The advent of Scandinavian incursions in England *ca* 793 initiated nearly a century of religious and political instability, exemplified by the destruction or displacement

period, see J.R. Senior, "Regional Geology", Lang, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 11-15, *passim*. Northwestern examples include Penrith sandstone, available throughout the Vale of Eden, especially on the fells north of Penrith, and St Bees sandstone in the east of the Vale of Eden from Maryport in the west to Barrow in Furness. For a complete list of Anglo-Saxon quarries in Cumbria, see D.L. Schofield, "Regional Geology", Bailey and Cramp, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 7-9, *passim*.

⁸⁹ Abrams advances a similar theory, contending that resource-availability might explain the absence of hogback monuments in East Anglia. See L. Abrams, "The Problem of the Hogback", unpublished research paper, n.d., retrieved 01/10/08 from

<www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_viking/documents/Abrams.doc>, pp. 1-12, at 4.

⁹⁰ Admittedly, if evidence for sculptural appropriation of earlier monuments existed in East Anglia, it would likely have been recycled in the form of building material (as was the Iken Cross, see below); its identification would, therefore, be exceedingly difficult. Most of the region's extant Middle Saxon sculpture (Peterborough Cathedral, Barnack, Castor and Fletton) exhibits signs of careful recutting and reuse. However, West has observed that the Iken Cross is "[extensively damaged]", the apparent result of toppling. No evidence of burning or defacement is evident on the surviving fragment, though West records in Iken's excavation report that a "grave" or pit stratigraphically associated with the site's "Pre-Norman" timber church preserved a dismembered human skeleton, exhibiting signs of violent trauma; for example, the skull was found lying face down, revealing a hole at the back measuring 10 x 5 cm. Though this evidence suggests that Iken may have been plundered prior to the erection of its Norman stone church, whether the damage to the Iken Cross is associated with this hypothetical event is unknown. See West, Scarfe and Cramp, "Iken, St Botolph, and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity", pp. 279-301, at 289, 291, 286.

of monastic communities (most notably, by Cuthbert's brethren, who re-established their house at Chester-le-Street, Du, in 883) and by the murder of Edmund of East Anglia in 869/870.⁹¹ Little is known of the English Church in the first half of the tenth century, though Wulfstan's (d. 1023) denunciation of contemporary society in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* suggests that many houses that had survived passed into the steward- or ownership of secular clergy, not bound by any rule.⁹² Eadmer's (?d. 1124) account of monastic life in pre-Conquest Canterbury emphasizes the secular nature of such houses; his portrait of the monks accents their adoption of noble trappings and pursuits, including predilections for gold, silver, fine clothes, hunting and hawking.⁹³ Such disillusionment within the English Church (likely exacerbated by stories of monastic revivals in Burgundy and Lotharingia) stimulated reform sentiments, culminating in a programme of conservative reorganization by Dunstan (?d. 988), Æthelwold (?d. 984) and Oswald (d. 992) following the Rule of St Benedict and expressed in the *Regularis Concordia* of ca 970.⁹⁴

In many respects, the tenth-century monastic reform resembled contemporary movements in France, notably in its liturgical character, its promotion of celibacy and its abolition of private ownership.⁹⁵ With regard to its official defender and

⁹¹ Garmonsway, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 70-71.

⁹² "Ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he scolde, ne gehadode regellice, ne læwede lahlice" / "Neither has any of us ordered his life just as he should, neither the ecclesiastic according to the rule nor the layman according to the law". M. Bernstein, ed. and trans., *The Electronic Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, 1996-2004, retrieved 01/05/07 from <<http://english3.fsu.edu/~wulfstan>>, n.p.; and G. Bonner, "Religion in Anglo-Saxon England", *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, eds. S. Gilley and W. Sheils (Cambridge, Mass.; Oxford 1994), pp. 24-44, at 41.

⁹³ Eadmer, *Miracula S. Dunstani* (xix), *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, eds. and trans. A. Turner and B. Muir (Oxford 2006), pp. 160-211, at 188-189.

⁹⁴ D. Farmer, "The Progress of the Monastic Revival", *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. D. Parsons (London; Chichester 1975), pp. 10-19, at 11. Precursors to the tenth-century Benedictine Reform are preserved in King Alfred's (871-899) preface to the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in which he eulogizes England's eighth-century monasticism and laments its disappearance. Furthermore, his nunnery at Shaftesbury, together with Edward the Elder's (899-925) at Winchester, may have survived as "recognizably monastic" in the tenth century. *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

patron, however, it diverged from continental practice. In Burgundy, where local rulers were ineffectual, the Abbot of Cluny fostered a close relationship with the Papacy.⁹⁶ In England, papal influence on the reform was minimal, but sponsorship by the West Saxon dynasty was both constant and significant.⁹⁷ In addition to Alfred's (871-899) and Edward the Elder's (899-925) early benefaction, King Edmund (939-946) deposited royal treasure at Glastonbury (reformed by Dunstan *ca* 940), Eadred (946-955) effectively installed Æthelwold as Abbot of Abingdon in 955 and Eadwig (955-959) increased the monastery's endowments.⁹⁸ Edgar (959-975) also bestowed gifts of land to many houses and was the personal "protector" of Glastonbury and Abingdon.⁹⁹ This tradition continued in the eleventh century with Cnut's (1016-1035) foundation of St Edmund's Abbey at Bury and his patronage of Canterbury together with Edward the Confessor's (1042-1066) establishment of Westminster Abbey in 1045.¹⁰⁰ However, the most overt expression of the intimate relationship between the Wessex kings and the reform movement was the physical proximity of the royal palace at Winchester to the city's cathedral.¹⁰¹ In 964 (after Æthelwold's installation as Bishop of Winchester in 963) Edgar replaced its secular canons with monks summoned from Æthelwold's former monastery of Abingdon.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹⁷ See H. Loyn, "Church and State in England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries", *Tenth Century Studies*, pp. 94-102, at 95-96.

⁹⁸ Farmer, "Progress of the Monastic Revival", p. 12.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ See M. Biddle, "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform", *Tenth Century Studies*, pp. 123-140, at 132-3; fig. 3, 129; for a complete discussion of the Winchester excavations, see *idem*, "Excavations at Winchester 1961, First Interim Report", *The Archaeological Journal* 119 (1962), pp. 150-194, *passim*; *idem*, "Excavations at Winchester 1963, Second Interim Report", *The Antiquaries Journal* 44 (1964), pp. 188-219, *passim*; *idem*, "Excavations at Winchester 1964, Third Interim Report", *The Antiquaries Journal* 45 (1965), pp. 230-264, *passim*; and *idem*, "Excavations at Winchester 1965, Fourth Interim Report", *The Antiquaries Journal* 46 (1966), pp. 308-332, *passim*.

¹⁰² "*Her dræfde Eadgar cyng þa preostas on Ceastre of Ealdan mynstre, 7 of Niwan mynstre. 7 of Ceortes ige. 7 of Middel tune. 7 sette hy mid munecan*". "In this year, king Edgar drove out the priests from the Old Minster and from the New Minster of Winchester, and from Chertsey, and from Milton

During the later tenth century, the other leaders of the monastic reform movement were also elevated to powerful episcopates: Dunstan was proclaimed Archbishop of Canterbury in 961 and Oswald assumed the bishopric of Worcester in 962 and the archbishopric of York in 972. As Farmer has demonstrated, the ascendancy of monastic bishops carried both religious and political significance. These prelates (nominated by the king) acquired large estates in peripheral areas and exercised considerable influence (both judicial and martial) in local hundreds.¹⁰³ They also effected the establishment and maintenance of monasteries, often in those territories where the king's influence was marginal and/or impaired, such as the Severn Valley to the northwest of Wessex, the Midlands to the north and the former Danelaw to the northeast.¹⁰⁴ For example, from ca 963-975, Æthelwold founded or refounded many houses, including Milton, Thorney (both C) and Chertsey (Sr).¹⁰⁵ Through this process of monastic-foundation (or refoundation) under the aegis of royally-appointed monastic bishops, the Wessex dynasty strengthened and consolidated its power and influence in its hinterlands.¹⁰⁶

Abbas [Dorset], and planted monks in those churches". Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 116 (text); Garmonsway, trans. and ed., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 116.

¹⁰³ Farmer, "The Progress of the Monastic Revival", p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ "Syððan þa com ... [Æthelwold] to se cyng Eadgar. Bed him þet he scolde him giuen ealle þa minstre þa hæðene men hæfden ær to brocon. forði þet he hit wolde ge eadnewion. ⁊ se kyng hit bliþelice tyðode. And se biscop com þa first to Ælig. Þær S. Æðeldrið lið. ⁊ leot macen þone mynstre. geaf hit þa his án munac Brihtnoð wæs gehaten. halgode him þa abbot, ⁊ sætte þær munecas Gode to þewian. þær hwilon wæron nun. bohte þa feola cotlif æt se king. ⁊ mocode hit swyðe rice. Syððon com se biscop Aðelwold to þære mynstre þe wæs gehaten Medeshamstede, ðe hwilon wæs fordon fra hedene folce ne fand þær nan þing buton ealde weallas ⁊ wilde wuda ... Leot wircen þa þ mynstre. ⁊ sætte þær abbot se wæs ge haten Aldulf. macede þær munecas þær ær ne wæs nan þing". / "Then [Æthelwold] came to king Edgar and asked him to give him all the monasteries which the heathen had destroyed, because he wished to restore them: and the king cheerfully granted it. The bishop went first to Ely, where St Æthelthryth is buried, and had the monastery built, giving it to one of his monks whose name was Byrhtnoth: he consecrated him abbot and peopled it with monks to serve God, where formerly there had been nuns. He bought many villages from the king and richly endowed it. Afterwards came bishop Æthelwold to the monastery called *Medeshamstede*, which had been destroyed by the heathen, and found nothing there but old walls and wild woods ... Thereupon he had the monastery built, and appointed there an abbot who was called Ealdwulf, and placed monks there where nothing was before". Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 115-116 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁰⁵ See Farmer, "Progress of the Monastic Revival", p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

While it has been noted that evidence for the development of monastic reform in the eleventh century is “fragmentary” owing to the paucity of extant accounts,¹⁰⁷ eschatological themes in the writings of influential homilists, including Wulfstan and Ælfric, were seemingly interpreted in the decorative programmes of East Anglian funerary sculptures, perhaps suggesting that the reform movement’s influence was considerable in the eleventh-century Fenland province. Textual, material and geographic evidence suggests that the region’s stone-working *ateliers* may have been sited at *Medeshamstede* and Ely in the Late Saxon period. Bury St Edmund’s may also have been a stone-working centre, though evidence for such activity is conjectural.

Based on their probable size, their foundation on major communication routes and their history of extensive royal endowment, *Medeshamstede* and Ely were likely the most influential houses in the Wessex periphery. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the monastery at *Medeshamstede* was founded in the mid-seventh century (post-654)¹⁰⁸ by Kings Oswiu (*ca* 641-670) of Northumbria and Peada (*ca* 654-656) of Mercia following Oswiu’s defeat of Penda (*ca* 632-654), Peada’s father.¹⁰⁹ Prior to the monastery’s apparent destruction by Guthrum’s “Great Army” in 870 (see below, p. 102),¹¹⁰ little is known of *Medeshamstede* other than its

¹⁰⁷ Farmer, “Progress of the Monastic Revival”, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Stenton concurs stating, “the date of the foundation is quite uncertain, but it must have taken place long before Saxulf, its founder, became bishop of the Mercians, and Saxulf’s consecration cannot be later than 675”. F. Stenton, “Medeshamstede and its Colonies”, 1933, *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the collected papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. D. Stenton (Oxford 1970), pp. 179-192, at 179.

¹⁰⁹ Peada was the first Christian king of the Mercians. Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 29; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 29. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 963 records that the monastery was founded by King Wulfhere (d. 674) of Mercia and his brother Æthelred (d. 704). Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 115-116; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 115-116. Stenton, however, argues that documentary evidence of Hedda’s abbacy of *Medeshamstede* is inconclusive and states that the *Chronicle*’s Hedda passage is “unlikely to be older than the early twelfth century, and has no authority for the pre-Danish period”. Stenton, “Medeshamstede and its Colonies”, pp. 190-191, n. 4.

¹¹⁰ “Her for se here ofer Myrce innon East Ængle. 7 winter setle naman æt Deodforda. 7 on þam geara sce Ædmund cining him wið ge feaht. 7 þa Deniscan sige naman. 7 þone cining of slogon. 7 þ

foundation story. Two references are preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recounting leases of land by the abbots of *Medeshamstede* to local potentates in 777 and 852 which the *Chronicle* states were witnessed by kings, ealdormen and archbishops, an assembly that might reflect the prominence of the monastery at the time.¹¹¹ Following the purported siege by Danish raiders, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (specifically, the *Peterborough* or *Laud* manuscript) records that *Medeshamstede* was abandoned and ruinous;¹¹² however, the monastery was refounded by Æthelwold *ca* 972 during the campaign of Wessex-supported monastic revival.¹¹³

As discussed above (see p. 52), only the *Peterborough Chronicle* preserves detailed accounts of *Medeshamstede*'s history, including its refoundation by Æthelwold. These passages might constitute Benedictine propaganda, promoting the reform movement in the monastery's refoundation and perhaps facilitated by the *Peterborough Chronicle*'s retranscription *ca* 1116 (as cited above, Stenton argues that many of the *Chronicle*'s *Medeshamstede* references are probably twelfth-century insertions; see p. 52, n. 158). Thus, the *Peterborough Chronicle*'s account of *Medeshamstede*'s ruinous condition in the tenth century could be exaggerated.

land eall ge eodn. 7 forðiden ealle þa mynstre þa hi to comen. on þa ilcan tima þa common hi to Medeshamstede, beorndon 7 bræcon. slogon abbot 7 munecas. 7 eall þ hi pær fundon. macedon hit þa þ ær wæs ful rice. þa hit wearð to nan þing".¹¹¹ "In this year the host went across Mercia into East Anglia, and took winter-quarters at Thetford; and the same winter St Edmund the king fought against them, and the Danes won the victory, and they slew the king and overran the entire kingdom, and destroyed all the monasteries to which they came. At that same time they came to the monastery at *Medeshamstede* and burned and demolished it, and slew the abbot and monks and all that they found there, reducing to nothing what had once been a very rich foundation". Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 71 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 71 (translation).

¹¹¹ Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 52-53, 65; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 52-53, 65.

¹¹² "Syððon com se biscop Æthelwold to þære mynstre þe wæs gehaten *Medeshamstede*, ðe hwilon wæs fordon fra heðene folce. ne fand þær nan þing buton ealde weallas 7 wilde wuda".¹¹² "Afterwards came bishop Æthelwold to the monastery called *Medeshamstede*, which had been destroyed by the heathen, and found nothing there but old walls and wild woods". Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 115 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 115 (translation). This account is not corroborated by other chronicles or by material evidence.

¹¹³ Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 115-117; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 115-117.

Certainly its apparent destruction by Danish raiders is not supported archaeologically, and the *Chronicle* account of *Medeshamstede*'s foundation and early history itself suggests that its library had survived the settlement in some form; such evidence is inconsistent with *Medeshamstede*'s purported destruction in the ninth century.¹¹⁴

Like the monastery's textual history, archaeological evidence of *Medeshamstede* is fragmentary. During the abbacy of Cenwulf (ca 992-1006), a wall was constructed around the precinct, perhaps suggesting that the community and its wealth was vulnerable.¹¹⁵ Though evidence of this wall is not extant, nineteenth-century excavations in Peterborough Cathedral did reveal evidence of the choir and transepts of the pre-Conquest abbey church (see below, pp. 147-149). Fragments of Roman brick and stone were identified in the Saxon fabric, likely procured from the site of a Roman town near Alwalton (Ht),¹¹⁶ five miles west of Peterborough on the River Nene, contiguous with Ermine Street, a major Roman road. Indeed, Alwalton itself might be associated with the "Walton" named in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a benefice of *Medeshamstede* in 963.¹¹⁷

More importantly for the present discussion, artifactual evidence recovered in the nineteenth-century excavations suggests that stone-working may have been performed in or near the monastic precinct. In addition to sculpted funerary

¹¹⁴ For a concise discussion of the general effect of Scandinavian settlement on English churches in the ninth century, see D. Dumville, "Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking Age", *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3 (Woodbridge 1992), pp. 29-54, at 31-33, 39. See also, R. Fleming, "Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking Age", *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), pp. 247-265, *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 117; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 117. See also D. Mackreth, "Recent Work on Monastic Peterborough", *Durobrivae* 9 (1984), pp. 18-21, at 19.

¹¹⁶ Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", pp. 50-52.

¹¹⁷ Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 116; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 116. Based on the *Chronicle* entry for 656, Walton was likely part of the monastery's seventh-century endowment. Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 30-31; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 30-31.

monuments and possible architectural decoration (see below, pp. 147-149) found in or near the Saxon transepts, two “large blocks” of Barnack limestone were recovered in the Saxon choir.¹¹⁸ These, together with other “stone rubbish”, had apparently been used as fill when the Norman cathedral was erected on the site of the Saxon abbey.¹¹⁹ Despite the lexical ambiguity of the nineteenth-century account, “large blocks” of Barnack limestone are suggestive of stone-working at *Medeshamstede*. Furthermore, the monastery’s wealth throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries¹²⁰ and its location in the Wessex hinterland (removed from the region’s artistic centre of Winchester and sited near navigable rivers leading to the Barnack quarries) are consistent with *Medeshamstede*’s hypothesized role as a sculptural centre.

¹¹⁸ Irvine, “Account of the Discovery”, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ For example, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 1066 emphasizes *Medeshamstede*’s (or “Burh’s”) immense wealth: “*Da wæs Leofric abbot of Burh æt þ ilca feord. 7 sæclode þær 7 com ham. 7 wæs dæd sone þær æfter on ælre halgan mæsse niht. God| are his saule. On his dæg wæs ealle blisse 7 ealle gode on Burh. 7 he wæs leaf eall folc. swa þ se cyng geaf sce Peter 7 him þ abbotrice on Byrtune. 7 se of Couentre þ se eorl Leofric þe wæs his eam ær heafde macod. 7 se of Crulande. 7 se of Porneie. 7 he dyde swa mycel to gode into þ mynstre of Burh on golde 7 on seolfre 7 on scrud 7 on lande. Swa nefre nan oðre ne dyde toforen him ne nan æfter him. Þa wearð gildene burh to wreccen burh*.” “Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, took part in this campaign, and there fell ill and returned home: he died soon afterwards on the eve of All Saints [31 October]. God have mercy on his soul. In his day the abbey of Peterborough enjoyed complete happiness and prosperity, and he was beloved by everybody. So the king gave to him and St Peter the abbacy of Burton-on-Trent, and the abbacy of Coventry, which his uncle, earl Leofric, had founded, and those of Crowland and Thorney. More than any man before or since he enriched the abbey of Peterborough with gold and silver, with vestments and land. Then ‘Golden Borough’ became ‘Wretched Borough’”. Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 198-199 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 198-199 (translation).

monks and nuns under the direction of an abbess, similar to Æbbe's monastery at Coldingham where Æthelthryth had spent some time.¹²² Though Ely's succeeding abbesses, Seaxburh (d. ca 699), Eormenhild (d. ca 700 or 703) and Wærburh (d. ca 699 or 700), were all of royal birth,¹²³ records of eighth-century benefaction to Ely are not extant. However, *Liber Eliensis'* account of the monastery's apparent destruction by Danish raiders ca post-866 does demonstrate the monastery's wealth and importance. Its reference to Ely's "*ornamentis et reliquiis*" ("ornaments and relics") perhaps indicates its status as a royal foundation, while the notation that a "*civitate*" ("city") had arisen near the monastery, coupled with "*prede ubertate*" ("an abundance of plunder") seized by the Danes, seemingly suggests that its wealth was commensurate with *Medeshamstede's*.¹²⁴

Like *Medeshamstede*, the documentary evidence also suggests that Ely's monastic precinct may have included one or more stone-working *ateliers*. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *Liber Eliensis* accounts of Abbess Seaxburh's

¹²² Bede, *HE*, IV.19 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 394-395; *Liber Eliensis*, I.15 (E. Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 33-34; *Liber Eliensis*, I.15 (J. Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 44; Bede, *EH*, IV.25 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 424-425.

¹²³ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 70.

¹²⁴ "*Postquam igitur permissu divino prefata gens barbarorum hostili pervasione cuncta Anglorum bona diripuit, vastavit, incendio consumpsit, monasteriorum septa diabolica rebe fedavit, tandem ad notitiam Elyensium pervenit accolarum. Omnis undique etas, omnis utriusque sexus conditio, vivendi conducta amore, maluit huc atque illuc fugiendo substantie dispendium pati quam feritatis hostium globis congregi ... Sicque monasterio quod vera Dei christicola Æðeldreða construxerat cum virginibus et ornamentis et reliquiis sanctorum sanctarumque combusto, civitate etiam spoliata et cremata, prede ubertate ditati omniaque eiusdem loci adimentes mobilia atque utensilia, inimici Domini redierunt ad propria*". "Well then, with God's permission, the aforesaid race of barbarians, in a hostile, wide-ranging invasion, pillaged, devastated and burnt down all the possessions of the English, and defiled the precincts of monasteries with diabolic frenzy and, after this, they finally came to know of the people residing in Ely. All around, people of every age and condition, and of both sexes, guided by their love of being alive, decided to suffer the loss of their property, taking flight in one direction or another, in preference to confrontation with their enemies' fireballs of ferocity ... And thus the monastery, which God's true Christian, Æthelthryth, had built, was set on fire, along with its virgins and its ornaments and relics of saints, male and female. The city too was sacked and burnt down. Made richer by an abundance of plunder, taking away all the furnishings and utensils of the place, the enemies of the Lord returned to their own domains". *Liber Eliensis*, I.40 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 54-55 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, I.40 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), pp. 73-74 (translation).

procurement of a Roman sarcophagus at “*Grantacæstir/Grantecester*”,¹²⁵ inference is made to stone-working at Ely. “*Iussitque quosdam e fratribus quaerere lapidem, de quo locellum in hoc facere possent*” (“She therefore ordered some of the brothers to look for some blocks of stone from which to make a coffin for this purpose”/“And she ordered certain of the brothers to look for stone from which they could make a tomb”)¹²⁶ suggests that some eighth-century monks at Ely were proficient stone-workers. These accounts also describe how the Fens were bereft of stone, requiring importation via riverine transport.¹²⁷

It is the later accounts, however, which reinforce the suggestion that Ely may have been a stone-working centre. For example, many of the sites from which Late Saxon sculpture is documented in East Anglia (including Willingham, Balsham, Stapleford and Fulbourn, all C) are identified (in **bold**) as benefices of Ely in Edward the Confessor’s (1042-1066) charter (documented in *Liber Eliensis*) where the king’s endowments to the abbey are recorded:

Unde et prefato cenobio villam nomine Lachingehede firme et hereditarie subicio, quo illorum aliquo modo iungar consortio et sanctorum inibi multiplici meritorum laude quiescentium amplificer suffragio ... Summam ergo eorum, que illi loco hoc nostro adiacent tempore, vel quali legum consuetudine nominatim subiecta, monstrabimus descriptione: In comitatu Grantecester: ipsa insula cum duobus centuriatibus et omnibus appendiciis. Extra: Suafham,

¹²⁵ In his eighth-century account of the life of St Guthlac, Felix associates “*Grantacæstir/Grantecester*” with Cambridge. “*Est in mediterraneis Britanniae partibus immensae magnitudinis aterrima palus, quae, a Grontae fluminis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quem dicunt nomine Gronte, nunc stagnis, nunc flactis, interdum nigris fusi vaporis laticibus, necnon et crebris insularum nemorumque intervenientibus flexuosis revigarum anfractibus, ab austro in aquilonem mare tenus longissimo tractu protenditur*”.¹²⁶ 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 tortuous streams”. Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, XXIV (B. Colgrave, trans., 1956; 1985), pp. 86-87. Colgrave concurs with Felix, stating that the sarcophagus retrieved by the Ely monks was “doubtless ... taken from the Roman town on Castle Hill, Cambridge”. See Bede, *HE*, IV.19 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), p. 394, n. 1.

¹²⁶ Bede, *HE*, IV.19 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 392-395; *Liber Eliensis*, I.26 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 43; *Liber Eliensis*, I.26 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 57.

¹²⁷ Bede, *EH*, IV.19 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 394-395; *Liber Eliensis*, I.26 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 43-44; *Liber Eliensis*, I.26 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), pp. 57-58.

Horningeseie, Dittune, Hauechestune, Neutune, Stapelford, Sceldford, Tripelaue, Meldeburne, Erningeford, Grantedene, Stevechwrde, Belesham, Fuelburne, Theveresham, Westlai, Trumpintune, Wratinge, Sneilewelle, Dittune, Hardwic, Middletune, Impetune, Cotenham, Wivelingham. Omnisque quartus nummus rei publice in provincia Grantecester et alique terre in ipsa villa. In comitatu Sutfolc: Hertest, Glamesford, Hecham, Ratelesdene, Drinchestune, Neddinge, Berchinges, Bercham, Wederingesete, Livremere, Achold, ad Wichelaue v et dimidium centuriatum, Sutburne, Meltune, Kingestune, Hoo, Stocche, Debham, Brithwelle, Oddeburge, Brandune. In comitatu Norðfolc: Feltewelle, Brugeham, Medelworde, Crochestune, Watinge, Mundeford, Berc, Westfled, Fingeham, Notwelle, Walepol cum appendiciis, Merham, Derham, Thorp, Pulham. In comitatu Esex: Hadestoc, Litelbirig, Stratlai, due Rodinges, Ratendune, Amerdene, Brocheseue, Estre, Fanbruge, Terlinges. In comitatu Hereford: Hadham, Hethfeld, Keleshelle. In comitatu Huntendune: Spaldewich cum appendiciis, Sumeresham, Colne, Bluntesham. Hec et aliorum appenditia sive maiora sive minora, insuper omnia a quocumque adiecta vel adicienda bonorum testimonio possessa, cum omni sacha et socha, sine aliqua exceptione secularis vel ecclesiastice iustitie illi monasterio damus, data quieta clamamus eadem qua sancti viri illud glorificaverunt libertate, quo neque episcopus neque comes neque alicuius exactionis minister sine licentia vel advocacione abbatis et fratrum ullo modo se presumat intrmittere vel rem sancta aliquot modo inquietare. Sitque in eorum, ut semper fuit, arbitrio a quocumque potissimum eligerint ordinari vel sua sanctificari episcopo”.“Hence, I additionally make subject to the aforesaid monastery [Ely] the vill named Lakenheath in firm and hereditary possession, so that, in a way, I may join their community and may increase in greatness by the help of the saints, who, amid much praise of their merits, repose there ... We will set forth in a full listing, therefore, the sum total of the properties which are attached to that place [Ely] in this our time [1042-1066], specifically subject to it, even, by legal custom. In the county of Cambridge: the Isle itself with its two hundreds and all appendages; outside the Isle: Swaffham, Horningsea, Ditton, Hauxton, Newton, **Stapelford**, **Shelford**, Thriplow, Melbourn, Armingford, Gransden, Stetchworth, **Balsham**, **Fulbourn**, Teversham, Westley, Trumpington, **Wratinge**, Snailwell, Ditton, Hardwick, Milton, Impington, Cottenham, **Willingham**; and every fourth coin of public funds in the county of Cambridge, and other lands in the town [of **Cambridge**] itself. In the county of Suffolk: Hartest, Glemsford, Hitcham, Rattlesden, Drinkstone, Nedging, Barking, Barham, Wetheringsett, Livermere, Occold, five-and-a-half hundreds at Wicklow, Sudbourne, Melton, Kingston, Hoo, Stoke, Debenham, Brightwell, Woodbridge, Brandon. In the county of Norfolk: Feltwell, Bridgham, Methwold, Croxton, Weeting, Mundford, Bergh, Westfield, Fincham, Northwold, Walpole with its appendages, Marham, Dereham, Thorpe, Pulham. In the county of Essex: Hadstock, Littlebury, Stretley, the two Rodings, Rattlesden, Amberden, Broxted, Easter, Fambridge, Terling. In the county of

Hertford: Hadstock, Hatfield, Kelshall. In the county of Huntingdon: Spaldwick with its appendages, Somersham, Colne, Bluntisham. We grant to that monastery [Ely] these properties and their appendages, whether greater or smaller—and, over and above them, all possessions added, or to be added by anyone whomsoever, where their ownership rests on the testimony of good men—with all sake and soke, without any exception in respect of secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. We declare them granted and settled, in the same liberty with which the saints glorified the aforesaid monastery, so that neither bishop nor earl nor the collector of any taxation should presume without the permission or invitation of the abbot and brothers in any way to enter into or to disturb in any respect the property of the lady saint. And let it be within their discretion, as it has always been, for them to be ordained or their possessions consecrated, by whichsoever bishop they happen to choose” (**Bold and underlined author’s own**).¹²⁸

Furthermore, an earlier economic relationship between Ely and various East Anglian *vills* preserving stone sculpture (including many recorded in the Confessor’s charter) is also documented. Following his consecration as Abbot of Ely in 1029, Leofsige initiated a programme of royally-sanctioned “food-rent”, in which *vills* provisioned Ely with agricultural products or their monetary equivalent.¹²⁹ This system and its various participants are also recorded in *Liber Eliensis* (sites preserving sculpture are identified in bold):

“Statuit [Leofsige] etiam nutu et favore ipsius Regis [Cnut] firmas consignando, que per annum ecclesie in cibum sufficerent et potius electe de vicis et arvis que abundantiore dulcedine et uberiori cespitate segetes creare noscuntur, quorum hic nomina inferuntur: In primis **Sceldford** duarum solvit firmam ebdomadatum, **Stapelford** unius, **Litleberi** duarum, **Tripelaue** duarum, **Havechestune** unius, et **Neutune** unius, **Meldeburne** duarum, **Grantedene** duarum, **Thoftes** unius, et **Cotenham** unius, et **Wivelingham** unius, **Dittune** duarum, et **Horningeseie** duarum, **Stevecheworde** duarum, **Belesham** duarum, **Kadenho** quatuor dierum, **Seufham** dierum trium, **Spaldewic** duarum ebdomadatum, **Sumeresham** duarum, **Bluntesham** unius, et **Colne** unius, **Herdherst** unius, **Drenchestune** unius, **Ratelesdene** duarum, **Hecham** duarum, **Berechinge** duarum, **Necdinge** unius, **Wederingesete** unius, **Brecheham** duarum, **Pulham** duarum, **Thorpe et Dirham** duarum, **Nordwolde** duarum, **Feltewelle** duarum, **Merham** vero ad vehendum firmam ecclesie de Nortfolche, ad suscipiendum ingredientes et egredientes de monasterio. Et hec siquid minus statuto

¹²⁸ *Liber Eliensis*, II.92 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 161-162 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.92 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 192-193 (translation).

¹²⁹ See *Liber Eliensis*, II.84 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 180, n. 378.

suis conferrent temporibus, insula ad hoc deputata reliquum supplere”./“With the consent and approval of the king [Cnut] himself, he [Leofsige] also instituted a system of designating sources of food-rent which would be sufficient throughout the year for the supplying of food for the church, and, for preference, sources of food-rent chosen from among the villages and lands which, by their more than usually abundant sweetness and exceptionally rich turf, are recognized as productive of crops. Their names are listed here: first of all, **Shelford** paid a food-rent of two weeks; **Stapleford**, of one; Littlebury, of two; Thriplow, of Two; Hauxton, of one; Newton, of one; Melbourn, of two; Gransden, of two; Toft, of one; and Cottenham, of one, and **Willingham**, of one; Ditton, of two, [and] Horningsea, of two; Stetchworth, of two; **Balsham**, of two; Hadstock, of four days; Swaffham, of three days; Spaldwick of two weeks; Somersham of two; Bluntisham of one, and Colne, of one; Hartest, of one; Drinkstone, of one; Rattlesden, of two; Hitcham, of two; Barking, of two; Nedging, of one; Wetheringsett, of one; Bridgham, of two; Pulham, of two; Thorpe and Dereham, of two; Northwold, of two; Feltwell, of two; but Marham was to convey a food-rent to the church of Norfolk, and for the sustenance of people arriving at, and leaving, the monastery. And if these estates contributed less than their stated assignment at their specified times, the Isle would supply the deficit, having been designated for this purpose” (**and underlined** author’s own).¹³⁰

This documentary evidence, that so clearly (and repeatedly) confirms the association with Ely of specific sites preserving sculptural evidence, coupled with the stylistic consistency of the Fenland monuments (for which see below, pp. 134-141, 153-156) and their use of Barnack limestone (whose importation implies a well-organized and well-funded infrastructure) strongly implies that the monastery was a principal locus of sculptural production in the East Anglian province in the later Saxon period.

However, if, as this author contends, Ely’s refoundation in 970 can serve as a *terminus post quem* for much of East Anglia’s Late Saxon sculpture, then whether the monastery was destroyed by Danes in the mid-ninth century and when it acquired its dependencies should also be considered. Following its purported destruction, *Liber Eliensis* suggests that Ely’s community (and its associated buildings) were

¹³⁰ *Liber Eliensis*, II.84 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 152-153 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.84 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 180-181 (translation).

completely destroyed, leaving no visible evidence of Christian observance on the Isle. This may have been exacerbated by the site's apparent subjection to royal tithes;¹³¹ hence, commercial activity, such as agriculture, could have supplanted monasticism at Ely in the late ninth century. However, the site's purported destruction and its possible agricultural reuse are not supported archaeologically, though scant material evidence permits only conjectural reconstruction of Ely's Middle Saxon religious community, and no evidence of violence or site-reuse has been noted (see below, pp. 115-116). However, if such material evidence had existed, it would likely have been destroyed during Norman and later medieval building campaigns at the site.

Liber Eliensis also intimates that a religious community had been re-established at Ely prior to its Benedictine refoundation, characterizing it as a “*publicum monasterium sine cultu et reverentia*” (“a public minster, lacking ceremonial and reverence”).¹³² Textual accounts (including *Liber Eliensis*) of Ely's seventh- and eight-century communities under Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, Eormenhild and Wærburh emphasize the piety of their abbesses and, by association, of the communities themselves.¹³³ Thus, it is unlikely that *Liber Eliensis*' record of a “*publicum monasterium*” at Ely is associated with its sainted abbesses. Following Wærburh's death, *Liber Eliensis* states that a succession of unnamed abbesses guided Ely's community, promoting both sanctity and the observance of a monastic rule.¹³⁴

¹³¹ “*Eversio paganis olim inruentibus locum sine cultu occisis effecit cultoribus, cuius loci desolatio, antique religionis preferens exterminium, de celesti libertate in humanam servitutem transierat et usque ad tempora gloriosi Regis Edgari regionem fisco serviebat*.” “Long ago, the pagans attacked it [Ely], rendered the place destitute of worship, the upholders of its rites having been massacred. The wreck of this place, presenting visible evidence of the complete extermination of past religious practice there, had passed from celestial liberty into human servitude, and right until the times of glorious King Edgar was subservient to the royal treasury”. *Liber Eliensis*, II.1 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 72-73 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.1 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 96 (translation).

¹³² *Liber Eliensis*, II.1 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 73; *Liber Eliensis*, II.1 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 96.

¹³³ See above, ns. 121-122, 124, 126.

¹³⁴ *Liber Eliensis*, I.37 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 52; *Liber Eliensis*, I.37 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 70.

Based on this account, a “*publicum monasterium*” is similarly incompatible with the period immediately preceding Ely’s reported destruction by the “Great Army”. This contradiction in *Liber Eliensis* regarding the nature of Ely’s community pre-866 and whether it had been re-established prior to its Benedictine refoundation by Æthelwold clearly demonstrates the inconsistencies that, as outlined above (see pp. 48, 50, 52-53), occasionally characterize East Anglia’s purported pre-Conquest history, preserved in post-Conquest texts. Though conjectural, it is likely that *Liber Eliensis*’ “*publicum monasterium*” reference is attributable to reformist zeal, indirectly promoting both Æthelwold and the Benedictine reform in its refoundation story. However, if the monastery had survived Danish incursions in the mid-ninth century, then the *Liber Eliensis* author invests considerable importance (demonstrated by the length and detail of the aforementioned passages) in revisionist history. This would suggest an organized campaign of Benedictine misinformation which seems entirely unlikely, especially considering the account of Ely’s rebuilding in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (see below, n. 135).

Despite such inconsistencies concerning the nature of Ely’s ninth-century religious community, the approximate date of its refoundation as a Benedictine monastery by Æthelwold is seemingly confirmed by two accounts. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Ely was rebuilt and “*macode hit swyðe rice*” (“made rich/was richly endowed”) by Æthelwold post-963, following his establishment of two monasteries at Winchester.¹³⁵ This is corroborated by *Liber Eliensis* which specifies

¹³⁵ “*On þes oðer gear syþþon he wæs ge halgod. þa makode he feola minstra. ⁊ draf út þa clerca of þe biscoprice, forþan þ hi noldon nan regul healden. ⁊ sætta þær muneca. He macode þær twa abbot rice. an of muneca oðer of nunna. þ wæs call wið innan Wintanceastra ... And se biscop com þa first to Élig. Pær S. Æðeldrið lið. ⁊ leot macen þone mynstre. geaf hit þa his án munac Brihtnoð wæs gehaten. halgode him þa abbot, ⁊ sætte þær munecas Gode to þewian. þær hwilon wæron nun. bohte þa feola collifæt se king. ⁊ macode hit swyðe rice*.” “In the year after he was consecrated he established many monasteries, and drove out the secular clergy from the cathedral because they would not observe any monastic rule, and replaced them with monks. He established two abbeys, one of monks and the other of nuns, both at Winchester ... The bishop went first to Ely, where St

both the date of the refoundation (970) and the endowments themselves, including lands, precious textiles and gold and silver objects.¹³⁶ While the objects are discussed in some detail, the author states that land-holdings are “*que proprio alibi continentur volumine*” (“in a book of their own elsewhere”).¹³⁷ Following this refoundation, “*haut multo post hec*” (“not long afterwards”),¹³⁸ *Liber Eliensis* records that Æthelwold acquired King Edgar’s holdings on the Isle and large tracts in East Anglia, including “*quinque hidas apud Meldeburne et iii hidas cum dimidia apud Ærningeforde et xii hidas apud Northwolde*” (“five hides at Melbourn, three-and-a-half hides at Armingford and twelve hides at Northwold”).¹³⁹ Though a complete inventory of Ely’s tenth-century land-holdings is not extant,¹⁴⁰ Melbourn, Armingford (both C) and Northwold (Nf) are listed in the Confessor’s charter (see above, p. 107, underlined), and Melbourn and Northwold are also recorded as participants in Leofsige’s “food-rent” programme (see above, pp. 108-109, underlined). If the *vills* of Melbourn, Northwold and Armingford were granted to Ely in the late-tenth century, as *Liber Eliensis* suggests, then their proximity to sites preserving Late Saxon sculpture might suggest that these other *vills* were also among the unnamed early benefices of Ely,¹⁴¹ perhaps even those “*que proprio alibi continentur volumine*”, though definitive evidence of this conjectured tenth-century association is elusive.

Æthelthryth is buried, and had the monastery built, giving it to one of his monks whose name was Byrhtnoth: he consecrated him abbot and peopled it with monks to serve God, where formerly there had been nuns. He bought many villages from the king and richly endowed it”. Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 115 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 115 (translation).

¹³⁶ See *Liber Eliensis*, II.3 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 74-75; *Liber Eliensis*, II.3 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), pp. 97-98.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75; p. 98.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75; p. 99.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76; p. 99.

¹⁴⁰ To which source the “*que proprio alibi continentur volumine*” reference refers is unknown.

¹⁴¹ For example, Melbourn (part of Armingford Hundred) is approximately 9.7 km southwest of both Whittlesford (C) and Little Shelford (C), and Northwold is 7.2 km southwest of Bodney (N). See above, fig. 5.

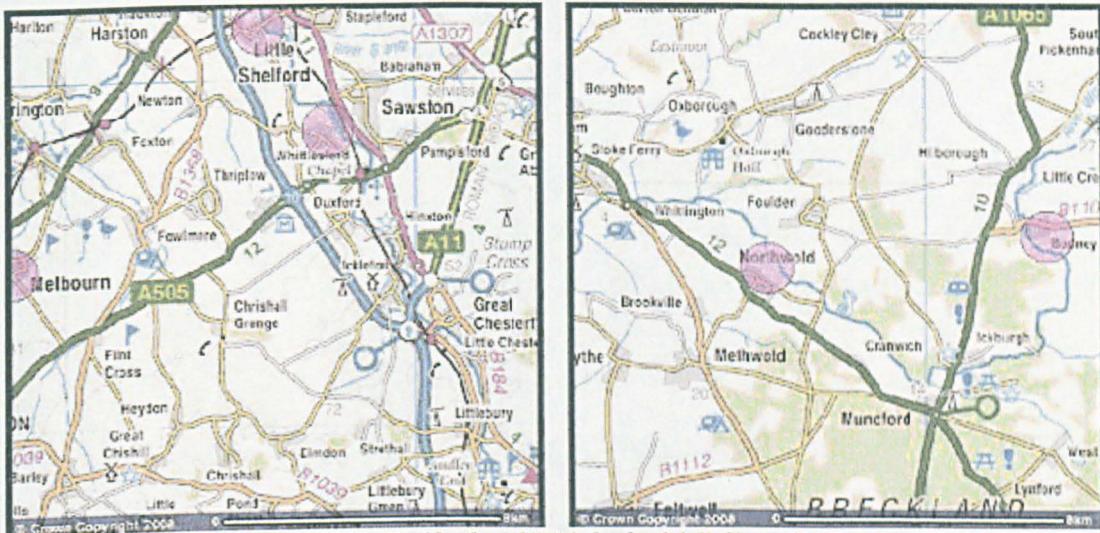


Fig. 5. Right: Melbourn, Little Shelford and Whittlesford (all C); Left: Northwold and Bodney (both Nf) (©Ordnance Survey, 2008 with modifications by Reed, 2008).

In consummation of Æthelwold's land-transaction with Edgar, soon after Ely's refoundation as Benedictine monastery, the king donated a gold reliquary cross and a gospel book to Ely's high altar as a "*munimentum donorum suorum et loci libertatem*" ("a safeguard for his grants and in furtherance of the liberty of the place").¹⁴² This account prefigures Byrhtnoth's (d. 991) gifts of golden crosses to Ely (see below, n. 146) and Cnut's (d. 1035) and Ælfgyfu's (d. 1052) donation of an altar cross to the New Minster at Winchester, depicted in the New Minster Charter (?ca 1031, Winchester; see Appendix 2, pl. 162),¹⁴³ perhaps suggesting that pre-Conquest dispensations of land and defense to religious houses were signified and expressed through gifts of precious objects, particularly altar crosses.

Textual evidence also confirms that Ely was the recipient of noble benefaction, most notably, by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth (d. 991) and his wife, Ælfflæd (d. ca 1017-1035).¹⁴⁴ Byrhtnoth held lands in Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire,

¹⁴² *Liber Eliensis*, II.4 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 76; *Liber Eliensis*, II.4 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 99. Edgar's benefaction of Ely was extensive. See *Liber Eliensis*, II.50 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 117; *Liber Eliensis*, II.50 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), pp. 140-141.

¹⁴³ London, B.L. MS Stowe 944, f. 6. Illustrated in E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, gen. ed. J.J.G. Alexander, 6 vols. (London 1976), II, fig. 244, pp. 95-96.

¹⁴⁴ Others include Oswi, Æthelric and Uvi. Æthelric's son, Æthelmær, became a monk at Ely ca 1000. See *Liber Eliensis*, ii.11, 33, 67-68. See also C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*

Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire; his most extensive holdings, however, were in East Anglia, especially Suffolk, presented as dowry by Ælfflæd's father, Ealdorman Ælfgar (d. *ca* post-951).¹⁴⁵ According to *Liber Eliensis*, Byrhtnoth gave lands, money and precious objects to Ely as compensation for the monks' hospitality and provisioning prior to the Battle of Maldon (991).¹⁴⁶ After Byrhtnoth's death, and his subsequent burial at Ely, Ælfflæd perpetuated this benefaction through donation of additional estates and objects, including an embroidered textile commemorating Byrhtnoth's deeds.¹⁴⁷ What, specifically, this object may have illustrated, when it was made and by whom, is unknown.¹⁴⁸ However, it is possible that Ælfflæd and her retinue, acknowledging similarities between Byrhtnoth's death and King Edmund's of East Anglia (d. 869; probably canonised *ca* 924-939 during the reign of Athelstan), endeavoured to portray Byrhtnoth as a martyr of the Danish invasions. In the mid-twelfth century, Byrhtnoth's remains and those of other notable patrons were translated and reburied in the abbey church.¹⁴⁹ Coatsworth suggests that the references to these translations, scattered throughout several chapters of *Liber Eliensis*, were perhaps drawn from a compendium of the lives of Ely's chief benefactors produced in commemoration of the event.¹⁵⁰ If so, then a "*vita*" and

(Leicester 1966), pp. 46-47, 61; and M. Locherbie-Cameron, "Byrhtnoth and his Family", *The Battle of Maldon, AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg (Oxford 1991), pp. 253-262, at 255-256. Locherbie-Cameron suggests that Abbot Byrhtnoth (*ca* 970), Ely's first abbot post-refoundation, was Ealdorman Byrhtnoth's cousin. Locherbie-Cameron, "Byrhtnoth and his Family", p. 254.

¹⁴⁵ C. Hart, "The Ealdordom of Essex", *An Essex Tribute: Essays Presented to Frederick G. Emmison*, ed. K. Neale (Cambridge 1987), pp. 57-84, at 70-71. Byrhtnoth and Ælfflæd acquired additional lands in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Essex from Ælfflæd's sister, Æthelflæd (d. 975), second wife of King Edmund (d. 946; stepmother to King Edgar), and later wife of Ealdorman Æthelstan "Rota" (d. 970) of south-east Mercia. See Locherbie-Cameron, "Byrhtnoth and his Family", p. 255.

¹⁴⁶ See *Liber Eliensis*, II.62 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 134-135; *Liber Eliensis*, II.62 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), pp. 160, 162.

¹⁴⁷ See Whitelock, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, no. 15, pp. 38-43, at 40-41; and *Liber Eliensis*, II.63 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 136; *Liber Eliensis*, II.63 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the problems associated with the Byrhtnoth textile and its historiography, see M. Budny, "The Byrhtnoth Tapestry or Embroidery", *Battle of Maldon*, pp. 263-278, *passim*.

¹⁴⁹ See *Liber Eliensis*, II.87 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 155-156; *Liber Eliensis*, II.87 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 184-185.

¹⁵⁰ E. Coatsworth, "Byrhtnoth's Tomb", *Battle of Maldon*, pp. 279-288, at 279.

translation with other “saints” suggests that Byrhtnoth may have been accorded *de facto* martyr’s status in twelfth-century Ely.

The omissions and contradictions that characterize Ely’s complex textual history are also manifested archaeologically. While many of the site’s ancillary, twelfth-century monastic buildings are extant, including the infirmary, kitchen, prior’s house and west range, the location and form of its central buildings is largely conjectural. Based on evidence of a Middle Saxon foundation, part of which was observed during exterior refurbishment west of the present cathedral at the corner between the southwest transept and the Galilee porch, Dixon suggests that the buildings that comprised the seventh- and eight-century precinct probably lay in the general area of the cathedral’s nave.¹⁵¹ This is seemingly corroborated by excavations undertaken in 2000 between the Lady Chapel and the choir which produced considerable quantities of Middle and Late Saxon occupation debris, consistent with rubbish dumps associated with settlement-peripheries.¹⁵² Dixon contends that the precinct rebuilt by Æthelwold (which survived to the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries) comprised a church and several ranges of buildings, possibly including a cloister, then fashionable in Carolingian architecture.¹⁵³ To the northwest of the cathedral, beside the lay cemetery, evidence was recovered of what has been termed the “sacrist’s establishment”, comprising a hall and other buildings

¹⁵¹ P. Dixon, “The Monastic Buildings at Ely”, *A History of Ely Cathedral*, eds. P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (Woodbridge 2003), pp. 142-155, at 144. For an authoritative discussion of Ely’s monastic architectural history, see T. Atkinson, *An Architectural History of the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Etheldreda at Ely* (Cambridge 1933), *passim*. For recent studies of individual buildings, see A. Holton-Krayenbuhl, “The Infirmary Complex at Ely”, *Architectural Journal* 154 (1997), pp. 118-172, *passim*; and *idem*, “The Prior’s Lodgings at Ely”, *Architectural Journal* 156 (1999), pp. 294-341, *passim*.

¹⁵² Discussed in Dixon, “Monastic Buildings at Ely”, p. 144.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* See also W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St Gall. A Study of the Architecture and Economy of Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley 1979), I, pp. 241-310.

which seemingly functioned as workshops and an accountancy.¹⁵⁴ Though definitive evidence is not extant, Holton-Krayenbuhl, Cocke and Malim contend that stone- and metalworking *ateliers* were located here, supported by evidence of the area's separate entrance, possibly for unloading building materials.¹⁵⁵ Thus, acknowledging both textual and material evidence, it is very likely that Ely was a stoneworking centre throughout the Middle and Late Saxon periods, albeit with possible interruption between the late ninth and late tenth centuries following purported Danish raids.

Bædriceswirde (Bury St Edmunds), a third major ecclesiastical centre, situated in the upper Lark Valley whose river systems drain into the Great Fen, was founded near direct riverine routes to Ely and Cambridge. Despite probable communication with such important settlements, however, *Bædriceswirde*'s Anglo-Saxon history (both textual and material) is very fragmentary. According to Abbo's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, written at Ramsey between 985 and 987, the site's foundation is attributed to King Sigeberht of East Anglia (d. ca post-636), whose apparent abdication and subsequent adoption of monastic life is recounted in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹⁵⁶ The *Historia* also records that Sigeberht founded a school, probably modelled on that at Canterbury;¹⁵⁷ whether this foundation was associated with his monastery, however, is unclear. It is presumed that Sigeberht's monastery at *Bædriceswirde* was constructed on the site later occupied by St Edmund's Abbey.¹⁵⁸ Finds of Ipswich Ware pottery in the northeast corner of the abbey perhaps indicate

¹⁵⁴ A. Holton-Krayenbuhl, T. Cocke and T. Malim, "Ely Cathedral Precincts: the North Range", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 78 (1989), pp. 47-69, at 48-55; Dixon, "Monastic Buildings at Ely", p. 146.

¹⁵⁵ Holton-Krayenbuhl, Cocke and Malim, "Ely Cathedral Precincts", pp. 48-55; Dixon, "Monastic Buildings at Ely", p. 146.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in T. Arnold, ed., *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, 3 vols., Rolls series 96 (1890-1896), I, p. 19; Bede, *HE*, III.18 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 268-269.

¹⁵⁷ Bede, *HE*, III.18 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 266-269.

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 106.

the location of Sigebert's church.¹⁵⁹ While Late Anglo-Saxon remains, including a fragment of funerary sculpture, have been identified at the site (see Appendix 1, p. 338; pls. 36-37), the Ipswich Ware fragments constitute its only evidence of Middle Saxon occupation.¹⁶⁰

Prior to the translation of St Edmund's body to *Bædriceswirde* in the early to mid-tenth century, the site's history is largely unknown. Abbo records that the community of St Edmund's constructed "*permaxima miro ligneo tabulatu ecclesia*" ("a very large church of wonderful wooden plankwork") in which the relics were deposited.¹⁶¹ If the monastery had been destroyed by the "Great Army" in the ninth century (as perhaps implied in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; see above, p. 99; n. 104), then it had been quickly rebuilt, as Abbo's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* suggests that the translation of Edmund's body occurred during the reign of Athelstan (925-939).¹⁶² This is consistent with the record of King Edmund's (d. 946) gifts of multiple estates to *Bædriceswirde*,¹⁶³ perhaps in recognition of the monastery's increased status. Though several scholars, including Plunkett, advocate an early tenth-century date for Edmund's translation (referencing the late fourteenth-century source, Bodley MS. 240), royal benefaction to *Bædriceswirde* in the mid-tenth century is consistent with deposition of Edmund's body. Following temporary removal of the relics to London in 1010 in anticipation of Danish raids, the four priests and two deacons charged with tending the saint's shrine were replaced by twenty monks, led by Abbot Ufi.¹⁶⁴ In 1020, King Cnut (d. 1035) ordered the first stone church constructed ("*basilica*

¹⁵⁹ R. Gem and L. Keen, "Late Anglo-Saxon finds from the site of St Edmund's Abbey", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 35.1 (1981), pp. 1-30, at 1-2; see also Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 106.

¹⁶⁰ Gem and Keen, "Late Anglo-Saxon finds", pp. 1-3.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in Arnold, ed., *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, I, p. 19.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

lapidea"/"stone basilica") at *Bædriceswirde* (dedicated in 1032 to SS Mary and Edmund) and endowed the monastery with additional lands and liberties.¹⁶⁵ This benefaction was perpetuated by Cnut's son, Harthacnut (d. 1042), and by Edward the Confessor (d. 1066).¹⁶⁶

Excavations at the site of St Edmund's Abbey in 1955 revealed several examples of carved stone, including fragments of baluster shafts and a portion of a carved slab built into the ruined outer wall of the ambulatory of the eleventh-century crypt (see Appendix 1, pls. 36-37).¹⁶⁷ Despite its formal and stylistic similarities to the Fenland Group of recumbent and associated monuments, Gem and Keen argue that the slab's decoration does not permit a close attribution of date;¹⁶⁸ however, considering the fragment's reuse in an eleventh-century architectural context, it either pre-dates or is contemporary with the construction. Though no textual accounts of stone-working at *Bædriceswirde* are extant other than Cnut's benefaction of a stone church, the contemporaneous sculptural fragment preserved in the post-Conquest abbey's foundations and the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses (both Sf; perhaps associated with the translation of St Edmund's relics from Hoxne, Sf, to *Bædriceswirde* in the tenth century; see Appendix 1, pp. 339-340, 351; pls. 39-44, 66-67; and below, pp. 159-161; figs. 19-20) suggest that a stone-working *atelier* was associated with the site. If such an *atelier* was sited at *Bædriceswirde*, it may have been the recipient of royal patronage. For example, the lengthy Latin inscription preserved on the Great Ashfield Cross seemingly alludes to kingly benefaction (see below, p. 159). Furthermore, a personal association between Theodred (d. 955), Bishop of London and Hoxne, and Queen Eadgiva (d. 955) is documented in

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, 84.

¹⁶⁶ W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols., eds., J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (1655-1656; London 1817-1830), III, pp. 100, 138.

¹⁶⁷ Gem and Keen, "Late Anglo-Saxon Finds", pp. 1-20.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Theodred's will (see below, p. 163). This “contextualizing” evidence suggests that the Bishopric of Hoxne likely effected some influence at the Wessex court; and if the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses are, indeed, associated with the translation of St Edmund's relics from Hoxne to *Bædriceswirde*, then they would likely be products of the most elite patronage (see below, pp. 162-164).

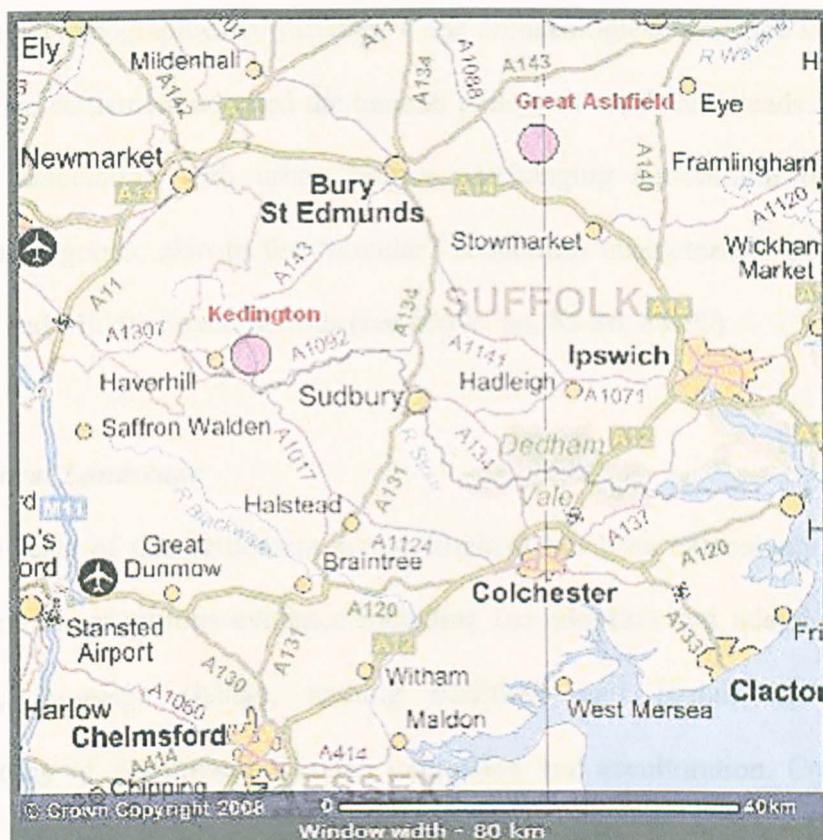


Fig. 6. *Bury St Edmunds, Great Ashfield and Kedington* (©Ordnance Survey, 2008 with modifications by Reed, 2008).

3.B.vi. *Danish Settlement*

The Danes effectively conquered East Anglia after the defeat and murder of Edmund in 869. While this victory was followed by a decade of conflict across southern England, culminating in Danish defeat by Alfred of Wessex in 878 and the Treaty of Wedmore, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does record that in 879, the Danish “*her for se here of Cirenceastre on East Engle, 7 gesæt þæt lond, 7 gedælde*” (“went from

Cirencester into East Anglia, and occupied that land, and shared it out").¹⁶⁹ While most Danish settlements were probably rural in nature and supported by agriculture, the evidence of the Five Boroughs (Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester and Stamford) in the East Midlands confirms that urbanism and industry were also part of the Danish settlement.¹⁷⁰ Thus, although Hadley argues that Scandinavian settlement was geographically variable,¹⁷¹ the archaeological evidence suggests that East Anglian settlement adopted the general pattern of rural farmsteads in mediated economic association with urban centres, exchanging agricultural products for manufactured goods, akin to the "circular" economies characteristic of the Roman and Early and Middle Saxon periods (see above, pp. 83-86, 88-90).

3.B.vii. Rural Landscape

While the scale of this settlement across England has been extensively debated,¹⁷² reconsideration of various evidence including the adoption and adaption of estate structures, language change, naming traditions and burials has facilitated understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian interaction and acculturation. Consequently, the often polarized opinions regarding migrant numbers, ranging from large-scale colonization advocated by early place-names researchers¹⁷³ to smaller elite conquest

¹⁶⁹ Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 76 (text); Garmonsway, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 76 (translation).

¹⁷⁰ R. Hall, "The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: a Review of Present Knowledge", *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989), 149-206, esp. pp. 200-6.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, D. Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester 2006), pp. 28-80.

¹⁷² For an historiography of the debate, see *ibid.*, pp. 2-6.

¹⁷³ See, for example, E. Ekwall, "The Celtic Element", *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, eds., A. Mawer and F. Stenton, 2 pts. (Oxford 1924), i, pp 15-35, at 17; and *idem*, "The Scandinavian Element", *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, eds. Mawer and Stenton, i, pp. 55-92, at 56.

popularized by Davis and Sawyer,¹⁷⁴ have been reconciled by contemporary scholars who suggest that a few thousand settlers may have effected the lasting evidence of England's Scandinavian presence.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, though the progression of Danish settlement in England is largely undocumented, several researchers have demonstrated that the colonists probably exploited indigenous estate structures.¹⁷⁶ Prior to Scandinavian settlement, England's rural landscape was organized into multi-vill estates.¹⁷⁷ Typically, these comprised an estate centre, occupied by either a secular or ecclesiastical elite, supported by numerous outlying villas or dependencies, the inhabitants of which owed taxes and services to the estate centre, receiving manufactured goods and protection in return.¹⁷⁸ East Anglian examples include *Medeshamstede*, *Ely* and *Bædriceswirde*. Indeed, tenth- and eleventh-century estate centres were often royal or ecclesiastical villas in the ninth century or earlier; "this suggests a degree of organizational continuity through the period of Scandinavian settlement and subsequent West

¹⁷⁴ R. Davis, "East Anglia and the Danelaw", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series 5 (1955), pp. 23-39, at 29-30; Sawyer, "The density of the Danish settlement in England", pp. 1-17; and *idem*, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 168-169, 172-173.

¹⁷⁵ See Hadley, *Vikings in England*, pp. 2-6 (summarizing the colonization debate), 130. "The scale of the Scandinavian settlements has been extensively debated ... and while none of the evidence ... can resolve the debate conclusively, it seems most unlikely that the settlement could have been limited to that of an elite conquest by a few hundred warriors. However, this does not mean that the settlement was a folk migration, and perhaps a few thousand settlers may account for the Scandinavian influence discernible in so many aspects of the society and culture of northern and eastern England. A more profitable line of enquiry than continuing attempts to quantify the settlement is offered by evidence for the ways in which the settlers and local populations reacted to each other". *Ibid.*, p. 130. This author concurs with Hadley's contention that documenting culture-contact has greater potential for elucidating England's Scandinavian settlement than any estimate of its size. While migrant-numbers are ancillary to this study, Hadley's estimate is informed and prudent considering available evidence.

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, D. Hadley, "Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw", *Journal of Historical Geography* 22.1 (1996), pp. 3-15, *passim*; J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: land-holding, church and settlement* (Stroud 1991), pp. 12-34; G. Jones, "Multiple estates and early settlement", *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. Sawyer (London 1979), pp. 9-34, *passim*; and *idem*, "Early territorial organization in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement", *The Fourth Viking Congress, York, August, 1961*, ed. A. Small (Edinburgh 1965), pp. 67-84, *passim*.

¹⁷⁷ "A vill represents an area of land rather than the site of specific settlement; [it is] the unit of local administration at its lowest level". *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1436.

¹⁷⁸ Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 84.

Saxon conquest".¹⁷⁹ Though most land was probably seized by Scandinavians, other modes of land-acquisition, including purchase and appeasement, were also possible.¹⁸⁰

Hooke has also observed that settlement planning, closely associated with the organization of land holdings, is first evident in some royal *vills*.¹⁸¹ By the late ninth and early tenth centuries, nucleated settlements, centrally-located in arable fields, had begun replacing scattered farmsteads.¹⁸² Whether such change occurred abruptly or was the product of attrition, however, is unknown. Williamson generally concurs with Hooke, noting that East Anglian settlement-migrations gradually ceased throughout the seventh to ninth centuries, adopting locations later occupied by manorial centres, villages and parish churches.¹⁸³ Throughout this period, land under cultivation in East Anglia seemingly increased, as did settlement numbers and size, often expanding onto heavier clay soils.¹⁸⁴

Compared with the evidence for Scandinavian influences in metal objects such as dress- and equestrian-fittings (see below, pp. 237-254), stone sculpture (see the St Vedast Cross, below pp. 172-173, 275-279, figs. 22, 38; Appendix 1, pp. 329-330; pls. 20-24) and specific fortifications (see below, pp. 129-130)—which complement that suggested by the landscape archaeology—the onomastic evidence

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁸⁰ The Cumberland place-name "Copeland" (ON "*kaupaland*", "bought land") is suggestive of purchase. See A. Armstrong, *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1950-1952), II, p. 2. Watts has observed similar evidence for Scandinavian land-purchase in Durham. See V. Watts, "Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham", *Nomina* 12 (1988-1989), pp. 17-63, at 28, 40. The proliferation of Scandinavian place-names on the Wirral peninsula has been interpreted as evidence that Æthelflæd ceded land to Ingimund in a peace agreement. See, for example, G. Fellows-Jensen, "Scandinavian settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England", *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man. Select papers from the Ninth Viking Congress*, eds. C. Fell, *et al.* (London 1983), pp. 37-52, at 48-49.

¹⁸¹ D. Hooke, "The mid-late Anglo-Saxon period", *Landscape and Settlement in Britain, AD 400-1066*, eds. D. Hooke and S. Burnell (1995; Exeter 2001), pp. 95-114, at 95-100; *idem*, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 115.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁸³ Williamson, *East Anglia*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

is less conclusive.¹⁸⁵ Compared with northern England and the East Midlands, Scandinavian place-names are few in number (see fig. 7, below).



Fig. 7. Distribution of major place-names containing Scandinavian elements in East Anglia and the Fens (©Williamson 2006).

¹⁸⁵ As discussed above (see p. 55), the perceived value of onomastic evidence varies considerably, ranging from Hadley's dismissal of their use as "tired" and "unsophisticated", arguing that place-names represent "the product of the conscious and unconscious decisions made by the inhabitants of the Danelaw" of both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon ancestry to Abrams' and Parsons' defence of place-names as "a valuable historical source". See Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 329-330, 21-22; and Abrams and Parsons, "Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England", p. 423.

For example, Old Norse onomastic evidence is slight in the city of Norwich. The term “dyke”, surviving in the names of two of the city’s waterways, “Dalymond Dyke” and “Spiteldike”, is related to the Old Norse “*dik*” or “*diki*”,¹⁸⁶ survivals that probably indicate the importance of waterways to trade and commerce in the Late Saxon period. Two lost (post-Conquest) churches dedicated to St Olave are also recorded in the city, attesting to the obvious popularity of this saint amongst the city’s Danish population.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, one example of a “-*thorp*” ending (indicative of secondary settlement) is mentioned in the history of the church of St Clement Fyebridge, where it is recorded that the church belonged to the manor of “Tokethorp” (“*Toketop*” in *Domesday*).¹⁸⁸ A Scandinavian noun is also preserved in “Scoles Green”, as Sandred and Lindström have demonstrated “Scoles” relationship with the Old Norse “*skáli*”, meaning “hut”; and the former name of “Little London Street”, “Smithy Lane”, has been associated with the Old Norse “*smiðr*” or “smith”.¹⁸⁹ Thus, although limited, Norwich’s Scandinavian onomastic evidence evokes commerce and production as well as expanding settlement and parochialization.

Onomastic evidence for Danish settlement in central Suffolk is also slight. For example, a Scandinavian personal name survives in the village of “Thorington”, which Skeat interprets as an Anglicized form of the Old Norse “*Thori*” or “*Thuri*”;¹⁹⁰ and there are four examples of “-*by*” endings (“Ashby”, “Barnaby” or “Barnby”, “Risby” and “Wilby”),¹⁹¹ with a further four examples of “-*thorp*” endings (“Thorpe-

¹⁸⁶ Sandred and Lindström, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, pt. 1, pp. 6-8.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37; *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1078, 1092, 1121.

¹⁸⁹ Sandred and Lindström, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, pt. 1, p. 70. For the definitive study of Scandinavian personal names in Norfolk, see Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, *passim*.

¹⁹⁰ Skeat, *Place-Names of Suffolk*, pp. 107-108.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12; “Ashby” may also connote an ash-tree. See p. 16.

Morieux”, “Thorpe” near Aldringham, “Ixworththorpe” and “Westhorpe”).¹⁹² Central Suffolk’s place-names (suggesting sparse Scandinavian settlement) contrast with the survival of abundant metal objects, seemingly proclaiming the vibrancy of Scandinavian cultural traditions.

Based on Reaney’s inventory of Cambridgeshire’s Scandinavian place-names, settlement in this county was also limited. A “-thorp” ending is preserved in “Beornewelle Thorpe”,¹⁹³ and like the extant evidence in Norfolk, waterways with Scandinavian name-elements also survive: examples include “Car Dyke”, “Whittlesey Dike”, “King’s Dike” (or “*Swerdesdelf*”), “Cnut’s Dyke” and “Devil’s Dyke”.¹⁹⁴ Personal name-elements are also evident, including “Biggen”, “Biggin”, “Brink”, “Caxton”, “Croxtton” and “Coneywood”.¹⁹⁵ Here, it is reasonable to infer that the number of waterways with Scandinavian name-elements is evocative of similar communication/trade systems as suggested by the onomastic evidence in Norfolk. And, as in central Suffolk, it may also be possible to suggest that the influence of Scandinavian cultural traditions in Late Saxon Cambridgeshire (as represented by metal objects) was greater than the place-name evidence suggests.

While onomastic evidence for Danish settlement in central Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the city of Norwich is slight, certain concentrations of Scandinavian place-names are preserved in the region: Flegg (Nf), north of Great Yarmouth, and Lothingland Hundred in northeast Suffolk.¹⁹⁶ In the Late Saxon

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁹³ Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹⁹⁶ See K. Sandred, “The Scandinavians in Norfolk: Some Observations on the Place-Names in -by”, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 19 (1986-1987), pp. 5-28, *passim*; and D. Kennett, “Scandinavian Settlement in East Anglia (1)-Place-Names in North-East Suffolk”, *Yarmouth Archaeology* 2.4 (1987), pp. 121-129, *passim*. For other Scandinavian place-names in East Anglia, see Sandred, “Scandinavians in Norfolk”, pp. 19-22; Sandred and Lindström, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, *passim*; Skeat, *Place-Names of Suffolk*, *passim*; *idem*, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, *passim*; and Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, *passim*.

period, Flegg, like Ely, was a fen isle; however, owing to its marshy conditions, it was probably uninhabited prior to Danish settlement when its strategic importance was seemingly recognized.¹⁹⁷ Thus, survival of Flegg's Old Norse onomastic evidence, comprising thirteen “-by” place-names, was perhaps attributable to an absence of pre-existing or competing naming traditions on the isle in the ninth century.¹⁹⁸ Futhermore, the concentration of Old Norse place-names in Lothingland Hundred (numbering twenty-four)—and the region's proximity to Flegg—might suggest that this area was also uninhabited prior to Danish settlement and may have comprised the southern boundary of a Danish coastal community, founded on the East Anglian periphery.¹⁹⁹

Despite such pockets of concentrated Scandinavian place-names, Insley's study of Scandinavian personal names in Norfolk from the tenth to thirteenth centuries nevertheless demonstrates considerable Anglicization of the region, greater, indeed, than in other areas of the Scandinavian north (including Yorkshire and the East Midlands, for example).²⁰⁰ Examples include “*Osketil/Oschetil*” (ON “*Ásketil*”), hybrid formations such as “*Porric*”, “*Purwine*” and “*Purwig*” and hypocoristic forms including “*Oggi*” (“*Oddgeirr*”) and “*Tukka*” (“*Purkil*”).²⁰¹ Insley observes that this Anglicization is consistent with the nature of East Anglia's Scandinavian place-names which (with the notable exceptions of Flegg and Lothingland Hundred), generally constitute “Grimston-hybrids”, in which

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Sandred, “Scandinavians in Norfolk”, p. 6.

¹⁹⁸ While Cameron observes that “-by” place-names are indicative of the earliest Scandinavian settlements, Fellows-Jensen argues that most “-by” names in England are attributable to estate-fragmentation or reclamation of deserted land. However, she acknowledges that “some of the *bys* in England, particularly those in marginal areas, may have been founded by the Danes on hitherto vacant land”. Cameron, “The Place-Name Evidence Part III, The Grimston-Hybrids”, pp. 170-171; J. Fellows-Jensen, “Anthroponymical Specifics in Place-Names in -by in the British Isles”, *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 1 (1983), pp. 45-60, at 45.

¹⁹⁹ Kennett, “Scandinavian Settlement in East Anglia”, pp. 126-127.

²⁰⁰ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, *passim*, esp. p. xxxvii.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-59, 424, 432, 308, 383-385.

Scandinavian personal names are compounded with the Old English habitative “-*tun*”.²⁰² Examples include “Thuxton” (Nf; OE “*Purstanestun*”, containing Anglo-Scandinavian “*Purstan*” < Old Danish “*Purstæinn/Pursten*”), “Hindolveston” (Nf; OE “*Hildulfestun*”, containing ODan “*Hildulf*”),²⁰³ “Thrandeston” (Sf; OE “*Prandestun*”, containing ON “*Práendr*”), “Kettlebaston” (Sf; OE “*Ketelbe(o)rnestun*”, containing ODan “*Ketilbiorn*”)²⁰⁴ and “Carlton” (C; OE “*Carlatun*”, containing ON “*Karl*”).²⁰⁵ Consequently, Insley hypothesizes (in contrast to Margeson’s studies of metal objects) that East Anglia’s Scandinavian settlement was largely aristocratic, with Grimston-hybrids perhaps reflecting the partitioning of estates by the region’s Danish elites following Guthrum’s settlement in the late ninth century.²⁰⁶ Thus,

a largely aristocratic settlement, would be compatible with the greater evidence for the Anglicization of the Scandinavian personal nomenclature in East Anglia than in the territory of the Five Boroughs, where the place-name and field-name evidence shows considerable Scandinavian peasant settlement.²⁰⁷

Anglicization is also seemingly reflected by the paucity of pagan burials in East Anglia, only three of which have been identified.²⁰⁸ The elite interments at Santon Downham (Nf) and Saffron Waldon (Ex) and a modest burial at Harling (Nf) preserved Scandinavian jewellery and implements, including tortoise brooches and a

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

²⁰³ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names*, p. xxxvii (“Thuxton” and “Hindolveston” are not indexed in the English Place-Name Society’s Norfolk volumes).

²⁰⁴ Skeat, *Place-Names of Suffolk*, pp. 108, 103.

²⁰⁵ Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 6. The ON noun “*Karl*” signifies a man, household servant or husbandman. No examples of Grimston-hybrids incorporating Scandinavian personal names are extant in Cambridgeshire. See Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire, passim*; and Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire, passim*.

²⁰⁶ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names*, p. xxxvii. Cf., Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 6 ff. This view is also supported by Stenton and Davis. See F. Stenton, “The Scandinavian Colonies in England and Normandy”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series 27 (1945), pp. 1-12, at 10-11; and Davis, “East Anglia and the Danelaw”, *passim*.

²⁰⁷ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names*, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii. An aristocratic settlement would also support Hadley’s conjecture that a “few thousand” settlers effected England’s Scandinavian colonization.

²⁰⁸ See, for example, Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 15-16.

necklace with Borre-style decoration (*ca* mid-ninth to mid-tenth centuries).²⁰⁹ These burials, together with Scandinavian personal nomenclature and material culture (see pp. 237-254), suggest that East Anglia's Danish colonists adopted Christianity and its associated traditions quickly, possibly within one generation of settlement.²¹⁰

3.B.viii. *Urban Landscape*

Like Ipswich, Norwich's importance as a commercial and administrative centre (both secular and ecclesiastical) in the later Middle Ages is well-documented; however, there are few extant references to the city from the Anglo-Saxon period.²¹¹ Of these, the most substantive (datable to the 980s) is preserved in *Liber Eliensis*, recording how Abbot Byrhtnoth of Ely, when purchasing land in Cambridge, was assured by the city's residents that "*Grantebruge et Noruic et Theofford et Gyppesuic tante libertatis ac dignitatis essent ut, siquis ibi terram compararet, vadibus non indigeret*" ("Cambridge, Norwich, Thetford and Ipswich were possessed of such great freedom and dignity that if anyone bought land there he did not require sureties").²¹² This implies that late-tenth-century Norwich was a well-established and esteemed city whose status had obviously grown since its early Saxon settlement.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Illustrated in *ibid.*, pp. 15-16, figs. 15, 17.

²¹⁰ Dumville concurs with this hypothesis, citing particular words and phrases in the Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum. See D. Dumville, "The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum", *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival*. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3 (Woodbridge 1992), pp. 1-27, esp. p. 20.

²¹¹ For a concise summary of Norwich's importance in the later middle ages, see B. Ayers, *Norwich, 'A Fine City'* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 87-108.

²¹² *Liber Eliensis*, II.26 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 100 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.26 (Fairweather, trans., 2003), p. 122 (translation). Other references to Norwich in *Liber Eliensis* mention King William's castle and the fortress of the Abbots of Ely (see II, 124-6; III, 9, 12, 56, 85). The second source for Norwich's early history is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which records in 1004: "*Her com Swegen mid his flotan to Norpwic, ⁊ þa burh eall for heregodan ⁊ forbærnde*".¹ "In this year Swein came with his fleet to Norwich, and completely sacked the borough and burnt it down". Plummer and Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 134 (text); Garmondswey, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 134 (translation). The third source seemingly refers to Cnut participating in a battle at Norwich sometime in the early eleventh century. See M. Ashdown, ed., *English and Norse Documents relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready* (London, 1930), p. 139. The other textual sources for Norwich

The earliest Anglo-Saxon proto-urban settlements in the Wensum Valley are datable to the eighth century. These probably formed the first nuclei of medieval Norwich.²¹⁴ While Middle Saxon pottery and metal objects have been recovered from the city in relatively large numbers (the excavations at Barn Road (1952) and Fishergate (1985) were especially productive) archaeological evidence suggests that urbanism in eighth- and ninth-century Norwich was only a gradual development.²¹⁵ The settlement's economic base is unclear, though pottery sherds from the Rhineland (recovered from excavations in the vicinity of the Palace Plain) are suggestive of trade.²¹⁶

The birth of Norwich's prosperity is associated with Danish settlement. Arguably its most substantial feature of Danish origin is a "D"-shaped enclosure, identified by excavation in the 1970s.²¹⁷ The enclosure is probably of tenth-century date, measures roughly 310 or 470 m in maximum width, extends approximately 450 m north of the River Wensum and was fortified with a ditch and a defensive bank.²¹⁸ A mint was established within the enclosure by King Athelstan (924-939), and by the 930s, "*Norvic*" or Norwich appears among signatures on Athelstan's coinage.²¹⁹

in the Anglo-Saxon period are two wills of tenth- and eleventh-century date. See Whitelock, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, nos. 26, 38, pp. 73, 95.

²¹³ M. Atkin, A. Carter and D. H. Evans, *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 26 (1985), esp. 1-6; P. Wade-Martins, ed., *Waterfront Excavation and Thetford Ware Production, Norwich*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 17 (1983), 1-11; and Ayers, *Norwich*, p. 35.

²¹⁴ A. Carter, "The Anglo-Saxon Origins of Norwich", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 175-204, *passim*.

²¹⁵ Atkin, *et al.*, *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, pp. 1-6; Wade-Martins, *Waterfront Excavation and Thetford Ware Production, Norwich*, pp. 1-11; and Carter, "Anglo-Saxon Origins of Norwich", pp. 175-204.

²¹⁶ A. Carter, "The Norwich Survey: Excavations in Norwich—1971—an interim report", *Norfolk Archaeology* 35.3 (1972), 410-16, esp. 414-15; A. Carter, J. Roberts and H. Sutermeister, "Excavations in Norwich—1972. The Norwich Survey—Second Interim Report", *Norfolk Archaeology* 35.4 (1973), 443-68, esp. 445.

²¹⁷ Carter *et al.*, "Excavations in Norwich—1972", pp. 443-8.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* Comparison with similar earthworks at Ipswich, Repton and Bedford strongly suggests that the Norwich enclosure is of Anglo-Scandinavian provenance. For a general discussion of other D-shaped enclosures in England, see Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 29-31.

²¹⁹ Carter, *et al.*, "Excavations in Norwich—1972", pp. 443-8.

Much of Norwich's ON onomastic evidence is preserved north of the River Wensum within the general confines of the D-shaped enclosure. However, this Danish settlement did not exist in isolation. Since 1974, excavations south of the river have provided increasing evidence of the influence of Danish culture. This includes tenth-century Borre-style disc brooches recovered from sites near Rose Avenue and two eleventh-century Ringerike-style bronze mounts (one from St Martin-at-Palace Plain).²²⁰ Other evidence includes a mid-eleventh- to twelfth-century Urnes-style bronze mount, metal-detected on the bank of the River Wensum near Mile Cross Bridge, the twelfth-century Urnes-style capital from Norwich Cathedral and the enigmatic St Vedast Cross.²²¹

Collectively, the diverse evidence from the settlements north and south of the River Wensum suggests a growing, affluent urban settlement *ca* tenth to eleventh century. Metalworking (including minting) was clearly an important industry, as was fishing and, probably, sheep-rearing.²²² The presence of Barnack limestone, as evidenced by the St. Vedast Cross, is suggestive of trade with the Midlands, and Rhenish pottery, together with the *Domesday* reference that Norwich furnished the

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32; Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 33-34; and B. Ayers, *et al.*, *Excavations at St. Martin-at-Palace Plain, Norwich, 1981*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 37 (1987), pp. 63-7. Evidence of a bronze-smithy was also discovered south of the Wensum on Bishopgate. See Carter, *et al.*, "Excavations in Norwich—1972", pp. 449, 452.

²²¹ S. Margeson, "A Viking Urnes Style Mount from Sedgeford", *Norfolk Archaeology* 37.3 (1980), p. 355, at 355; G. Zarnecki, *et al.*, eds., *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200* (London 1984), p. 164, no. 121.

²²² According to *Domesday Book*, the manor of Thorpe (St. Andrew), east of Norwich, owed a rent of two thousand herrings to the king. "*Tnc ual XII lib. 7 . I fext mell. & II. CT alleciu*" [Thorpe St. Andrew] was worth £12 and 1 sester of honey and 2,000 herrings". P. Brown, ed., *Domesday Book: Norfolk*, 2 vols., History from the Sources 33.1 (Chichester, 1984), I.138a (text); *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1072-1073 (translation). It is likely that a similar fishing industry existed on the Wensum at Norwich. *Domesday Book* also records an abundance of sheep in the vicinity of Norwich. See Brown, ed., *Domesday Book: Norfolk*, I, pp. 113b-19b and *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1056-1059.

king annually with a bear, confirms that Norwich also participated in international trade.²²³

3.C. Conclusion

East Anglia's unique topography and soil conditions have dictated a pattern of settlement and agricultural activities since the Neolithic period. River valleys were seemingly privileged in the settlement hierarchy owing to their fertile soils and protected environs. Riverine and coastal networks were also exploited by early elites in the consolidation of dynastic power, stimulating the growth of trading emporia or *wics*. With the advent of Christianity, monastic communities were also sited near rivers or estuaries, employing convenient communication routes; the viability of such sites is demonstrated, archaeologically, by their history of use and rebuilding. The region's principal urban centres (Ipswich and Norwich) exhibit evidence of large-scale craft-production, including pottery and metal- and bone-working. However, the focus of stone sculpture production (especially funerary monuments) seems to have been monastic, most notably, the *familia* of Ely, and employed material from the Barnack region; this stone was probably imported to East Anglia via rivers and the Fenland waterways. Based on extant evidence, the resultant monuments are generally characterized by a limited repertoire of motifs, motif-combinations and apparently standardized spatial relationships.

²²³ "*Tota hec Willa reddebat.t.r.e.XX.lib regi. ⁊ comiti.X.lib. ⁊ pt hoc XXI.fol. ⁊ .III.d pbendarios. ⁊ VI.fextarios mellis. ⁊ .I.urfu. ⁊ VI. canes ad urfum*" "And the whole of this town paid £20 to the king and £10 to the earl TRE, and besides this 21 S. 4d. [to certain] prebendaries, 6 sesters of honey 1 bear and 6 dogs for the bear". Brown, ed., *Domesday Book: Norfolk*, I, pp. 116b-117b (text); *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1058 (translation).

Chapter 4

The Sculpture of Late Saxon East Anglia: Form and Function

4.A. Introduction

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, the surviving evidence of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture is represented by a group of recumbent and associated monuments displaying a conservative repertoire of motifs and motif-combinations; by three monumental crosses; by two anomalous sculptures whose form and decoration preclude their classification in the proposed typology; and possibly by two groups of figural carvings (one in Ipswich, the other near Bury St Edmunds).¹ Overall, these sculptures seem to have functioned as commemorative, apotropaic and/or didactic objects, although their fragmentary state and often unrecorded history necessitates cautious interpretation of their possible function(s); generally, definitive assessments of their use(s) cannot be ascertained with any real certainty.

4.B. Slabs and Small Crosses

The largest group of sculptures are those represented by two types of recumbent and upright slabs that undoubtedly had a memorial function, something that may have been shared by a series of monolithic, wheel-headed crosses of modest scale. Acknowledging this apparent relationship between the form and function of these monuments, Fox's terminology (devised in his thorough assessment of this corpus in

¹ See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 15-45; H. Copinger-Hill, "Great Ashfield Cross", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20 (1930), pp. 280-286, *passim*; H. Copinger-Hill, "Kedington Cross", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20 (1930), pp. 287-289, *passim*; Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 24-25; M. Reed, "Intercultural Dialogue in Late Saxon Norwich: the St Vedast Cross", *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 7 (2006 [2007]), pp. 119-137, *passim*; Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 323-357, at pp. 346-348, 352-356; and K. Galbraith, "Early Sculpture at St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 31.2 (1969), pp. 172-184, *passim*.

1920-1; see above, p. 18)² is adopted in this study (with some considered emendations), as is his proposed typology for the monolithic crosses.

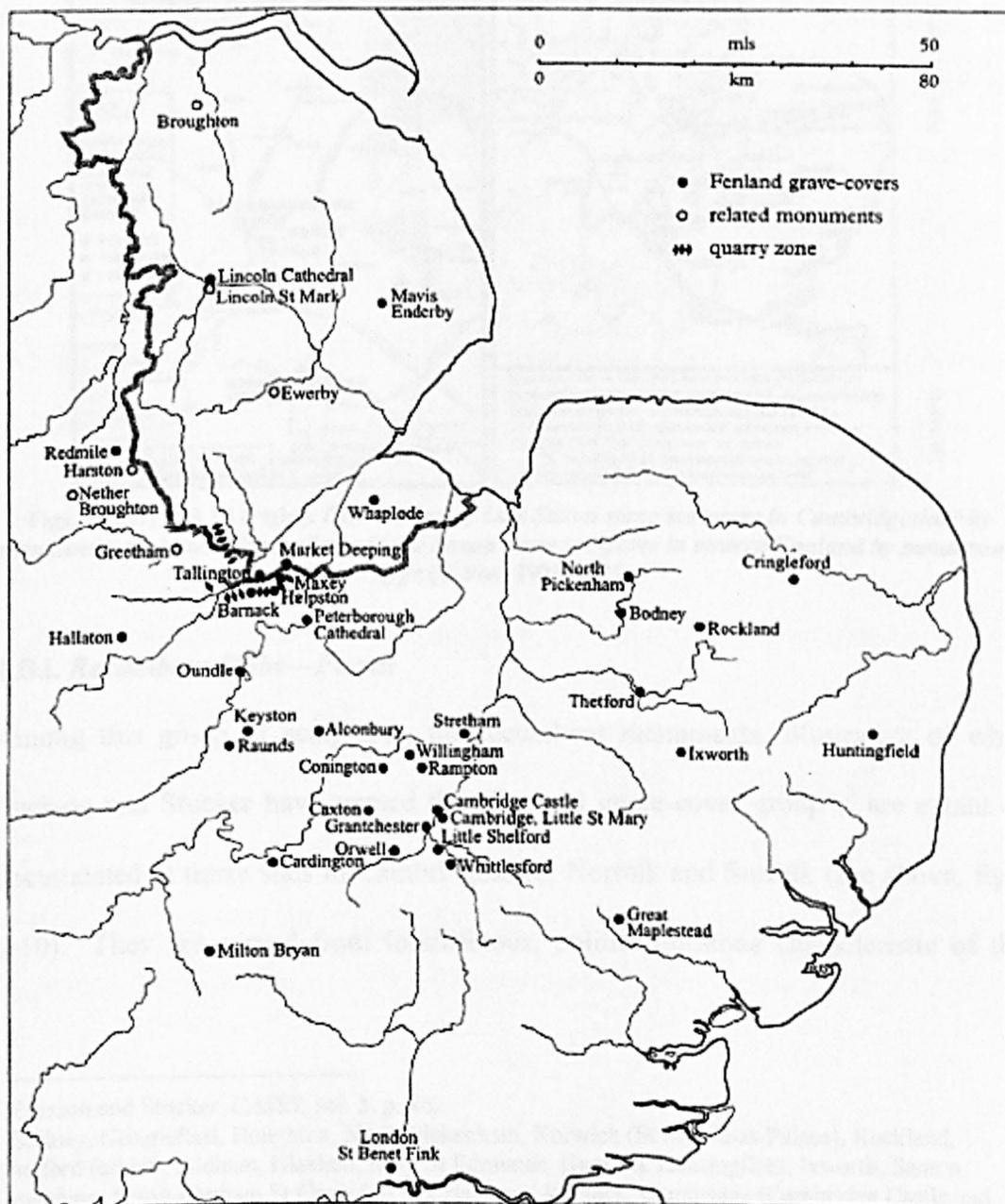
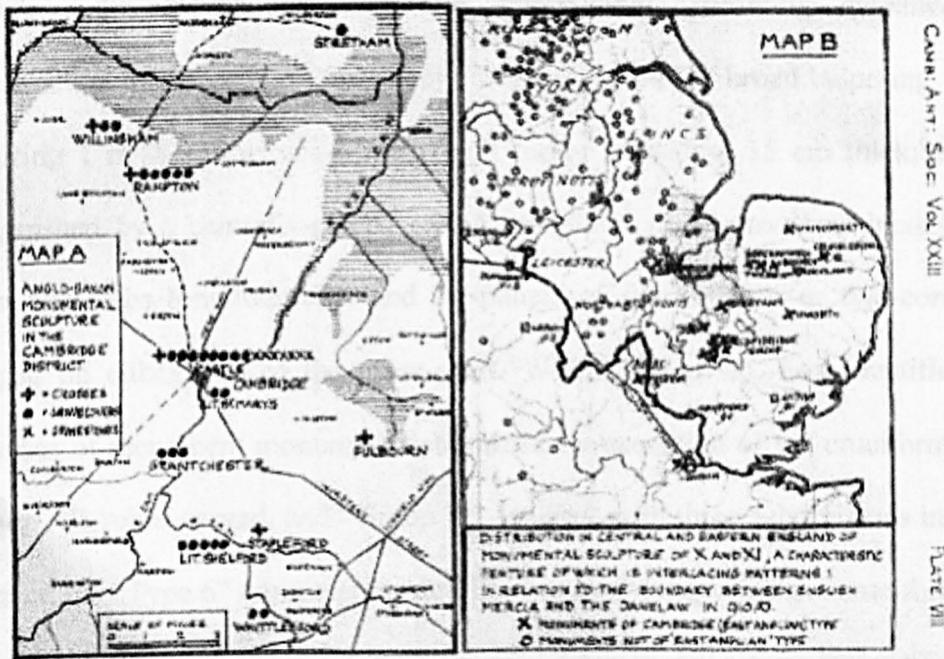


Fig. 8. Distribution of Fenland recumbent monuments in eastern England (© Everson and Stocker, 1995).

² Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 15-45, *passim*; C. Fox, "Saxon grave-slab at Balsham", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 32 (1930-1), p. 51, at 51; see additional contributions by Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", pp. 323-357. In their brief assessment of these monuments, Everson and Stocker concur with Fox's "single-artifact" hypothesis. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 47-50.



Figs. 9 (left) and 10 (right). *Distribution of Late Saxon stone sculpture in Cambridgeshire by monument-type and Distribution of Late Saxon stone sculpture in eastern England by monument-type* (© Fox, 1920-1921).

4.B.i. Recumbent Slabs—Forms

Among this group of sculptures, the recumbent monuments, illustrative of what Everson and Stocker have termed the “Fenland grave-cover group”,³ are extant or documented at thirty sites in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk (see above, figs. 8-10).⁴ They are carved from fossiliferous, oolitic limestone characteristic of the

³ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 46.

⁴ Bodney, Cringleford, Houghton, North Pickenham, Norwich (St Martin-at-Palace), Rockland, Thetford (all Nf), Aldham, Blaxhall, Bury St Edmunds, Hunston, Huntingfield, Ixworth, Santon Downham, South Elmham St Cross (all Sf), Balsham, Barnack, Cambridge (Cambridge Castle and Little St Mary’s), Caxton, Conington, Granchester, Helpston, Little Shelford, Maxey, Orwell, Peterborough Cathedral, Rampton, Stretham, Whittlesford, Willingham (all C). See Appendix 1, pp. 319-334, 336-338, 341-347, 350-371, 373-404; pls. 8-19, 25-29, 33, 35-37, 47-50, 52-53, 61-65, 70-71, 77, 83-84, 88-91, 93-98, 101-117, 124-129, 134-142, 148-149, 152. In their brief treatment of the Fenland covers, Everson and Stocker omit Aldham, Blaxhall, Bury St Edmunds, Hunston, Santon Downham and South Elmham St Cross (all Sf). See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47. Other examples of the Fenland covers are extant in Lincolnshire (Lincoln Cathedral, Mavis Enderby, Market Deeping, Tallington and Whaplode), Huntingdonshire (Alconbury and Keyston), Leicestershire (Hallaton and Redmile) and Northamptonshire (Oundle and Raunds). See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 47-50. Recumbent slabs characteristic of the Fenland group are also preserved in south-eastern England in Bedfordshire (Cardington and Milton Bryan; see Appendix 2, pl. 163), Essex (?Great Maplestead) and London (St Benet Fink). See D. Tweddle, M. Biddle, B. Kjolbye-Biddle, *et al.*, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Volume IV: South-East England* (Oxford 1995), pp. 207, 232, 210-211, 224; ill. 264, 361, 273-276, 345-346.

Barnack quarries.⁵ Though most are fragmentary, surviving evidence and reconstruction demonstrate that they were apparently broad tapering slabs, measuring 1 m > 25 cm wide (max.) and rarely exceeding 15 cm thick;⁶ all are distinguished by a centrally-placed cruciform (either relief-carved or incised) that bisects the slabs longitudinally, and by panels of four-, three- or two-cord plait arranged on either side of the cross-shaft. Within the group, Fox identified two categories of recumbent monument determined by execution of the cruciform motif (“Group A”, relief-carved, and “Group B”, incised) with three subdivisions in each.⁷ However, his “Type 6” monuments, identified as examples of incised cruciforms, are executed in low-relief. Therefore, these stones (although still referred to as “Type 6”) are discussed with similar examples of “Group A” slabs.

Seventy-three fragments of the recumbent monuments identified by Fox are extant or documented. The first subdivision in his typology, “Type 1”, is distinguished by a Latin cross with heads disposed on either end of the cross-shaft (“†”; see fig. 11, below, p. 136). The cross-heads and –shafts are decorated with four-cord plait and are bordered by panels of similar composition, displaying three or four cords. These monuments exhibit subtle tapering and rounded border moulding.⁸

⁵ Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 15; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47.

⁶ See Appendix 1, *passim*; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47; and Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, pls. 3-7. This width measurement is based on those few examples (Cambridge Castle 2-3; Ixworth 1-2; and Thetford 1) that have not been reset in church fabric. It will be argued that these monuments constitute a particular artifact-type.

⁷ Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 25.

⁸ Cambridge Castle 2 (see Appendix 1, p. 361; pl. 84); Peterborough 14 (lost; Fox’s identifier; see fig. 11). The cross-arms on Cambridge Castle 2 are elaborated by vertical bars that project from the top (or bottom) of the cross-arms, extending to the monument’s edge; the cruciform on Peterborough 14 is framed by a double-rope moulding, and the upper (or lower) portion of the cross-heads is expanded so that its width is equal to the arms’, forming a vaguely “hammer-head” shape. For a discussion of “hammer-heads”, see Collingwood, “Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding”, pp. 129-299, at 279; Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, pp. 86-87, 90-92; Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 182-183; and Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, p. 31.

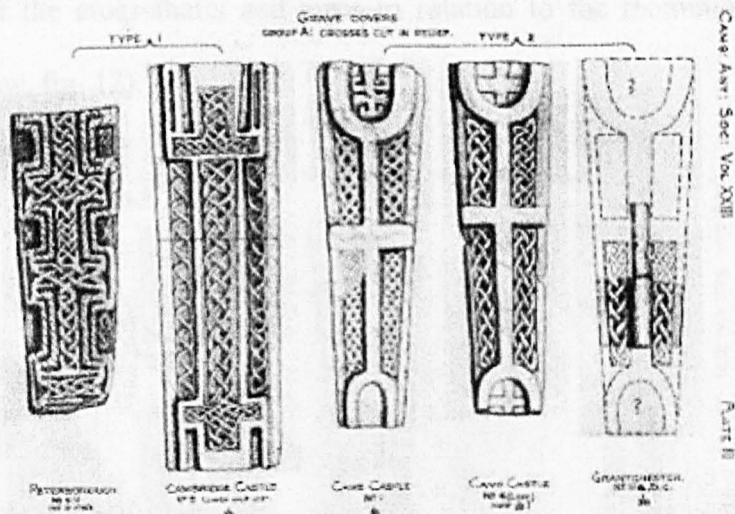


Fig. 11. “Type 1” and “Type 2” recumbent monuments (© Fox, 1920-1921).

“Type 2” is also characterized by a Latin cross, though here the cross-arms span the centre of the slabs, roughly equidistant from the narrow ends (“+”). Furthermore, the cross-shafts display “U”-shaped terminals (whose bowls sometimes frame cross-motifs), and rectilinear panels of four-cord plait occupy the interstices formed by the convergence of the cross-shafts, -arms and terminal bowls. “Type 2” monuments also exhibit marked tapering and undecorated border moulding, rectangular in section.⁹

“Type 3” monuments are characterized by narrow cross-shafts that are rounded in section. Their decorative programmes are often distinguished by Latin crosses, displaying heads of roughly “B-6” form with wedge-shaped terminals.¹⁰ Like other examples in the Fenland Group, the cruciforms on “Type 3” monuments are framed by plait (four-cord), which occupies the rectilinear spaces formed by the

⁹ Cambridge Castle 1, 4 (lost; Fox’s identifiers; see fig. 11 and Appendix 2 pl. 164); Grantchester 3-4 (see fig. 11, identified as “Grantchester 11”, and Appendix 1, pp. 368-370; pls. 93, 96-97); and Milton Bryan 1 (see Appendix 2, pl. 163).

¹⁰ Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

arrangement of the cross-shafts and arms in relation to the monuments' rounded edges (see below, fig. 12).¹¹

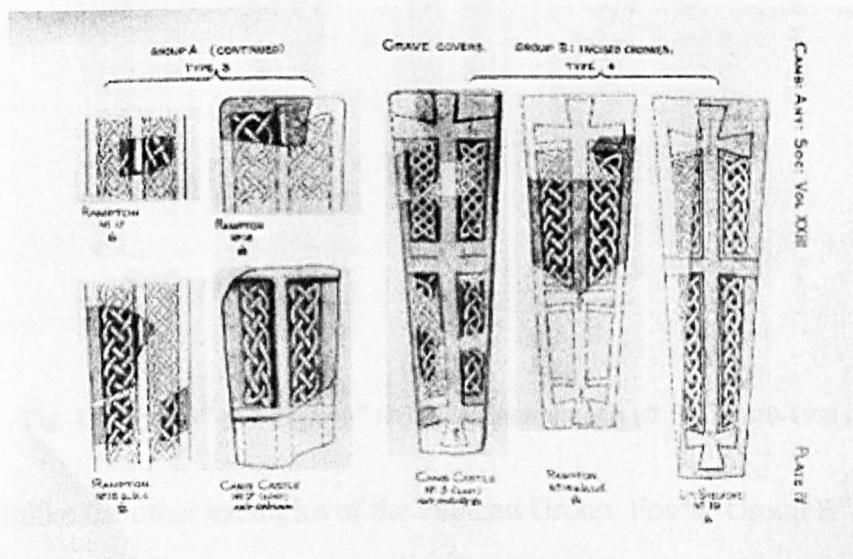


Fig. 12. "Type 3" and "Type 4" recumbent monuments (© Fox, 1920-1921).

"Type 6" monuments are characterized by cross-heads of roughly "E-8" form (more accurately termed, *Alisée Patée*), surrounded by circular, relief-carved fields, forming two-dimensional, wheel-headed crosses (see below, fig. 13, p. 138).¹² The centrally-placed shaft that unites these heads is undecorated and is bordered by panels of four-cord plait; "Type 6" monuments also display little or no appreciable tapering.¹³

¹¹ Cambridge Castle 7 (lost; Fox's identifier; see fig. 12); Rampton 9-11 (see Appendix 1, pp. 392-395; pl. 129); Willingham 1 (see Appendix 1, pp. 400-401; pls. 148-149). Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

¹² An unusual recumbent slab at Bexhill, Sx, comprising an irregular truncated pyramid on a rectangular base, exhibits twin *Alisée Patée* heads disposed at either narrow end, akin to the decorative programmes of "Type 6" Fenland monuments. See Tweddle, Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 4, pp. 122-123; ills. 10-19; fig. 29.

¹³ Cambridge Castle 1 (see Appendix 1, p. 360; pl. 83) Whittlesford 1 (see Appendix 1, p. 398; pls. 135-138); Willingham 4 (see Appendix 1, pp. 402-404; pl. 152); Thetford 1 (see Appendix 1, pp. 332-333; pls. 26-29). Those examples that are not built into church fabric (Cambridge Castle 1 and Thetford 1) measure 20 cm > 15 cm in thickness.

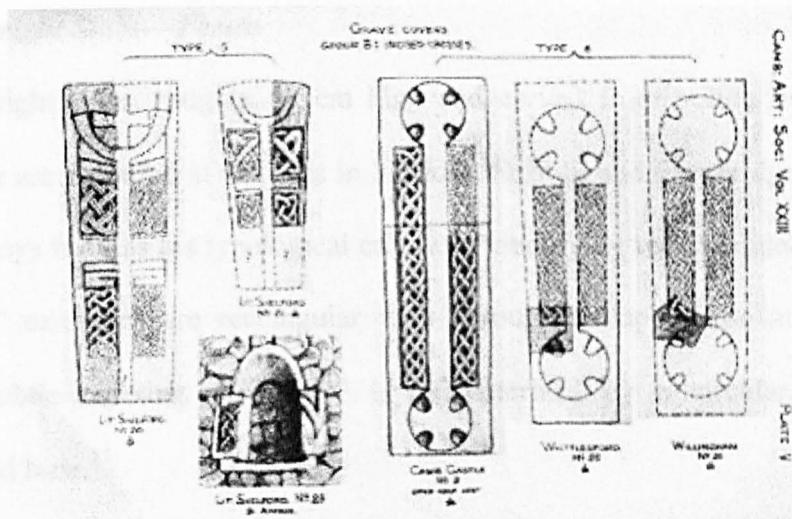


Fig. 13. "Type 5" and "Type 6" recumbent monuments (© Fox, 1920-1921).

Unlike the other examples of the Fenland Group, Fox's "Group B" stones are distinguished by incised cruciform motifs. In all other respects, including the central placement of the cruciform and the use of plait, "Group B" stones exhibit the same form, spatial relationships and decoration as "Group A" examples. "Type 4" monuments are distinguished by cross-heads of roughly "B-6" form, and their undecorated shafts are bisected laterally by one or two bars, spanning the slabs' width (see above, fig. 12, p. 137).¹⁴ "Type 5" monuments display features typical of "Types 2" and "4", namely "U"-shaped terminals (though only depicted at one end and sometimes framing incised cruciforms in their bowls) and lateral cross-bars, roughly equidistant from the slabs' narrow ends, though Little Shelford 2 and Ixworth 2 also exhibit lateral cross-bars beneath their terminals. "Type 5" monuments also display a greater variety of plait, including knots and one example of median-incised cords (see above, fig. 13).¹⁵

¹⁴ Cambridge Castle 5-6 (lost; Fox's identifiers; see fig. 12); Little Shelford 1 (see Appendix 1, pp. 373-374; pl. 101); Rampton 6 (see Appendix 1, pp. 390-391; pl. 126); Peterborough Cathedral 1-2 (see Appendix 1, pp. 383-384; pls. 112-117); Cringleford 4 (see Appendix 1, pp. 322-323; pl. 13); Ixworth 1 (see Appendix 1, p. 350; pls. 61-63).

¹⁵ Little Shelford 2 (see Appendix 1, pp. 374-375; pl. 102); Little Shelford 5, 9 (see Appendix 1, pp. 376, 378-380; pls. 104, 108, 110); Ixworth 2 (see Appendix 1, p. 350-351; pls. 61, 64-65).

4.B.ii. Upright Slabs—Forms

Small upright slabs, roughly 88 cm high and carved from oolitic limestone, also survive or are recorded at six sites in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.¹⁶ Here, Fox employs form as his typological criterion, identifying two monument-types. His “Type A” examples are rectangular with a roughly-shaped base and sometimes exhibit subtle tapering. “Type B” is characterized by a circular head and a shouldered base.¹⁷

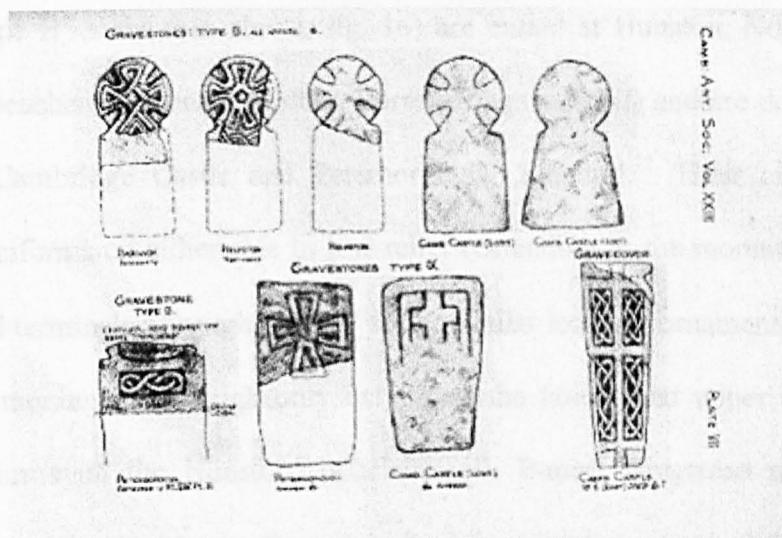


Fig. 14. “Type A” and “Type B” upright slabs (© Fox, 1920-1921).

¹⁶ Beachamwell 1-2 (see Appendix 1, pp. 317-319; pls. 4-7), ?Barrett Ringstead 1 (all Nf, see Appendix 1, pp. 316-317; pls. 1-3), Hunston 1, 6 (Sf; see Appendix 1, pp. 340-341, 343-344; pls. 45-46, 51), Cambridge Castle (lost; see fig. 14), Peterborough Cathedral (lost; see fig. 14) and Helpston 2-3 (all C; see Appendix 1, pp. 371-373; pls. 99-100; fig. 14). Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 15.

¹⁷ Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 26. Small, upright slabs (some rectangular in shape, others with rounded heads) are also extant in northern England. Those with rounded heads survive in significant number east of the Pennines and are exemplified by Cleator (Cu) 1 (Cramp, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 1, ills. 624-627, 165), Chollerton (Nb) 2 (*ibid.*, ill. 234, 1331), Warden (Nb) 5 (*ibid.*, ill. 255, 1391-1393) and Woodhorn (Nb) 4 (*ibid.*, ill. 258, 1404-1405). These markers are probably post-Conquest with a suggested date of late eleventh to mid twelfth century. See also Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, p. 165. Rectangular examples (possibly pre-Conquest) are also documented. See, for example, Crosthwaite (Cu) 1 (*ibid.*, ills. 628-631, 165) and Winchester (Old Minster) 92 (D. Tweddle, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 4, ills., 691-694, 337). Round-headed examples of ca eleventh-century date are also extant in south-eastern England. See, for example, Stedham (Sx) 7, 9 (Tweddle, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 4, ills. 243-244, 196 and ills. 247, 196), White Notley (Ex.) 1A (*ibid.*, ill. 375, fig. 35, 196), Winchester (Old Minster) 93-94 (*ibid.*, ills. 710-716, fig. 43; 337-339), Winchester (New Minster) 1-2 (*ibid.*, ills. 657-658, 661-663, 323-325), Winchester (St Pancras) 1 (*ibid.*, ills. 673-675, 330) and Rochester (K) 3 (*ibid.*, ills. 147-150, 166-167). The Rochester slab is decorated with Ringerike-style ornament and probably dates to the period of Scandinavian supremacy between 1016 and 1042 (*ibid.*, p. 196). The other examples exhibit cruciform decoration, similar in both form and execution to the East Anglian evidence (see above).

“Type A” slabs (see above, fig. 14) are documented at Cambridge Castle and Peterborough Cathedral,¹⁸ and their decoration is restricted to incised cruciforms exhibiting squared or wedge-shaped terminals (types “A-1” and “B-6” respectively).¹⁹ Unlike the recumbent slabs, whose decorative elements exhibit spatial relationships governed by centrality and equidistance, the cruciforms of these upright monuments are placed on both faces near one narrow end and are sometimes framed by an incised, rectangular border.²⁰

“Type B” slabs (see above, fig. 14) are extant at Hunston, Norwich Castle Museum (Beachamwell and, possibly, Barrett Ringstead, Nf) and are documented at Helpston, Cambridge Castle and Peterborough Cathedral.²¹ Their circular heads display cruciforms on either side in low relief (extending to the monuments’ edges) with curved terminals of roughly “E-8” form, similar to those ornamenting “Type 6” recumbent monuments, though only exhibiting the lateral and upper cross-arms.²² The cruciforms on the Hunston, Beachamwell, Barrett Ringstead and Helpston examples are elaborated by continuous incised lines (approximately 2.5 cm from the slabs’ edges) duplicating the contours of their general “E-8” form; though the Hunston slab is damaged, this contour line clearly extended onto the shouldered

¹⁸ Five examples (now lost) are recorded from the Cambridge Castle cemetery. One was found in 1809 built into the foundations of the stairway leading to the castle gatehouse, and four were discovered, *in situ*, in 1810. See T. Kerrich, “Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins discovered in Cambridge Castle in 1810. By the Rev. T. Kerrich, M.A., F.S.A. Principal Librarian to the University of Cambridge; in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary”, *Archaeologia* 17 (1814), p. 228, at 228; pls. XV-XVI; T. Kerrich, B.M. *Addit. MS.* 6735, fols. 50-51; and J. Bowtell, MS. Downing Coll. vol. 2, p. 161. The Peterborough Cathedral slab (now lost) was located in the choir triforium. See Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 26.

¹⁹ Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

²⁰ On those monuments exhibiting tapering, the cruciform appears on the wider end. See, for example, the unnumbered examples from Cambridge Castle (below, figs. 15-16, p. 146).

²¹ The Peterborough Cathedral example was recovered, *in situ*, with recumbent slab 14 (Fox’s identifier). The Hunston example is displayed in St Michael’s Church against the east internal wall of the south transept, together with other sculptural fragments, including what is probably a damaged recumbent slab and part of a second “Type B” upright slab. Helpston 1-2 were documented at the Rectory House, Helpston, in 1889 (see Appendix 1, p. 371, n. 112). The Beachamwell and Barrett Ringstead fragments are preserved in Norwich Castle Museum.

²² Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig 2; and above, fig. 14.

base, likely replicating its rectangular shape.²³ Unusual decoration (*vis à vis* the extant corpus of upright slabs) is documented on Helpston 2 and Peterborough Cathedral 14. Each exhibits vestiges of interlace beneath the remnants of their circular heads (see above, fig. 14; Appendix 1, pl. 99).

4.B.iii. *Recumbent and Upright Slabs—Function(s) and Date*

Meaningful assessment of these monuments' function(s) must consider the (albeit inconsistent) reports of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century excavations at Cambridge Castle and Peterborough Cathedral where several examples were discovered *in situ*. The most recent (albeit cursory) discussion of the Fenland Group fails to assess the documents' significance for commemorative practices in pre-Conquest Cambridgeshire—perhaps because of their inconsistencies.²⁴ Nonetheless, these antiquarian records constitute the only contemporary, extant accounts of the purported find-sites and excavations; thus, their importance to our understanding of sculpture's uses and its possible interpretations in Late Saxon East Anglia is considerable.²⁵

The earliest record of the Fenland Group of recumbent and associated monuments is Masters' account of the partial excavation of the Cambridge Castle cemetery in 1785. In a letter to Rev. Dr. Lort, he records that during a renovation campaign at the castle, two stone sarcophagi were discovered on the south side of the ramparts beneath a staircase supporting wall. According to Masters, the dimensions

²³ Only portions of the circular heads of the Beachamwell and Barrett Ringstead slabs survive. It is likely that their contour lines also extended onto their bases.

²⁴ See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 49. In addition, the authors include only a passing reference to Kerrich's 1813 account. *Ibid.*

²⁵ See Masters, "An Account of Some Stone Coffins, pp. 63-65, *passim*; *idem*, "A second letter from Mr. Masters to George Steevens, p. 66, at 66; Kerrich, "Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins", p. 228, at 228, pls. 15-16; Irvine, "Account of the Discovery of part of the Saxon Abbey Church of Peterborough", pp. 45-54, *passim*; and *idem*, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains discovered at Peterborough Cathedral in 1884", pp. 277-285, *passim*.

of what will be termed “Sarcophagus A” were 2.08 m in length (1.88 m internal); 66.04 cm > 38.10 cm in width; and 22.86 cm in depth. “Sarcophagus B” measured 1.83 m in length (internal length unrecorded); 58.42 cm > 33.02 cm in width; and 22.86 cm in depth.²⁶ Though Hadley states that “close dating of stone coffins, unless decorated, is difficult”,²⁷ a similarly tapered stone sarcophagus (1117), with a rounded head-recess and a composite lid set upon it, was discovered *in situ* in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Raunds Furnells, Nth.²⁸ Though the form of the sarcophagus (with rounded head-recess) is usually considered post-Conquest,²⁹ stratigraphic assessment associated the Raunds lid with the site’s earliest church (late-ninth or early-tenth century); thus, the sarcophagus either predates or is contemporary with its lid.³⁰ With reference to the comparatively decontextualized sarcophagi at Cambridge, this evidence, albeit limited, suggests that other tapered examples with head-recesses might also be of Late Saxon manufacture or use.

Indeed, in his account, Masters implies that each sarcophagus was covered with a stone lid and contained a complete skeleton.³¹ The lid of “Sarcophagus A” is described as “a plain stone”.³² That of “Sarcophagus B”, however, is described as follows:

²⁶ Masters, “An Account of Some Stone Coffins”, pp. 63-64.

²⁷ D. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England: an archaeology* (Stroud 2001), p. 105.

²⁸ R. Cramp, “The Monumental Stone”, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, A. Boddington, *et al.*, English Heritage Archaeology Report 7 (London 1996), pp. 102-112, at pp. 109, 111.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁰ A. Boddington “Part I: An Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard”, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, A. Boddington, *et al.*, pp. 5-67, at p. 8; Cramp, “Monumental Stone”, p. 109.

³¹ Masters, “Account of Some Stone Coffins”, p. 64.

³² *Ibid.* Masters notes that the upper portion of the sarcophagus had been hollowed to receive the corpse’s head; an inscribed “plate” was found in this indentation, inserted into a second, smaller cavity. See Masters, “Account of Some Stone Coffins”, p. 64. It is probable that this plate is associated with the earlier (*ca* eighth-century) Anglo-Saxon practice of “name-stone” deposition. For a brief discussion of name-stones, see Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 202-203; pls. 200, 1119-1121. See Hadley, *Death in Medieval England*, p. 105; Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, pp. 8, 43.

[It] ... had a sort of double cross upon it, with somewhat like chain-work running up each side: but, what is remarkable, the upper transept was not, as usual, a strait line but part of a circle, which seems to have been compleated [sic] on a stone lying at the head of the coffin; which however had been otherwise employed, so that a sight of it could not be obtained.³³

In a letter to Mr. George Steevens, also dated 1785, Masters recounts the further discovery of two other sarcophagi ("C" and "D") at Cambridge Castle. He does not mention their lids, though his account implies they were intact and *in situ*:

Mr. Kerrich and I were summoned to the Castle to *the opening of two more stone coffins* [italics mine] lying very near the place where those you saw had been deposited, but nearer to the building, with the covering of another, part of which went under the foundation of the old wall of the staircase, so that they seem to have been deposited there before that building was erected.³⁴

He notes that both sarcophagi contained complete skeletons, one (in "Sarcophagus D") being accompanied by what he describes as "a stick of three quarters of an inch in diameter".³⁵ The length of this object is not recorded, though Masters acknowledges that he possesses a fragment "about a half a yard long".³⁶ In a letter dated 1813, Kerrich (who accompanied Masters at the opening of Sarcophagi "C" and "D" in 1785) mentions that the bones of what were possibly a raptorial bird were also found in "Sarcophagus D".³⁷ He then describes (and illustrates) fragments of

³³ Masters, "Account of Some Stone Coffins", p. 64.

³⁴ R. Masters, "Second Letter from Mr. Masters", p. 66. The clause, "Mr. Kerrich and I were summoned to the Castle to the opening of two more stone coffins", seemingly corroborates the implication in Masters' previous letter that the first sarcophagi found in the cemetery 1785 were discovered with their lids *in situ*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ "Many human bones, and several stone coffins, have, at different times, been found, not far from the spot in which these lay, and all near the gate of the castle; particularly two in August 1785, with a skeleton in each; and not long before, a remarkable one, containing, besides the body, which was quite perfect till it was touched, a long slender wand, of which I saw fragments in the possession of the late Mr. Masters of Landbeach, and some small bones, at the time supposed to be those of an unborn child; but they were most certainly those of a bird, as was evident from the apophysis upon each of the ribs; but no skull was found, and it was not possible to determine whether it was a hawk, or of some other species". Kerrich, "Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins", p. 228. If the skeleton recovered from "Sarcophagus D" was that of a raptorial bird, its presence, together with the fragmentary "wand", is suggestive of falconry. Falconry may have been practiced in northern Britain as early as the eighth century, as evidenced by a figural panel on the Bewcastle cross-shaft, interpreted

seven recumbent and three upright slabs—all characteristic of the Fenland Group—discovered under the ramparts of Cambridge Castle in 1810 when most of the standing fabric was destroyed (see below, figs. 15-16, p. 146).³⁸

Fox notes that a total of seven upright slabs were recovered from the castle cemetery (five of “Type A” form and three of “Type B”) and that those recovered in 1810 were found *in situ*, functioning as headstones in association with “grave-covers”.³⁹ He also records that the Cambridge Castle cross-head was excavated from the cemetery in 1810, implying that it was recovered from the same level as the slabs;⁴⁰ the cross-head is not mentioned in Kerrich’s account (and his record of the upright slabs is incomplete), perhaps suggesting that excavation was either ongoing or intermittent throughout the year. Nonetheless, like Sarcophagi “A” and “B”, find-context confirms that the later discoveries in the castle cemetery predated

by both Kitzinger and Henderson as a falconer with his bird (though the Evangelist John and his symbol, the eagle, have also been proposed). See E. Kitzinger, “Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art”, *Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland (Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 3-6 Jan. 1991)*, eds. R. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh 1993), pp. 3-15, at 10-11; and I. Henderson, “The Picts: Written Records and Pictorial Images”, *Stones, Symbols and Stories: Aspects of Pictish Studies (Proceedings from the Conferences of the Pictish Arts Society, 1992)*, eds. J. Burt, *et al.* (Edinburgh 1994), pp. 44-66, at 52. Mounted falconers are also depicted on some Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures in Northern England (for example, Sockburn 3, Du). See Cramp, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 136-137; ill. 130. In the early twelfth century, Adelard of Bath wrote a treatise on the rearing, training and care of hawks (*De cura accipitrum*) in which falconry is identified as an essential component of young men’s education. See M. Gibson, “Adelard of Bath”, *Adelard of Bath, an English Scientist and Arabist of the Twelfth Century*, ed. C. Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts (London 1987), pp. 7-16, at 8; and A. Swaen, ed., *De cura accipitrum* (Afdeling voor moderne Literatuur Wetenschap, 11) (Groningen 1937). Falconry was likely a component of what Senecal terms “thegnly culture”. See C. Senecal, “Keeping up with the Godwinesons: In Pursuit of Aristocratic Status in Late Anglo-Saxon England”, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2000), pp. 251-266, at 252. For a concise summary of the literary and artistic evidence for falconry in Anglo-Saxon England, see A. Carrington, “The horseman and the falcon: mounted falconers in Pictish sculpture”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 126 (1996), pp. 459-468, at 462-463. If “Sarcophagus D” did preserve evidence of falconry, then this would support the supposition that the occupant was of elite status.

³⁸ Kerrich, “Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins”, p. 228.

³⁹ Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, p. 26. In his account of the Cambridge Castle excavations, Bowtell states, “at the head of each grave, was found sunk in the earth a perpendicular stone about 2’ 9” long with the figure of a cross cut on both sides but not letters thereon”. Bowtell, *MS. Downing Coll.*, vol. 2, p. 161.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 20.

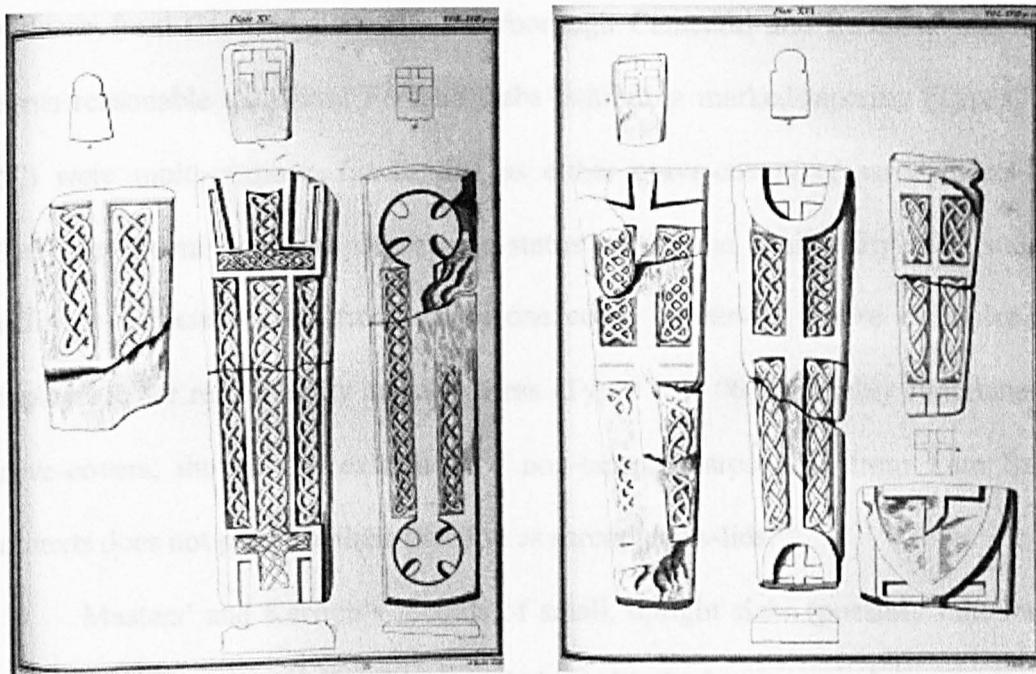
construction of the castle ramparts, suggested at *ca* 1068.⁴¹ Thus, considering the Fenland Group's uniformity of both form and decoration and its approximate date-level at Cambridge Castle, it is probable that the productions of this sculptural school are pre-Conquest.⁴²

Furthermore, the antiquarian accounts of the Late Saxon cemetery at Cambridge Castle allow several hypotheses to be advanced concerning the function(s) of the recumbent and upright slabs characteristic of the Fenland Group. Masters' letters imply that tapered, stone sarcophagi, fitted with similarly-shaped relief-carved lids, displaying centrally-placed cruciforms and interlace panels, were employed in the castle's Late Saxon cemetery. Supporting evidence from Raunds Furnells seemingly confirms that tapered sarcophagi with rounded head-recesses were utilized in Late Saxon funerary contexts.⁴³ The damage illustrated in Kerrich's drawings of the recumbent slabs recovered from the castle cemetery is consistent with burial-disturbance. Breakages, usually horizontal fissures roughly equidistant from the slabs' narrow ends, are characteristic of the action of levering lids off sarcophagi, perhaps suggesting their reuse (see below, figs. 15-16).

⁴¹ See A. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge 1978), pp. 12-17, at 16; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 49.

⁴² As mentioned above (see pp. 4-5), various scholars, including Fox, Kendrick, Plunkett, Everson and Stocker, have assigned a date-range of tenth to eleventh centuries to the Fenland Group. See, for example, Fox, "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture", pp. 34-44; T.D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949; London, New York 1974), p. 82; Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166; *idem*, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture and Architecture in Suffolk", *passim*; and Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 76-79. Recumbent slabs in northern England, exhibiting centrally-placed, double-headed crosses, akin to the Fenland Group (specifically, Types "1" and "6") are extant at Spennithorne, Gilling West (both YN) and Sockburn (Du). Interlace panels are disposed on either side of the cross-shaft on the Spennithorne example (2), replete with Borrestyle ring-knots. Lang proposes a date-range of tenth to eleventh century for the Spennithorne and Gilling West (8) monuments and notes that "there may be influence from the Fenland group of grave-covers". See Lang, *CASSS*, vol. 6, p. 198. Cramp assigns the Sockburn slab (25) to the late eleventh century. See Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, p. 154.

⁴³ See Cramp, "Monumental Stone", p. 109.



Figs. 15 (left) and 16 (right). *Cambridge Castle recumbent and upright slabs* (© Kerrich, 1814).

While this might imply that the burials at Cambridge Castle are post-Conquest, employing recycled Late Saxon stonework, it also suggests that the cemetery's recumbent Fenland monuments originally functioned as sarcophagus-lids. Though two *in situ* Fenland recumbent slabs demarcating non-sarcophagus interments were discovered in the Late Saxon cemetery at Peterborough Cathedral,⁴⁴ the contention that all of the Fenland recumbent monuments functioned as grave-covers is questionable,⁴⁵ as is the assumption that the overtly tapered examples were only appropriated as lids for thirteenth-century sarcophagi (though incidents of such reuse are possible). Yet, acknowledging the collective material and documentary

⁴⁴ Irvine notes that human bones were found beneath the slab (which he identifies as a "coffin lid") and that it was "probably reused". Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", pp. 282-283. Three other recumbent slabs characteristic of the "Fenland Group" were recovered from the cemetery excavation, though owing to Irvine's architectural emphasis, none are mentioned in his accounts ("The remarkably beautiful Saxon monuments found inside the north transept of the present church are here omitted, as being only in the churchyard of the Saxon church"). Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", p. 53. For a brief discussion of these monuments, see Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 24, 27. Taylor notes that one of these three slabs was found *in situ*. See A. Taylor, *Burial Practice in Early England* (Stroud 2001), p. 173.

⁴⁵ This theory is advanced by Everson and Stocker. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 46-50. That tapered stones survive in greater number than their thicker, rectangular counterparts might also suggest that they functioned as sarcophagus lids, receiving some degree of protection in the ground.

evidence from Cambridge Castle, Peterborough Cathedral and Raunds Furnells, it seems reasonable that those Fenland slabs exhibiting marked tapering (Types “2”-“5”) were multi-purpose, functioning as either grave-covers or sarcophagus-lids, likely dependent upon the deceased’s status and/or the availability of a suitable coffin or sufficient stone from which one could be carved. Those examples that display greater rectilinearity and thickness (Types “1”, “6”) probably functioned as grave-covers, though the existence of non-tapered sarcophagi from Late Saxon contexts does not preclude their function as sarcophagus-lids.⁴⁶

Masters’ and Kerrich’s records of small, upright slabs (possibly functioning as head- or footstones)⁴⁷ found in association with the larger recumbent monuments is suggestive of a funerary “suite”: related monuments which, collectively, function as a composite memorial demarcating a single interment. The employment of such “suites” in Late Saxon cemeteries is certainly demonstrated by the late nineteenth-century excavations at Peterborough Cathedral. Irvine records that in 1882, following assessment of the cathedral’s precarious lantern crossing, several small excavations were made around the bases of its western towers and beneath its western crossing-arch to assess whether these structures could support the requisite rebuilding.⁴⁸ These excavations revealed evidence of the Saxon minster, upon which the Norman and subsequent cathedrals had been constructed, and concluded that the area beneath the cathedral’s western arch (extending into the nave and the north

⁴⁶ See, for example, J. McDonnell, ed., “Thomas Parker of Wombleton”, *The Ryedale Historian* 10 (1980), pp. 4-26, at 19 (Original MS is at the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, written 1856 and ca 1882); and L. Watts, J. Grenville and P. Rahtz, *Archaeology at Kirkdale*, supplement to the *Ryedale Historian* 18 (1996-1997; Helmsley 1997), p. 6

⁴⁷ Masters, “Account of Some Stone Coffins”, p. 64; Kerrich, “Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins”, p. 228

⁴⁸ Irvine, “Account of the Discovery”, p. 45.

transept) had been an open churchyard in the Late Saxon period.⁴⁹ Though Irvine's accounts are primarily concerned with the Saxon minster's architectural history, he does document some of the finds associated with its cemetery(s). He records that the Saxon occupation-level produced the arm of a stone cross,⁵⁰ evidence of a stone seat (inside the cathedral's south transept, corresponding to the eastern wall of the Saxon chancel) and burials to the north, including one in the cathedral's north transept preserving a "Type 4" recumbent slab.⁵¹

Though Irvine states that the sarcophagi recovered in the Peterborough Cathedral excavations were seemingly Norman,⁵² his accounts imply that those from the north transept were discovered at the Saxon occupation-level;⁵³ furthermore, they are reproduced in Irvine's reports, replicating the shape and internal structure of sarcophagus 1117 from Raunds Furnells. This inconsistency (apparent in the light of the later twentieth-century finds) elicits various interpretations, including Saxon manufacture, post-Conquest reuse or Norman manufacture (perhaps following Saxon forms).⁵⁴ In Fox's discussion of the Fenland Group, he notes that the Peterborough Cathedral cemetery produced one upright slab *in situ*, functioning as a footstone to what he terms "grave-cover XIV".⁵⁵ He noted that the top of the upright slab was broken off, "but sufficient remained to suggest that its outline was ... [circular] with a shouldered base".⁵⁶ This account, together with descriptions of the Cambridge Castle artifacts and the recumbent and upright Fenland slabs excavated from the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 48 and "Plan—Showing the Foundations of the Saxon Church and other recent discoveries", n.p. Irvine suggests that the burials to the east of the Saxon minster, occupying the cathedral's south transept, are Norman. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52. Irvine does not describe this fragment.

⁵¹ Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", p. 282.

⁵² Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", p. 50.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 47; Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", pp. 279-282.

⁵⁴ Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", n.p.

⁵⁵ Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 27. Fox numbers "Grave-covers of Cambs. Type found outside the County limits" consecutively from 1-19 ("I-XIX"). The Peterborough Cathedral examples are numbered 14-18 ("XIV-XVIII"). *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

churchyards at Hunston, Sf, and Helpston, C, suggest that sculptural “suites” comprising head- and/or footstones in association with recumbent slabs (probably functioning as grave-covers) were seemingly characteristic of elite burial in pre-Conquest East Anglia.⁵⁷ However, in his discussion of what he terms the “monks’ cemetery” at Peterborough Cathedral (lying beyond the eastern wall of the Saxon chancel), Irvine stated that “the stone coffins and their lids ... [paved] the ancient ground level of the ... cemetery”.⁵⁸ Though he proposed that all sarcophagi from the Peterborough Cathedral cemetery were Norman, the apparent inconsistencies can be explained by the increased evidence now available from Raunds Furnells. Furthermore, even if the burials in the “monks’ cemetery” are post-Conquest, they might preserve a continuation of Late Saxon burial practice, especially since two probable Late Saxon interments (replete with *in situ* Fenland grave-covers) were discovered in the churchyard to the north of the Saxon minster. Thus, it is also plausible that head- and footstones may have been used in conjunction with exposed sarcophagus lids—assuming that Irvine’s description of lids “[paving] the ancient ground level” is accurate; this hypothesis, however, must remain conjectural.⁵⁹

Outside East Anglia, though contemporary with the Fenland Group, further evidence of sculptural “suites” demarcating Late Saxon interments is found in the pre-Conquest cemetery beneath the south transept of York Minster. Here, the excavations in the 1960s revealed a lay-burial ground preserving nearly fifty recumbent slabs (probably functioning as grave-covers), spanning the eighth to

⁵⁷ The use of head- and/or footstones in conjunction with grave-covers has also been demonstrated in the Late Saxon cemetery at Raunds Furnells. See Boddington, “Part I: An Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard”, pp. 45-47.

⁵⁸ Irvine, “Account of the Discovery”, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁹ This supposition is informed by the Raunds evidence which demonstrated that sarcophagus 1117 was buried. See Boddington, “Part I: An Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard”, p. 43.

eleventh centuries,⁶⁰ including two *in situ* “suites” of recumbent and upright slabs marking eleventh-century burials.⁶¹ While the recumbent slabs (functioning as grave-covers) display centrally-placed cruciforms, their shape, style and decoration are unlike the Fenland examples;⁶² their associated head- and footstones are equally dissimilar, exhibiting few shared characteristics with their East Anglian counterparts. Similar traditions of memorialization are extant at Lincoln, Wharram Percy (YN) and Raunds Furnells, each with Scandinavian-ancestored communities in the tenth and eleventh centuries, perhaps suggesting that this sculptural complex can be understood as an expression of Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian identity.⁶³ Furthermore, Bailey and Lang argue that hogback memorial stones (*ca* post-920; seemingly indicative of Insular Scandinavian settlement) may have formed “suites” with associated crosses.⁶⁴

4.B.iv. *Lay-burial at Peterborough and Cambridge Castle*

⁶⁰ See J. Lang, “Pre-Conquest sculpture”, *Excavations at York Minster*, 3 vols., eds. D. Philips, *et al.* (London 1995), I, pp. 435-467, *passim*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 435. See also J. Lang, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 39-40, ills. 416-417. Lang notes that the slabs’ decoration is suggestive of tenth-century manufacture and that some examples had been sawn in two, the resultant pieces positioned over separate eleventh-century burials as both grave-covers and head- and footstones. See Lang, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 39, 62-78; and Lang, “Continuity and innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture”, p. 151.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶³ See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 44, 55, 58, 60-62; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 153.

⁶⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 99-100; J. Lang, “The hogback: a Viking colonial monument”, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3, eds. S. Hawkes, J. Campbell and D. Brown (Oxford 1984), pp. 85-176, at 96. However, further evidence (albeit limited) suggests that memorial “suites” were also employed in areas apparently removed from Scandinavian settlement or influence. Meigle (Per) preserves evidence of small, upright slabs, perhaps functioning as head- or footstones and several recumbent slabs replete with slots for associated vertical monuments (?crosses). Evidence of composite memorials comprising upright and recumbent slabs is also preserved at West Kirby (Ch; perhaps predating Norse settlement in the Wirral, *ca* post-902). Thus, such composite memorials—while suggestive of Scandinavian cultural influence—cannot be definitively associated with Scandinavian colonization or presence. See Allen and Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, II, pp. 296-305, 328-340; S. Cruden, *The Early Christian & Pictish Monuments of Scotland: An illustrated introduction, with illustrated and descriptive catalogues of the Meigle and St Vigean Collections* (1957; Edinburgh 1964), pp. 18-22; and “Parish Church of St Bridget, West Kirby with The Church of the Resurrection and All Saints, Cald”; retrieved 10/10/08 from <<http://www.stbridgetschurch.org.uk/index.htm>>.

Overall, the documented archaeological evidence from Peterborough Cathedral and Cambridge Castle bears important witness to the slabs' memorial function. However, it is also important in elucidating the sculpture's relationship with elite status in pre-Conquest East Anglia. Here, three factors associated with the discovery of marked, Late Saxon interments at Peterborough Cathedral are particularly important: (1) the graves were probably those of laymen, since a monastic graveyard was discovered on the south side of the abbey; (2) no coffins were found in association with the slabs; interments had been directly in the ground (often suggestive of lay-burial);⁶⁵ and (3) graves associated with monks preserved no evidence of head- or footstones, perhaps suggesting that such monuments are characteristic of lay-interment (supported by the York Minster,⁶⁶ Hunston, Sf, and Helpston, C, evidence). Considering the similarity in both the form and placement of the funerary monuments at the Peterborough Cathedral and Cambridge Castle cemeteries, and the likelihood that laypersons were interred beneath the Peterborough grave-covers, it is probable that the Cambridge Castle cemetery also comprised lay-interments. Apparent references to falconry at this site offer potential supporting evidence.

In the Late Saxon period, Cambridge was a wealthy and relatively populous city; its inhabitants numbered approximately two thousand, of whom roughly one third lived on the north side of the River Cam near Castle Hill.⁶⁷ There were four mills in the city and ten churches (although the evidence for five of these is conjectural, including that associated with Castle Hill), a court, a mint (employing at

⁶⁵ Hadley, *Death in Medieval England*, pp. 97-108; Taylor, *Burial Practice in Early England*, pp. 165-182; Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 23-24.

⁶⁶ Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 155.

⁶⁷ Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire*, p. 16.

least three moneyers), and a “guild of thegns” is recorded.⁶⁸ Thus, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Cambridge was a prosperous commercial centre.

More importantly, it seems evident that sufficient wealth was concentrated in Cambridge to patronize sculptors on a relatively large scale (based on the city’s Late Saxon population and the extent of the archaeological evidence from Castle Hill); yet, it is difficult to identify the social status of the patrons of the Cambridge Castle funerary sculptures. *Domesday* provides few insights. With reference to Castle Hill, it simply records that “27 houses have been destroyed for the castle”,⁶⁹ suggesting that the Norman fortification disrupted the topography of the city’s first ward, displacing many residents.⁷⁰ In the absence of other textual evidence, the patrons can only be assumed to be those possessing sufficient wealth to commission stone sculpture. These could be lords, holding *sok*e or *sake* and *sok*e over lands and/or enterprises in or near Cambridge or even wealthy *sokemanni* or *liberi homines*.

Though the exact social status of the patrons is unknown, the topographical context in which their monuments were erected does seem to support the assumption of their elite status. If the sculptures from Castle Hill are, indeed, representative of monuments which demarcated the cemetery’s burials in the Late Saxon period, then contemporary viewers of the Castle Hill site would have observed the potent vista of a hill surmounted by vertical stone monuments (albeit of modest scale), a powerful symbol of elite status. Furthermore, it is important to note that such vertical monuments (whether crosses or head- and footstones) have not been recovered from

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁹ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 519.

⁷⁰ *Domesday* records that the Borough of Cambridge was organized into ten wards, with the first ward occupying the area north of the River Cam, including Castle Hill. *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 519.

the other three Late Saxon cemeteries in Cambridge.⁷¹ Overall, it is therefore possible that the Castle Hill site functioned as an elite cemetery.

Among the extant monument forms represented by the Castle Hill sculptures, it is also difficult to assess whether a hierarchy existed with respect to the deceased's status. A recumbent monument with head- and footstones, for example, could provide equally impressive memorialization as a small-scale cross; it could, conceivably, utilize more stone, which might elevate its prestige in a region devoid of workable material. However, a cross, even of limited scale, is readily visible and commands attention. In this context, with limited evidence other than the sculptures themselves, it is imprudent to advance any theory that associates status with a particular sculptural form.

Nonetheless, the importance of display at Castle Hill, manifested by the (apparently exclusive) use of vertical monuments in a setting which maximized their visibility, suggests that the site was of particular importance to elites, while Peterborough Cathedral's lay-cemetery (and its associated monuments) reiterates the importance of the "Church" as a sociological construct in the Late Saxon period associated with power and status. Like the Castle Hill cemetery, memorialization at Peterborough's Saxon minster would reaffirm the deceased's role as a benefactor and possible protector of the church (akin to Ealdorman Byrhtnoth at Ely) within his/her community. Though accounts of the minster's excavation record no evidence of track- or pathways leading to or around the building, it is likely that parishioners would have seen the funerary monuments regularly (certainly when attending the minster). In this context, the deceased's memory (and deeds) would be intimately associated with the time and place of worship, modelling appropriate behaviour (*vis*

⁷¹ Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 15-45; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 46-50.

à vis benefaction) amongst elites (see below, p. 301) and eliciting continued respect from the populace (perhaps benefiting the deceased's kingroup).

4.B.v. *Small Crosses—Form*

Fragments of small, monolithic, wheel-headed crosses of roughly “E-8” form (akin to those represented on “Type B” upright and “Type 6” recumbent slabs) are preserved or documented at six sites in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire (see below, figs. 17-18).⁷²

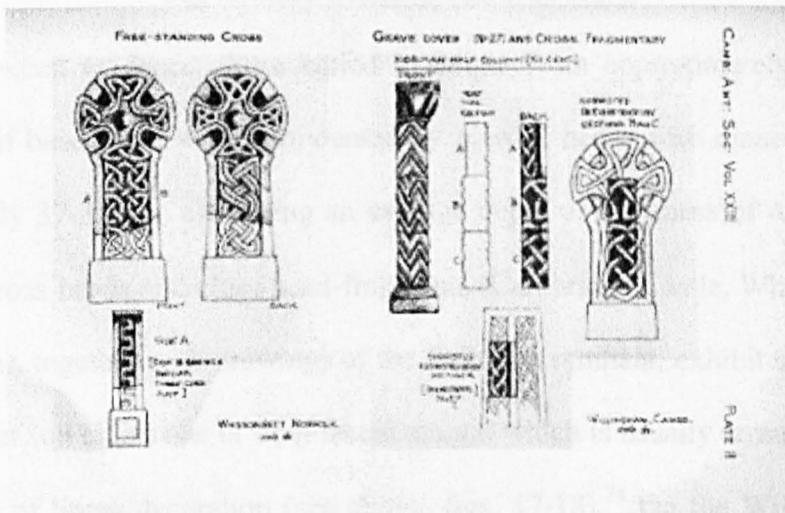


Fig. 17. *Small crosses* (© Fox, 1920-1921).

⁷² Whissonsett 1 (NF; see Appendix 1, pp. 333-334; pls. 30-32), Cambridge Castle 3 (see Appendix 1, p. 361; pls. 85-87), Willingham 2-3 (see Appendix 1, pp. 401-402; pls. 148, 150-151), Rampton 5 (see Appendix 1, p. 390; pl. 125), Fulbourn (lost; see fig. 18) and Stapleford 1 (see Appendix 1, pp. 395-396; pls. 130-133; all C). Whittlesford 3 (C) is possibly a cross-head, though it is likely post-Conquest. See Appendix 1, pp. 399-400; pls. 143-147. The Fulbourn cross-head retains an accession record in the collection of Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; however, its present location is unknown. Crosses similar in both form and scale to the Fenland Group are extant in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Southeast England. See, for example, Raunds Furnells 1 (see below, fig. 24, pp. 176-177; Appendix 2, pl. 165; and Cramp, "Monumental Stone", p. 105), London (All Hallows) 1 (Tweddle, Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 4, ills. 343-344; pp. 221-223), Winchester (Old Minster) 95 (*ibid.*, ills. 717-718; p. 339), Colsterworth (L) 2 (Everson and Stocker, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 5, ills. 92-93; p. 131), Creton, St Peter (L) 1 (*ibid.*, ills. 124-127; pp. 139-140), Moulton (L) 1 (*ibid.*, ills. 171-172, 176-178, 162-164; pp. 162-164) and Lincoln, St Mary-le-Wigford (L) 1a-b (*ibid.*, ills. 265-266, fig. 28; pp. 211-212).

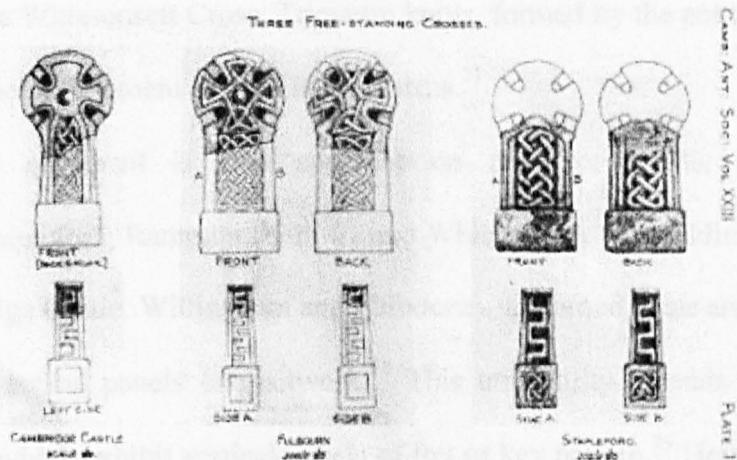


Fig. 18. *Small crosses* (© Fox, 1920-1921).

Based on extant evidence, these varied in height from approximately 85-110 cm (inclusive of bases) and were surmounted by pierced heads with diameters ranging from roughly 37-38 cm, displaying an average depth or thickness of 4.5 cm.⁷³ The surviving cross-heads and cross-head-fragments (Cambridge Castle, Whissonsett and Willingham), together with drawings of the Fulbourn remnant, exhibit a central boss in high-relief (on either one or both faces) around which is usually arranged a simple programme of linear decoration (see above, figs. 17-18).⁷⁴ On the Willingham and Fulbourn cross-heads, this consists of a continuous band or ribbon, forming angular loops on the lateral and upper cross-arms.⁷⁵ The lower cross-arms on both stones exhibit greater embellishment: ribbon-ornament forms triquetra knots on the Fulbourn example, while the Willingham fragment displays two, angled loops (see above, figs. 17-18).⁷⁶ Similar elaboration characterizes the decorative programme of

⁷³ Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 15.

⁷⁴ W. Collingwood, "The Whissonsett Cross", *Norfolk Archaeology* 15 (1905), pp. 316-323 at 316. Among extant cross-head fragments, the Cambridge Castle example is anomalous. Other than its central boss, its ornamentation is limited to a continuous incised line replicating the contours of its general form. Unlike the Fulbourn, Whillingham and Whissonsett cross-heads, its lower arm is not demarcated; in this respect, it is similar to the cruciforms ornamenting "Type B" upright slabs.

⁷⁵ This is conjectural *vis à vis* the Willingham fragment and is based on Fox's reconstruction. See fig. 17.

⁷⁶ Only one face of the Willingham fragment is visible. Whether the double loops appear on the hidden face is unknown.

the head of the Whissonsett Cross. Triquetra knots, formed by the continuous ribbon on its broad faces, ornament each of its four arms.⁷⁷

Linear ornament is also apparent on the cross-shafts. Of surviving examples—Stapleford, Rampton (both C) and Whissonsett, with additional evidence from Cambridge Castle, Willingham and Fulbourn—the broad faces are all decorated with single, vertical panels of plaitwork.⁷⁸ This uniformity extends to the shafts' narrow faces which exhibit vertical panels of fret or key pattern.⁷⁹ However, whether the cross-bases were decorated is unclear. Only the Stapleford base is intact; its broad faces are undecorated, though two square panels, each exhibiting quatrelobed knots, ornament its narrow sides. The apparent standardization of decorative programme *vis à vis* extant and documented small crosses suggests that the knotwork employed on the Stapleford base is likely characteristic of the monument-type.

4.B.vi. *Small Crosses—Function(s)*

The cross-head recovered from the excavation of the Cambridge Castle cemetery suggests that the small crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group were associated with funerary contexts. Though the cross-arm discovered in the excavation of the

⁷⁷ See Appendix 1, pls. 30-32; and Collingwood, "Whissonsett Cross", pl. 1.

⁷⁸ On the Stapleford cross-shaft, four-cord plaitwork is employed on either broad face; four-cord also appears on the cross-shaft fragment preserved at Willingham (only one broad face is visible). The Cambridge Castle cross-head, preserving a vestige of the upper-most portion of the cross-shaft, displays four-cord plait on either broad face (bordered by the continuous incised line replicating the contours of the monument). The Fulbourn cross-head (also preserving a portion of the upper cross-shaft), exhibits four-cord plait on one face and six-cord on the other; and the Whissonsett Cross, preserving the most complex ornamentation of surviving cross-heads and -shafts, displays a six-cord "mirror-image" pattern comprising three registers of adorsed triquetra knots (akin to closed circuit pattern "D") on one broad face and a four-cord panel with median-incised groove and cross joining terminal on the other. See figs. 17-18; Appendix 1, pls. 130-133, 151, 86, 30-32. G. Benton, "Early Sepulchral Monuments in Stapleford Church, Cambs.", *Antiquary* 46 (1910), pp. 229-230, at 229; Collingwood, "Whissonsett Cross", pl. 1; Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, pp. xlii-xliii, fig. 24.

⁷⁹ This pattern consists of alternating vertical and horizontal lines, forming a squared spiral; it is not included in Cramp's *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*. Fox terms this "battlement key pattern". See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 17. The Willingham shaft-fragment does not preserve evidence of its narrow faces.

Late Saxon cemetery at Peterborough Cathedral is not described in extant accounts, its find-context is also suggestive of funerary use.⁸⁰ The excavation of the churchyard at Raunds Furnells also revealed evidence of a Fenland-type cross, though it was probably larger than the extant Fenland examples.⁸¹ Fragments of the cross-shaft had been recut and fashioned with other stones as the composite lid to Sarcophagus 1117.⁸² As mentioned above (pp. 142-149), this lid was associated stratigraphically with the site's earliest church (*ca* late-ninth or early-tenth century). Considering its find-context and its variety of ornament, Cramp's suggestion that "it could be an earlier and more individual piece" (*vis à vis* the Fenland evidence) can be accepted.⁸³ Nonetheless, the Raunds Furnells Cross constitutes yet another example (albeit somewhat earlier) of a Fenland-type cross in a funerary *milieu*. However, although these crosses are seemingly associated with cemeteries, whether they functioned as personal memorials or mortuary or boundary markers remains unclear.⁸⁴

4.C. Monumental Crosses and Figural Sculpture

While much of East Anglia's extant Late Saxon sculpture does seem to have been associated with personal commemoration, evidence of other contexts for sculptural

⁸⁰ Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", p. 50.

⁸¹ Cramp suggests that the Raunds Furnells Cross was probably of similar proportion to that at Sproxton, Lei, measuring 1.98 m in height, with a head-diameter of .54 m. See Cramp, "Monumental Stone", p. 105; and Boddington, "Part I: An Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard", p. 52, fig. 63.

⁸² Cramp, "Monumental Stone", p. 105.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Few scholars have quantified the possible contexts for use of stone crosses in Anglo-Saxon England. Based on archaeological and literary evidence, Stevens, for example, proposes seven instances, though individual examples could conceivably have served multiple functions. Following Stevens, "mortuary crosses were erected in cemeteries, usually five in number demarcating the centre and the four cardinal points, and were likely a tangible expression of the consecration ceremony; boundary crosses were erected marking the limits of church property ... For example, "the monks of Edmundsbury encircled ... [their] town with four crosses to define the limits of their authority". Quoted in Reed, "Pagan Origins of Anglo-Saxon Monumental Stonework", p. 111. See also Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, p. 99; and W. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, Yale Studies in English 23 (Yale 1904), *passim*.

patronage survives in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire in the form of monumental crosses, preserved at Great Ashfield, Kedington and Peterborough Cathedral, and in two groups of figural sculptures extant at Ipswich and at several villages near Bury St Edmunds (Wordwell, Wickhambrook and Framsdén). The Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses have been discussed in detail by Plunkett and Copinger-Hill; given that they were not included by Fox in his study, Plunkett's and Copinger-Hill's terminology will be adopted here, for consistency.⁸⁵ However, the Suffolk figural panels (particularly those at Wordwell, Wickhambrook and Framsdén) have received cursory treatment in art historical and archaeological scholarship. Thus, along with the iconography of the free-standing crosses, the problems associated with the iconographic study and resultant dating of these panels will be explored in the next chapter, following consideration here of their form and function.

4.C.i. *Monumental Crosses—Form*

The Great Ashfield, Kedington and Peterborough Cathedral crosses constitute the principal evidence of monumental stone sculpture in Late Saxon East Anglia.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 166, 359; Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 324, 346-347; H. Copinger-Hill, "Great Ashfield Cross", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20 (1930), pp. 280-286, *passim*; *idem*, "Kedington Cross", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20 (1930), pp. 287-289, *passim*.

⁸⁶ See below, figs. 19-21 and Appendix 1, pp. 339-340, 351, 385-387; pls. 39-44, 66-67, 120-123. In addition to the Fletton Cross, which may be of Late Saxon manufacture (discussed in Appendix 1, pp. 366-37, pl. 92), the Iken Cross is the only other example of Anglo-Saxon monumental stone sculpture in East Anglia. Cramp proposes a date of *ca* late ninth to early tenth century for the Iken cross-shaft (see Appendix 2, pls. 153-154). However, in accordance with accepted opinion that Iken is the site of St Botolph's monastery of *Icanho*, Plunkett's proposed date of mid-ninth to early tenth is more precise (Stevenson summarizes later sources dating the abandonment of *Icanho* to 870). See West, Scarfe and Cramp, "Iken, St Botolph and the coming of East Anglian Christianity", pp. 279-303, at 289-292; Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 328, 244-345; F. Stevenson, "St Botolph (Botulf) and Iken", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 18 (1922), pp. 29-52, at 32. Parallels to the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses (though probably of later date) are extant in Lincolnshire. A fragmentary cross-shaft (*ca* mid-eleventh century) preserved in the churchyard of Sts Mary and Andrew in Stoke Rochford, L, exhibits similar scale and thinness relative to its width (H. 213 cm; W. 44 > 32 cm; D. 26 > 19 cm), though it displays angled mouldings (rectangular in section) and a decorative programme comprising panels of three- and four-cord plait. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 253-254, ills. 346-349, 355. A late eleventh- or twelfth-

Though the Kedington Cross survives in fragmentary state, its similarity of form and proportion to the intact Great Ashfield Cross suggests that the monuments were related and were of similar size.⁸⁷ In comparison, the Peterborough Cathedral Cross is anomalous; no monuments of similar form and/or style are extant in East Anglia.

The Great Ashfield Cross (monolithic and chamfered on its vertical angles) is preserved in the garden of Great Ashfield House (see fig. 19 and Appendix 1, pp. 339-340; pls. 39-44). Its cross-head is circular and unpierced, beneath which are two lateral impostes; all project only slightly from the monument's rectangular profile (exhibited by Faces A and C; broad). Asymmetrical vinescroll decorates three of its faces; the fourth (broad) face, however, is divided into three longitudinal registers, the outer two of which frame Latin inscriptions, one identified as "REG ... DOURIVIAG" and the other as "REG".⁸⁸ Plunkett notes that "VIA" ("road" or "journey") is discernible but "no intelligible reading can be made" of the remaining inscriptions.⁸⁹ While it is possible, however, that "REG" is a fragmentary declension of "rex"/"king" and that the apparent clause which follows, "DO" ("I give"), relates to this noun, the other characters, "URI", are confusing in the context of this tentative reading, seemingly referring to either oxen or the act of burning.

century shaft at Crowland (termed the "St Guthlac Stone" owing to its inscription naming the saint) also exhibits the scale and slab-like form characteristic of the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses. Like the Stoke Rochford example, this shaft displays angled mouldings, though it also preserves a lengthy Latin inscription. Employing the *Historia Croylandensis*, Everson and Stocker suggest that the "St Guthlac Stone" functioned as a boundary marker demarcating the territory of Crowland Abbey. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 323-325, ills. 456-457. Though conjectural, the evidence from Stoke Rochford and Crowland might suggest that the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses are illustrative of a Fenland tradition of monumental, inscribed, slab-like crosses (perhaps spanning the Late Saxon and post-Conquest periods) that were employed in a variety of contexts. The Fletton Cross might also be associated with this tradition.

⁸⁷ Plunkett associates the Great Ashfield Cross, formally, with those at Fletton (C) and Sproxtton (Lei), noting they are "monolithic rectangular-shafted objects with wheel-heads and offsets". Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166. However, unlike most of the comparative material cited by Plunkett, the Great Ashfield Cross does not have a pierced head. The Fletton and Sproxtton crosses also exhibit affinities to the cross recovered from the churchyard excavation at Raunds, Furnells (Nth).

⁸⁸ Copinger-Hill, "Great Ashfield Cross", p. 283. See Appendix 1, pl. 42.

⁸⁹ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 347.



Fig. 19. *Great Ashfield Cross, Face A* (©Reed, 2006).

Like the Great Ashfield Cross, the Kedington sculpture is also monolithic with a circular, unpierced head and exhibits chamfering on its vertical angles; despite its fragmentary state, however, it seems to have been decorated on only one broad face (see fig. 20 and Appendix 1, pp. 351, pls. 66-67). Remnants of a vinescroll with a prominent upturned leaf-bud are visible, surmounted by a crucifixion, modelled in relief, portraying a nimbed Christ without attendant figures. The lateral bar of a low-relief cross is clearly visible behind Christ's outstretched arms, akin to the cruciform ornamenting the head of the Great Ashfield Cross, perhaps suggesting that the present decoration of the Great Ashfield cross-head replicates its original form and execution.

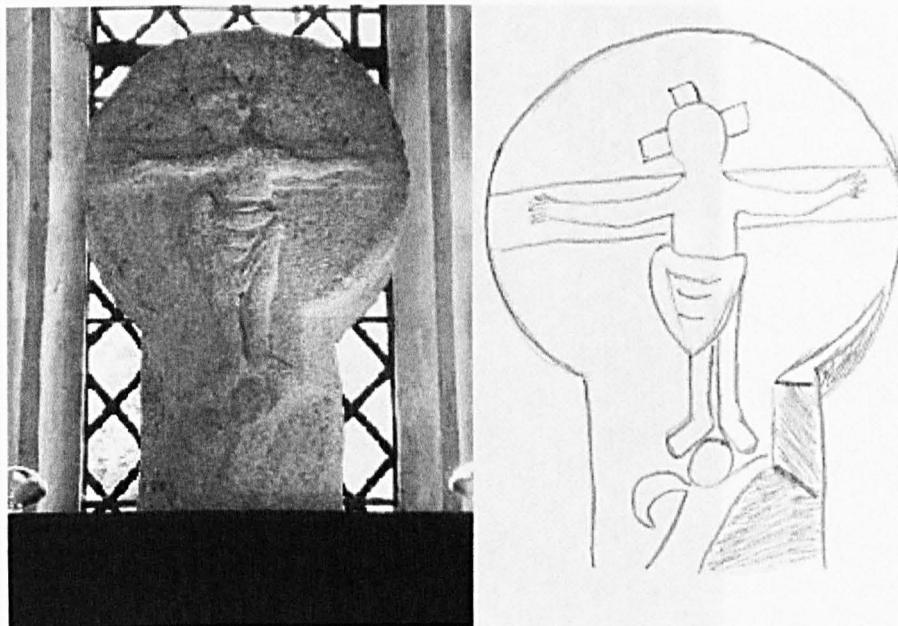


Fig. 20. *Kedington Cross, Face A* (©Reed, 2006).

The Peterborough Cathedral Cross is presently displayed in the cathedral's north nave-aisle. This fragmentary, monolithic cross-shaft exhibits vertical tapering and is decorated on three faces with panels of linear, relief-carved ornament (see fig. 21 and Appendix 1, pp. 385-387; pls. 120-123). Its fourth face ("D"; narrow) has been damaged and subsequently smoothed; whether it was decorated is unknown. As mentioned above (p. 159), the Peterborough Cathedral Cross is anomalous among East Anglia's extant Anglo-Saxon monumental crosses having no known exemplars, although exhibiting an apparent stylistic affinity with the small crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group (see below, p. 229).



Fig. 21. *Peterborough Cathedral Cross, Faces B, C* (©Reed, 2007).

4.C.ii. *Monumental Crosses—Function(s)*

The Great Ashfield Cross was erected in the garden of Great Ashfield House by Lord Thurlow sometime before 1806; he had retrieved it from the village churchyard where it had been employed as a footbridge “for centuries”.⁹⁰ Based on the evidence of the sixteenth-century will of Robert Garrad of Ixworth, together with eighteenth-century commentaries by Tymms and Martin, it was probably originally erected somewhere between Ixworth and Great Ashfield (a distance of approximately 7.2 km). In the Garrad will, it states, “I give ... oon pycell lying aygenst the Crosse at the Townysende”.⁹¹ In a commentary on the will, Tymms adds, “Pedestall of a Cross still remains in [the] grounds of Cross House, at [the] end of town on [the] road to

⁹⁰ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 346.

⁹¹ Quoted in Copinger-Hill, “Great Ashfield Cross”, pp. 284-285.

Stowlangtoft”;⁹² and in his description of Badwell Ash (sometimes known as “Ashfield Parva”), Martin states that “the pedestal of a cross and part of the right up Stone lye in the road near the churchyard”.⁹³

Beyond these intimations of its later provenance, the substantial Latin inscription on the cross suggests that the monument was erected in commemoration of a particular person or event.⁹⁴ Copinger-Hill suggests that it commemorates the translation of St Edmund’s relics from Hoxne to Bury St Edmunds *ca* 900-903, noting that Great Ashfield (situated on the “main route” between the two centres, roughly 21.7 km from each) would have been an appropriate resting-place for the procession.⁹⁵ Whether this was the case, Theodred (d. 955), Bishop of London and Hoxne, bequeathed land at “Ashfield” to his nephew Asgrod,⁹⁶ suggesting this area was or had been of some significance.⁹⁷ In the same will, he also bequeathed monies to Queen Eadgiva (d. 955), wife of Edward the Elder (899-925), establishing a royal association with Hoxne’s chief prelate.⁹⁸ Indeed, this connection with the Wessex royal court supports the proposed reading of the fragmentary inscription on the cross, with its apparent connotations of royal patronage. While a definitive explanation of the function(s) of the Great Ashfield Cross is elusive, and the evidence of the surviving inscription fragmentary at best, it seems not unlikely that the monument can be understood as commemorative in nature and, possibly, the product of elite—perhaps even royal—patronage.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁹³ Martin, “Church Notes”, n.p.

⁹⁴ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture”, p. 347.

⁹⁵ Copinger-Hill, “Great Ashfield Cross”, pp. 285-286. Plunkett concurs with this interpretation, and the association with relic-translation is also supported by his reading of “VIA” in the cross’s inscription. See n. 89.

⁹⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 285.

⁹⁷ *Domesday Book* records that the Abbot of St Edmund’s also held land at “Ashfield”. See *Domesday Book* (Willams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1245.

⁹⁸ Quoted in Copinger-Hill, “Great Ashfield Cross”, pp. 285-286.

While the provenance of the Great Ashfield Cross is relatively tenuous, even less is known of the history of the Kedington Cross. According to Copinger-Hill (referencing an undocumented source), it was “unearthed in the Church” *ca* 1230.⁹⁹ Nothing is known of it after this date (or even if it was the cross cited), other than its apparent use as a decorative finial on the church’s roof and its later relocation inside the church beneath the east chancel window.¹⁰⁰ Observing its similarity of form and scale to the Great Ashfield Cross, Plunkett contends that the monuments are contemporaneous (*ca* mid-tenth century) and “were produced under related patronage, for similar purposes”.¹⁰¹ However, if the Great Ashfield Cross is associated with the translation of St Edmund’s relics from Hoxne to Bury St Edmunds *ca* 900-903, as claimed by Copinger-Hill, it seems unlikely that the Kedington Cross could also commemorate this event. Though *Domesday* records that the Abbot of St Edmund’s held land at Kedington,¹⁰² the village is 23 km southwest of Bury St Edmunds, well beyond the terminus of the probable translation route (see above, fig. 6, p. 119). While it is possible that the cross was originally sited on the path from Hoxne to Bury St Edmunds and subsequently moved to Kedington, no evidence survives supporting this hypothesis. The question of the cross’s potential function is further complicated by the universal nature of its extant iconography: the Crucifixion connotes various tenets, including resurrection, ascension, salvation and the Eucharist (see below, pp. 215-236). While its specific function(s) is unknown, the cross (and its decoration) would be suited to many contexts of commemoration and demarcation.

⁹⁹ Copinger-Hill, “Kedington Cross”, p. 287.

¹⁰⁰ The cross’s placement on the church roof is recorded in an undated photo reproduced by Copinger-Hill. See Copinger-Hill, “Kedington Cross”, n.p. When the cross was relocated inside the church is also undocumented.

¹⁰¹ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture”, p. 347.

¹⁰² Williams and Martin, eds., *Domesday Book*, p. 1248.

Like the Great Ashfield and Kedington crosses, the provenance of the Peterborough Cathedral Cross is similarly unclear. It is not mentioned in the late nineteenth-century accounts of the excavation of the site's Saxon minster, nor is its history recorded in "The Story of Peterborough Cathedral" exhibit, in which it is presently displayed.¹⁰³ However, Irvine's reference to a stone cross-arm recovered from the site's Saxon occupation-level strongly suggests that one or more stone crosses were erected in the monastic precinct.¹⁰⁴ As Irvine did not record the size of the cross-arm, whether its associated –head and –shaft were of monumental or modest scale is unknown. Considering *Medeshamstede's* wealth and prominence in the East Anglian province (and its proximity to the Barnack quarries; see above, fig. 4, p. 104), however, one or more monumental stone crosses at the site (perhaps associated with funerary, boundary and/or diadactic contexts) would be consistent with the monastery's status in the Late Saxon period.

4.C.iii. *Figural and Zoomorphic Sculpture—Forms*

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculpture survives at Wordwell, Wickhambrook, Framsdon, Ipswich (St Nicholas; all Sf) and Cambridge (St Benet's; C), preserving evidence of diverse sculptural forms in East Anglia. These comprise human figures (some with armour and weaponry), saints or apostles, lions and a New Testament scene (Revelation 12:7-8).¹⁰⁵ In addition, two carved tympana survive (one figural, the other zoomorphic) which have been attributed to the post-Conquest period based

¹⁰³ See Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", pp. 45-54; and *idem*, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", pp. 277-285.

¹⁰⁴ Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", p. 52.

¹⁰⁵ "*Et factum est praelium magnum in caelo: Michaël et angeli ejus praeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat, et angeli ejus: et non valuerunt, neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo*" "And there was a great battle in Heaven, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and they lost their place in Heaven". *The Vulgate*, n.d., retrieved 10/12/08 from <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/vul/rev012.htm#007>>.

on their architectural contexts. The other figural and zoomorphic sculptures (often executed in vernacular styles) cannot be precisely-dated; many probably derive from the late-eleventh to early-twelfth centuries, illustrating an apparent continuation of pre-Conquest sculptural traditions (see below, pp. 190-198).

Stone sculpture and architecture are generally accepted as having been unfamiliar to the Anglo-Saxons prior to the Augustinian Mission of *ca* 597.¹⁰⁶ However, evidence from various Middle Saxon sites suggests that early stone churches were often elaborated with figural sculptures. For example, St Peter's, Monkwearmouth (Du), preserves both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic carvings, including intertwined serpents on either baluster of the west entrance, perhaps indicative of apotropaism.¹⁰⁷ Figural sculpture is well-represented in the East Midlands, in SS Mary's and Hardulph's, Breedon (Lei), where an exterior frieze comprising human, geometric, zoomorphic and vegetal elements includes a possible leonine plaque incorporated into the later post-Norman fabric.¹⁰⁸ This creature is portrayed in discordant stance, with its body in profile and its head frontal. Similar depictions are extant in St Benet's, Cambridge, perhaps suggesting continuity of sculptural and iconographic traditions in the Late Saxon period.¹⁰⁹ Such inheritance is further suggested by the *ca* ninth-century, arcaded, figural sculptures at Fletton, Castor and Peterborough Cathedral (all C), contemporary with the carvings from Breedon (though the Peterborough panel could be post-Conquest).¹¹⁰ Such survivals

¹⁰⁶ Carved wooden pillars and the Sutton Hoo whetstone could constitute evidence of three-dimensional art among the pagan Anglo-Saxons. See Reed, "Pagan Origins of Anglo-Saxon Monumental Stonework", pp. 63-73.

¹⁰⁷ L. Laing and J. Laing, *Early English Art and Architecture: Archaeology and Society* (Stroud 1996), p. 105; Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, I, pp. 125-126; II, pls. 112-115. Two serpentine creatures envelop a cross on the "Herebericht" memorial stone from St Peter's, Monkwearmouth, perhaps supporting the contention that such animals were apotropaic. *Ibid.*, I, p. 124; II, pl. 110.

¹⁰⁸ Cramp, "Schools of Mercian Sculpture", pp. 191-233, at 206-207, 210-211. See Appendix 2, pl. 161.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix 1, pp. 359-360; pls. 78-82.

¹¹⁰ See Cramp, "Schools of Mercian Sculpture", p. 192. See Appendix 2, pls. 159-160, 155.

may well have influenced later traditions of saintly or apostolic portraiture, as preserved at Framsdan and Ipswich, St Nicholas (both Sf).¹¹¹

Other than the Kedington Cross, evidence of pre-Conquest anthropomorphic sculpture in East Anglia is slight. A series of figural panels survives in St Nicholas's Church, Ipswich, and evidence of a school of vernacular carving is preserved near Bury St Edmunds at Framsdan, Wordwell and Wickhambrook, though many of these sculptures are probably post-Conquest (see below, pp. 190-198).¹¹²

Acknowledging dating conventions concerning form and motif, only an arcaded frieze in St Nicholas's Church is possibly attributable to the Late Saxon period; the other sculptures at the site (a rectangular plaque and a tympanum) are probably Norman.¹¹³ The frieze, of Barnack limestone surviving as three fragments, depicts three male figures within a (probable) continuous arcade (see below, fig. 25, p. 184; Appendix 1, pls. 57-60).¹¹⁴ The arches spring from prominent impostes, and two vertical, incomplete inscriptions ("TOLVS" and "OSTOLVS") are visible on the

¹¹¹ See below, figs. 30, 25, pp. 188, 184; Appendix 1, pp. 338-339, 348-349; pls. 38, 57-60.

¹¹² While scholarly consensus attributes the Wordwell and Wickhambrook sculptures to the twelfth century (or later), Plunkett and Pevsner suggest that the Framsdan figure could be of eleventh-century manufacture. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", pp. 326, 347-348; and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Suffolk*, 2nd ed., revised by E. Radcliffe (1961; Harmondsworth 1981), pp. 221-222.

¹¹³ These sculptures are displayed in the northeast corner of the nave of St Nicholas's Church. Plunkett suggests that the "frieze" might be a sarcophagus fragment. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", pp. 328, 355. In his assessment of the discovery and restoration of the St Nicholas sculptures, Drummond mentions five other fragments (now lost): an arched piece inscribed "... LVS", one preserving a Greek Sigma, three bearing longer inscriptions ("RIA ACOR ... IVDE MAR M[A] ... DEI NAOS DEXTE AREN ... ER") and figural details, identified by Plunkett as a Crucifixion or a Descent from the Cross. See H. Drummond, "Sculptures at St Nicholas, Ipswich", *Suffolk Archaeological Association Original Papers* 3 (1848), pp. 21-28, at 21-22; E. Clarke, *Portions of Saxon Sculpture found in St Nicholas Church, Ipswich* (Two supplementary plates to those reproduced in Drummond, 1848) (Ipswich ca 1848). Collection of Dr. J. Blatchly of Ipswich; E. Okasha, *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon non-runic inscriptions* (Cambridge 1971), p. 84; and Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", pp. 328, 340-341, 355-356. Galbraith's style-analysis suggests that all of the St Nicholas sculptures are twelfth-century. Plunkett acknowledges that the arcaded frieze could be earlier. See Galbraith, "Early Sculpture at St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich", pp. 172-184, pls. 24-27, at 183-184; and Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 328.

¹¹⁴ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 328. The tallest stone is 56.5 cm in height.

surviving architectural frame.¹¹⁵ The plaque, of Caen limestone, is decorated with a narrative scene arranged horizontally on the rectangular field (see below, fig. 28, p. 186 and Appendix 1, pl. 54). A winged figure, carrying a sword and a shield is portrayed in schematic combat with a winged, serpentine creature.¹¹⁶ An inscription in Old English (“SC MIHAEL”) identifies the anthropomorphic figure as the Archangel Michael, and a second OE inscription between the figures (“HER SCT MIHAEL FEHT WID DANE DRACA”) identifies both the serpentine creature and the scene itself.¹¹⁷ A third inscription, above the dragon, is illegible.¹¹⁸ The tympanum, carved from Barnack or Ancaster limestone, is decorated on both broad faces (see below, figs. 26-27, pp. 185-186; Appendix 1, pls. 55-56). A boar occupies one face, surmounted by an arched, inscribed fillet reading, “IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE OM[NIUM SANC]TORUM”.¹¹⁹ The other face displays a type “B-6” cross with wedge-shaped arms, apparently erected on ground or a surface.¹²⁰

The figural sculpture extant at Framsdén is built into the internal splay of the northwest chancel window of St Mary’s Church (see below, fig. 30, p. 188; Appendix 1; pl. 38). It is a limestone plaque, approximately 24.5 cm in height, portraying a standing male. On the inner edge of the plaque’s recessed field is the Latin inscription, “... S VOCATVR [.S.TK]”.¹²¹ A capital “A” surmounted by a

¹¹⁵ Okasha, *Hand-list*, p. 84; Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, pp. 328, 340-341, 355-356.

¹¹⁶ Plunkett suggests that this plaque may have functioned as a tympanum. Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 329.

¹¹⁷ “Here St Michael fought the dragon”. See Okasha, *Hand-list*, p. 83; Galbraith, “Early Sculpture at St. Nicholas’ Church”, p. 173; and Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 329.

¹¹⁸ Okasha, *Hand-list*, p. 83; Galbraith, “Early Sculpture at St. Nicholas’ Church”, p. 173; Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 329.

¹¹⁹ “In dedication of the Church of All Saints”. “Triple-stopping” (three vertical dots) is employed between words. See Okasha, *Hand-list*, p. 83.; and Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, pp. 328, 353.

¹²⁰ See Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2. This “surface” is demarcated by an incised line.

¹²¹ See Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture”, pp. 347-348. Plunkett states, “The word *vocatur*—‘he is called’, seems perfectly clear, unless the lacuna before the second S contained an O, so that you have *Vocatuuros*—‘Those who will be called’, in the Accusative case ...; and the s may be

horizontal bar (“Ā”), apparently distinct from the inscription on the plaque’s right inner edge, is inscribed in the field to the left of the figure’s head.¹²² Acknowledging Drummond’s observation of a Greek Sigma on a lost fragment from St Nicholas’s Church, this character is possibly an Alpha.¹²³

The figural sculptures at Wordwell constitute a tympanum and a small plaque preserved in All Saints’ Church (see below, figs. 31-32, p. 189; Appendix 1; pls. 73-76). The tympanum is carved on one broad face and is set in the nave’s blocked north doorway. Its decorative programme is possibly narrative, depicting two anthropomorphs arranged hierarchically. Two irregular panels of chip-carved decoration, roughly equidistant from the tympanum’s edges, separate the figures, one of which is depicted with raised arms while the other extends a “ring” (perhaps a martyr’s crown) in his right hand. The asymmetry of the tympanum’s decoration, coupled with its relative abundance of undecorated space, suggests that the monument was either unfinished or was modified. The small plaque at Wordwell is mounted, *in situ*, on the west Norman capital of the south doorway. Like the Framsdén sculpture, the plaque portrays a single figure within a recessed niche, although it is not accompanied nor identified by inscription.

The Wickhambrook sculpture is built into the west corner of the exterior southwest wall of All Saints’ Church (see below, fig. 33, p. 190; Appendix 1; pl. 72). This limestone plaque depicts a male figure carrying a spear and a pointed, ovoid shield. Like the Wordwell plaque, it, too, is unidentified by inscription.¹²⁴ Two

the final letter of the proper name”. Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, pp. 326, 347. Plunkett concurs that the Framsdén figure is probably a saint, and, therefore, that his staff was probably surmounted by a cross. Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 326.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ See Drummond, “Sculptures at St Nicholas Ipswich”, pp. 25-26.

¹²⁴ Based exclusively on the presence of the ovoid shield, Plunkett ascribes a post-Conquest date to the Wickhambrook figure. See Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 330. The temporal complexities of this iconographic element will be discussed in Chapter 5. Employing unspecified

incised lines, projecting from the figure's neck at oblique angles, might delineate the lower edges of raised wings. An element forming a roughly 90° angle with the incised line on the figure's right might be a down-turned wing-tip.

4.C.iv. *Figural Sculpture—Function(s)*

As noted, all of the extant East Anglian figural sculptures seem to have ornamented church fabric or furnishings; most have been attributed to the post-Conquest period, though precise dating is impossible (see below, pp. 190-198). Some have demonstrable apotropaic or didactic functions while others, complicated by their vague provenance and vernacular style, permit only conjectural interpretation.

The carvings preserved in St Nicholas's Church are especially problematic. Though they clearly derive from an architectural context, they need not have originated in the same building or in Ipswich itself.¹²⁵ For example, based on epigraphic evidence, the tympanum functioned as a dedicatory plaque for an All Saints' Church. *Domesday* does not record such a church in Ipswich,¹²⁶ but according to antiquarian accounts, a chapel of All Saints was annexed to the parish of St Matthew sometime before 1383¹²⁷ and had become "ruined and unproductive" by 1538.¹²⁸ The St Michael plaque might thus have been associated with the Church

stylistic evidence, Pevsner suggests that the sculpture is Anglo-Saxon. See Pevsner, *Buildings of England. Suffolk*, p. 487.

¹²⁵ *Domesday Book* does not reference a church of St Nicholas in Ipswich, nor does pre-Conquest fabric survive in the city. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 352; *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1193-1194, 1197-1198, 1204, 1253, 1264-1265, 1276, 1283, 1285, 1300; and Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times*, pp. 129-134, 148-152. *Domesday's* omission of a church of St Nicholas in Ipswich might not preclude its existence in the eleventh century; many dedications were omitted by the *Domesday* compilers.

¹²⁶ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1193-1194, 1197-1198, 1204, 1253, 1264-1265, 1276, 1283, 1300.

¹²⁷ Quoted in J. Kirby, *The Suffolk Traveller* (1735; Woodbridge 1761), pp. 45-46, 48-49.

¹²⁸ Quoted in J. Wodderspoon, *Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich* (Ipswich; London 1850), pp. 332-334.

of St Michael (now lost) recorded in *Domesday*.¹²⁹ However, considering St Michael iconography circulated widely in the twelfth century, a relationship with such a dedication is not necessary.¹³⁰ Despite their uncertain provenance, the tympanum and the plaque were likely protective objects with potent symbolic associations (see below, p. 199). Acknowledging the evidence from Southwell, Nt, where a St Michael and Dragon scene (perhaps contemporary with the Ipswich example) is carved on a reset, apexed lintel,¹³¹ the Ipswich St Michael might also have been set above a doorway—though this sculpture is completely decontextualized, and any suggestion of its original placement is speculative. Based on its general form and surviving polychrome, the apostolic frieze was probably set in a church interior, perhaps decorating either a wall or forming part of a rood-screen. It might also be a remnant of a shrine or sarcophagus, possibly influenced by Mercian examples of the late eighth and early ninth centuries.¹³² However, like the St Michael panel, this interpretation is hypothetical, though the frieze's evidence of continuity from Middle Saxon sculptural traditions is apparent.

Unlike the frieze from Ipswich, the identity of the subject depicted in the Framsdén panel is unknown. Based on its inscription and its similarity to Late Saxon carvings at Daglingworth, Gl, and Sompting, Sx (*ca* eleventh to twelfth century),¹³³ it can, nevertheless, be regarded as presenting a general group of saintly and apostolic figures, informed by models current in Late Anglo-Saxon England but executed in vernacular styles.¹³⁴ Like the Ipswich frieze, the panel may be an extant

¹²⁹ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1194.

¹³⁰ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 353. See also, for example, Talbot-Rice, *English Art 871-1100*, pls. 27, 28b.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 28b; and A. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford 1930), p. 136, pl. 59a.

¹³² Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 355. See, for example, the "Hedda Stone" (Appendix 2, pl. 156; Cramp, "Schools of Mercian Sculpture", p. 211).

¹³³ See Appendix 2, pl. 157; Talbot-Rice, *English Art*, pl. 14b, 15b.

¹³⁴ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 348.

fragment of a sculptural programme, and its possible contexts for use (wall- or rood-screen-ornamentation) are equally similar. The figures from Wordwell and Wickhambrook are also representative of this sculptural school, but they are executed in a particularly idiosyncratic style which obfuscates their identities and functions. In the next chapter, the style and iconography of the Wordwell and Wickhambrook figures will be discussed in association with their possible exemplars; this analysis will generate hypotheses concerning the sculptures' function(s) in architectural contexts.

4.D. Miscellaneous sculptures

Two other Late Saxon sculptures are extant in East Anglia for which there are no surviving parallels in the region: the St Vedast Cross, preserved in Norwich Castle Museum, and the dedication stone at Little Wratting, Sf.

4.D.i. *St Vedast Cross—Form and Function*

The St Vedast Cross is a monolithic cross-shaft (tapering in both width and depth), preserving zoomorphic decoration on Faces A (broad) and D (narrow; see below, figs. 22, 38, pp. 173, 275; Appendix 1, pls. 20-24). Its form and function are discussed in Chapter 6 in the context of apparent cultural proclamation (see pp. 275-279).¹³⁵ As will be argued there, this cross-shaft is probably indicative of manorial church-foundation, specifically, the related practice of founder-burial. In terms of its form, however, it is worth noting that its closest parallels lie with the Ryedale crosses in North Yorkshire;¹³⁶ and in the context of Late Saxon East Anglia, the monument and its decoration are suggestive of lordship and the proclamation of

¹³⁵ See also Reed, "Intercultural Dialogue", *passim*.

¹³⁶ Lang, *et al.*, *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 40-42. The "Warrior Crosses" in St Andrew's Church, Middleton (YN), are particularly illustrative of this similarity. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-7; ill. 670-693.

either biological or adopted culture. It is also probable that the cross was erected prior to its related church's association with minster foundations (see below, pp. 278-279).



Fig. 22. *St Vedast Cross, Face A* (©Reed, 2006).

4.D.ii. *Little Wratting Dedication Stone—Form and Function*

The dedication stone at Little Wratting has been recut and repositioned as the lintel over the south doorway of Holy Trinity Church (see below, fig. 23, p. 174; Appendix 1, pls. 68-69).¹³⁷ The present inscription, “DEDICATIO. HVI. [ECCLE] I. IN. II. FR. P. OCT: PASCE”, has been conjecturally reconstructed by Plunkett as, “DEDICATIO. HVI. [ECCLE] SANCTAE. TRINITATIS I+ IN. II. FR. P. OCTI: PASCE ANNO. DNI. M ...” (“The Dedication of this Church of the Holy Trinity (occurred) on ...of the Octave of Easter in the Year of Our Lord ...”).¹³⁸ Plunkett

¹³⁷ P. Dickinson, “Little Wratting Church”, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 27 (1955), pp. 34-36 at 35; Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, pp. 330, 352.

¹³⁸ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 352.

also notes that the letter “E” employed in the inscription, enclosed with a vertical bar with curling serifs, may suggest an eleventh- or twelfth-century date.¹³⁹ While this stone commemorates the dedication of Holy Trinity Church, it may also have functioned as a potent expression of patronage. Given that the stone has been recut and that another, extant dedication stone at Kirkdale, YN, preserves the name of that church’s owner,¹⁴⁰ the Little Wrating stone may also have recorded the name of its benefactor. If so, the Little Wrating dedication would have reinforced the donor’s lordly status and demonstrated his influence and/or authority in both secular and religious contexts.



Fig. 23. *Little Wrating Dedication Stone* (©Atfield, ca 1998).

4.E. Conclusion—Form, Context and Date

Based on typological analysis, East Anglia’s extant Late Saxon sculpture comprises five general categories: (1) recumbent and upright slabs; (2) small crosses; (3) monumental crosses; (4) figural (possibly architectural) carvings and (5) anomalous pieces. Where substantive inscriptions survive (at Great Ashfield, Ipswich, St Nicholas and Little Wrating; all Sf), they are dedicatory in nature, emphasizing the monuments’ apparent commemoration of either individuals or events. As is the case elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, however, such epigraphic evidence is

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹⁴⁰ Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, II, p. 359; Watts, Grenville and Rahtz, *Archaeology at Kirkdale*, pp. 1, 7-8.

infrequent, and the functions of the monuments have generally to be deduced from their form, context and associated decoration. Thus, most of the slabs and small crosses, emerging from cemetery contexts, can be accepted as having been employed in funerary *milieux*. The functions of the figural carvings are more difficult to ascertain, though an original architectural purpose seems most likely. Beyond this, their decoration suggests more specific symbolic functions, which will be explored in the next chapters, in terms of their iconographic significance and their potential roles in their contemporary environment, including their apparent evocation of Late Saxon identities (specifically, cultural affiliation and lordship).

However, in addition to monument-form's apparent association with specific *milieux*, it can also facilitate dating (see above, pp. 7-19), supported by find-context. For example, the nineteenth-century excavations at Castle Hill and Peterborough Cathedral (both C) revealed Saxon burial grounds preserving *in situ* stone monuments characterized by formal and stylistic consistency, including recumbent and upright slabs and a small cross-head (see above, pp. 141-150). These sculptures, together with similar examples from various East Anglian sites, have been term the "Fenland Group". Stratigraphy confirms that the Castle Hill sculptures were introduced to the cemetery prior to the construction of a retaining wall associated with the site's ramparts, suggested at *ca* 1068.¹⁴¹ While the date of the earliest interments at Castle Hill is unknown, the monuments' formal and stylistic consistency suggests that they are products of a restricted period.

The Saxon burial ground discovered beneath Peterborough Cathedral preserved similar *in situ* monuments. This cemetery was associated, stratigraphically, with the site's Saxon minster. Though it is possible that *Medeshamstede* and its

¹⁴¹ See Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire*, pp. 12-17, at 16; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 49.

community weathered Danish incursions and settlement in East Anglia in the late ninth century (see above, pp. 101-102), it is likely that the monastery's refoundation by Æthelwold *ca* 972 provided the requisite wealth and infrastructure for stone-importation and resultant carving traditions. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the Peterborough examples of the Fenland Group predate *Medeshamstede*'s Benedictine refoundation.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Abbot Leofsige's "food-rent" programme and the Confessor's foundation charter (both recorded in *Liber Eliensis*) associate Ely with many of the sites preserving sculpture characteristic of the Fenland Group (see above, pp. 106-109). Like *Medeshamstede*, it is possible that textual accounts of Ely's destruction by Danish raiders are also exaggerated (see above, pp. 109-111); similarly, it is probable that the monastery's apparent importance as a locus of sculptural production in the Fens post-dates its refoundation by Æthelwold, when it seemingly acquired sufficient means and resources to undertake large-scale stone-importation from the Barnack quarries (evidenced by the quantities of surviving sculpture preserved or documented at sites recorded in the above-mentioned texts).

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, an excavation in the Church of St Martin-at-Palace, Norwich, in 1987 revealed evidence of an eleventh-century timber church (see below, p. 277). Fragments of a carved, recumbent slab, exhibiting formal and stylistic affinities to the Fenland Group, were recovered from a post-hole. The excavators suggested that the monument's reuse as fill was contemporary with the church's construction, *ca* 1040, while the monument itself was assigned a conjectured date of *ca* 1010.¹⁴²

¹⁴² O. Beazley and B. Ayers, *Two Medieval Churches in Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 96 (2001), p. 55.

The cross-fragments employed as a composite sarcophagus-lid in the Late Saxon cemetery at Raunds Furnells (Nth) also contribute to the chronology of the Fenland Group. As mentioned above, stratigraphic assessment associated this lid with the site's earliest church (*ca* late-ninth to early-tenth century; see pp. 142-150). Acknowledging its conjectured reconstruction, the monument apparently resembled the small Fenland crosses, though its shaft comprised, ostensibly, two of their cross-shafts and –bases arranged vertically (see fig. 24). As suggested by Cramp, this

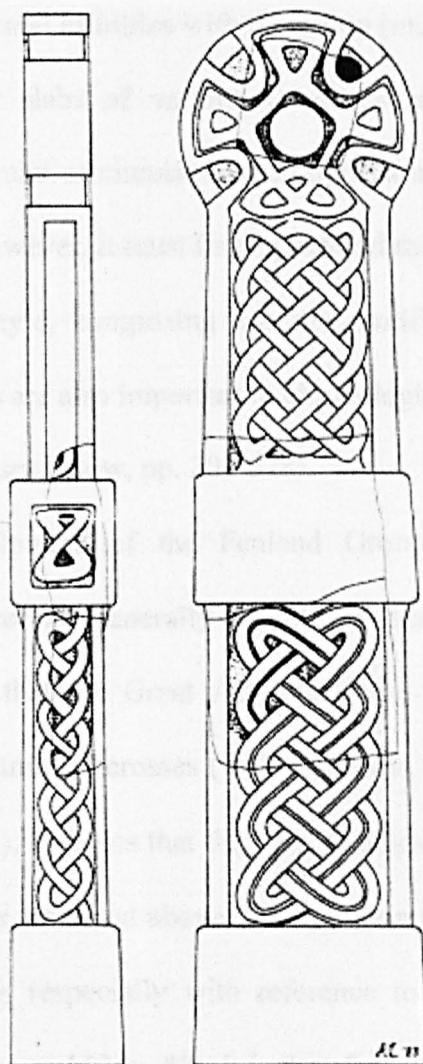


Fig. 24. Raunds Furnells 1, Conjectured Reconstruction (©Boddington, 1996).
Cf. figs. 17-18, above, pp. 154-155.

monument was possibly an earlier, idiosyncratic form which later influenced the Fenland tradition (see above p. 157). Thus, the Raunds Cross's date-range of *ca* late-

ninth to early-tenth century is consistent with its suggested role as a possible exemplar for the Fenland crosses.

In summation, excavations from Castle Hill, Peterborough Cathedral, the Church of St Martin-at-Palace and Raunds Furnells provide broadly datable contexts for sculpture characteristic of the Fenland Group, ranging from *ca* mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries. Fox, Kendrick and Plunkett concur with this chronology (see above, pp. 4-5; n. 9); it seems reasonable, therefore, that other East Anglian sculptures exhibiting formal affinities with the group (including small, wheel-headed crosses and recumbent slabs of varying thickness and tapering, sometimes in association with rectangular or circular-headed upright monuments) can be assigned a similar date-range. However, it must be emphasized that the Fenland Group is also defined by a unique style, comprising specific motifs, spatial relationships and execution. These factors are also important to chronological investigation and will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see below, pp. 207-228).

Unlike the sculptures of the Fenland Group, East Anglia's surviving monumental crosses are not generally datable by find- or site-context. Though Plunkett has observed that the Great Ashfield Cross is related, formally, to the Sproxton (Lei) and Fletton (C) crosses (with respect to its wheel-head and imposts; see above, p. 159, n. 87), he notes that they are "a disparate group" without stylistic consistency.¹⁴³ However, as noted above, the Sproxton and Fletton monuments also exhibit formal affinities (especially with reference to their carved heads) to the Raunds Cross (see above, p. 159, n. 87); it is therefore possible that they pre-date the Great Ashfield monument. While the Great Ashfield Cross is tentatively associated with the translation of St Edmund's relics from Hoxne to Bury St Edmunds *ca* 900-

¹⁴³ Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166.

903 (perhaps supported by its lengthy inscription and by Bishop Theodred of Hoxne's association with the Wessex dynasty; see above, pp. 163), its mid- to late tenth-century date proposed by Plunkett is speculative. Style-analysis can refine its dating, however, and will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see below, pp. 231-236).

Though the Kedington Cross is also monolithic with a circular, unpierced head, its fragmentary state precludes meaningful formal analysis, and no site-specific evidence survives that might facilitate its dating; its tenth-century attribution derives from the style of its relief-carved Crucifixion. Similarly, the anomalous Peterborough Cathedral Cross exhibits no formal attributes that facilitate chronology. Its conjectured date of mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century derives from stylistic parallels with the Fenland Group and its possible association with the cross-arm recorded in the contemporary account of the cathedral's nineteenth-century excavation. Thus, dating conventions with respect to the Kedington and Peterborough Cathedral crosses are principally informed by style-analysis, which will also be discussed in Chapter 5 (see below, pp. 29, 231-236).

Like the Kedington and Peterborough Cathedral crosses, East Anglia's figural sculpture (both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic) is dated, principally, by style. While specific forms can sometimes facilitate dating (carved tympana, for example, are generally considered post-Conquest),¹⁴⁴ most East Anglian figural sculptures apparently constitute decontextualized architectural decoration and/or church-furnishings; thus, site-specific evidence is often unavailable for corroborating proposed chronologies, and stylistic inquiry assumes disproportionate importance. As suggested below, most East Anglian figural sculptures post-dating the Middle

¹⁴⁴ For example, see J. Timmers, *A Handbook of Romanesque Art* (1965; London 1969), pp. 202, 204; cf. Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, pp. 8-9.

Saxon period are likely post-Conquest; the stylistic arguments supporting this attribution will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see pp. 190-198).

Similarly, the St Vedast Cross and the Little Wrating dedication stone have been dated, principally, by stylistic evidence. Though the St Vedast Cross exhibits formal affinities to the Ryedale crosses in North Yorkshire, its proposed date (*ca* mid-tenth to early eleventh century) has been determined, primarily, by its zoomorphic decoration. While the Little Wrating stone exhibits an extensive dedicatory inscription, the date of its associated church's foundation has not survived (see above, p. 173). Plunkett argues that specific epigraphic evidence suggests that the stone does not predate the twelfth century (see above, p. 173-174, n. 139). Thus, like much of East Anglia's Late Saxon and associated stone sculpture, style-analysis is invaluable to chronological investigation of the St Vedast Cross and the Little Wrating dedication stone. The complexities of these investigations, including iconographic analysis, will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Sculpture of Late Saxon East Anglia: Style and Significance

5.A. Introduction

To elucidate the East Anglian monuments more fully, it will be necessary to examine the iconography of their carved decoration. In relation to this, Karkov and Orton have argued that “structural” approaches to Anglo-Saxon sculpture, emphasizing typology, chronology and resultant iconography, have been enhanced by scholarship that is self-consciously informed by other concerns and embraces a range of ideological and theoretical positions.¹ These include sculpture’s role(s) in the conception and expression of gender; how other media may have informed and/or directed interpretation of sculptural programmes; and the character of Anglo-Saxon audiences, including their degrees of familiarity with Christian doctrine and exegetical discourse.² Such research is often iconological in nature (with subject-interpretation informed by cultural history) and is facilitated by extant figural imagery.³ Though surviving examples of East Anglia’s Late Saxon sculpture are

¹ C. Karkov and F. Orton, “Preface”, *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, eds. C. Karkov and F. Orton (Morgantown 2003), pp. x-xi, *passim*. Karkov and Orton situate iconology within the “structuralist” approach to Anglo-Saxon sculpture. However, analyses of subject informed by broad study of cultural and historical setting (“iconology”) characterize many of the studies in *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* that Karkov and Orton explicitly identify as evidencing “other [theoretical] concerns”. This contradiction demonstrates how the term “iconology” is not entirely appropriate for the “iconographical”/ “iconological” approach to early medieval Insular sculpture.

² For example, see Karkov, “Naming and Renaming”, pp. 31-64, *passim*; Bailey, *England’s Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 5-11; *idem*, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 6; Hawkes, “Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North”, pp. 403-421, esp. 405; *idem*, “Reading Stone”, *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, eds. Karkov and Orton, pp. 5-30, at 26-30; O’Reilly, “The Book of Kells, folio 114r: a Mystery Revealed yet Concealed”, pp. 106-114, *passim*; *idem*, “Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan Genealogy”, pp. 344-397, *passim*; Ó Carragáin, “Liturgical Innovations Associated with Pope Sergius and the Iconography of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses”, pp. 131-147, *passim*; *idem*, “Christ over the Beasts and Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses”, pp. 37-43, *passim*.

³ See E. Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art”, 1939, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, E. Panofsky (1955; Chicago 1982), pp. 26-54, *passim*; and Fernie, *Art History and its Methods*, pp. 345-346. Panofsky proposes a tripartite hierarchy of meaning *vis à vis* visual material: primary/natural/pre-iconographic; secondary/conventional/iconographic; and intrinsic/symbolic/iconological. The first level (primary/natural/pre-iconographic) can be equated

characterized, predominantly, by non-figural ornament, iconographical decoding of select, recurring motifs and motif-combinations can contribute to an understanding of the Anglo-Saxon conception of Christianity and its exegetical foundations. It can demonstrate that funerary monuments (which constitute the majority of East Anglia's extant Late Saxon sculpture)⁴ are multivalent artifacts that both manifest and preserve conceptions of identity; and acknowledging their placement in what likely functioned as a community's gathering-place and *de facto* administrative centre (the manorial church and its precinct), stone funerary sculptures can be interpreted as potent expressions of both the individual and collective self. Compared with such monumental objects, contemporary metalwork (primarily dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings) also preserves conceptions of identity, though it will be argued here that its referents are significantly dissimilar and thus constitute useful, contrasting evidence for interpreting and contextualizing the stone sculpture.

5.B. Figural Sculpture—Style, Date and Significance

5.B.i. Figural Sculpture—Style

As discussed in Chapter 4 (see above, pp. 165-166), few examples of Late Saxon figural sculpture survive in East Anglia. Other than the crucifixion ornamenting the Kedington Cross, evidence of Late Saxon anthropomorphic carving is apparently restricted to a series of sculptures in St Nicholas's Church, Ipswich. Further examples are preserved near Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds at Framsdan, Wordwell

with formal analysis. The second (secondary/conventional/iconographic) is typological in nature, involving description and classification of images. At the third level (intrinsic/symbolic/iconological), the typological data compiled at the secondary/conventional/iconographic stage is interpreted and contextualized.

⁴ The monumental crosses at Kedington, Great Ashfield (both Sf) and Peterborough Cathedral (C), the St Vedast Cross (Nf), the dedication panel at Little Wratting and the figural panels at Ipswich, Wordwell, Wickhambrook and Framsdan (all Sf) are notable exceptions.

and Wickhambrook, though many of these are probably post-Conquest (see below, pp. 190-198).⁵

The frieze in St Nicholas's Church (executed in low-relief) depicts three males in an architectural setting (see below, fig. 25; Appendix 1, pp. 348-349, pls. 57-60). Each is portrayed frontally and wears an elaborate robe. Two carry rods or sceptres (one surmounted by a cross), and one carries what is probably a maniple in his left hand.⁶ Based on extant evidence, this arcaded frieze was elaborately painted: green, purple and red pigments are well-preserved on the bodies and feet of two figures.⁷ The surviving inscriptions associated with them, "TOLVS" and "OSTOLVS", likely derive from "APOSTOLVS", perhaps intimating the frieze originally comprised Christ's twelve disciples. The apparently continuous arcade framing the figures also suggests their identity. Depiction of the apostles in architectural settings, often characterized by arched colonnades, was common in the Mediterranean basin and England throughout the Early Christian and Early Medieval periods.⁸ Jensen observes that among the earliest representations of such scenes, the "*traditio legis*" or "new law" is often depicted, with Christ handing a scroll to his disciples.⁹ This gesture was apparently based upon the transfer of imperial authority

⁵ While scholarly consensus attributes the Wordwell and Wickhambrook sculptures to the twelfth century (or later), Plunkett and Pevsner suggest that the Framsdén figure could be of eleventh-century manufacture. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", pp. 326, 347-348; and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Suffolk*. 2nd ed., revised by E. Radcliffe (1961; Harmondsworth 1981), pp. 221-222.

⁶ Plunkett suggests that the sceptre surmounted by a cruciform is a processional cross. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 355.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 355. See Appendix 1, pp. 348-349; pls. 57-60.

⁸ Other examples include the late fourth-century *Traditio Legis* Sarcophagus in Arles (illustrated in R.M. Jensen, "Art", *The Early Christian World*, ed. P.F. Esler, 2 vols. (Oxford 2000), II, pp. 747-772, at 758-759, fig. 28.6); the sixth-century Arian Baptistery mosaics in Ravenna (illustrated in G. Barraclough, ed., *The Christian World* (London 1981), pp. 42-44, figs. 28-29; possibly the eighth-century Otley (YW) cross-shafts preserved in All Saints' Church (illustrated in Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 31, ill. 13); and the ca late eighth-century "Hedda Stone" in Peterborough Cathedral (illustrated in Appendix 2, pl. 156).

⁹ Jensen, "Art", p. 758. The "*traditio legis*" is represented on the *Traditio Legis* Sarcophagus. See n. 8.

from the emperor to his various regional governors.¹⁰ Thus, the disciples' foundation of the Church through dissemination of Christ's teachings was equated, iconographically, with the promulgation of imperial law.



Fig. 25. *Ipswich 3-5 ("Apostles")* (©Reed, 2006).

As discussed in Chapter 4 (see above, pp. 167-168), two other Medieval figural carvings also survive in St Nicholas' Church: a tympanum exhibiting zoomorphic and cruciform decoration and a plaque depicting St Michael's battle with Satan. The tympanum is decorated on both faces with relief-carved decoration (see below, figs. 26-27; Appendix 1, pp. 347-348, pls. 55-56). One face constitutes a recessed lunette, depicting a boar, in profile, with an up-turned snout, prominent joint spirals and an almond-shaped eye. A raised, semi-circular border frames the boar and is inscribed with a dedicatory inscription commemorating the Church of All

¹⁰ Jesen, "Art", p. 758.

Saints.¹¹ The other face displays a type “B-6” cross with wedge-shaped arms, beneath which is an incised, horizontal line, spanning the width of the broad edge.¹² This line is seemingly representative of ground (or a surface) upon which the cross is erected. Incised ornament, suggestive of two registers of concentric strands, decorates the cross, terminating in a quadripartite “knot” at the central crossing point.¹³



Fig. 26. Ipswich 2 (“Boar Tympanum”), Face A (©Reed, 2006).

¹¹ “IN DEDICATIONE ECLESIE OM[NIUM SANC]TORUM”. “Triple-stopping” (three vertical dots) is employed between words. See Okasha, *Hand-list*, p. 83; and Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, pp. 328, 353.

¹² See Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

¹³ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 329. The closest exemplars for the St Nicholas boar are found on seventh-century Anglo-Saxon metal objects. See, for example, the helmet from Benty Grange, Derbys. (R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (London 1974), pp. 223-252) and the shoulder-clasps from the Sutton Hoo ship burial (Bruce-Mitford *et al.*, *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, II, pp. 523-535, fig. 386 and G. Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background* (Oxford 1980), pp. 45-48).

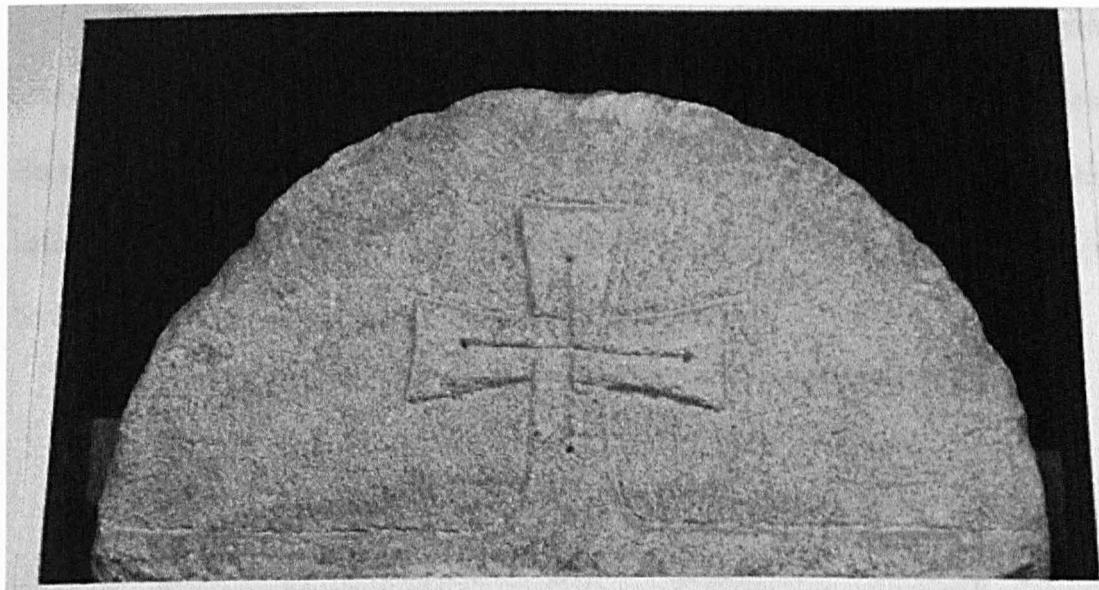


Fig. 27. Ipswich 2 (“Boar Tympanum”), Face B (©Reed, 2006).

Certain characteristics of the Ipswich boar—specifically, its up-turned snout, joint spirals and ovoid eye—are shared with the “dragon” on the St Michael plaque (see below, fig. 28; Appendix 1, p. 347, pl. 54). The dragon is portrayed in profile with raised arms and a gaping maw. A splayed, triangular motif () projects from the dragon’s mouth, perhaps representing either flames or a forked-tongue. Its lower body is serpentine and is coiled into a figure-of-eight knot, echoing the joint spiral on its raised arms. The dragon’s stance suggests ferocity and sudden movement, evoking apparent martial frenzy, whereas St Michael (portrayed frontally with a triangular skirt, raised sword and a pointed, ovoid shield) exhibits overt stoicism, seemingly unaffected by either fear or rage.



Fig. 28. Ipswich 1 (“St Michael and the Dragon”) (©Reed, 2006).

The geographic proximity and consistent style (characterized by geometric schematization) of the other East Anglian anthropomorphic carvings, located near Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich at Framdsen, Wordwell and Wickhambrook (see below, fig. 29), suggests that they constitute a regional carving tradition and might be the products of the same sculptor or group of sculptors.



Fig. 29. Framdsen, Wordwell and Wickhambrook (©Ordnance Survey, 2009 with modifications by Reed, 2009).

The Framdsen figure (see below, fig. 30; Appendix 1, p. 338-339, pl. 38) is composed of three geometric shapes: a triangular skirt surmounted by a cylindrical body and a triangular head. The oblique angles that characterize the figure's head and skirt also define its left arm, held akimbo with its hand apparently clasping its side. Its right arm is raised, forming a roughly 90° angle at the elbow; however, whether the right hand held an object is unknown, as the plaque's left edge has apparently been damaged and/or recut. The figure's face is also schematized, comprising ovoid eyes, a rectangular "nose" and an abbreviated mouth. An arced

line above the figure's eyes might delineate its hairline, though its rectangular "nose", coupled with the convex profile of its head, could suggest a helmet with a nasal guard.

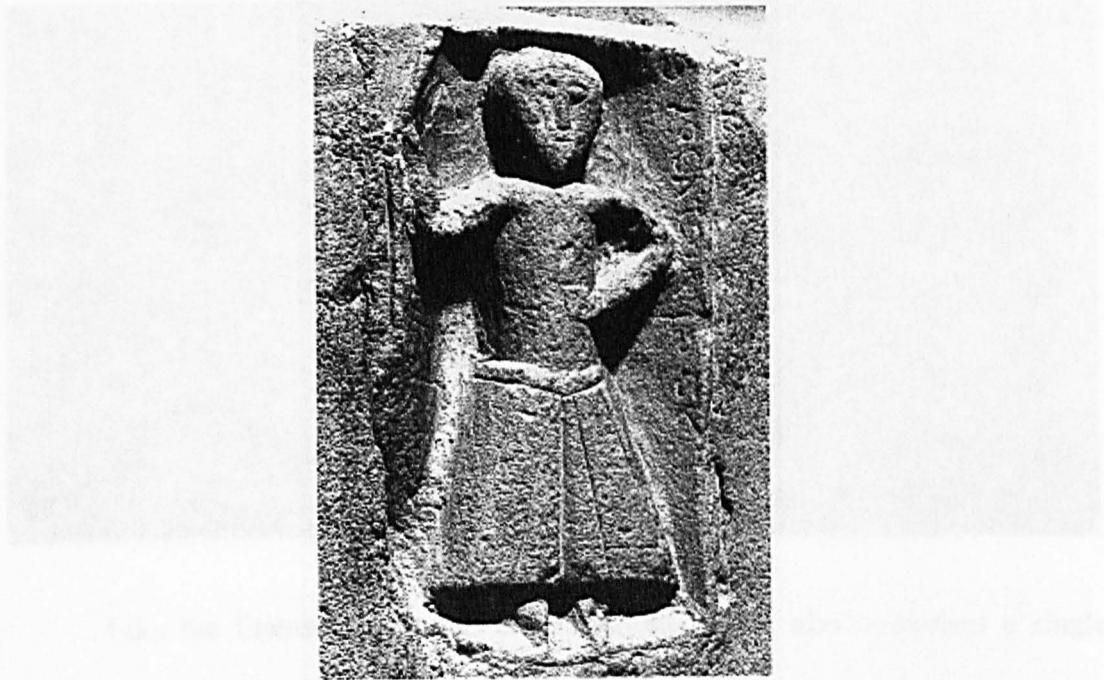


Fig. 30. *Framsdan 1* (©Plunkett, 1998).

The figural carvings preserved in All Saints' Church, Wordwell, constitute a carved tympanum and a small, *in situ* plaque. The tympanum's decorative programme comprises two schematized anthropomorphs disposed on either side of two, irregularly-shaped, chip-carved panels (see below, fig. 31; Appendix 1, pp. 355-356, pl. 73). Both figures exhibit the geometric schematization represented by the Framsdan sculpture, including triangular jaw, convex heads and triangular skirts. Their torsos, however, are abbreviated; the cylindrical form employed at Framsdan is here compressed and extended, transforming the figures' upper bodies into cruciforms without any delineation between skirts, chests and shoulders. Whereas their faces are conceived with the same forms as the Framsdan figure: ovoid eyes, rectangular "noses" and small mouths. The combination of convex heads and rectangular "noses" at Wordwell might also suggest helmets with nasal guards akin

to Framsdén. As discussed in Chapter 4 (see above, p. 169), the composition's asymmetry, coupled with the tympanum's abundance of undecorated space, suggests the carved decoration is either unfinished or was modified.



Fig. 31. *Wordwell 1* (©Reed, 2006).

Like the Framsdén carving, the Wordwell plaque also comprises a single figure within a recessed niche (see below, fig. 32; Appendix 1, p. 356, pls. 74-76). The figure is depicted frontally with feet in profile and exhibits an exaggerated right arm which seemingly stretches forth and touches the ground. Its body is conceived in the same manner as those depicted on the tympanum, with triangular skirt, compressed torso and convex head with triangular jaw. Its facial features are also similar, exhibiting ovoid eyes, a rectangular “nose” (which may be a nasal guard) and a small mouth.



Fig. 32. *Wordwell 2* (©Reed, 2006).

Like the Framsdén and Wordwell figures, the Wickhambrook anthropomorphic carving is also depicted frontally (see below, fig. 33; Appendix 1, p. 355, pl. 72). Its short, somewhat triangular skirt, coupled with its outstretched arms and broad neck, comprise an overt cruciform motif. Unlike the Framsdén and Wordwell carvings, however, its head is circular, and its facial features are markedly abbreviated, comprising, ostensibly, chip-carved eyes, a triangular nose (executed in very low-relief) and a small, incised mouth. If the figure does, indeed, exhibit raised wings with down-turned tips (see above, p. 170), then it is seemingly informed by the same iconographic conventions as the St Michael portrait in Ipswich. The Wickhambrook figure's martial accoutrements (an ovoid shield and, possibly, a raised weapon) might also associate the carving with this iconographic tradition.

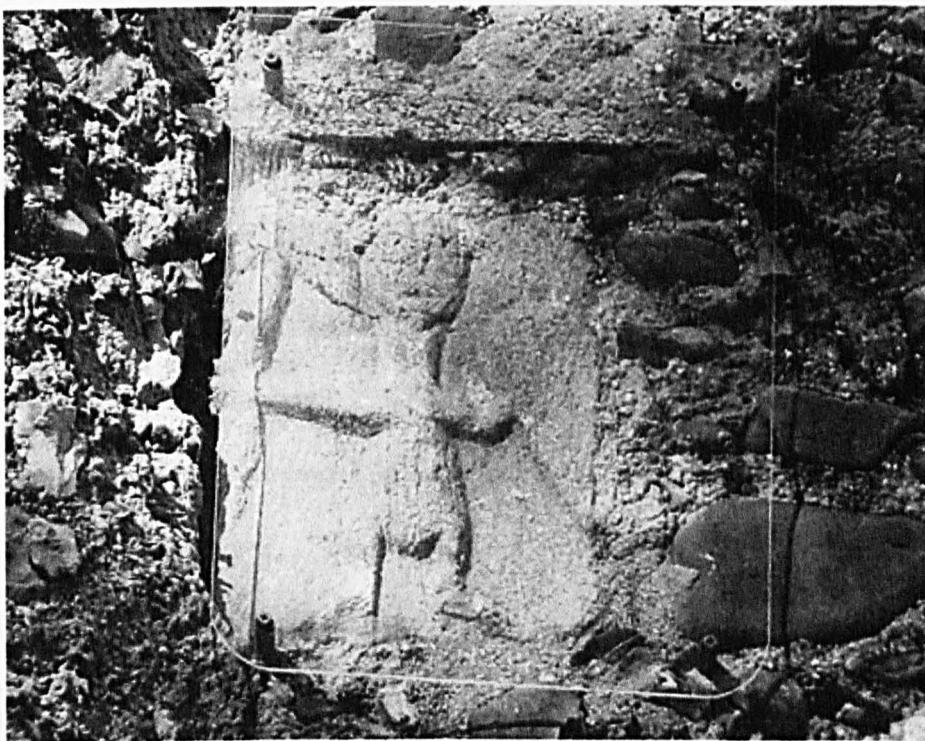


Fig. 33. *Wickhambrook I* (©Reed, 2006).

5.B.ii. *Figural Sculpture—Date*

Like sculptural form (see above, pp. 174-180), style can elucidate chronology, despite the limitations of this methodological approach.¹⁴ In the context of East Anglia's figural sculpture, stylistic assessment is especially important, as many of these carvings are decontextualized and are unassociated with specific people or events,¹⁵ but they are comparable to other figural depictions which can inform investigations of their apparent date.

For example, in his discussion of the Ipswich "Apostles", Plunkett argues that their profuse, schematized drapery folds resemble what he terms the "mannerisms" of Hiberno-Saxon metalwork.¹⁶ While Galbraith had earlier suggested that all of the sculptures from St Nicholas's Church were twelfth-century,¹⁷ Plunkett contends that the "Apostles'" closest stylistic exemplars are found in the decoration of tenth- to eleventh-century Irish reliquaries, including the *Soisel Molaise* (reworked ca 1001-1025) and the *Breac Maodhog* shrine (ca eleventh-century).¹⁸ He notes that the large figure decorating the *Soisel Molaise* and the rows of frontally-depicted subjects on the *Breac Maodhog* all exhibit "profuse and illogical schematization of [drapery-folds]" very similar to the Ipswich carvings, characterized by scooped palmette shapes and idiosyncratic hems.¹⁹ Though he acknowledges that these parallels "[seem] geographically remote" *vis à vis* Ipswich,²⁰ this settlement assumed considerable importance in East Anglia as a maritime trading centre from its apparent foundation as a Middle Saxon *wic* (see above, pp. 88-89); furthermore, with

¹⁴ See above, pp. 23, 27-32.

¹⁵ As noted above (see p. 168), the Ipswich "Boar" tympanum preserved in St Nicholas's Church is associated, by inscription, with a lost or unrecorded Church of All Saints.

¹⁶ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 355.

¹⁷ Galbraith, "Early Sculpture in St Nicholas' Church", *passim*; and *idem*, "Further thoughts on the boar at St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 33.1 (1973), pp. 68-74, *passim*.

¹⁸ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 355. Illustrated in F. Henry, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions, 800-1020 AD* (London 1967), pls. 58-59 (*Soisel Molaise*); and M. de Paor and L. de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland* (1958; London 1960), pl. 66 (*Breac Maodhog*).

¹⁹ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 355.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

the advent of Danish colonization in East Anglia and Dublin in the mid- to late ninth century, it is not unreasonable to suggest that communication and trade was founded between these Scandinavian kingdoms, apparently continuing into the tenth and eleventh centuries after their demise. This is seemingly demonstrated by a rare “pseudo-Æthelred II” penny (*ca* 968-1016) of Hiberno-Norse production recovered from a hoard in Barsham (Sf) and by the Ipswich “Apostle” carvings themselves which, Plunkett contends, were seemingly copied from a venerated, eleventh-century metal object of Irish provenance.²¹

The apparent impact of such intercultural dialogue has also been explored by Thurlby, who recently commented on the adoption and adaptation of Anglo-Saxon forms and styles (both sculptural and architectural) in Norman England.²² He concurs with Kendrick that figural carving (usually associated with architectural contexts) was briefly displaced after the Conquest by other forms of architectural ornamentation, principally wall-painting and fabric-arts.²³ Upon its apparent reintroduction *ca* 1100, figural sculpture in England adopted the Romanesque traditions current on the Continent for the decoration of grand pilgrimage churches, including narrative scenes/cycles and specific forms such as carved tympana.²⁴ Zoomorphic stone-carving in Scandinavian styles, however, apparently retained some popularity throughout the Anglo-Norman period, evidenced by various sculptures including a tympanum and a lintel at Hoveringham and Southwell (both Nt; see below) and by the boar and dragon carvings at Ipswich.

²¹ *Ibid.* Illustrated in West, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, fig. 8.4 (“pseudo-Æthelred II” penny).

²² M. Thurlby, “Dating Saxo-Norman Overlap Churches in Gloucestershire: The Relative Value of Style and Documentation, and Synthesis Versus Analysis”, *Sacred Spaces in Medieval and Medieval Revival Art and Architecture*, Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians, Mar. 14th-15th, 2008, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

²³ *Ibid.*; and Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 139.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Plunkett has suggested that the Ipswich Boar Tympanum is executed in the Ringerike style (*ca* early- to mid-eleventh century), exhibiting joint-spirals, almond-shaped eye and lip-lappet.²⁵ However, Foote and Wilson note that these characteristics are not exclusively associated with any specific Scandinavian art-style; for example, they also distinguish the Borre (*ca* mid-ninth to late-tenth century), Jellinge (*ca* mid-ninth to late-tenth century) Mammen (*ca* mid-tenth to early-eleventh century) and Urnes (*ca* mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century) traditions.²⁶ Thus, while the Ipswich boar exhibits characteristics associated with Scandinavian art generally, style-analysis alone cannot define its chronology. However, considering the form here decorated (a tympanum), it is likely that the boar-carving is post-Conquest. Formal evidence therefore suggests that the carver was influenced by either the Ringerike or Urnes traditions, apparently producing a regional, idiosyncratic interpretation of these styles, somewhat removed from their archetypal expressions in St Paul's Churchyard (London) and Urnes Church (Sogn, Norway).²⁷

Unlike the Boar Tympanum, the Ipswich St Michael and the Dragon panel constitutes a standardized iconographic formula, evidenced by several, apparently contemporary, examples. Probably the earliest of these carvings (suggested at *ca* 1050) is at Southwell, where the scene is depicted on an apexed lintel, juxtaposed with the Old Testament story of King David breaking the lion's jaw.²⁸ The Southwell St Michael exhibits raised wings and carries a circular shield (perhaps indicating pre-

²⁵ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 353.

²⁶ Foote and Wilson, *Viking Achievement*, pp. 295, 297, 299, 303, 307, 312, 314.

²⁷ Illustrated in J. Graham-Campbell, *The Vikings* (London 1980), pl. 101 (St Paul's Churchyard slab) and R. Hauglid *Norwegian Stave Churches* (Oslo 1970), pp. 18, 20; pls. 1, 3 (Urnes Church portal-carvings).

²⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 121. Illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. 86; Talbot-Rice, *English Art 871-1100*, pl. 28b; A. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford 1930), pl. 59a.

Conquest date; see below, p. 195), while the winged dragon's serpentine body extends into a broad loop, terminating in a profusion of elongated tendrils characteristic of the Ringerike style.²⁹ However, other English sculpted depictions of dragons battling armed men (without wings) are probably abbreviated representations of St George's salvation of Princess Cleodolinda.³⁰ Many of these scenes exhibit the same conventions of character-placement and -orientation as the St Michael panels. For example, on a lintel at Ault Hucknall (Db), St George is depicted frontally with raised sword and shield, while the winged dragon, with ovoid eye and looped tail, is represented in profile.³¹ Like the Ipswich St Michael, the Ault Hucknall St George also carries the ovoid shield perhaps characteristic of Norman influence (see below, p. 195). A dragon depicted on a sepulchral slab in Coningsborough (YN) exhibits many affinities with the Ipswich example, though its tail terminates in acanthus volutes and three smaller serpentine beasts project from its mouth, lashing at St George who defends himself with a raised sword and an ovoid shield.³² On another apexed lintel at St Bees (Cl), a truncated St George and the Dragon scene is portrayed, with George positioned behind the dragon.³³ In addition to its apparently unique character-placement, the St Bees' panel is further distinguished by George's depiction in profile without a shield, though the dragon

²⁹ Foote and Wilson, *Viking Achievement*, pp. 307-311.

³⁰ A. Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds in English Church Architecture*, ed. D. Badke (1913; New York 2003); p. 44; retrieved 01/05/07 from <<http://bestiary.ca/etexts/collins1913/collins1913.htm>>.

³¹ Illustrated in *North East Midland Photographic Record*, n.d., retrieved 01/07/09 from <http://www.picturethepast.org.uk/frontend.php?action=zoomWindow&keywords=Ref_No_increment;EQUALS;NCCW000510&prevUrl=ZnJvbnRlbnQucGhwPyZrZXI3b3Jkcz1NYXBfUmVmZXJlbnNIJTNCRVFVQUxTJTNCU0s0NjY1JTNCJmFjdGlvbj1zZWYy2g=>>. For a complete list of Sts Michael/George carvings in England, see Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds*, pp. 41-44.

³² Illustrated in J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland: Norman Sculpture and the Mediaeval Bestiaries, from the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1885* (1887; Felinfach 1992), p. 270, fig. 94.

³³ Illustrated in Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds*, pl. 45b.

exhibits the almond-shaped eye, lip-lappet and serpentine tail characteristic of other representations.

What might be considered a minor iconographic element in the SS Michael/George panels could inform their chronologies substantively. Various scholars have argued that archaeological and art-historical evidence suggests that shield-design apparently underwent a radical transformation in mid- to late eleventh-century England; the large, circular shield, typical of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian warriors, was seemingly displaced by the elongated, ovoid shield popularized by Norman cavalrymen.³⁴ Though such shields are depicted throughout the *Bayeux Tapestry* (?ca 1070s), some circular versions are also present, though they are usually carried by older, bearded warriors, perhaps suggesting that the circular shield was antiquated by 1066, and only those accustomed to it still carried it in battle.³⁵ In this respect, shield-form might constitute a general dating queue, with circular and ovoid depictions suggesting pre- and post-Conquest production respectively, though some instances of overlap likely existed as intimated by the *Bayeux Tapestry*.³⁶

The standardized composition exhibited by extant SS Michael/George panels in England, characterized by the armed Saint's frontality and the dragon's depiction in profile in a general Scandinavian "style", suggests that the sculptures are products of a restricted period. Based on extant evidence, scholars concur that the last Scandinavian style popularized in English medieval sculpture (the Urnes) was

³⁴ See M. Harrison and G. Embleton, *The Anglo-Saxon Thegn 449-1066: Weapons, Armour, Tactics* (1993; Oxford 2001), pp. 12-15; P. Griffith, *The Viking Art of War* (London 1995), pp. 166-168, at 166; T. Wise and G. Embleton, *Saxon, Viking and Norman* (1979; Oxford 2003), pp. 11-12, 26, 36. See also D. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons* (1960; London 1971), pp. 115-118; and I.P. Stephenson, *The Late Anglo-Saxon Army* (Stroud 2006), *passim*.

³⁵ See, for example, *The Bayeux Tapestry by Michael Leete*, scene 151; retrieved 01/02/09 from <<http://www.bayeuxtapestry.co.uk/>>.

³⁶ See also Griffith, *Viking Art of War*, p. 166.

seemingly abandoned in the early twelfth century.³⁷ Furthermore, the panels' shield-design (circular or ovoid) seems generally compatible, chronologically, with the Saxo-Norman overlap (*ca* mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century). Thus, considering their standardized composition, particular style(s) and iconographic elements, surviving SS Michael/George panels in England are probably attributable to those decades immediately preceding and/or following the Norman Conquest.

Like the Ipswich St Michael panel, the figural carvings at Framsdén, Wordwell and Wichambrook are also probably attributable to the Saxo-Norman overlap. Though Plunkett associates the Framsdén figure with various carved saintly and apostolic portraits attributed to the eleventh or twelfth centuries executed in a vernacular (or what he terms "quasi-primitive") style, including the Ipswich "Apostles", St Peter at Daglingworth (Gl; see Appendix 2, pl. 157) and the "saint" at Sompting (Sx), none exhibit the Framsdén sculpture's geometric schematization.³⁸ However, as suggested above, its convex head and rectangular "nose" (see p. 188 and fig. 30; Appendix 1, pp. 338-339, pl. 38) could intimate a helmet with a nasal guard. Like ovoid shields, similar helmets are also depicted in the *Bayeux Tapestry*; furthermore, the figure's triangular skirt evokes the long mail coats worn by some warriors in the *Tapestry*.³⁹ Chronologically, this generally supports Plunkett's

³⁷ See, for example, Thurlby, "Dating Saxo-Norman Overlap Churches in Gloucestershire"; and Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 121, 123-127, 139-140. The final examples of Urnes carving in England comprise a cross-shaft in the church at West Marton (YW; *ca* early twelfth-century), illustrated in Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pl. 88; and the cloister capital from Norwich Cathedral (*ca* early twelfth-century), illustrated in Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral*, p. 62; pl. 22.

³⁸ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", 348. For illustrations, see above, fig. 25, p. 185; Appendix 1, pp. 353-354, pls. 57-60 (Ipswich "Apostles"); Talbot-Rice, *English Art 871-1100*, pl. 14b (Daglingworth St Peter); and *ibid*, pl. 15b (Sompting "saint").

³⁹ See, for example, *Bayeux Tapestry by Michael Leete*, scenes 53-54, 56, 88, 120; retrieved 01/02/09 from <<http://www.bayeuxtapestry.co.uk/>>.

contention that the Framsdén figure is attributable to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁴⁰

The chronology of the Wordwell sculptures is facilitated by the small figural plaque's *in situ* placement on a cushion capital—widely acknowledged as distinctive of early Norman architecture.⁴¹ A cushion capital is generally a monolithic block, the four lower corners of which are rounded off to accommodate the circular or octagonal pier on which it rests (see above, p. 189, fig. 32; Appendix 1, pp. 356, pls. 74-76); in the twelfth century, its flat surfaces were often embellished with carved decoration.⁴² Though the precise date of All Saints' Norman fabric is unknown, Plunkett's suggestion that the small plaque is attributable to the twelfth century is reasonable considering its particular architectural context.⁴³

As discussed above (see p. 189), the figures decorating the Wordwell tympanum exhibit the same schematization with respect to head, body and facial characteristics as the capital-plaque. While it is possible that the tympanum-carvings could be later, replicating the plaque's vernacular style, their overt similarity intimates that they are contemporary.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the tympanum-figures' convex heads and broad, rectangular "noses" (shared with the depiction on the capital-plaque) evoke the helmet designs depicted in the *Bayeux Tapestry*;⁴⁵ this similarity,

⁴⁰ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 326, 348

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330; Cook, *English Mediaeval Parish Church*, pp. 212-213; Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 128-136; G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140* (London 1951), *passim*; *idem*, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210* (London 1953), *passim*; and F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, "Romanesque arches decorated with human and animal heads", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series 20 (1957), pp. 1-34, *passim*.

⁴² Cook, *English Mediaeval Parish Church*, pp. 212-213.

⁴³ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 330.

⁴⁴ It is unlikely that the tympanum predates the capital-plaque, as the advent of tympana-carving in England is generally associated with the introduction of Norman architectural traditions in the twelfth-century. See, for example, Hook, *English Mediaeval Parish Churches*, pp. 211-212; and Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 128-136.

⁴⁵ Such helmets with broad nasal-guards (sometimes termed "*spangenhelm*") are generally associated with the mid-eleventh century. See, for example, Griffith, *Viking Art of War*, pp. 168-171, at 170, fig. 23; Harrison and Embleton, *Anglo-Saxon Thengn*, p. 50; Wilson, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 122. For *Bayeux Tapestry* illustrations, see above, pp. 196-197, ns. 35, 39.

coupled with the sculptures' other stylistic affinities, strongly suggests that the tympanum and the capital-plaque are products of the same sculptural campaign.

Like the other East Anglian anthropomorphic sculptures, the Wickhambrook figure is probably attributable to the Saxo-Norman overlap. Its frontality and geometric schematization are similar to the Framsdén and Wordwell carvings; and, as mentioned above (see p. 190 and fig. 33), it might also exhibit the iconographic conventions present in the Ipswich St Michael plaque. Furthermore, its shield-design coupled with its convex head and triangular "nose" also evoke the military equipment depicted throughout the *Bayeux Tapestry* (see above, ns. 35, 39). Collectively, this evidence supports Plunkett's contention that the Wickhambrook figure is likely post-Conquest.⁴⁶

In conclusion, stylistic assessment suggests that most of East Anglia's surviving Medieval figural sculptural is likely attributable to the Saxo-Norman overlap (*ca* mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century). However, acknowledging Plunkett's observation that the Ipswich "Apostles" are seemingly influenced by eleventh-century Irish reliquaries, these carvings should probably be located earlier in this date range, perhaps being of pre-Conquest date.⁴⁷ The remaining sculptures preserved at St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich, and at Framsdén, Wordwell and Wickhambrook likely derive from twelfth-century patronage, though they preserve stylistic and iconographic influences from pre-Conquest art in England.

5.B.iii. *Figural Sculpture—Significance*

Based on their probable association with church architecture or furnishings, East Anglia's Late Saxon and/or Anglo-Norman figural sculptures were likely accorded

⁴⁶ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 330.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 355.

some importance, possibly functioning as apotropaic and/or didactic objects. The Ipswich “Apostle”-frieze, for example, would probably have functioned mnemonically for its Christian audience, recalling the faith’s evangelical tradition and even its messianic origin. In the context of lordship, foundation of a manorial church could be understood as a literal expression of evangelism; thus, apostolic imagery may have been imbued with particular significance for Late Saxon elites, modelling appropriate conduct toward the Church, their *comitatus* and their indentured peasants (see below, p. 301).

The Ipswich Boar Tympanum could well have protected the sanctity of All Saints’ Church from malevolent agency, as this imagery had offered protection and probably courage in earlier martial contexts (though it might also have evoked hunting rights associated with tenorial privilege; see below, pp. 251-252).⁴⁸ As the boar ornaments the face bearing the dedicatory inscription to “ECLESIE OM[NIUM SANC]TORUM”, it is likely that it was visible above the entrance doorway, safe-guarding the threshold; while the cross with quadripartite ornament would remind parishioners as they exited the church of Christ’s sacrifice (in the form of the Crucifixion) and possibly bestow evangelistic protection upon them (see below, pp. 223-225). The lions in St Benet’s (C), prominently positioned on the chancel arch, likely connoted similar apotropaism, safe-guarding the sanctity of the choir (see Appendix 1, pls. 78-82).

The archetypal conflict between good and evil is suggested by St Michael’s battle with Satan (in the guise of a dragon) which would have reminded the Faithful of the triumph and security of Christianity. If Plunkett’s suggestion that the Ipswich

⁴⁸ See, for example, the helmet from Benty Grange, Db (R. Bruce-Mitford, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (London 1974), pp. 223-252) and the shoulder-clasps from the Sutton Hoo ship burial (Bruce-Mitford, *et al.*, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, II, pp. 523-535, esp. figs. 386, 390 and Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, pp. 45-48).

St Michael plaque may have functioned as a tympanum is correct, then its depiction of the vanquishing of evil could also have “protected” the threshold of a church.⁴⁹ Through its martial iconography, the sculpture could also connote general vitality and agency, reassuring audiences of Christianity’s strength and dynamism.

While the general significance of the Ipswich sculptures can be proposed with some confidence, the symbolic importance of the anthropomorphic carvings at Framsdén, Wordwell and Wickhambrook is less certain. For example, Plunkett argues that epigraphic evidence suggests that the Framsdén figure is either a saint or an apostle.⁵⁰ However, the inscription itself, “... S VOCATVR [S.TK]” (“he is called” or perhaps “those who will be called”), is quite vague. Though the figure’s depiction in a niche evokes the colonnaded arches often employed in saintly and apostolic portraiture (see above, p. 183, n. 8; fig. 30, p. 188; Appendix 1, pl. 38), its attire is seemingly militaristic, exhibiting affinities with the warriors represented in the *Bayeux Tapestry* (see above, pp. 195-198, ns. 35, 39, 45). This general appearance could suggest that the Framsdén figure is a secular portrait, perhaps of the founder of St Mary’s Church. Thus, the significance of the Framsdén carving is governed by its possible identity. If it is a saintly or apostolic portrait, then the mnemonic references proposed in relation to the Ipswich “Apostles” (see above, pp. 199-200) would also have resonated with its Saxo-Norman audience. However, if the carving is a portrait of a secular elite (likely associated with St Mary’s Church), then it would probably recall the myriad layers of lordly identity and privilege, including proprietary rights over lands and manorial churches (see below, pp. 288-295). Considering its fragmentary inscription and its decontextualized placement, the Framsdén figure’s symbolic significance remains unclear.

⁴⁹ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture”, p. 329.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

The Wordwell carvings are similarly confusing, eliciting both Christian and “secular” interpretations. For example, the tympanum-figures seemingly exhibit overt Christian iconography: the central figure’s hands are apparently raised in prayer, while the figure on the lower right proffers a “ring” (see above, fig. 31, p. 189; Appendix 1, pl. 73).⁵¹ In the context of such *orans* or prayer iconography and the sculpture’s association with a church, the “ring” could be interpreted as a martyr’s crown. While the dedication of Wordwell Church (“All Saints”) obfuscates any reference to a specific saint, the irregularly-shaped, chip-carved motif separating the tympanum-figures could offer clarification. The motif might constitute schematized branches and vegetation; in this context, a local saint, Edmund, might be suggested, considering his martyrdom in a forest and the recovery of his severed head from undergrowth.⁵² If the Wordwell tympanum does, indeed, depict the conferment of a martyr’s crown, then the scene’s hierarchical arrangement (albeit probably incomplete) is unusual. In hierarchical scenes in which Christ is included, artistic convention dictates that He would assume the dominant position. Furthermore, among extant Early Christian and Medieval depictions of the conferment of martyrs’ crowns, Christ is not depicted as a subordinate figure.⁵³ Thus,

⁵¹ For discussions of *orans* posture and iconography, see M. Hassett, “Orans”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (New York, 1911); retrieved 24/01/09 from New Advent: <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11269a.htm>>; M. Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art* (London 1973), p. 22; M.E. Johnson, “Worship, practice and belief”, *Early Christian World*, ed. Esler, I, pp. 475-499, at 485; and Jenson, “Art”, *Early Christian World*, ed. Esler, II, pp. 747-772, at 748. Though it is difficult to ascertain precisely when *orans* prayer iconography was displaced by arms outstretched in front of the body with hands clasped, it is represented in other twelfth-century East Anglian contexts. See, for example, Pembroke College MS. 120 (Bury St Edmunds) f. 1r., scene 3 and f. 1v., scene 6. Illustrated in E. Parker, “A Twelfth-century Cycle of New Testament Drawings from Bury St Edmunds”, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31.3 (1969), pp. 263-302, pls. 32-33.

⁵² See D. Whitelock, “Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St Edmund”, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31.3 (1969), pp. 217-233, at 220; and Abbo, “*Abbonis Floriacensis Passio Sancti Eadmundi*”, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls series 96, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols. (London 1890-1896), I, pp. 1-25, *passim*.

⁵³ See, for example, the fifth-century “*Capsella Africana*”, Rome, Vatican Museums (illustrated in R.E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot 2004), p. 106, fig. 2.28; the mid-sixth-century mosaics of

when the Wordwell tympanum is “read” as a Christian narrative, its apparently unique iconography *vis à vis* character-placement is compelling. This orientation, coupled with the absence of visual queues identifying “Christ” (for example, a *chi-rho* monogram or a cruciform halo; *cf.* the Kedington Cross, see above, fig. 20, p. 161; Appendix 1, pl. 66) suggests that the tympanum might actually depict a secular scene. Perhaps the “ring” offered by the subordinate figure is a manifestation of gift-giving, in which the lord/retainer bond was established and/or strengthened (see below, pp. 280-285). If the scene is “read” in this context, then the suggestion that the figures may be helmeted is strengthened. However, if it could be demonstrated that the tympanum does indeed depict a Christian narrative (such as the conferment of a martyr’s crown), then the figures’ convex heads, triangular jaws and rectangular “noses” could be understood as expressions of vernacular style.

With the absence of contextualizing evidence at All Saints’, Wordwell, the subject of the tympanum remains unclear. Indeed, the *in situ* figural carving ornamenting a cushion capital on the south portal is seemingly unrelated, iconographically, to the tympanum-scene. Its exaggerated right arm, which stretches forth and touches the ground (see above, fig. 32, p. 189; Appendix 1, pl. 74-75) might be interpreted in a Christian narrative as referencing Christ’s healing of the blind man; though in the context of All Saints’ extant Anglo-Norman sculptural programme, this miracle would seem anomalous, both in terms of the tympanum’s proposed Christian “reading” and of All Saints’ dedication itself. However, as

martyrs and saints in Sant’ Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (illustrated in Gough, *Origins of Christian Art*, pp. 164-165, figs. 158-160); a late-ninth-century *Psychomachia of Prudentius* (albeit with a personification of Faith in place of Christ) St Gall, Reichenau or Constance (illustrated in Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, p. 91, fig. 72); the early-eleventh-century ivory relief from St Gereon, Cologne, depicting Christ in Majesty blessing SS Victor and Gereon (illustrated in Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, p. 139, fig. 123); and the fifteenth-century wall-painting of the martyrdom of St Erasmus in Chippenham (C; illustrated in “The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus: Chippenham, Cambridgeshire (‡Ely) C.15”; retrieved 24/01/09 from <<http://www.paintedchurch.org/chippenh.htm>>).

posited above in relation to the tympanum sculptures, if it could be demonstrated that the capital-figure is associated with a Christian narrative, then its unnaturalistic head and nose would likely be attributable to its vernacular style.

Like the tympanum-scene, the capital-figure is iconographically ambiguous, suggesting that a “secular” reading of the sculpture may not be inappropriate. Thus, the figure’s apparently idiosyncratic gesture might be interpreted as an assertion of tenorial privilege; its apparent “helmet” would also associate the figure with secular contexts. The sculpture’s placement at a location often embellished with apotropaic representations—a portal—might suggest that it depicts All Saints’ lordly protector. If so, then parishioners would be reminded of their lord’s station and benefaction when entering and exiting All Saints’ Church.

Like the anthropomorphic carvings at Framsdén and Wordwell, the Wickhambrook figure likely derives from an architectural context, though its original placement is unknown. As mentioned above (see pp. 170, 190), the figure might exhibit wings with down-turned tips (see fig. 33, p 190; Appendix 1, pl. 72). If so, then the figure’s marital accoutrements would associate it with St Michael iconography, evoking similar themes of apotropaism, agency and strength. However, if the incised lines seemingly delineating the figure’s “wings” are either damage or surface striations, then its identity is less certain; though its bold, cruciform body is seemingly a deliberate artistic choice, reinforcing its apparent Christian identity. In this context, the figure could be another martial saint (perhaps George) or even a secular lord, replete with weaponry and an overt symbol of his faith.⁵⁴ In this context, the carving could evoke similar themes as those suggested in the “secular”

⁵⁴ For a discussion of St George iconography in England, see Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds in English Church Architecture*, pp. 41-42; retrieved 01/05/07 from <<http://bestiary.ca/etexts/collins1913/collins1913.htm>>; and Allen, *Norman Sculpture and the Medieval Bestiaries*, pp. 269-271.

reading of the Wordwell capital-figure, and the importance of the Church in defining and identifying elite status in tenorial hierarchies (see below, pp. 301-302).

In conclusion, based on East Anglia's surviving evidence of Late Saxon and Anglo-Norman figural sculpture (which is both scant and often decontextualized), such carving seemingly protected and/or instructed its audiences. While the symbolic importance of the Ipswich, St Nicholas', sculptures can be proposed with some certainty, the Framsdan, Wordwell and Wickhambrook carvings' vernacular style (characterized by geometric schematization) obfuscates their identities and intent. These sculptures permit both "Christian" and "secular" readings, though neither can be advanced with certainty considering the paucity of contextualizing evidence at the specific sites.

5.C. Slabs and Small Crosses—Style, Date and Significance

5.C.i. Introduction

Though detailed typological analyses of East Anglia's Late Saxon funerary monuments have been undertaken by Fox and Plunkett,⁵⁵ their iconographic significance remains virtually unstudied. The apparent marginalization of this aspect of the sculptural corpus is perhaps attributable to its perceived commodification and associated "mass production". Indeed, Hadley (following Stocker's interpretation of contemporaneous Lincolnshire material) has theorized the sculptures as tangible expressions of mercantile competition;⁵⁶ and both Fox and Lang have commented on their impoverished style, characterized by formulaic, repetitive decoration.⁵⁷ Cramp

⁵⁵ See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture", *passim* and Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", *passim*.

⁵⁶ See Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 262; and Stocker, "Monuments and merchants", pp. 200-206. See also Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 76-79.

⁵⁷ See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture", pp. 28-29; and J. Lang, per. comm. to J. Griffin, 08.06.91, n.p.

has also suggested that the relationship between churches, monasteries and stone sculpture in the Late Saxon period is difficult to assess owing to the inherent characteristics of the material and its production.⁵⁸ She notes that during the first florescence of English monasticism in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, a demonstrable relationship is apparent (especially in Northumbria) between the products of monastic *scriptoria* and the stone monuments associated with their churches and cemeteries.⁵⁹ Following the Scandinavian invasions and subsequent settlement of northern and eastern England, the dialogue between manuscript and sculptural art was seemingly interrupted; from the late ninth to the eleventh century, Cramp contends that contexts for sculptural production and patronage are less certain.⁶⁰ She also suggests that sculpture was largely unaffected by the innovations in Late Saxon visual culture associated with the royal court at Winchester.⁶¹

Such assumptions and observations have relegated the Fenland Group to the periphery of Insular sculptural research; with the ascendancy of iconological methodology (which has seemingly been perceived as inapplicable to the East Anglian material),⁶² the Fenland Group has been further marginalized by art historians. Despite such apparent disregard, the decoration of the East Anglian sculptures suggests that their patrons and audiences were not unfamiliar with eschatological thought and its mnemonic referents. While Plunkett contends that stone sculptures carved in tenth- and eleventh-century England were removed from

⁵⁸ R. Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period", *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. D. Parsons (London; Chichester 1975), pp. 184-199, at 184.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Cramp also suggests that some carvers were possibly "independent lay workmen". *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period", pp. 184, 198-199.

⁶² J. Hawkes, per. comm. 04/03/07. See Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art", pp. 26-54, *passim*; and Fernie, *Art History and its Methods*, pp. 345-346.

learned, literary environments,⁶³ the implication that their production and, presumably, consumption were uninformed by their contemporary intellectual *milieu* is unfounded. Furthermore, similarities between the Fenland recumbent monuments' decorative programmes and manuscript illustrations are suggestive of renewed or continued artistic exchange in East Anglia, perhaps indicative of the survival or reintroduction of monastic *ateliers*.⁶⁴

5.C.ii. *Recumbent Slabs—Introduction*

As noted in Chapter 4 (see above, pp. 134-141), the Fenland recumbent slabs are characterized by formulaic decoration and demonstrate a relative uniformity of execution. Though Fox is dismissive of the carved ornament (and, by association, the sculptors' proficiency),⁶⁵ the slabs are suggestive of planned, centralized production (either at specific sites or by a peripatetic school), suggesting considerable investment was made in their production. Furthermore, while it has been noted that the history of the later Anglo-Saxon church is "fragmentary" owing to the paucity of extant documentary accounts—particularly in East Anglia (see above, pp. 49-51, 96-119),⁶⁶ the surviving works of the period's most influential homilists, Wulfstan,

⁶³ Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166.

⁶⁴ Cramp suggests that a relationship between monasteries and sculptural production in the Reform period (tenth to eleventh centuries) is unsubstantiated ("We have no record of the great monastic figures of the century engaging in stone carving as for example Dunstan did in metal working"). *Ibid.* Furthermore, she notes that "the infusion of new ideas from the Winchester school of manuscripts ... spread throughout southern and parts of Midland England. [However], there are large areas of England in Northumbria and East Anglia, where ... there are over a thousand fragments of carvings which could date to the period of late ninth to late eleventh century which show no sympathy with or ability to adopt the new art". *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199. Despite this implied contention that sculptural and manuscript art were distinct and unaffected by the other in the Reform period, evidence will be presented that demonstrates knowledge of specific codicological iconography by sculptors.

⁶⁵ "These craftsmen worked in an impoverished style. They were skilled in cutting hard stone (Barnack Rag) but their knowledge of interlacement design was elementary. The elaborate broken plaits and knots with which students of pre-Conquest art are familiar were beyond their capacity; and they were unable to fill any space save a rectangle with a regular plait, as may be seen on examining the T-shaped panels on ... [Cambridge Castle no. 2] where 'loose-ends' are numerous". Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 28-29.

⁶⁶ Farmer, "Progress of the Monastic Revival", p. 10.

Ælfric and the Blickling author, apparently articulate themes reflecting widespread concerns at the time. Certainly eschatological themes predominate in these works,⁶⁷ and consideration of the iconography of the decorative programmes of East Anglian funerary sculptures suggests that similar interests were also being articulated in the carvings, indicating a concerted interest in the end of time was prevalent in the Fenland province during the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

5.C.iii. *Recumbent Slabs—Style*

Based on extant evidence, Late Saxon recumbent funerary monuments exhibiting double-headed crosses and rectilinear, interlaced panels are characteristic, not only of the East Anglian material, but of that produced more widely in Anglo-Saxon England, including Lincolnshire and the South-East.⁶⁸ While possibly evolving from earlier Midlands' sculptural traditions in wood,⁶⁹ the Fenland recumbent slabs' closest stylistic exemplars are the chest-like Lincolnshire monuments identified by Everson and Stocker as the "mid-Kesteven grave-cover group", dated mid-tenth to early eleventh century.⁷⁰ Everson and Stocker interpret the mid-Kesteven covers as exemplars for the Fenland Group, characterizing the Fenland monuments as "[simplifications] of the mid-Kesteven type".⁷¹ Evidence of approximately forty-

⁶⁷ Other themes include the Nativity, the Passion, the eight deadly sins, fasting, confession and hagiography. For a complete index of theme and image in Anglo-Saxon homilies, see R. DiNapoli, "Appendix 3: Checklist of Primary Topics and Occasions", *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (Thetford 1995), pp. 116-122, *passim*.

⁶⁸ See CASSS, vols. 1-6, *passim*; and Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", *passim*.

⁶⁹ Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 165-166.

⁷⁰ Everson and Stocker, CASSS, vol. 5, pp. 35-58, at 36, 46. Everson's and Stocker's terminology is misleading. The mid-Kesteven sculptures are not grave-covers *per se*; they are composite, rectangular monuments which "stood high above the ground surface" and were decorated on three of their five faces. Acknowledging that the monuments' end-panels were seemingly undecorated, Everson and Stocker suggest that upright markers or free-standing crosses were set at either narrow end (akin to the evidence of funerary "suites" preserved at Cambridge Castle, Peterborough Cathedral, Helpston (all C), and Hunston, Sf). *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

seven monuments (at forty-two sites) is extant, exhibiting a conservatism and uniformity of decoration comparable to the Fenland material.

Like the Fenland group, the decoration of the mid-Kesteven monuments is defined by borders, although the Lincolnshire sculptures exhibit greater variety, including “herring-bone” and “wheat-ear” patterns.⁷² The decorative programmes of the mid-Kesteven lids also demonstrate greater complexity in relation to their spatial organization. Unlike the Fenland slabs, their decoration is arranged in three discrete units, comprising a long central panel with shorter transverse panels at either end.⁷³ However, their principal decorative element (a centrally-placed cruciform) is shared with the Fenland group. The cruciforms on the Lincolnshire monuments are double-headed (resembling the “‡”-form characteristic of Fenland slabs’ Types “1” and “4”)⁷⁴ and are surrounded by interlace.⁷⁵ Unlike the Fenland monuments, whose cruciforms are framed by either two or four interlaced panels, the mid-Kesteven lids exhibit continuous interlaced frames, emanating from the cross-arms’ terminals.⁷⁶

Everson and Stocker contend that the mid-Kesteven monuments’ uniformity of material, style and composition is demonstrative of centralized production.⁷⁷ They argue that petrological evidence confirms that the stones were excavated from a

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 42. Based on surviving examples, the transverse panels were seemingly decorated with interlace. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁷⁴ See Fox, “Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture”, pls. 3-4. A side panel on Barrowby 1 (L) exhibits Type “1A” crosses at either narrow end. Though the cross-heads are dissimilar, this general arrangement is similar to Fenland “Type 6” slabs. See Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2; and above, fig. 13, p. 138.

⁷⁵ Though Stocker and Everson do not explicitly discuss cord-count with reference to the mid-Kesteven lids, their reconstruction drawings suggest that the decoration surrounding the cruciforms is of three- and four-cord variety and is usually median-incised. Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, fig. 9, pp. 37-42.

⁷⁶ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 42. Useful examples include Burton Pedwardine 3, Eagle 1, Lincoln St Mark 2, Sempringham 1, West Allington 1 (all L), Hawkesworth, Kneesall and Rolleston (all Nth). *Ibid.*, fig. 9, pp. 38-41. Two examples, Coleby Hall 1 and Colsterworth 3 (both L), suggest that interlaced panels were sometimes deployed in the interstices formed by the convergence of the cross arms and shaft, akin to the Fenland slabs. *Ibid.*, fig. 9, p. 38.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

single quarry (or group of geologically-related quarries) in the Ancaster gap.⁷⁸ Furthermore, they suggest that the monuments' distribution, concentrated in the two valleys on either side of the escarpment and within reach of navigable waterways, supports their contention that the mid-Kesteven sculptures were both quarried and carved at one or more sites in the Ancaster region.⁷⁹ This theory of centralized production, incorporating petrological and distributive evidence and acknowledging potential transportation routes, supports the argument here that the Fenland group of recumbent and related monuments is also the product of centralized manufacture (see above, pp. 94-119). It also suggests that riverine transport (and probably marine in some instances) was of paramount importance to Late Saxon sculptural production in the Fens, and that the region's sculptural *ateliers* and/or itinerant schools were probably few in number.⁸⁰

5.C.iv. Recumbent Slabs—Significance

However, the similarities between the mid-Kesteven lids and the Fenland recumbent slabs is not limited to similarities of production and central-motif; they are also related iconographically, both seemingly influenced by the eschatological concerns which the literature indicates was widely current in tenth- and eleventh-century England. Through its evocation in these various textual sources, scholars have demonstrated that eschatological concerns influenced the theology and liturgy of the

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, fig. 12. "All [of the mid-Kesteven monuments] are within fifty miles of the supposed production centres and 80% are within twenty miles". *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸⁰ "Fens" is used here in its broadest sense, referring to the wetlands stretching into Norfolk, Suffolk Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. As discussed in chapter two, stone sculptural production in East Anglia is seemingly a Late Saxon phenomenon. With the exception of the Iken cross-shaft, the "Hedda" stone and various panels at Barnack, Fletton and Castor, all extant examples in the region are of tenth- or eleventh-century date. As has been discussed, numerous factors likely influenced this, including availability of workable stone, expense and Danish incursions and subsequent settlement.

Church throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.⁸¹ Though eschatological themes (both explicit and implicit) have been identified in the exegetical and historical discourse of early Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics (Bede for example),⁸² frequency of eschatological allusion in the later Saxon period demonstrates a renewed and apparently extensive interest in the end of time, perhaps suggesting that the iconography of the East Anglian sculptures is most appropriately interpreted in the context of contemporary literature.

In Late Saxon homiletic discourse, mortality, repentance and salvation are repeatedly emphasized. Eschatological discussion is apparent throughout Ælfric's works including the *Sermones Catholici* (ca 990-995) and the *Vitae Sanctorum* (ca 992-1002),⁸³ particularly with reference to the Gospels.⁸⁴ For example, in a series of homilies, including one for the second Sunday in Advent, Ælfric incorporates Apocalyptic signs as described in Luke and Matthew:

The apostle Paul said, that 'the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God, and the dead will first arise; afterwards, we who live, and shall be found in the body, will be caught forth with the others in clouds towards Christ, and so we shall ever after be with God ...' It is likewise manifested, that mankind will not wholly perish before the ending, but that they will, nevertheless, have a short death who shall then be found in life; for heavenly fire will pass over all the world

⁸¹ See, for example, P. Cavill, *Anglo-Saxon Christianity: Exploring the earliest roots of Christian spirituality in England* (London 1999), *passim*; M. McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto 1977), *passim*; and B. Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols. (London 1844, 1846), *passim*.

⁸² See, for example, L. Whitbread, "Bede's Verses on Doomsday: A Supplementary Note", *Philological Quarterly* 51 (1972), pp. 485-486, *passim*; *idem*, "Judgement Day II and Its Latin Source", *Philological Quarterly* 45 (1966), pp. 635-656, *passim*; A. Thacker, "Bede's Ideal of Reform", *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford 1983), pp. 130-153, *passim*; and P. Darby, "Bede and Apocalypsy: Eschatological themes in the *Ecclesiastical History*" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of Birmingham, 2008), *passim*.

⁸³ Corona has argued that Ælfric's *Vitae* were highly selective. "He included only those saints who, with their active work, had played a leading role in shaping the Christian Church. His saints had to serve as examples of conduct not only to the monastic community but also to the religious and secular leaders of contemporary England, so that his work can be said to be a product and an integral part of the English Benedictine Reform". G. Corona, "Lives of the Saints", *The Literary Encyclopedia*, retrieved 15/06/05 from <<http://www.litencyc.com>>.

⁸⁴ McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 77.

with one burning, and the dead will arise from their graves with that fire, and the living will be slain by the fire's heat, and straightways after requickened to eternity. The fire will in no wise injure the righteous who had before been cleansed from sins; but whosoever is uncleaned shall eat the fire's breath; and we shall then all come to the doom.⁸⁵

The eschatological emphasis in Ælfric's homilies, however, is most explicit in his discussions of the General Resurrection at the end of time. In one of his Easter homilies, he argues, concerning the event, that:

... there are some men who have doubt of the resurrection, and when they see the bones of dead men, they say, How can these bones be again quickened? As if they speak wisely! But we say against them, that God is Almighty, and can do all that he will. He wrought heaven and earth and all creatures without matter. Now it seems that it is somewhat easier to him to raise the dead from the dust than it was to him to make all creatures from naught: but truly to him are all things alike easy, and nothing difficult. He wrought Adam of loam. Now we cannot investigate how of that loam he made flesh and blood, bones and skin, hair and nails. Men often see that of one little kernel comes a great tree, but in the kernel we can see neither root, nor rind, nor boughs nor leaves: but the same God who draws forth from the kernel tree, and fruits, and leaves may from dust raise flesh and bones, sinews and hair, as he said in his gospel, 'There shall not be lost to you one hair of your head'.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ "Se apostol Paulus, þæt 'Drihten sylf astihð of heofonum on stemne þæs heahengles, and mid Godes byman, and ða deadan ærest arisað; syððan we ðe lybbað, and on lichaman beoð gemette beoð gelæhte forð mid þam oðrum on wolcnum togeanes Criste, and we swa symle syððan mid Gode beoð ... is eac geswutelod, þæt mancynn mid ealle ne atorað ær ðære geendunge, ac hi habbað hwæðere sceortne deað, þa ðe þonne on life gemette beoð; forðan ðe heofonlic fyr ofergæð ealne middangeard mid anum bryne, and ða deadan arisað of heora byrgenum mid ðam fyre, and ða lybbendan beoð æwealde þurh ðæs fyres hætan, and ðærrihte eft ge-eodecode to ecum ðingum. Ne derað þæt fyr nán ðing þam rihtwisum, ðe ær fram synnum geelænsode wæron; æ swa hwá swa ungeelænsod bið, he gefret þæs fyres æðm; and we ðonne ealle to ðam dôme becumað". Ælfric, "Dominica II. in Aduentum Domini", *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, B. Thorpe, ed., 2 vols. (London 1844, 1846), I, pp. 608-619, at 616-617. See also, McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 81; and Matt., 24; Luke, 21.

⁸⁶ Ælfric, "Dominica Prima Post Pasca", *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Thorpe, I, pp. 230-239, at 236. "We sprecað embe ærist. Nu sind sume men þe habbað twynunge be æriste, and ðonne hi geseoð deadra manna bân, þonne cweðað hí, Hu magon ðas bân beon ge-edcode? Swilce hí wislice sprecon! Ac we cweðað þær-togeanes, þæt God is Ælmihtig, and mæg eal þæt he wile. He geworhte heofonas and eorðan and ealle gesceafta butan antimbre. Nu is geðuht þæt him sy sumera ðinga eaðelicor to arærenne ðone deadan of ðam duste, þonne him wære to wyrçenne ealle gesceafta of nahte: ac soðlice him sin ealle ðing gelice eaðe, and nán ðing earfoðe. He worhte Adam of lame. Nu ne mage we asmeagan hú hé of ðám lame flæsc worhte, and blod bân and fell, fex and næglas. Men geseoð oft þæt of anum lytilum cyrnele cymð micel treow, ac we ne magon geseon on þam cyrnele naðor ne wyrtruman, ne rinde, ne bógas, ne leaf: ac se God þe forðtihð of ðam cyrnele treow, and wæstmas, and leaf, se ylca mæg of duste aræran flæsc and bân, sina and fex, swa swa he cwæð on his godspelle, 'Ne sceal eow beon forloren an hér of eowrum heafde'". *Ibid.*

Ælfric's profound interest in eschatology, particularly Resurrection doctrine, is perhaps attributable to millennial anxiety, principally, the belief that the Apocalypse was imminent.⁸⁷ Sweyn Forkbeard's (ca 960-1014) invasion and subsequent conquest of England ca 991-1014 exemplified the warfare and horror which both Matthew and Luke identify as portending the Apocalypse.⁸⁸ With the impending end of the sixth millennial age, together with armed conflict and political instability, Ælfric and his contemporaries, including Wulfstan and the Blickling author, perceived evidence of the final days in current events and warned their audiences to prepare for the coming *dénouement*.⁸⁹

Like Ælfric, Wulfstan's interest in eschatology was perhaps also motivated by belief in the impending Apocalypse. For example, he begins his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*:

Beloved men, know that which is true: this world is in haste and it nears the end. And therefore things in this world go ever the longer the worse, and so it must needs be that things quickly worsen, on account of people's sinning from day to day, before the coming of Antichrist.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ In his homily for the second Sunday after the Epiphany, Ælfric employs the six water vessels of the Marriage at Cana as a metaphor of the six ages of the world: "from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to David, David to the Babylonian captivity, the captivity to the birth of Christ, and from the incarnation, 'mid ungewisre geendunge astreht oð Ante-Cristes to-cyme'" ("Extended with uncertain ending to the coming of Antichrist"). McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 77; Thorpe, ed., *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, p. 58. For a discussion of millennial anxiety, see Bethurum, ed., *Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 278-282; A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: East and West", *Byzantion* 16 (1942-1943), pp. 462-502; and G. Burr, "The Year 1000 and the Crusades", *American Historical Review* 6 (1901), pp. 429-431.

⁸⁸ Matt., 24; Luke, 21. For a discussion of Sweyn's invasion, see I. Howard, *Swein Forkbeard's Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991-1017* (Woodbridge 2003), *passim*.

⁸⁹ McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 79. Often, Ælfric and Wulfstan "[reflect] the common sentiment that tone sign of the approaching end of the world is its state of deterioration, which can be expected to become progressively worse as the end draws even nearer". *Ibid.* For example, see Ælfric's homilies for Advent and Rogation Monday in Thorpe, ed., *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, pp. 608, 614; II, p. 330; J. Cross, "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature", *Comparative Literature* 14 (1962), pp. 1-22, *passim*; and *idem*, "Gregory, *Blickling Homily X*, and Ælfric's *Passio S. Mauricii* on the World's Youth and Age", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 66 (1965), pp. 327-330, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Bernstein, "The Electronic *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*", 1996-2004; retrieved 01/06/07 from <<http://english3.fsu.edu/~wulfstan/>>. "Leofan men gecnawað þæt soð is: ðeos worolde is on ofste & hit nealæcð þam ende. & þy hit is on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse, & swa hit sceal nyde for folces synnan fram dæge to dæge, ær antecristes tocyme, yfelian swyþe". *Ibid.*

As in Ælfric's homilies, he also evokes the Apocalyptic imagery of Matthew and Luke when he states that:

Nothing has prospered now for a long time either at home or abroad, but there has been military devastation and hunger, burning and bloodshed in nearly every district time and again. And stealing and slaying, plague and pestilence, murrain and disease, malice and hate, and the robbery by robbers have injured us very terribly.⁹¹

Ending his *Sermo Lupi*, Wulfstan introduces the Last Judgement, promising salvation from the coming Apocalypse with a metaphor of hope and perseverance to his "besieged" audience:

And let us often reflect upon the great Judgement to which we all shall go, and let us save ourselves from the welling fire of hell torment, and gain for ourselves the glories and joys that God has prepared for those who work his will in the world. God help us. Amen.⁹²

This tripartite model, heralding the end of time, evoking the Apocalyptic imagery of Matthew and Luke and promising salvation for the Faithful, is also employed in the anonymous *Blickling Homilies* (ca 971). The sermons that comprise this collection are primarily devoted to Lent; thus, their eschatological emphasis is particularly appropriate. In *Blickling Homily X*, the author reiterates that the end of time is near, akin to the prefatory remarks in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*:

May we then now see and know and very readily understand that the end of the world is very nigh; and many calamities have appeared and men's crimes and woes are greatly multiplied.⁹³

⁹¹ "Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute: ac wæs here & hungor, nu bryne & blodgyte on gewelhwylcan ende oft & gelome. & us stalu & cwalu, stric & steorfa, orfcwealm & uncopu, hol & hete, & rypera reafslac derede swyþe þearle". *Ibid.*

⁹² " & utan gelome understandan þone miclam Dom þe we ealle to sculon & beorgan us georne wið þone weallendan bryne helle wites, & geearnian us þa mærpæ & þa myrhða þe God hæfð gegearwod þam þe his willan on worolde gewyrcað. God ure helpe, Amen". *Ibid.*

⁹³ "Blickling Homily X—The End of the World is near"; retrieved 10/04/08 from <<http://www.apocalyptic-theories.com/literature/blicklingx/meblickx.html>> [reproducing the Old English text and modern English translation from R. Morris, *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century: From the Marquis of Lothian's Unique MS. A.D. 971*, Early English Text Society, original series 58, 63, 73 (London 1874-1880)]. "Magon we þonne nu geseón & oncnawan & swiþe gearlice ongeotan þæt þisses middangeardes ende swiþe neah is, & manige frecnessa æteowde & manna wóhdæda & wonessa swiþe gemonigfealdode". *Ibid.*

Employing Apocalyptic imagery, he then identifies the various plagues afflicting the populace, including war (perhaps alluding to Sweyn Forkbeard's invasion and conquest):

And we from day to day hear of monstrous plagues and strange deaths throughout the country, that have come upon men, and we see unfortunate wars caused by iniquitous deeds; and we hear very frequently of the death of men of rank whose life was dear to men, and whose life appeared fair and beautiful and pleasant; so we are also informed of various diseases in many places of the world, and of increasing famines. And many evils, we learn, are here in this life become general, and flourish and no good is abiding here, and all worldly things are very sinful, and very greatly coolth the love that we ought to have to our Lord; and those good works that we should observe for our soul's health, we forsake.⁹⁴

Like Wulfstan, the Blickling author ends *Homily X* with an allusion to the salvation awaiting the Faithful, reiterating the ephemerality of existence:

Lo! We may hereby perceive that his world is illuoriy [sic] and transitory. Let us then be mindful of this while we may, so that we may diligently press on to what is good; let us obey our Lord diligently, and for all his gifts and for all his mercies, and for all his kindness and benefits that he hath ever showed to us let us give thanks to Him—the heavenly King that liveth and reigneth everlastingly, for ever without end, in eternity. Amen.⁹⁵

Given the profound interest in eschatology, particularly with reference to the Gospels, demonstrated by Ælfric's, Wulfstan's and the Blickling author's homiletic discourse, it is certainly possible that the iconography of the Fenland Group can be interpreted in the context of Last Judgment and Resurrection doctrine. Although

⁹⁴ “& we fram dæge to oþrum geaxiað ungecyndelico witu & ungecynelice deaþas geond þeodland to mannum cumene, & we oft ongytaþ þæt ariseþ þeod wiþ þeode, & ungelimplico gefeoht on wólicum dædum; & we gehyraþ oft secggan gelome worldricra manna deaþ þe heora lif mannum leofwære, & þuhte fæger & wlitig heora lif & wynsumlic; swa we eac geaxiað mislice adla on manegum stowum middangeardes, & hungras wexende. & manig yfel we geaxiaþ her on life gelómlician & wæstmian, & nænig góð áwunigende & ealle worldlicu þing swiþe synlicu; & colap to swiþe seo lufu þe we to urum Hælende habban sceoldan, & þa godan weorc wé anforlætap þe we for ure saule hæle began sceoldan”. *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ “Hwæt we on þam gecnawan magon þæt þeos world is scyndende & heononweard. Uton we þonne þæs gepencean, þa hwile þe we magon moton, þæt we us georne to gode þydon. Uton urum Drihtne hyran georne, & him þancas secggan ealra his geofena, & ealra his miltsa, & ealra his eaðmódnassa & fremsumnessa þe he wiþ us æfre gecyþde, þæm heofonlican Cininge þe leofað & rixaþ on worlða world áá buton ende on ecnesse. Amen”. *Ibid.*

living and writing in regions other than East Anglia, Ælfric and Wulfstan are contemporaries of those responsible for the production of the region's stone sculpture;⁹⁶ together with the Blickling homilist, they are also commenting on events affecting all of England, including East Anglia, and are writing from an ecclesiastical perspective, suggesting their work may not be irrelevant to understanding East Anglia's stone sculpture, especially since the material is seemingly associated with an institutional Christian context.

Considered in this perspective, certain motifs characteristic of the Fenland recumbent slabs' decorative programmes (cruciforms—both double-headed and those with semicircular shaft-termini—and an idiosyncratic geometric element, characterized by several transverse bars whose ends fold backward toward a central axis) might thus be understood as expressions of the eschatology espoused by tenth- and eleventh-century ecclesiastics. Double-headed Latin crosses (as depicted on Fenland recumbent slabs Types "1" and "4"; see above, pp. 136-137; figs. 11-12) are generally interpreted as signs of the True Cross, possibly evolving from the Gospel accounts that an inscription identifying Christ as "King of the Jews" ("*Rex Iudaeorum*") had been affixed to it.⁹⁷ Numerous representations of Latin crosses with a second, shorter, transverse bar are thus extant in various media from the early medieval period.⁹⁸ Many are included in Passion cycles, particularly Crucifixion

⁹⁶ Where the *Blickling Homilies* were transcribed is unknown, though their name derives from Blickling Hall, Norfolk. For a brief discussion of their provenance, see D. Scragg, "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscripts", *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge 1985), pp. 299-316, at 299-300.

⁹⁷ Matt., 27:37; Mark, 15:25; Luke, 23:38; John, 19:19. See also M. Werner, "The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow: The Cult of the True Cross, Adomnan, and Iona", *The Art Bulletin* 72.2 (1990), pp. 174-223, *passim*, esp. p. 222.

⁹⁸ Examples include Trinity College Library, MS A.4.5 (57), fol. 1v (*ca* second half of the seventh century), illustrated in A. Luce, *et al.*, *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis. Auctoritate Collegii Sacrosanctae et Individuae Trinitatis juxta Dublin totius codicis similitudinen accuratissime depicti exprimentam curavit typographeum Urs Graf. Prolegomenis auxerunt viri doctissimi Arturus Aston Luce, Georgius Otto Simms, Petrus Meyer, Ludovicus Bieler*, 2 vols. (Olten 1960), I, p. 1v;

scenes, establishing a cogent relationship between the True Cross, the double-barred Latin cross and the Resurrection. While the cruciforms' arms on Fenland monuments' Types "1" and "4" are of equal length and are equidistant from either end of the cross-shaft, these subtle digressions from contemporary manuscript versions are no doubt attributable to the recumbent monuments' rectilinearity, both in general form and through the composition and orientation of their decorative programmes.⁹⁹

In Werner's seminal study of the Insular double-armed cross, he describes the *loca sanctis*, including that of Calvary, and so invests the motif with specific geographic references. Citing the *ca* fifth- to seventh-century accounts of Jerusalem's holy sites by Egeria, the Piacenza pilgrim and Adomnan of Iona (which was recounted by Bede), together with specific Christological, liturgical and artistic evidence, Werner argues (referencing the *Book of Durrow* f. 1v) that the motif is "a highly abstract representation of the fragments and titulus of the Crucifixion Cross displayed on the altar of the church of Golgotha for the Good Friday ritual *Adoratio crucis*".¹⁰⁰ This suggests that the iconography of the Fenland recumbent monuments

Stadtbibliothek, Trier, Cod. 24, f. 85v (*ca* late tenth century), illustrated in H. Holländer, *Early Medieval*, trans. C. Hillier (1974; London 1990), fig. 104; the ivory plaque (*ca* late tenth century) decorating the cover of the *Echternach Gospels* (Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg), illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 126.; B.L., Harley 2904, f. 3v (*ca* late tenth century), illustrated in E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, gen. ed., J. Alexander (London 1976), fig. 142; or B.L., Cotton, Titus D. XXVII, f. 65v (*ca* early eleventh century), illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 246. B.L., Harley 2904, f. 3v, B.L. Cotton, Titus D. XXVII, f. 65v, Stadtbibliothek, Trier, Cod. 24, f. 85v and the *Echternach Gospels* ivory plaque also exhibit a third transverse bar on the True Cross functioning as a foot-rest.

⁹⁹ However, a representation of what is probably the True Cross, characterized by symmetry of proportion and equidistance, is preserved in the *Book of Durrow* (Trinity College Library, MS A.4.5 (57), fol. 1v; illustrated in Luce, *et al*, *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, I, p. 1v), suggesting that these apparent stylistic choices may also reflect a lengthy Insular iconographic tradition. In contemporary two-dimensional representations of the Crucifixion associated with Reformed monasteries either in or near the East Anglian province, the True Cross is depicted with three transverse bars of unequal length (one functioning as Christ's foot-rest). Examples include B.L. Harley 2904, f. 3v (illustrated in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 142; late tenth century; Ramsey Abbey); or B.L. Cotton, Titus, D. XXVII, f. 65v (illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 246; *ca* 1030; New Minster, Winchester).

¹⁰⁰ Werner, "The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow", p. 222.

can be understood to evoke ideas related to (the site of) Christ's crucifixion (and by extension, the General Resurrection), which are present in the Insular world (including Anglo-Saxon England) from the eighth century, and continue to be invoked in the art of the region in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Apart from such potential symbolic references to the True Cross and the Final Resurrection, the geometric element seemingly distinctive of "Type 2" recumbent monuments (as evidenced by Cambridge Castle 1¹⁰¹; see fig. 11, p. 136 and Appendix 2, pl. 164), characterized by transverse bars with backward-folding termini, might be regarded as a possible skeuomorph of St Peter's emblematic keys.¹⁰² Other Anglo-Saxon depictions of Peter's keys are rare, but they do survive: the late seventh-century reliquary coffin of Cuthbert, the "Hedda Stone" (ca late eighth century; see Appendix 2, pl. 156), preserved in Peterborough Cathedral, and the sculpted plaque at Daglingworth (Gl; ca mid-eleventh to early-twelfth century; see Appendix 2, pl. 157) are principal examples.¹⁰³ Though none exhibit the precise shape represented on Cambridge Castle 1, the Daglingworth sculpture does evoke its

¹⁰¹ Lost; Fox's identifier.

¹⁰² Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 32-33; R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 9 (Princeton 1995), p. 76, n. 120; V. Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge 2004), p. 129.

¹⁰³ On St Cuthbert's coffin, Peter's keys are represented as two conjoined shafts with backward-folding termini, akin to representations in tenth-century Winchester manuscripts and on Cambridge Castle 1 (Fox's identifier). Illustrated in J. Cronyn and C. Horie, "The Anglo-Saxon Coffin: Further Investigations", *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge 1989), pp. 247-256, at 254, fig. 19. Peter's adorsed keys on the "Hedda Stone" are depicted as a single bar (with an incised line delineating the shafts), surmounted by two angular heads. Illustrated in Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 10, fig. 5. On the Daglingworth shaft, Peter's keys are also conjoined shafts with backward-folding termini. Illustrated in M. Hare, *The two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucestershire, the Deerhurst lecture for 1992* (Deerhurst 1993), pp. 24-25. Eastern Early Christian examples, including the seventh-century icon of St Peter from the Monastery of St Catherine at Sinai, exhibit similarly abbreviated heads, though individual shafts are clearly represented. Illustrated in Gough, *Origins of Christian Art*, p. 184, fig. 178. In Ottonian art, Peter's keys are depicted with greater experimentation. For example, in Henry II's *Book of Pericopes* (ca 1002-1014) where Christ is depicted crowning the Ottonian emperor and Queen Kunigunde in the presence of SS Peter and Paul, Peter's keys are fashioned as the first two letters of the saint's name. Illustrated in Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, p. 114, fig. 94. For a summary of Anglo-Saxon Petrine iconography, including an inventory of extant (and possible) depictions of the saint in various media, see J. Higgitt, "The Iconography of St Peter in Anglo-Saxon England, and St Cuthbert's Coffin", *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community*, pp. 267-285, esp. 281-285.

general form. In contemporary depictions of Peter associated with the Winchester School of manuscript painting (*ca* 950-1100), his keys are usually depicted as adorsed, elongated shafts, terminating in two or more transverse bars whose ends fold up, down or backwards toward the shafts (see Appendix 2, pl. 162).¹⁰⁴ In some instances, his keys are further schematized, with the shafts terminating in quadripartite square or rectilinear motifs (see Appendix 2, pl. 166).¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, within the context of Late Saxon eschatology, mnemonic references to St Peter are not irrelevant. In contemporary manuscript illumination (also associated with the Winchester School), Peter is portrayed in various guises, each seemingly reflecting a role or stage in the Last Judgement. In a tripartite composition on B.L., Stowe 944. f. 6 (*ca* ?1031; Winchester, New Minster), the Virgin and St Peter attend the ascendant Christ (depicted in Majesty), while King Cnut (*ca* 995-1035) and Queen Ælfgifu (*ca* 985-1040) present the high altar cross to the New Minster at Winchester in the presence of its brethren.¹⁰⁶ While the image records a significant event in the New Minster's foundation, its spatial arrangement and constituent elements are suggestive of eschatological commentary. The New Minster's brethren, occupying the lowest "register" in this tripartite design and all with upturned heads, are guided Heavenward by Cnut's and Ælfgifu's benefaction in the form of the altar cross. Angels engaging with the king and queen motion toward Christ, acknowledging the piety and consequence of this donation.¹⁰⁷ The Virgin and St Peter, flanking Christ's mandorla, act as intercessors, prefiguring the Faithful's eventual ascendancy through the conduit of the cross. In B.L., Stowe 944,

¹⁰⁴ Other examples include B.L., Cotton, *Vespasian A. VIII*, f. 2v (*ca* post-966; New Minster, Winchester; illustrated in E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2*. Gen. ed. E. Alexander (London 1976), fig. 84.

¹⁰⁵ Other examples include B.L., Stowe 944, f. 7 (*ca* ?1031; New Minster, Winchester; see Appendix 2, pl. 167).

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix 2; pl. 162.

¹⁰⁷ The altar cross can be considered a conduit through which salvation/Resurrection is realized.

Peter is also depicted as an agent in a Last Judgment scene (ff. 6v-7), rescuing a soul from the Devil by smiting him with his characteristic keys and conducting the Blessed to the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁰⁸ In the lowest register, an angel locks the gates of Hell, employing a naturalistic key, markedly dissimilar to those carried by Peter, supporting the contention that schematized keys with adorsed heads (including those with folded termini) are particular examples of Late Saxon Petrine iconography. On Cotton, Titus D. XXVI, f. 19v (ca 1023-1035; Winchester, New Minster), Peter is seated on a dais within a colonnaded, architectural frame, akin to traditional, Italianate, Evangelist portraiture.¹⁰⁹ Peter's schematized keys, here reduced to conjoined shafts surmounted by a square, quadripartite motif, reinforce this apparent association with the Gospels. However, Peter's disproportionate size to the donor, Abbot Aelfwine, is suggestive of Early Christian and Byzantine donor-portraits in which Christ is noticeably larger than the benefactor.¹¹⁰ This apparent adoption of a stylistic formula typical of Christ-portraiture seemingly suggests that Peter occupied a pre-eminent station in Late Saxon theology (at least that attributed to Winchester).

In addition to such visual evidence, homiletic discourse also suggests that Peter's roles in Late Saxon theology were significant. *Vercelli Homily XV*, for example,¹¹¹ characterizes Peter (Christ's "chief thane") as an arbiter of salvation:

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix 2, p. 167. This scene is also suggestive of Christ's promise to Peter ("I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven". Matt., 16:19), which Hawkes notes "functioned as a reference to the salvation Christ offered the Church on earth through his apostle, [Peter]". Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix 2, pl. 166. See also Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 286, f. 129v (ca late sixth century; Rome; illustrated in Holländer, *Early Medieval*, fig. 10; Royal Library, Stockholm, A 135, f. 9v (ca second half of eighth century; Canterbury; illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 14); Municipal Library, Trier, Cod. 22, f. 85v (ca 800; Aachen; illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 39); Bibl. Mun. 11, f. 107 (late tenth century; St Bertin; illustrated in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 145); or Pierpont Morgan Lib. 827, f. 98v (ca 1000; English additions—?Canterbury; illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 146).

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the apse mosaics in Santa Prassede, Rome, San Vitale, Ravenna (illustrated in X. Barral I Altet, *The Early Middle Ages: From Late Antiquity to A.D. 1000* (Cologne 2002), pp. 69, 135).

¹¹¹ The *Vercelli Book* was probably compiled at either Winchester or Canterbury. Its precise date is also unclear, though it is generally attributed to the mid-ninth or late-tenth century. For a concise

And then, still further, there will be a very great, vast throng of sinful souls. And then will arise the holy St Peter, His chief thane, very sorrowful and very sad and with many sorrowful tears, and he with great humility will fall at the feet of the Savior and at his knees. And he will say: 'My Lord, my Lord Almighty, you gave me and you entrusted to me the key of heaven's kingdom, and also (the key) of hell-torments, so that I might bind as many on earth as I wished and release as many as I wished ...'¹¹²

Later in *Homily XV*, Peter's responsibility for the damned is emphasized, reflecting the homily's subject (Judgement Day) and its resultant foreboding tone:

Then the devils will gather together and will drive the sinful and anxious souls to hell. And the holy Peter will go with (them) and will bear the key of hell in his hands ... And then St Peter will go thence to the door of hell. He will lock the door of hell after the souls of the wretched are in that eternal hell and in that eternal torment, and the devils with them. And then St Peter will go thence from the door of hell. He will then toss the sad key over (his) back into hell. This will he do because he may not look upon the great sorrow and on the great lamentation and on the great weeping which the wretched souls suffer with the devils in hell's torments.¹¹³

This active participation in judgement and salvation has been interpreted by Thompson as evidence that Peter may have been perceived as the guardian of the dead in Late Saxon England.¹¹⁴ Thus, when the Blickling homilist recounts the story of the son who asks Christ for permission to bury his father (Matt. 8:22; Luke 9:60),

summary of the *Vercelli Book's* chronology and place of composition, see P.E. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli homilies ix-xxiii* (Toronto; London 1981), p. xx.

¹¹² J.A. Strebinger, trans., "Homily XV", *The Vercelli Book Homilies: Translations from the Anglo-Saxon*, ed. L.E. Nicholson (Lanham, Maryland; London 1991), pp. 97-103, at 101-102. "ḡ þonne bið ðær gyt swiðe mycel werod ḡ swiðe ofermætlice mycel behindan þara synful/Ira sawla. ḡ þonne arised se halga sanctus Petrus, his ealdorþegn, swiðe sarig ḡ swiðe dreorig ḡ mid miclan sarigan tearum. ḡ he ðonne mid myclum eadmedum fealleð to ðæs Hælendes fotum ḡ to his cneowum. ḡ he ðonne cweð: 'Min Dryhten, min Drihten ælmihtig, ðu me sealdest ḡ me geudest heofonarices cægan ḡ eac hellewita þæt ic moste swylcne gebindan on eorðan, swylcne ic þonne wolde, ḡ swylcne alysan, swylcne ic wolde". P.E. Szarmach, "Homily XV, fols 80 v-85 v", *Vercelli homilies ix-xxiii*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 35-41, at 38.

¹¹³ Strebinger, trans., "Homily XV", p. 102. "ḡ þonne gesamniað ða dioflu hie tosomne ḡ hie ðonne drifað þa synfullan ḡ þa cearfullan sawla to helle. ḡ se halga Petrus gæð mid ḡ bereð hellecægan on handa ... ḡ þonne wendeð sanctus Petrus þanon <to> helledura. ḡ he beluceð þa helleduru syðþan þa earman sawla bioð in ða ecan helle ḡ in ða ecan cwylmnesse, ḡ ða deofla mid him. ḡ þonne wendeð him sanctus Petrus þanon fram þære helledura. ḡ he ðonne weorpeð ða cearfullan cæge ofer bæc in on þa helle. Ðis he deð forðam þe he ne mæg locian on ðæt mycle sar ḡ on ðam myclan wanunge ḡ on ðam myclan wope þe þa earman sawla dreogað mid ðam deoflum in helleintrego". Szarmach, "Homily XV, fols 80 v-85 v", p. 38.

¹¹⁴ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 129-131, at 131.

he is identified with Peter: “how the Lord spoke to Peter, when he asked that he might go and bury his father”.¹¹⁵ Though no scriptural or exegetical explanation is presented for this association, Thompson suggests that the homilist perhaps assumed “that Peter was the disciple most likely to express concern for the dead”.¹¹⁶ Collectively, these passages from the *Vercelli* and *Blickling Homilies* suggest that the Petrine iconography associated with the Winchester School (exhibiting interest in the saint’s attributes and responsibilities) are not affectations or idiosyncrasies of a particular workshop or artistic movement; interpreted with homiletic discourse, they seemingly reflect a broader consensus concerning Peter’s eschatological significance in Late Saxon England.

Thus, based on artistic and literary evidence from West Saxon *milieux*, it is probable that St Peter played a significant role in tenth- and eleventh-century English eschatology, seemingly acting as intercessor, defender and even adjudicator. As his prominence in Last Judgement imagery associated with Winchester is possibly attributable to his status as a patron saint of the New Minster, it might not be surprising to see such an emphasis on Petrine iconography. However, his specific association with eschatological themes is indicative of wider concerns, and in this context, the potential symbolic reference to his keys in the tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglian “Type 2” monuments may reflect similar interests.

Another motif that is potentially suggestive of eschatological concerns (represented by Fenland recumbent monuments Types “2” and “5”) is a cruciform with semi-circular shaft-terminus/termini (see above, pp. 136, 138, figs. 11, 13).¹¹⁷ This arrangement might be understood as an apparent reference to Golgotha, or

¹¹⁵ “*hu Drihten cwæþ to Petre, þa he bæd þæt he moste faran 7 his fæder bebyrgen*”. Quoted in Thompson, *Dying and Death*, p. 131.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ “Type 5” monuments exhibit only one semi-circular shaft-terminus.

Calvary, which the four Gospels record as the site of Christ's crucifixion.¹¹⁸ In late classical and early medieval iconography, the crucifixion cross on Golgotha is usually evoked by a cruciform on a hill or a raised base.¹¹⁹ The presence of the cup-shape on the Fenland monuments thus provides, perhaps, the most compelling evidence that their decorative programmes were inspired by eschatological concerns and the Final Resurrection of the Dead.

Such references are also seemingly reflected in the quadripartite spatial arrangement of Fenland monuments Types "2"- "5", an apparent reference to the Gospels and the Evangelists. In the Old Testament, Ezekiel's vision of four creatures is associated with the revelation of Yahweh's divinity,¹²⁰ and in the New Testament, his vision is employed as evidence for the majesty and divinity of Christ.¹²¹ In the Apocalyptic visions of St John, four winged creatures (a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle) appear among cosmic portents in association with Christ's celestial throne,¹²² forming what O'Reilly terms (referencing ninth-century manuscript art), "an extended theophany evoking all creation, encompassing all time and space".¹²³ In patristic exegesis, the winged creatures were integrated with existing cosmological schemata. These theories of the nature of the cosmos were informed by the

¹¹⁸ Matthew, 27:33; Mark 15:22; Luke 23:33; John 19:17.

¹¹⁹ Examples include Tatian's *Diatessaron* (ca 175—surviving as a sixteenth-century Persian copy; illustrated in C. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: book illumination in the British Isles, 600-800* (London 1977), p. 20); English and Irish High Cross of various dates; the Crucifixion scene on the east face of the North Cross at Sandbach, Ch. (ca ninth century; illustrated in Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 38, fig. 2.5); or Pierpont Morgan Lib. 869, f. 9v (ca 990-1000; Canterbury; illustrated in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 171). From the seventh century onwards, Golgotha is sometimes represented by what Hawkes characterizes as an "amorphous mass of curves". See also Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 41. Examples of such depictions include the seventh- or eighth-century Palestinian casket in the Vatican; the eighth-century frescos at Sta Maria Antiqua (Rome); or the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter (all illustrated in G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols., trans. J. Seligman (London 1972), II, pls. 329, 328, 355).

¹²⁰ Ezek., 1:4-16.

¹²¹ J. O'Reilly, "Patristic and insular traditions of the evangelists: exegesis and iconography", *Le Isole Britanniche e Roma in età Romanobarbarica*, eds. A. Fadda and É. Ó Carragáin (Rome 1998), pp. 49-94, at 54.

¹²² Rev., 4-7.

¹²³ O'Reilly, "Patristic and insular traditions of the evangelists", p. 54.

understanding that matter, time and space were each quadripartite phenomenon, illustrated by the humours or temperaments (blood/sanguine, yellow bile/choleric, black bile/melancholic and phlegm/phlegmatic); the elements (earth, air, water and fire); their properties (cold, dryness, moisture and heat); the seasons (Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter); and the cardinal directions or winds (North, South, East and West).¹²⁴ The unity of this quadripartite world emanated from God, was manifested in Christ and was “revealed in the harmonious testimony of the four gospels”.¹²⁵

Within the context of such early medieval iconography, several scholars have suggested that Evangelist symbols and/or their iconographic referents may have been imbued with apotropaic potency. Citing manuscripts and book-covers, for example, Kitzinger posits that Evangelist imagery may have protected both the sacred object (the book) and the scripture itself from malevolent agency.¹²⁶ Nees suggests that this theory is also applicable to the Evangelist symbols page (f. 2r) in the mid-seventh century *Book of Durrow* and contends that the imagery on Cuthbert’s reliquary coffin is further evidence of the apparent protection afforded by Evangelist images and/or symbols.¹²⁷ Late Saxon literary accounts further support such apparent references to apotropaim. For example, a tenth-century medicinal book conflates Evangelistic protection with the Cross. In its direction for fertilizing bewitched

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* See also R. McNally, “The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin Tradition”, *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden Kollegen und Schülern* herausgegeben, eds. J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl (Stuttgart 1971), pp. 111-122 (*passim*).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* Following Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (ca 175), Christian apologists demonstrated that the Evangelist’s accounts were, in fact, one Gospel “whose fourfold expression revealed distinctive but entirely complementary facets of the same source and truth. This was given practical demonstration in concordances, notably the canon tables devised by Eusebius of Caesarea”. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. Ælfric expresses this concept in a homily (alluding to the four rivers of Paradise, Gen. 2:10-14) in which the Evangelists are characterized as four rivers flowing from one source. See also H. Merkel, *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien: Ihre polemische und apologetische Behandlung in der Alten Kirche bis zu Augustin* (Tübingen 1971), *passim*.

¹²⁶ E. Kitzinger, “A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure”, *Gatherings for Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. U. McCracken, L. Randall and R. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore 1974), pp. 3-17, *passim*.

¹²⁷ L. Nees, “A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the *Book of Durrow*”, *Gesta* 17.1 (1978), pp. 3-8, at 5ff.

fields, the text prescribes that four crosses, each bearing the Evangelists' names on its four termini, were to be buried in the corners of sterile fields amid ceremonies, including prayers and libations.¹²⁸ This conflation is also demonstrated in an eleventh-century protective verse, invoking the Cross and "Matthew as helmet, Mark a byrnie [a cuirass], Luke my sword [and] John my shield".¹²⁹ Based on such artistic and literary evidence, it seems probable that Evangelistic imagery (especially when associated with a cross) could convey apotropaic or talismanic themes throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, including the tenth and later eleventh centuries.

Within this context, the rectilinear, interlaced panels characteristic of the Fenland recumbent monuments may also be regarded as having functioned as protective motifs.¹³⁰ In response to Leroy's assertion that miniature crosses at the beginning and end of Syriac manuscripts (from as early as the sixth century) acted as talismans,¹³¹ Nees interprets the interlaced decoration on the *Book of Durrow's* Evangelist symbols page in the context of the apotropaic function of knots, suggesting that plait may have served a similar purpose, especially when associated with a cruciform.¹³² As evidence, he reproduces a miniature from Universitätsbibliothek, cod., Salem X. 12a (*ca* late eighth to early ninth c.; ?North Italian), comprising a central, interlaced cross, with overt apotropaic inscriptions in

¹²⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 5. See also J. Grattan and S. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (London 1952), pp. 62-63.

¹²⁹ Quoted in Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p. 67.

¹³⁰ As discussed in chapter four, the centrally-placed cruciform on Fenland monuments Types "2"- "5" is surrounded by four interlaced panels; Types "1" and "6" exhibit two panels. Peterborough 14 ("Type 1"; lost, Fox's identifier) is anomalous, exhibiting six knots. See above, p. 136, fig. 11.

¹³¹ J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 77 (Paris 1964), pp. 113ff.

¹³² Nees, "A Fifth-Century Book Cover", p. 6. See also C. Day, *Quipus and Witches's Knots* (Lawrence, Kansas 1967), pp. 51ff; and E. Kitzinger, "The Threshold of the Holy Shrine. Observations on Floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem", *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, eds. P. Granfield and J.A. Jungmann (Berlin 1970), pp. 639 ff., esp. p. 642 and n. 21.

its quadrants: “† HIC ARMA FIDES FIDELES IN NOMINE ... ”¹³³ (“† In this armour, Faithful belief in naming ... ”). He concludes that the “combination of Evangelist symbols, cross and interlace in a single image” is demonstrative of significant apotropaic force.¹³⁴ Late Saxon literary accounts support this contention that knots and interlace were talismanic; eleventh-century penitential manuscripts, for example, stipulate penances “for the sin of making knots and interlace as ... amulets”.¹³⁵

Depiction of the four evangelists (or their symbols) in the interstices of cross-arms is also suggestive of *loca sanctis*. Werner argues (again, referencing the *Book of Durrow*) that such images:

evoke the idea of the Cross of Golgotha ..., identified with the four rivers in the garden where stood the Tree of Life—Golgotha Cross—the Tree guarded by cherubim, themselves equated with the four Apocalyptic Creatures.¹³⁶

To support of this interpretation, he observes that the portraits on the *Book of Durrow*'s Evangelist symbols page are “emphatically” upright; its upper quadrants are square while the lower are rectangular; and the base of the cross-shaft is “demonstrably” taller than the other terminals (see fig. 34, below).¹³⁷ Together, these unusual features define the cross as upright.¹³⁸

¹³³ Nees, “A Fifth-Century Book Cover”, p. 6, fig. 5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Though entirely conjectural, it is possible that the four-cord plait characteristic of the Fenland recumbent monuments' interlaced panels is an Evangelistic reference.

¹³⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 8. See also K. Clasen, “Die Überwindung des Bösen”, *Neue Beiträge Deutscher Forschung, Festschrift W. Worringer*, ed. E. Figger (Königsberg 1943), pp. 13 ff.

¹³⁶ Werner, “The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow”, p. 222.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

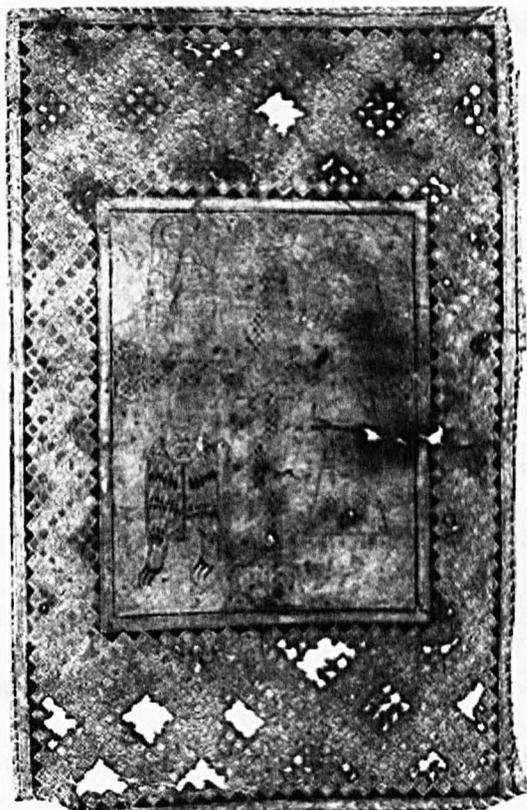


Fig. 34. *Dublin Trinity College MS 57 (A.iv.5), f. 2r.*
 <<http://faculty.luther.edu/~martinka/art43/daily/2nd/dur3.jpg>>.

In this context, the juxtaposition of “long” and “short” quadrants in the interstices of the cross-arms depicted on the Fenland recumbent monuments (see above, p. 136, fig. 11), might also be understood as evoking free-standing monuments. Thus, like the double-armed motif, the cross surrounded by four interlaced panels might also suggest a *locus sanctus* (Golgotha) in addition to the complex matrix of ideas surrounding the universal relevance of the message of the Evangelists and the salvation to which they bear witness.¹³⁹

Thus, in the context of Anglo-Saxon artistic and literary evidence, together with supporting material from Continental and other sources, it seems not unreasonable to regard the Fenland recumbent monuments’ decorative programmes, including their characteristic motifs and spatial arrangement, as reflecting the eschatological concerns current in tenth- and eleventh-century England. The design

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

and orientation of the slabs' decoration is seemingly influenced by manuscript art, specifically, quadripartite Evangelist symbol pages. Though such *folia* are characteristic of pre-tenth-century manuscripts,¹⁴⁰ Evangelist symbols are also depicted in later Anglo-Saxon examples (albeit without the quadripartite arrangement), including B.L., MS. Add. 47967 (*ca* 1025-1050; Winchester),¹⁴¹ and knowledge of their four-part harmony in relation to the Gospels and their message of salvation continued into this later period. Therefore, it seems not unlikely that knowledge of the symbolic references inherent in the four-symbols pages was preserved to be (re-) introduced to the iconography of the Fenland carvings in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Considering the province's most influential houses, including Ely and Peterborough, were either founded or refounded during the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, this explanation seems not implausible. As evidenced by a variety of sources, including the depiction of Cnut's and Ælfgyfu's benefaction to the New Minster at Winchester on B.L. Stowe, 944 f. 6, the foundation of religious houses was characterized by donation of precious objects;¹⁴² this seems to have been the case earlier at Ely under Byrhtnoth (a member of the Wessex court; see above, pp. 113-115). As part of such proceedings, gospel books (probably illustrated and usually with covers and bindings of ivory, gold or silver) were included in the donations and recorded in the various inventories of monastic treasures.¹⁴³ Such

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, the books of *Durrow* (*ca* mid to late seventh century; Ireland or Northumbria) and *Kells* (*ca* early ninth century; ?Iona, ?Ireland, or ?Northumbria). Luce, *et al.*, *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, I, p. 2r; and E. Alton, *et al.*, *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Cenannensi*, 3 vols. (Olten, Lausanne 1950-1951), I, p. 27v.

¹⁴¹ Illustrated in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 28.

¹⁴² See also Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, *passim*, esp. pp. 129-130, 195-215.

¹⁴³ The account of Benedict Biscop's acquisitions in Rome (including books) for his new church at Wearmouth is well-known, as is Æthelwold's donation of gospel books to Abingdon with precious covers. See Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 129, 203. "*Innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam adportauit*"; "*magna ... copia uoluminum sacrorum ... ditatus*"; "*Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque aduexerat*". Bede, "*Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda*", *Venerabilis*

objects may have been of considerable age, thereby preserving exemplars of four-symbols pages, or contemporary commissions based on traditional designs. This latter theory is consistent with the Reform movement's promotion of eighth-century monasticism as the ideal (with respect to piety and conduct) to which the ecclesiastics of the tenth and eleventh centuries should aspire.

Consequently, it seems not unreasonable to view the iconography of the Fenland recumbent monuments as expressions of Late Saxon eschatology, demonstrating concerns current in the period (which received their clearest articulation in the art produced at Winchester), and perhaps employing archaizing methods consistent with Reformist doctrine. In this context, the sculptors' apparent familiarity with the symbolic references inherent in the earlier four-symbols pages might well illustrate dialogue between monastic *ateliers*, suggesting that the recumbent monuments were either produced in monastic workshops or by sculptors familiar with eschatological iconography who moved between sites. Collectively, this diverse evidence would suggest a greater exchange between manuscript and sculptural art in the tenth and eleventh centuries than has perhaps been previously acknowledged.¹⁴⁴

5.C.v. *Small Crosses—Style and Significance*

In Plunkett's assessment of ninth-century Midlands' sculpture, he suggests that the small crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group demonstrate quite different intent

Baedae Opera Historica, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford 1896), I, pp. 364-387. "... *Beatus Atheluuoldus ... domum istam ornamentis ditavit pretiosissimis ... Ornavit etiam ecclesiam textis tam ex argento puro quam ex auro obrizo pariter et lapidibus pretiosissimis*". J. Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon Abingdon—Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, 2 vols. (London 1858), I, p. 344. Book-covers of precious material were usually associated with Gospel Books in the Anglo-Saxon period. See Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 201-203.

¹⁴⁴ See Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period", pp. 198-199.

and production.¹⁴⁵ He characterizes ninth-century stone crosses as “esoteric monastic [creations]”,¹⁴⁶ yet, he observes that the Fenland crosses are “apparently mass-produced objects”¹⁴⁷ and notes that those sculptures related to them stylistically (including Peterborough Cathedral 4) “undergo increasing simplification and degeneration”.¹⁴⁸ Implicit in this apparent dichotomy is the contention that stone crosses carved in the tenth and eleventh centuries were disassociated from literary *milieux*.¹⁴⁹ However, the form and decoration of the Fenland crosses seemingly evoke the eschatological themes promoted by Late Saxon homilists. While Plunkett’s hypothesis that these sculptures are illustrative of a masonry industry is corroborated by the stylistic uniformity of extant evidence, their iconography suggests wider, perhaps institutional Christian manufacture.

For example, like the recumbent slabs, the small Fenland crosses are iconographically consistent with eschatological concerns articulated in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Based on evidence from Stapleford, C, rectilinear bases were integrated in their monolithic design.¹⁵⁰ The Stapleford cross-base is decorated on either narrow face with a quadripartite type “B-1” knot,¹⁵¹ seemingly confirming that the bases were visible, resting above ground. Thus, the crosses apparently constitute tangible referents to Golgotha or Calvary and the Crucifixion. If this is indeed the case, they might also evoke the Final Resurrection.

¹⁴⁵ Plunkett terms the Fenland crosses the “Cambridge school crosses”. See Plunkett, “Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture”, pp. 165. Like the Fenland recumbent monuments, Plunkett suggests that the crosses might perpetuate earlier East Midlands’ sculptural traditions in wood. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁴⁹ Plunkett does acknowledge that the Fenland crosses may have been produced in monastic *ateliers*, though he does not explore this possibility, or the sculptures’ iconographical associations, in any detail. *Ibid.* He is seemingly influenced by Cramp’s contention that tenth- and eleventh-century sculpture is evidence “for the popularisation, even vulgarisation, of the reform”. Cramp, “Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period”, p. 199.

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix 1, pp. 395-396; pls. 130-133.

¹⁵¹ Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xlv, fig. 25.

Furthermore, much of the decoration of the small extant crosses, including the rectilinear interlaced panels that ornament their broad faces, is also organisationally quadripartite (see above, pp. 154-155, figs. 17-18; and e.g. Appendix 1, pl. 130), and so perhaps evokes the Evangelical apotropaism discussed by Nees and seemingly demonstrated by the recumbent slabs.¹⁵² The crosses' Evangelistic association is perhaps further emphasized through the manner in which their four arms are delineated around a central boss (see above, pp. 154-155, figs. 17-18; and e.g. Appendix 1, pl. 30).¹⁵³ This apparent skeuomorphic assemblage is a possible reference to the four winged beasts surrounding the celestial throne, as recounted in the vision of St John.¹⁵⁴

Given that vinescroll (sometimes inhabited) often decorates the narrow faces of early Anglo-Saxon stone crosses (especially eighth- and ninth-century monuments including Ruthwell (Df), Bewcastle and Irton (both Cu), though later examples are known, such as that Great Ashfield, it is possible that the battlement pattern which decorates the narrow faces of the Fenland crosses provides a skeuomorphic reference to this vegetal motif (see above, pp. 154-155, figs. 17-18; and e.g. Appendix 1, pls.

¹⁵² Cambridge Castle, Stapleford and Willingham (all C) each exhibit four-cord plaitwork on their visible broad faces; Fulbourn, C (see p. 155, fig. 18), preserves four-cord plait on one face and six-cord on the other; Whissonsett, Nf, exhibits median-incised four-cord plait on its visible face (according to Fox, a type "D" Closed Circuit pattern ornaments its other face). See p. 154, fig. 17; Appendix 1, pp. 361, 395-396, 401-402, 333-334; pls. 85-87, 130-133, 148, 150-151, 30-32; Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xlii, fig. 24.

¹⁵³ Exceptions include the Cambridge Castle and Willingham crosses. While the Cambridge Castle Cross preserves a central boss, and its profile is suggestive of four cross-arms, its decoration distinguishes only three. The Willingham Cross, surviving only in fragmentary state, preserves evidence suggesting four decorated cross-arms but no central boss. See above, pp. 154-155, figs. 17-18.

¹⁵⁴ Rev. 4:6. Some early medieval Christ in Majesty scenes replicate this spatial organization, depicting Christ surrounded by the Evangelists and/or by their symbols. For example, see Württemberger Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. II, 40, fol. 1b (Tours, ca 830), illustrated in Höllander, *Early Medieval*, pl. 58; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. MS lat. 1, fol. 330b (Tours, 845-846); illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. 59; Domschatz, Aachen. Fol. 16r (Trier, ca 1000); illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. 105 (employing the spatial organization of Christ in Majesty iconography, but depicting ?Otto III).

131, 133).¹⁵⁵ If so, then the arrangement can be regarded as a multivalent symbol, evoking Christ, the Church, its sacraments and salvation,¹⁵⁶ a motif also consistent with Late Saxon eschatological thought.

5.C.vi. Monumental Crosses—Style, Date and Significance

Although the Great Ashfield Cross, like some of the small Fenland crosses, also exhibits vinescroll, the debased version extant on faces “B” and “D”, characterized by plain pendent leaves akin to the “half-moon” variety,¹⁵⁷ has no definitive stylistic exemplars, though its “nearest analogies” are the seventh-century Digby (L) cross-shaft and ninth-century Trewhiddle style metalwork, including the Kersey (Sf) sword;¹⁵⁸ it could thus be considered to evoke the archaism characteristic of the Fenland recumbent monuments generally.

As recounted in John’s Gospel, vinescroll connotes Christ’s nurturing of the Christian community through his Church:

I am the true vine and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away, and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it that it may bring forth more fruit ... Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without ye can do nothing.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. II, p. 19, ills. 686-687; pp. 63-64, ills. 91-93; pp. 116-117, ills. 356, 358; p. 29, fig. 6. A vinescroll also ornaments the Bewcastle shaft’s east face (broad).

¹⁵⁶ Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁷ Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xxvi, fig. 11; Appendix 1, pl. 41.

¹⁵⁸ Plunkett, “Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture”, p. 347; D.M. Wilson and C. Blunt, “The Trewhiddle Hoard”, *Archaeologia* 98 (1961), pp. 75-122, at fig. 1c and pl. 23b; D. Wilson, “Some neglected Anglo-Saxon Swords”, *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965), pp. 32-54, at pp. 37-38.

¹⁵⁹ John, 15:1-5; “*Ego sum vitis vera et Pater meus agricola est omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum tollet eum et omnem qui fert fructum purgabit eum ut fructum plus adferat iam vos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum vobis manete in me et ego in vobis sicut palmes non potest ferre fructum a semet ipso nisi manserit in vite sic nec vos nisi in me manseritis ego sum vitis vos palmities qui manet in me et ego in eo hic fert fructum multum quia sine me nihil potestis facere*”. B. Fischer, et al., eds. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (1969; Stuttgart 1994), p. 1686.

Berries depicted in vinescroll are a potential reference to Christ's blood and the Crucifixion.¹⁶⁰ If the scroll is inhabited, as at Ruthwell and Bewcastle where animals feed on the berries, then the Eucharist and salvation are also potentially evoked.¹⁶¹ However, as suggested by Revelation, vinescroll could also represent the Tree of Life:

And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.¹⁶²

Association of vinescroll with the Tree of Life invests the motif with references to Paradise and eternity.¹⁶³ O'Reilly has demonstrated that vinescroll's mutivalency was accepted by the eighth century, evidenced by its explicit representation on the baptismal font at Cividale.¹⁶⁴ According to Hawkes (after O'Reilly), this complex scene, comprising evangelist symbols in roundels flanking an inhabited vine surmounted by a cross and two candlesticks, "[signifies] the unity between ... the

¹⁶⁰ Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 91.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* This is suggested by Bede in his homily on Luke's account of the Ascension: "*Botus quippe uecti inpositum dominus est in cruce exaltatum qui dicit: Ego sum uitis uera; et alibi poculum uini discipulis porrigens: Hic est calix, inquit, nouum testamentum in sanguine meo quod pro uobis fundetur*". / "The cluster of grapes on the pole is our Lord exalted on the Cross, he who said 'I am the true vine'. And elsewhere, as he was extending the cup of wine to his disciples, he said: 'This chalice is the new Covenant in my blood, which will be poured out for you'". D. Hurst and J. Fraipont, C.C.S.L. 122: *Beda Venerabilis opera, pars 3, opera homiletica 4* (Tournhout 1955), pp. 280-281 (text); L. Martin and D. Hurst, eds., *Bede The Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols., (Kalamazoo 1991), II, p. 136 (translation).

¹⁶² Rev., 22:1-2. "*Et ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae splendidum tamquam cristallum procedentem de sede Dei et agni in medio plateau eius et ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitae adferens fructus duodecim per menses singula reddentia fructum suum et folia ligni ad sanitatem gentium*". Fischer, *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Sacra*, p. 1905.

¹⁶³ Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 91; see also E Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree", *Traditio* 10 (1954), 323-371, at 331-337; J. O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography", *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*, eds. P. Morris and D. Sawyer (Sheffield 1992), pp. 167-204, at 170; J. Hawkes, "The Plant-life of early Christian Anglo-Saxon Art", *From Earth to Art: the Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. C. Biggam (Amsterdam 2002), pp. 257-280, *passim*.

¹⁶⁴ O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden", p. 176.

vine and the Tree of Life ... , between the 'vine-tree', the cross and Crucifixion and the eucharistic (re-)enactment of, and participation in, that mystery".¹⁶⁵

Building on such well-established interpretations, another theme early associated with the vinescroll has particular significance within a Late Saxon context. In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul argued:

That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.¹⁶⁶

This passage is often employed in discussions of "ascension" via the Tree of Life or a metaphorical, spiritual ladder. Patristic commentaries on the epistle associate Christ's love, spatially, with the Cross, suggesting that Christ's out-stretched arms embrace the world and present it to the Father; thus, the cross is the conduit through which the soul ascends.¹⁶⁷ The terms "rooted" and "grounded" suggest that the cross was also understood as a tree (the cosmological tree, an *axis mundi*, rooted in Calvary).¹⁶⁸ This conduit is interpreted, synonymously, as a ladder, sometimes associated with Jacob's, during the ascent of which, righteous souls attain greater virtue.¹⁶⁹ For example, in the early Christian poem *De Pascha* (which circulated

¹⁶⁵ Paraphrased in Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 92; see O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden", p. 176.

¹⁶⁶ Eph., 3:17-19. "*Habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris in caritate radicati et fundati ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit latitudo et longitudo et sublimitas et profundum scire etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei*". Fischer, et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra*, p. 1811.

¹⁶⁷ Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* See Augustine, *Sermo LIII: de verbis Evangelii Matthaei*, v, 3-8, *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, ed. J-P. Migne (Paris 1844-1864), 38, pp. 364-372, at 371; *Sermo CLXV: de verbis Apostoli, Ephes. Iii, 13-18*, *Patrologia Cursus*, ed. Migne, 38, pp. 902-907, at 904; *De Doctrina Christiana II, xli. 62, C.C.S.L. 32: Aurelii Augustini opera, pars 4.i: de Doctrina Christiana*, eds. D. Daur and J. Martin (Tournhout 1962), pp. 75-76; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Ephesios II.iii*, *Patrologia Cursus*, 26, p. 522; Rabanus Maurus, *Enarrationum in Epistolas Beati Pauli, XVIII.iii*, *Patrologia Cursus*, 112, p. 423. For discussions of the cross as the conduit of ascension, see A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London 1934), *passim*; Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree", pp. 331-337; J. Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954), *passim*; J. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York; London 1988), pp 349-359; and *idem*, "*Traditio Evangeliorum*"

widely in the early medieval period, demonstrated by several extant manuscripts) both Christ and the Church are evoked by the metaphor of the tree;¹⁷⁰ and in *De Catachysmo ad Catechumenos*, a sermon on baptism attributed to either Augustine or Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage (ca 390-453), the cross is associated with Christ, the Tree of Jesse and a ladder with four stations, which Hawkes observes is “identical with the four dimensions of the cross, through which the souls of the blessed ascend to heaven with Christ”.¹⁷¹ These associations clearly had a resonance in Late Saxon England, evidenced by their discussion in contemporary literature, including Æthelwold’s *Regularis Concordia*, referencing the Rule of St Benedict, in which earthly existence is equated with a ladder, or the Tree of Life, reaching heavenward.¹⁷² The references to spiritual nourishment and salvation (implicit in the iconography of vinescroll) are also consistent with Late Saxon eschatology, as preserved in homiletic discourse.¹⁷³

and ‘Sustentatio’: the Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells”, *The Book of Kells*, ed. F. O’Mahony (Dublin 1994), pp. 398-436, at 391.

¹⁷⁰ Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 74; Cyprianus, “*De Pascha*”, *Opera*. Ed. W. Hartel, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3, 3 pts. ([Leipzig] 1868-1871), iii, p. 305. The extant copies are Munich, MS Clm. 208 and Troyes, Bibl. Mun. MS 581 (ca late-eighth or early ninth c.; Salzburg and St Amand, respectively) and Paris, B.N. Parisinus MS 17349 (ca mid-ninth c.; Corbie). See Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 74.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* See also J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Cursus Completus: omnium ss. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum. Series latina*. 221 vols. (Paris 1844-1864), XL, p. 696.

¹⁷² Quoted in Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, p. 73.

¹⁷³ For example, in Ælfric’s “*Dominica IV, Post Pentecosten*”, agriculture is used as a metaphor for spiritual development: “*Ealswa se yrðling lufað ðone æcer, ðe æfter ðornum and bremelum genihtsume wæstmas agifð, swiðor þonne he lufige ðone ðe ðornig næs, ne wæstmbære ne bið*”. “In like manner, the husbandman loves the field which after thorns and brambles yields abundant fruits, more than he loves that which was not thorny nor is fruitful”. Ælfric, “*Dominica IV, Post Pentecosten*”, *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 338-351, at 342-343. And in “*De Dominica Oratione*”, Ælfric explains that sins will be forgiven through nourishing the soul: “*Hraðe se lichama aswint and forweornað, gif him hið oftogen his bigleofa: swa eac seo sawul forwyrð, gif heo næfð þone gaslican bigleofan, þæt sind Godes behoda, on þam heo sceal geðeon and beon gegódad. Eae se gastlica hláf is þæt halige husel, mid þam we getrymmað urne geleafan; and ðurh ðæs halgan husles þygene us beoð ure synna forgyfene, and we beoð gestrangode ongean deofles costnunge. Þi we sceolon gelomlice mid þam gaslican gereorde ure sawle geelænsian and getrymman*”. “The body quickly wastes away and decays, if its sustenance is withdrawn from it: in like manner the soul perishes, if it has not ghostly sustenance, that is God’s commandments, on which it shall thrive and be cherished. The ghostly bread is also the holy housel, with which we confirm our belief; and through partaking of the holy housel our sins will be forgiven us, and we shall be strengthened against the temptations of the devil. Therefore should we frequently cleanse and confirm our soul with ghostly refectation”. Ælfric, “*De Dominica Oratione*”, *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 258-275, at 266-267

Based on extant evidence, however, sculpted depictions of vinescroll on Anglo-Saxon stone crosses are usually associated with pre-tenth-century contexts. Taken together with earlier literary accounts that may have been available to Late Saxon audiences concerning the metaphoric associations of vines, including *De Pascha*, it is possible that the inclusion of vinescroll (or its potential skeuomorphic referents) in sculpted programmes provides a further example of archaizing. Acknowledging its many associations, the vinescroll (uninhabited and without fruit) preserved on faces “B” and “D” of the Great Ashfield Cross can probably be best understood as an allusion to the Tree of Life or a metaphorical ladder, though it is possible that all plant-scrolls (irrespective of secondary elements including fruit and animals) also functioned mnemonically, evoking the vine’s myriad associations. If this is indeed the case, the vinescroll remnant preserved on the broad face of the Kedington Cross (replete with what is possibly spherical fruit) seemingly supporting or perhaps lifting the crucified Christ, could be regarded as a conflated expression of vinescroll’s multiple associations, including the Tree of Life, the Crucifixion and, possibly, the Eucharist.

The Kedington vinescroll is more complex than the Great Ashfield example, exhibiting what is seemingly a backward-turning leaf motif, analogous to the “Hook leaf” form.¹⁷⁴ If the spherical element included in the Kedington scroll is fruit, then its particular form is anomalous in pre-Conquest English sculpture.¹⁷⁵ Based on the Kedington Christ’s straight, outstretched arms, uncrossed feet and its nimbed head inclined to the right, Talbot-Rice attributed the sculpture to the tenth century.¹⁷⁶ Roods and Crucifixions featuring the nimbed Christ, often with his arms held straight

¹⁷⁴ Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xxv, fig. 10.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii, fig. 13.

¹⁷⁶ Talbot-Rice, *English Art 871-1100*, p. 142.

and outstretched, are certainly extant in a variety of late tenth-century media (especially in the West Saxon *milieu*), including manuscripts and carvings in stone, wood and bone.¹⁷⁷ Stylistically, the Kedington Crucifixion's closest parallel is the Christ depicted in the *Sherborne Pontifical* (Sherborne, Do; ca 992-995), which replicates the head-inclination, the slight sway of the torso, the parted, out-turned feet and the relative simplicity of the cross.¹⁷⁸ Like extant East Anglian funerary and monumental sculpture, the iconography of the Kedington Cross is seemingly illustrative of Late Saxon eschatological belief; its stylistic similarities with contemporary Crucifixion iconography in other media, especially manuscripts, seemingly constitutes further evidence of dialogue between monastic *ateliers* in tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia.

5.C.vii. *Summary Conclusions—Sculpture*

Consideration of the motifs characteristic of East Anglia's extant Late Saxon funerary sculpture, in addition to the iconographic significance of the carvings, suggests dating implied by the form of the various monuments (within the context of a tenth and early eleventh century setting) is not inappropriate. Furthermore, the repetition of the motifs and the style in which they have been rendered, imply that the monuments were produced at (or in close association with) monastic *ateliers*. The contemporary monumental figural sculptures also evoke such relationships, but the style and comparatively "masterful" carving associated with such *ateliers* are not

¹⁷⁷ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 347. See, for example, London BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 65v (Winchester, ca tenth century; illustrated in B. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge 1990), pl. VIII; the ivory crucifix reliquary in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (M 7943-1862) (illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. IVb); and the ivory Crucifixion panel in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, inv. no. D. 13324 (illustrated *ibid.*, pl. IVa).

¹⁷⁸ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 347. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943, f. 4v; illustrated in Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pl. I

generally represented by this sculptural group.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4 (see above, pp. 134-158), the Fenland Group's limited repertoire of ornamentation and its repetitious, conservative form are suggestive of an industry of funerary masonry,¹⁸⁰ albeit seemingly informed by the intellectual *milieu* of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

This implies that patrons of funerary sculpture were lay or ecclesiastical persons seeking lesser, probably personal, memorials.¹⁸¹ The distribution of these funerary sculptures is also suggestive of lesser patronage. They are clustered in the north-west and south-east, somewhat north of the Watling Street, which formed the treaty boundary between Alfred's Wessex and Guthrum's East Anglia in 884 (see above, pp. 133-134, figs. 8, 10). Following the dissolution of monastic hegemonies (such as those centred upon Lichfield and *Medeshamstede*) by the advent of Danish settlement and lordship, new political boundaries arose which seemingly facilitated lay-patronage of masonry.¹⁸² However, with the notable exception of the St Vedast Cross, the decoration of the resultant sculptures is not executed in a Scandinavian style nor does it include Scandinavian motifs. This could suggest that cultural expression was medium-specific and/or dictated by context.

5.D. Comparative Material—Metalwork

5.D.i. *Introduction*

By contrast with most of the sculptural evidence, East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork proclaims a very different cultural *milieu*. While these objects (primarily dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings) occasionally exhibit iconographic details

¹⁷⁹ The Kedington Cross is a notable exception.

¹⁸⁰ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 345.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

and/or inscriptions that can be associated with eschatological concerns, the corpus is more generally characterized by a Scandinavian idiom (see Appendix 2, pls. 168-170). This implies that Danish culture had not been subsumed by Anglian traditions in pre-Conquest East Anglia and that object-function apparently dictated choice of decorative style.¹⁸³

Anglo-Scandinavian metal objects have been recovered in large numbers throughout Norfolk and Suffolk.¹⁸⁴ While this could reflect the apparent scale of metal-working in Late Saxon East Anglia, Thomas has observed that it might also demonstrate the impact of mechanized agriculture and/or reflect the growth of the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (see above, pp. 39-41).¹⁸⁵ Though such finds are usually decontextualized, they constitute a diffuse artifact-category, deriving from a range of sites, often independent of excavation (see fig. 35, below).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Though Scandinavian culture was resilient in Late Saxon East Anglia, evidence from Ixworth, Sf, including a chip-carved, disc-head pin, displays the culture's responsiveness to outside stimuli, suggesting that it was continually evolving (see R. Smith, "Anglo-Saxon Remains", *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Suffolk*, gen. ed. W. Page, 2 vols. (London 1911), I, pp. 325-355, at 337, fig. 7).

¹⁸⁴ S. Margeson, "Viking settlement in Norfolk: a study of new evidence", *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology*, eds. S. Margeson, *et al.* (Hunstanton 1996), pp. 47-57, *passim*; *idem*, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 10-40; G. Thomas, "Anglo-Scandinavian metalwork from the Danelaw: exploring social and cultural interaction", *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian settlement in England in the ninth and tenth centuries*, eds. D. Hadley and J. Richards (Turnhout 2000), pp. 237-255, *passim*.

¹⁸⁵ Thomas, "Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork", pp. 238-239.

¹⁸⁶ Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 120.

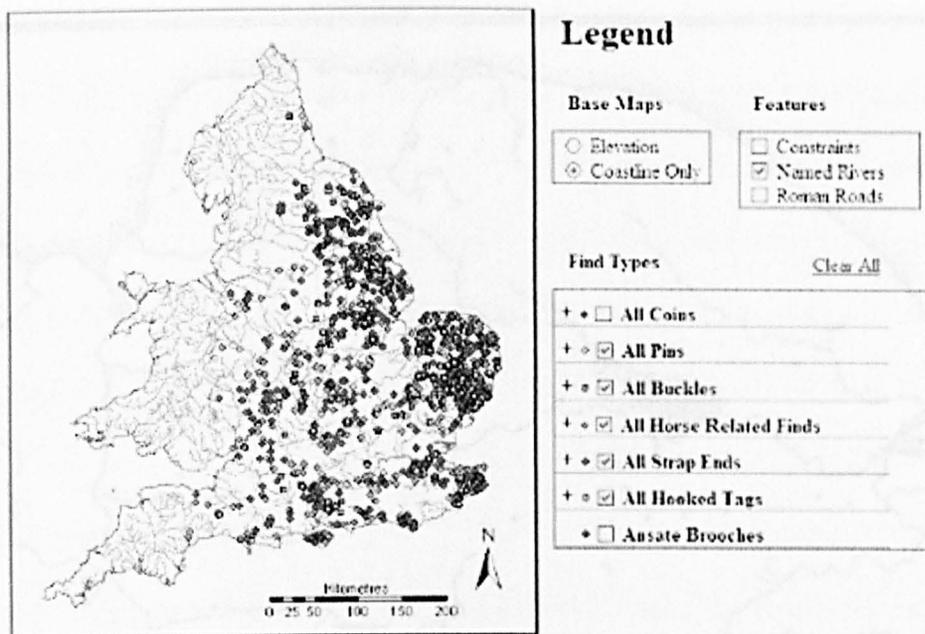


Fig. 35. *Metalwork finds in England by object-type, ca 700-1100* (©Richards, Naylor and Holas-Clark, forthcoming 2008 with modifications by Reed, 2008).¹⁸⁷

While Thomas, Leahy and Paterson have demonstrated that metalwork finds correlate with Scandinavian place-names and with the density of *sokemanii* (perhaps the descendants of Guthrum's "Great Army") in the Lincolnshire *Domesday*,¹⁸⁸ a similar association between artifactual and onomastic evidence has not been observed in East Anglia (compare figs. 36, 37 below).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Taken from J.D. Richards, J. Naylor and C. Holas-Clark, "Anglo-Saxon landscape and economy: using portable antiquities to study Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age England", *Internet Archaeology* 25 (forthcoming 2008). This map employs PAS data and is, therefore, subject to the broad search parameters of its database and is also reliant on the presumed accuracy of find-reporting (as discussed in chapter two). Thus, it is not possible to identify which finds are definitely Late Saxon, though all of the object-types represented were utilized in that period and, like stone sculpture, greater quantities of Late Saxon material survive than evidence from the Early and Middle Saxon periods.

¹⁸⁸ Thomas, "Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork", p. 239; Leahy and Paterson, "New light on the Viking presence in Lincolnshire: the Artefactual Evidence", *Vikings and the Danelaw. Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, eds. J. Graham-Campbell, et al. (Oxford 2001), pp. 181-202, at 189, 183-191. However, Scandinavian place-names, metalwork and *sokemen* do not correlate in the city of Lincoln. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-191.

¹⁸⁹ Margeson has commented on the Norfolk evidence, whereas a study of the relationship between Scandinavian place-names and metalwork in eastern Cambridgeshire and Suffolk has not yet been undertaken. See Margeson, "The Viking Settlement in Norfolk", p. 48.

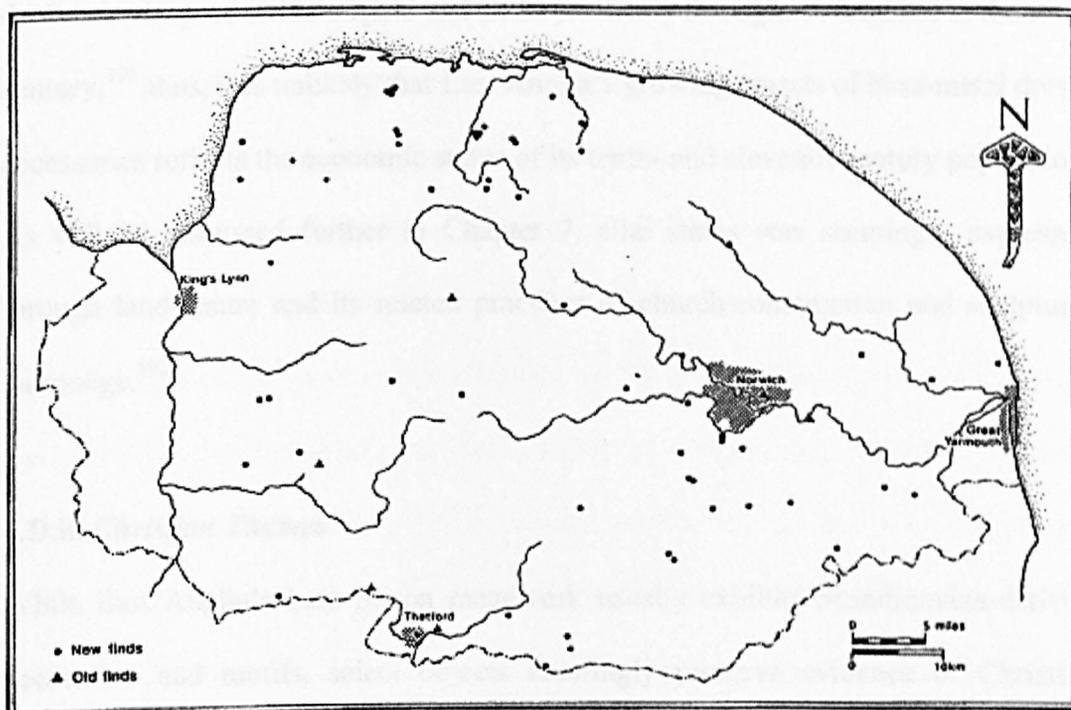


Fig. 36. *Early Scandinavian finds in Norfolk (jewellery, household equipment, weapons and horse-trappings)* by P. Judge (©Margeson, 1997).

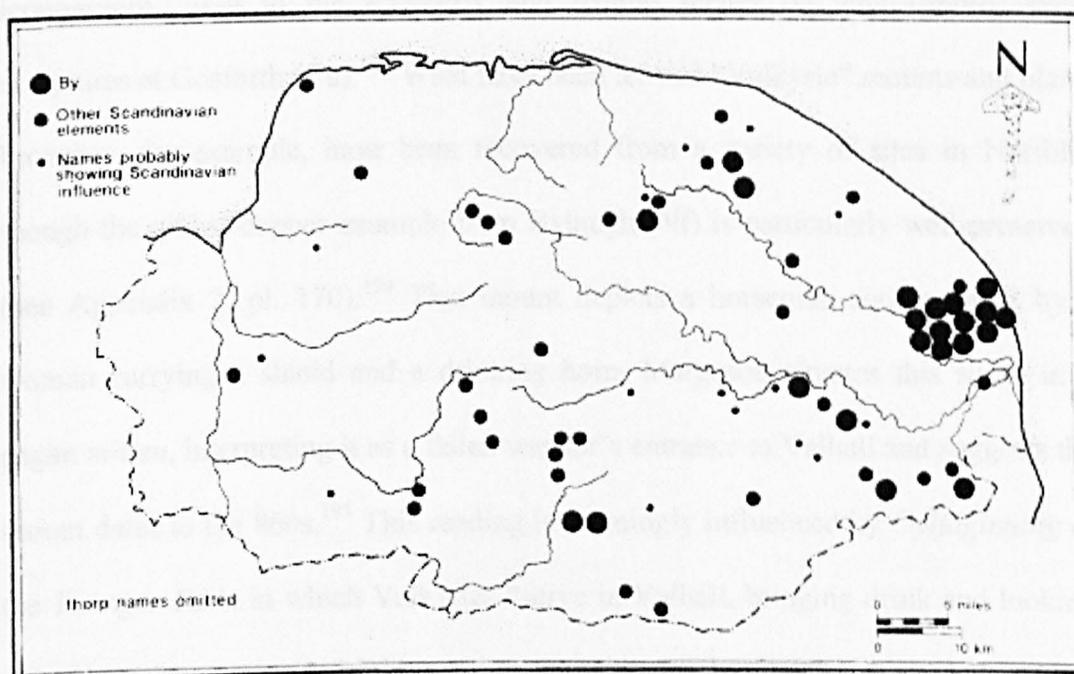


Fig. 37. *Scandinavian place-names in Norfolk* by P. Judge (©Margeson, 1997).

Furthermore, the base-metal composition and poor-quality of most extant evidence has led some (particularly Leahy) to conclude that East Anglia was populated by one or more migrations of peasant-settlers.¹⁹⁰ Thomas, however, has noted a general

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; Leahy and Paterson, "New light on the Viking presence", p. 189.

decline in the production of gold and silver jewellery throughout England in the tenth century;¹⁹¹ thus, it is unlikely that East Anglia's growing corpus of base-metal dress-accessories reflects the economic status of its tenth- and eleventh-century population. As will be discussed further in Chapter 7, elite status was seemingly expressed through land-tenure and its related practices of church-construction and sculptural patronage.¹⁹²

5.D.ii. *Christian Themes*

While East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork usually exhibits Scandinavian-derived decoration and motifs, select objects seemingly preserve evidence of Christian concerns, including those that might express Christian belief through pagan iconography, akin to the Ragnarok and fishing scenes on tenth-century stone sculptures at Gosforth (Cu).¹⁹³ What have been termed "Valkyrie" mounts and plate-brooches, for example, have been recovered from a variety of sites in Norfolk, though the gilded-copper example from Bylaugh (Nf) is particularly well-preserved (see Appendix 2, pl. 170).¹⁹⁴ This mount depicts a horseman accompanied by a woman carrying a shield and a drinking horn. Margeson situates this scene in a pagan *milieu*, interpreting it as a fallen warrior's entrance to Valhall and suggests the mount dates to the 860s.¹⁹⁵ This reading is seemingly influenced by *Gylfaginning* of the *Younger Edda* in which Valkyries "serve in Valhall, bringing drink and looking after the tableware and drinking vessels; Óðinn sends them to every battle, they

¹⁹¹ Thomas, "Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork", pp. 239-240. Thomas suggests that many precious-metal objects were probably recycled for coinage. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁹² See also Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 121.

¹⁹³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 125-132.

¹⁹⁴ Other examples are included in Norwich Castle Museum's "The Vikings in East Anglia" display (nos. 4-5).

¹⁹⁵ Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 12.

choose who is to die and allot victory”,¹⁹⁶ and by the figural decoration on various Gotlandic picture-stones, including that at Tjängvide (SE; *ca* eighth-ninth century; see Appendix. 2, pl. 171), whose upper register has been identified by Wilson as a conflated battlefield/Valhall scene,¹⁹⁷ featuring a figure mounted on an eight-legged horse accompanied by a woman carrying a drinking-horn and a key (possibly a representation of Óðinn or a fallen warrior on Sleipnir, received by a Valkyrie).¹⁹⁸ The “Valkyrie” mounts and plate-brooches are all decontextualized finds and none are executed in particular styles or exhibit specific motifs that facilitate precise dating. Thus, acknowledging the Gosforth evidence, it is posited that these objects could be of later date, perhaps sometime after East Anglia’s Scandinavian settlers had been Christianized.¹⁹⁹

In this context, Valkyries could be analogous to angels, functioning as intermediaries between humanity and the divine.²⁰⁰ *Revelation* records that angels are the agents of the Apocalypse and are implied participants in Judgement;²⁰¹ regarded in this light, angelic iconography would, therefore, be consistent with eschatological interests. However, lay-expressions of Scandinavian identity, including elements of pagan myth, would also be compatible with Cnut’s promotion of a northern empire in the eleventh century, as manifested by his court at

¹⁹⁶ “*Enn eru þær aðrar, er þjóna skulu í Valhöll, bera drykkju ok gæta borðbúnaðar ok ólgagna ... Þessar heita valkyrjur. Þær sendir Óðinn til hverrar orrustu. Þær kjósa feigð á menn ok ráða sigri*”. Snorri Sturlusson, *Gylfaginning, Younger Edda*, 2001, retrieved 01/06/07 from <http://www.normannii.org/lore/icelandic/prose_edda/gylfaginning.html>. [Reproducing the modern English translation from R.B. Anderson, *The Younger Edda: also called Snorre’s Edda, or The Prose Edda* (Chicago 1897)].

¹⁹⁷ D.M. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art* (1966; London 1980), p. 80; pl. 26.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* The iconography of the warrior/Óðinn riding an eight-legged horse is also represented on the Ardre (SE) picture-stone (*ca* eleventh-twelfth century). See *ibid.*, p. 80, 82; fig. 42. According to the *Younger Edda*, Loki tells Óðinn that Sleipnir could travel over sea, through the air and to and from the land of dead.

¹⁹⁹ East Anglia’s Scandinavian colonists were probably Christianized quite soon after settlement. For example, Twenty-five years after King Edmund’s murder in 870, memorial coinage was circulated in the region by its Danish rulers bearing a cross and the inscription “SCE EADMUND REX” (“St Edmund, King”). See Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 4-5, fig. 2.

²⁰⁰ See, for example, *Revelation* 22:16.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 15-17, 20:3

Winchester and its artistic and literary production (see below, pp. 255-260). While dating obfuscates the context(s) (pagan and/or Christian) in which East Anglian “Valkyrie” mounts and plate-brooches were produced, they seemingly proclaim Danish paganism; whether this is demonstrative of contemporary belief, syncretic representation or Danish nationalism, however, is unclear.

While the “Valkyrie” mounts and plate-brooches might illustrate pagan Scandinavian conceptions of the afterlife, they can also be interpreted as narrative scenes depicting the apparent reception or “equipping” of warriors by women. Acknowledging countless examples from saga literature, Jesch has observed that the otherworldly functions performed by Valkyries (specifically, their role in Valhall as purveyors of drink) were also women’s duties in the Viking Age.²⁰² This is supported by Snorri’s thirteenth-century Eddic account in the *Skáldskaparmál* which states:

Woman should be periphrased ... [by] that which she dispenses or gives; likewise with reference to ale-vessels, and to all those things which it becomes her to perform or to give ... Woman is also metaphorically called by the names of the Asynjur or the Valkyrs or Norns or women of supernatural kind.²⁰³

Considering this apparent conflation of woman/Valkyrie in the Viking Age, it is possible that women’s reception of victorious warriors with drinking-horns was a quasi-ceremonial act, replicating the duties of their mythic counterparts in Valhall. This supposition is supported by the East Anglian “Valkyrie” mounts and plate-brooches themselves, which seemingly fetishize this event. Jesch suggests that the costume and hair-style associated with females proffering drinking-horns on Gotlandic picture-stones, comprising a trailing dress, pointed cloak and braided hair,

²⁰² J. Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (1991; Woodbridge 2003), p. 139.

²⁰³ “*Konu skal kenna ... öls eða vins eða annars drykkjar, þess er hon selr eða gefr, svá ok til ölgagna ok allra þeira hluta, er henni samir at vinna eða veita ... Kona er ok kennd við allar ásynjur eða valkyrjur eða nornir eða disir*”. Snorri Sturlusson, *Skáldskaparmál, Prose Edda*, ch. 31, n.d., retrieved 06/01/07 from <<http://www.home.no/norron-mytologi/sgndok/sn-edda/03skal.htm>>.

is indicative of their status as Valkyries;²⁰⁴ however, considering their apparent conflation with women, such iconographic analysis should be qualified. In contexts where apparent “Valkyrie” costume and hair-style is associated with probable Óðinn iconography, such as the eight-legged horse characteristic of some Gotlandic stones and the numerous spears and birds (possibly ravens) depicted on the Oseberg tapestry (see Appendix 2, pls. 171-172),²⁰⁵ it is likely that otherworldly forces, including Valkyries, are represented; however, when such “contextualizing” iconography is absent (such as the Bylaugh mount), it is hypothesized that a mundane scene is represented, illustrating women’s dutiful role (conflated with that of Valkyries) in the Viking Age.

5.D.iii. *Hybridity*

Many scholars have commented on the performative nature of dress and how its constituent elements (including jewellery) can express or mediate both individual and collective identities.²⁰⁶ Turner, for example, characterizes clothing and body decoration as a “social skin”,²⁰⁷ a liminal boundary between the individual and the collective. Dietler and Herbich contend that its various *accoutrements* function symbolically in the process of socialization.²⁰⁸ Thus, the form and decoration of

²⁰⁴ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 126-127.

²⁰⁵ See also Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, p. 127.

²⁰⁶ See, for example, J. Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge 2000), *passim*; M. Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (London 1996), *passim*; P. Wiessner, “Style and changing relations between the individual and society”, *The Meaning of Things*, ed. I. Hodder (1989; London 2001), pp. 56-63, *passim*; and M. Hayeur-Smith, “Dressing the dead: gender, identity and adornment in Viking-Age Iceland”, *Vinland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. S. Lewis-Simpson (St John’s, NL., 2003), pp. 227-240, *passim*.

²⁰⁷ Quoted in M. Dietler and I. Herbich, “*Habitus*, techniques, style: an integrated approach to the social understanding of material culture”, *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, ed. M. Stark (Washington; London 1998), pp. 232-263, at 242.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

dress-accessories can preserve evidence of the negotiation and creation of cultural identities.²⁰⁹

Based on extant evidence, dress-accessories associated with Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cultures of *ca* ninth-century and later were dissimilar. Among Anglo-Saxons, disc-brooches, pins and strap-ends were the most common jewellery forms. As Paterson has demonstrated, pendants were uncommon in Late Saxon England, though surviving examples demonstrate that these ornaments were not unknown.²¹⁰

In her seminal study of Anglo-Saxon costume, employing diverse artistic evidence, Owen-Crocker posits that Anglo-Saxon men wore a single brooch (exhibiting moulded, applied or incised decoration) at the shoulder as a cloak-fastener.²¹¹ Based on funerary depositions, women probably wore similar brooches, likely “suites”, as garment-clasps.²¹² From the fifth to sixth centuries onwards, small, usually base-metal disc-brooches, exhibiting Continental influences in both form and decoration, were seemingly fashionable in southern and eastern England,²¹³ though the unusual, eleventh-century, silver disc-brooch attributed to “Æduwen”, recovered from Sutton, Isle of Ely (C), demonstrates that elite bespoke examples were also produced in the region (see below, pp. 248-251).

²⁰⁹ Wiessner associates form with “emblemic” style (which she contends is a collective choice) and decoration with “assertive” style (individual choice). P. Wiessner, “Style and social information in Kalahari San projectile points”, *American Antiquity* 48.2 (1983), pp. 253-276, at 259.

²¹⁰ Leahy and Paterson, “New light on the Viking presence”, pp. 181-202; cf. V. Evison, “A group of late Saxon brooches”, *The Antiquaries Journal* 37 (1957), pp. 220-222.

²¹¹ G. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (1986; Woodbridge 2004), p. 117.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

²¹³ R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, “Late Saxon disc brooches”, *Dark-Age Britain: Studies Presented to E.T. Leeds*, ed. D. Harden (London 1956), pp. 171-201, at 200; Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork*, p. 52; and K. Brush, “Adorning the dead: the social significance of Early Anglo-Saxon funerary dress in England, fifth-sixth centuries AD”, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of Cambridge, 1993), p. 244. Wilson states that “the disc brooch seems to have been as ubiquitous in the south of England as the penannular brooch was in the Hiberno-Saxon area”. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Metalwork*, p. 52. However, Brush has demonstrated that the cruciform, square- and radiate-headed brooches (characteristic of northern England *ca* fifth to seventh centuries) were gradually displaced by southern disc forms prior to the popularization of penannular examples. Brush, “Adorning the dead”, p. 244.

Referencing contemporary fashion in Norway and the important trading centres of Birka (Ekerö, Sweden) and Hedeby (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany), Shetelig contends that:

a complete set of [female] dress ornaments was three brooches of gilt bronze, the two of them being the well-known tortoise type, with a third brooch of a different form. The tortoise brooches were evidently an indispensable requisite of a woman's dress and were always worn in pairs of identical shape and decoration, one on each shoulder.²¹⁴

With over four thousand extant examples from Norway, Sweden and Denmark (see Appendix 2, pl. 173),²¹⁵ several scholars have argued that tortoise-brooches were popular throughout Scandinavia.²¹⁶ However, others have suggested that they are elite objects,²¹⁷ perhaps associated with mercantile centres and their regional networks. Despite such disagreement concerning ownership, scholars concur that paired tortoise-brooches were worn with either a trefoil- or a small convex disc-brooch (see Appendix 2, pl. 174),²¹⁸ constituting what might be termed a characteristically "Scandinavian" jewellery suite. Shetelig argues that the trefoil- and convex disc-brooches fastened the neck of an undergarment,²¹⁹ while Duczko and Jesch suggest that a fourth brooch may also have been worn by Scandinavian women (presumably as a cloak-fastener), together with beaded necklaces and pendants.²²⁰

²¹⁴ H. Shetelig, ed., *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part VI: Civilization of the Viking Settlers in relation to their old and new countries in Scotland* (Oslo 1954), p. 97.

²¹⁵ In settlement of the Second Schleswig War, Hedeby, sometimes known by its modern German name "Haithabu", was ceded by Denmark to Prussia in 1864.

²¹⁶ See, for example, I. Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor: en studie av vikingatida standadsmycken med utgångspunkt från Björkö-fyndet* (Uppsala 1985), p. 221; L. Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway: female roles and ranks as deduced from an analysis of burial customs", *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 15 (1982), pp. 70-84, at 73; and Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 16.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway", pp. 80-84; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, p. 17; and O. Owen and M. Dalland, *Scar: A Viking Boat Burial on Sanday, Orkney* (Phantassie, Scotland, 1999), pp. 147-148.

²¹⁸ See, for example, Shetelig, ed., *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 97; and C. Richardson, "The Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland—a Reassessment", (Unpublished MLitt thesis, Newcastle University, 1993), p. 19.

²¹⁹ Shetelig, ed., *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 97; Richardson, "Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland", p. 19.

²²⁰ W. Duczko, *Birka V: The Filigree and Granulation Work of the Viking Period* (Stockholm 1985), pp. 81-82, 30; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, p. 17.

Unlike Scandinavian women's jewellery, men's dress-accessories were seemingly less standardized.²²¹ Burials and decontextualized artifactual evidence suggest that men's costume was relatively unadorned, with the notable exceptions of strap-ends and cloak-fasteners, comprising single brooches (penannular or disc) or ring-headed pins.²²² Thor's hammers have also been recovered in relatively large numbers from funerary contexts,²²³ affirming the deity's resonance (or his attributes') in the martial society of the Viking Age.

Though Anglo-Scandinavian metalwork's significance to East Anglian settlement studies is generally unquantified,²²⁴ it does preserve evidence of material culture's role(s) in the processes of culture-contact and cultural assimilation.²²⁵ It has been noted that tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglian dress-accessories are hybrid objects, reflecting diverse cultural traditions, including Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, Carolingian and Irish.²²⁶ For example, with reference to one jewellery-form shared by Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, the disc-brooch, Richardson has observed formal characteristics that seemingly differentiate between objects of Scandinavian and Insular manufacture:

Scandinavian disc brooches are convex in shape, their Anglo-Saxon counterparts being flat. As a rule, Scandinavian brooches have a double pin attachment positioned at right angles to the rim ... This contrasts with the single attachment lug which follows the line of the rim on disc brooches of Insular manufacture. The presence of a third attachment loop at right angles to the other two is another Scandinavian peculiarity and in some cases attests to the former presence of attached chains or strings of beads, though it may well have formed part of a safety clasp mechanism.²²⁷

²²¹ Dommasnes, "Late Iron Age in Western Norway", p. 73.

²²² Shetelig, ed., *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 100.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ See above, pp. 39-41; cf. Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 124.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

²²⁶ See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 125; Richardson, "Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland", p. 179; and S.Margeson, "Viking Period Trefoil Brooches", *Norfolk Archaeology* 38.2 (1982), pp. 208-210, *passim*.

²²⁷ Richardson, "Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland", p. 20.

Acknowledging Richardson's theory, the silver disc-brooch attributed to "Æduwen" from Sutton (C) demonstrates hybridity associated with culture-contact (see Appendix 2, pls. 175-177).²²⁸ This flat brooch, measuring 14.9 < 16.4 cm in diameter, preserves evidence of a single pin (centrally-placed)²²⁹ and is decorated with an incised quadripartite lozenge design, demarcated by eight, domed rivets (one is missing). Serpents and quadrupeds, in association with debased vinescrolls, occupy each of the four lozenges which are framed by abbreviated zoomorphic decoration.²³⁰ While Wilson states that the lozenge-animals are "of typical Ringerike type",²³¹ none exhibit the head- and body-tendrils characteristic of the style;²³² their substantial bodies and shell-like joint spirals are seemingly characteristic of the Mammen tradition.²³³ Nonetheless, Wilson tentatively associates the Sutton brooch, stylistically, with the Winchester School, noting similarities in the execution of vegetal motifs.²³⁴

The apparent gender-uniformity regarding costume and disc-brooches, as suggested by Owen-Crocker, is seemingly corroborated by the Sutton brooch's inscribed appellation. The brooch's Old English inscription, occupying the outer edge of the reverse face, reads: "*Æduwen me ag. Age hyo Drihten! Drihten hine awerie ðe me hire ætferie, buton hyo me selle hire agenes willes*" ("Æduwen keeps me. May the Lord keep her! May the Lord curse him who might take me away from her, unless she were to make a present of me of her own free will" (see Appendix 2,

²²⁸ According to Gibson (writing in 1695), the brooch was discovered by a ploughman in 1694. E. Gibson, ed., *Britannia* (London 1695), col. 415. The brooch's provenance is summarized in E. Stanley, "The Late Saxon Disc-Brooch from Sutton (Isle of Ely): Its Verse Inscription", *A Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature*, ed. E. Stanley (Toronto 1987), pp. 400-408, at 400.

²²⁹ Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork*, p. 176.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

²³¹ Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, p. 142.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

pl. 177).²³⁵ Page observes that this is a verse inscription, comprising an alliterative line and two rhyming couplets, and so is comparable to the alliterative dedications preserved on the Thornhill (YN) rune-stones and the Falstone (Nb) hog-back.²³⁶ While he notes that OE rhyming verse is rare, with most extant examples of tenth- and eleventh-century date, he suggests that the form may have been “in ... common use among *some social classes* and for *certain purposes*”²³⁷ (italics mine), perhaps suggesting that poetic inscriptions are elite expressions of Scandinavian identity, tentatively supported by the nature and vibrant literary culture of Cnut’s court at Winchester (see below, pp. 255-260) and the stylistic similarities between the Sutton brooch’s vegetal ornament and Winchester Style art (see e.g. Appendix 2, pl. 178). Thus, the Sutton brooch, uniting an Anglo-Saxon form (the single-pinned, flat disc-brooch), Scandinavian decoration and, possibly, a Scandinavian literary tradition (expressed in OE), is seemingly demonstrative of cultural-hybridity in Late Saxon East Anglia. Though fashioned of precious metal (rare in the context of contemporary evidence), the Sutton brooch’s inscription, stating it could be given as a gift, seemingly associates the object with traditions of ecclesiastical benefaction.²³⁸

Though the Sutton brooch is an elite object, innumerable examples of lesser dress-accessories exhibiting evidence of tenth- and eleventh-century culture-contact

²³⁵ Stanley, “The Late Saxon Disc-Brooch from Sutton (Isle of Ely)”, pp. 400-408, at 402. Cf. R. Page, “Appendix A: The Inscriptions”, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum*, D. Wilson (London 1964), pp. 67-90, at 86-87; Okasha, *Hand-List*, pp. 116-117; and J. Backhouse, et al., eds., *Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 109-111 (C. Haith’s catalogue entry, No. 105). A second runic inscription is preserved on a silver band riveted to brooch’s reverse face. Page identifies this fragmentary inscription as an example of “pseudo-runes”, perhaps based on the futhark, and possibly employed for magical and/or apotropaic purposes. Page, “Appendix A”, p. 89.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87. See also D. Haigh, “On runic inscriptions discovered at Thornhill”, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 4 (1877), pp. 416-455; J. Wood, “Some account of a Saxon inscription, on a stone found near Falstone”, *Archaeology Aeliana* 1 (1822), pp. 103-4; and R. Cramp and R. Miket, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Antiquities in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle upon Tyne 1982), no. 60.

²³⁷ Page, “Appendix A”, p. 87.

²³⁸ Hinton argues that conspicuous display of wealth, what he terms “rich display”, was unfashionable in the tenth and eleventh centuries. See D. Hinton, “Late Anglo-Saxon metalwork: an assessment”, *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 171-180, at 179-180.

are also extant in East Anglia.²³⁹ Disc-brooches modified for use as pendants are a particularly illustrative artifact-category. Over seventy examples of “East Anglian Interlace” brooches, identified by Richardson as an Insular version of “Jansson Type IIIE Variant”, are extant in Norfolk (see Appendix 2, pl. 179).²⁴⁰ These base-metal brooches exhibit a central lozenge whose centre is demarcated by a circular recess. Tendrils emanate from each of the lozenge’s corners, forming characteristic Borre-style knots. Jansson, Leahy and Paterson have demonstrated that this decoration is attributable to Scandinavia, with the design repeated on disc-brooches from Birka and Jutland and on a pendant from Kalmergården, Denmark.²⁴¹ It is likely that this form was introduced to East Anglia by Danish settlers then adapted by metalworkers for their Anglo-Saxon and Danish *clientele*.²⁴² An example from Werham (Nf) exhibits a carefully-drilled hole near one edge, perhaps suggesting that the owner had been accustomed to wearing such objects as pendants, akin to the Kalmergården example;²⁴³ and Geake suggests that damage to a similar brooch from West Rudham (Nf) is consistent with “a suspension loop being torn away”.²⁴⁴ Such evidence suggests that circular, Borre-style pendants, likely introduced by Danish colonists, inspired production of similarly-decorated disc-brooches in East Anglia; however, evidence of later modification in the form of holes and, perhaps, suspension-loops implies that these objects were re-adapted, possibly as an assertion of Danish identity. If damage to the West Rudham brooch is attributable to the removal of a

²³⁹ For a detailed discussion of the various artifact-types and their evidence of cultural hybridity, see Thomas, “Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw”, pp. 237-255, *passim*.

²⁴⁰ Richardson, “Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland”, p. 21-23.

²⁴¹ I. Jansson, “Kleine Rundspangen”, *Birka II: 1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*, ed. G. Arwidsson (Stockholm 1984), pp. 58-74, at 61; Leahy and Patterson, “New light on the Viking presence”, pp. 196-197.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁴³ Richardson, “The Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland”, p. 25.

²⁴⁴ H. Geake, Finds Report, Norfolk SMR, 29/11/1996, np.

suspension-loop, then this could be interpreted as an assertion of a hybrid or “Anglo-Scandinavian” identity, though this hypothesis is entirely conjectural.

5.D.iv. *Equestrian Themes*

Like dress-accessories, those objects that can be interpreted as extensions or reflections of the self (equestrian-fittings for example) can preserve evidence of the creation and promotion of cultural identities. Davis has noted a decline in England’s equine population between 1020 and 1045, attributed to the wars of King Æthelred II (978-1016).²⁴⁵ Graham-Campbell suggests (citing later medieval evidence) that eleventh-century equestrian warriors required multiple horses, one for battle and others for transport (of both persons and goods).²⁴⁶ Thus, it is probable that horses were precious commodities in eleventh-century England, likely signifying elite status. Accordingly, equestrian-fittings, including stirrups and bridle-mounts, would probably reflect one’s station in both decorative appearance and material quality.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ R. Davis, “The Warhorses of the Normans”, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1987), pp. 67-82, at 81.

²⁴⁶ J. Graham-Campbell, “Anglo-Scandinavian Equestrian Equipment in Eleventh-Century England”, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992), pp. 77-89, at 77; cf. R. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London 1989), pp. 24-26. In *The Battle of Maldon* (991), the poet recounts how Byrhtnoth commands his warriors to abandon their horses and to advance against the Danes on foot (the poem implies that Byrhtnoth also demounts), apparently signifying willingness to fight. “*Het þa hyssa hwæne hors forlætan, / feor afysan and forð gangan, / hicgan to handum and t[o] hige godum. / P[a] þæt Offan mæg ærest onfunde, / þæt se eorl nolde yrhðo gepolian, / he let him þa of handon leofne leogan, / hafoc wið þæs holtes, and to þære hilde stop; / be þam man mihte oncnawan þæt se cniht nolde/wacian æt þam w[i]ge, þa he to wæpnum feng*”. / “Then [Byrhtnoth] commanded each of the warriors to abandon his horse, / to drive it away and to advance on foot, / to concentrate on brave deeds and bold thoughts. / When the kinsman of Offa first realized that the earl would not tolerate cowardice, / he made the much loved creature fly from his wrist, / his hawk off to the wood, and he himself advanced to the battle; / by his action all would know that the youth did not intend to weaken in the fight, when he grasped his weapons”. This is contrasted with Godric’s mounted flight from the battle, exemplifying cowardice: “*þær wurdon Oddan bearn ærest on fleame, / Godric fram guþe, and þone godan forlet / þe him mænigne oft mear gesealde; / he gehleop þone eoh þe ahte his hlaford, / on þam gerædum, þe hit riht ne wæs, / and his broðru mid him begen ær[n]don*”. / “The sons of Odda were the first in flight there, / Godric turned from the battle, and abandoned the brave man / who had often made him a gift of many a horse; / he leapt on the horse that his lord had owned, / on to the trappings, which was highly improper, / and his brothers both ran off with him”. D. Scragg, “The Battle of Maldon”, *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass. 1991), pp. 1-36, at 18-19, ll. 1-10, 26-27, ll. 186-191.

²⁴⁷ Graham-Campbell, “Anglo-Scandinavian Equestrian Equipment”, p. 78. In *The Battle of Maldon* (991), the poet expresses indignation at the apparent theft of Byrhtnoth’s horse-trappings,

Mounted warriors are frequently depicted on the Viking Age sculpture of northern England. Examples include the Gosforth Cross (Cu) and a fragment from Sockburn (Du).²⁴⁸ While some of these depictions may be mythical characters (Bailey associates the mounted figure on the south face of the Gosforth Cross, for example, with Óðinn),²⁴⁹ most are likely intended as illustrations of martial prowess or hunting. For example, a stag is associated with the “Óðinn” character on the Gosforth Cross, and armed men are depicted with stags on cross-shafts at Sockburn (Du) and Middleton (YN).²⁵⁰ As Lang has demonstrated, the Ryedale School, of which the sculptures at Middleton are examples, is characterized by lordly themes, executed with stylistic and iconographic consistency.²⁵¹ The depiction of a stag-hunt in this context suggests that it was understood as an expression of lordship by its tenth-century audience. The antiquarian account of an apparent falconer interred in the pre-Conquest cemetery at Cambridge Castle (together with a possible depiction of falconry on the Bewcastle cross-shaft and the reference to Byrhtnoth’s ownership of a “hawk” in *The Battle of Maldon*) supports the contention that specific forms of hunting were associated with elite status.²⁵² Hunting scenes might also signify tenurial privilege, since ownership of land would include its resources. This is confirmed by numerous *Domesday* entries which record resource-payments to the holders of *sac* and *soke* (“bookland”). For example, in its lengthy account of the King’s holdings in a borough of Norwich, *Domesday* states that:

... the whole of this town paid £20 to the king and £10 to the earl TRE, and besides this 21s. 4d. [to certain] prebendaries, 6 sesters of

“[suggesting] that the horse’s equipment, like the mount itself, represented the owner’s status”. G. Owen-Crocker, “Hawks and Horse-Trappings: the Insignia of Rank”, *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 220-237, at 229.

²⁴⁸ Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, ills. 296, 300; Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, ill. 230.

²⁴⁹ Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, p. 102.

²⁵⁰ Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, ill. ; Lang, *CASSS*, vol. 3, ill. 670.

²⁵¹ Lang, “Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale”, pp. 16-25, at 19-20; Lang, *CASSS*, vol. 3, p. 41.

²⁵² Owen-Crocker, “Hawks and Horse-Trappings”, pp. 220-229.

honey, 1 bear and 6 dogs for the bear. And now [it pays] £70 king's weight and 100s. by tale in exactions to the queen and 1 goshawk and £20 blanched to the earl and 20s. in exactions by tale to G[odric].²⁵³

Thus, diverse evidence seemingly suggests that tenth- and eleventh-century equestrian scenes are associated with elite status. Hunting scenes, sometimes depicted in an equestrian context, also evoke lordly station and tenurial rights. However, in Late Saxon East Anglia, equestrian culture also privileged Danish identity; it will be suggested that this was a regional manifestation of Cnut's promotion of a northern empire.

East Anglian equestrian-fittings associated with a Scandinavian *milieu* are innumerable. Two recent discoveries from Ixworth (Sf), for example (a zoomorphic bridle-fitting and a stirrup-mount, both eleventh-century), suggest elite proclamation of Danish culture. The bridle-fitting is cast in profile as a Ringerike-style animal head; its form is dragon-like, though it could possibly be a stylized equine (see Appendix 2, pl. 180).²⁵⁴ Similar Ringerike bridle fragments have been recovered from Stoke Holy Cross and Culpho (Sf). Based on a complete bridle cheek piece from Angsby, Uppland, Sweden, the Ixworth creature would have adorned one side of the cheek-piece with a corresponding fitting on the other side. The bridle would have been secured through a pierced hole at the base of the creatures' necks.²⁵⁵

The Ixworth stirrup-mount is roughly triangular in shape with three almost cylindrical finials projecting from its apex (see Appendix 2, pl. 181). These finials are arranged at ninety degree intervals around a central fastening hole, and concave

²⁵³ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1058.

²⁵⁴ *Portable Antiquities Scheme*,

<http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=0013EEDCB5E01955>, visited 01/07/07.

²⁵⁵ Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, pp. 34-36, fig. 40.

borders encircle each finial beneath its terminus.²⁵⁶ This unusual mount has parallels in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex,²⁵⁷ perhaps suggesting it is a regional variant. In his typology of stirrup-mounts, Williams designates these “Class A, Type 14”.²⁵⁸ However, these examples have more elaborate decoration on their triangular portions, and their cylindrical finials terminate in debased zoomorphic heads.²⁵⁹ This is not evident on the Ixworth example, though it is possible that the zoomorphic decoration has worn away.²⁶⁰ The mount’s cruciform shape is an obvious Christian symbol, reaffirming the contention that expression of elite status in Late Saxon East Anglia was inextricably associated with Christian faith, expressed through sculptural patronage, ecclesiastical-foundation and -benefaction and, as evidenced by the Ixworth stirrup-mount and suggested by the Sutton brooch, occasionally by dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings.

5.D.v. Summary Conclusions—Metalwork

Though Scandinavian-styled dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings are widely dispersed throughout East Anglia, they are seemingly independent of the region’s ON place-names, unlike Lincolnshire, where this evidence correlates. Despite the resultant inconsistency of metal-detected evidence to East Anglian settlement studies, it apparently reflects various cultural processes, including the syncretic expression of religion; the promotion of behavioural norms and societal status; and

²⁵⁶ *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, retrieved 01/07/07 from

<http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=0013EEDD15B013CA>.

²⁵⁷ In his consideration of the use of equestrian equipment in Late Anglo-Saxon England, Graham-Campbell concurs with Seaby and Woodfield that stirrup-mounts were introduced by Scandinavian settlers and that extant examples do not predate the eleventh century. Graham-Campbell, “Anglo-Scandinavian Equestrian Equipment”, pp. 87-89; and W. Seaby and P. Woodfield, “Viking Stirrups from England and their Background”, *Medieval Archaeology* 24 (1980), pp. 87-122, at 120-122.

²⁵⁸ Williams, *Late Saxon Stirrup Mounts*, pp. 75-76, fig. 49.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, retrieved 01/07/07 from

<http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=0013EEDD15B013CA>.

culture-contact and acculturation. Thus, East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork is invaluable for elucidating the construction and expression of identity in pre-Conquest Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.

5.E. Conclusions—Colonization and Cnut's "Northern Empire"

Based on East Anglia's extant evidence of stone sculpture and metalwork, context was seemingly highly influential *vis à vis* form and decoration. For example, Scandinavian motifs and artistic styles were apparently independent of ecclesiastical *milieux*. In the Late Saxon period, lay-foundation of a church was a lucrative endeavour. Among other privileges, founders received a portion of all tithes and offerings made to their church.²⁶¹ If the patrons of East Anglia's funerary monuments were lords or free land-holders (possibly of mixed Danish/Anglo-Saxon ancestry) or members of their families and, thus, the likely founders or patrons of manorial churches or their descendents, then much of their social status would be associated with their effective ownership of a church. As argued above (see pp. 204-231), the conservative, repetitious decoration that characterizes much of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture is probably best interpreted in the context of eschatological thought; furthermore, it is posited that display of such motifs in stone proclaimed and reinforced lordly status in ecclesiastical contexts, exhibiting both adherence to the tenets of the later Anglo-Saxon Church and prominence in the minster system.²⁶² Thus, it is reasonable that such sculpture would be devoid of specifically Scandinavian motifs; the monuments function as memorials and indicators of elite status within local ecclesiastical and tenurial hierarchies.

²⁶¹ Platt, *The parish churches of medieval England*, p. 3.

²⁶² Such motifs may also have signalled associations with other churches (for example, minsters). The Ixworth slabs, for example, are akin to the fragmentary example at Bury St Edmunds (Plunkett 1998, p. 325). Such associations can perhaps be understood in the context of increasing lordly prestige and/or utilizing the influence and power associated with minster foundations.

Conversely, East Anglia's extant metal objects are apparent evidence of a Scandinavian idiom and proclaim a very different social identity. In daily, secular contexts, Danish identity was seemingly visible and/or asserted by the public display of such objects, suggesting that Danish culture was vibrant in the province and had not been subsumed by Anglian traditions. Metalwork attributed to the ninth century, stylistically, can be interpreted in the context of colonization as manifestations of cultural dominance. Many of these objects (including "tortoise" brooches for example) were likely produced in Scandinavia and transported by colonists as valued possessions. Hybrid objects are probably of later date (*ca* tenth century), illustrating acculturation in northern and eastern England and the apparent advent of an "Anglo-Scandinavian" identity. "Janssen Type III E Variant" brooches, comprising flat Anglo-Saxon disc forms decorated in the Borre style, are particularly illustrative of this cultural dialogue.

However, objects without precise dating queues (Valkyrie mounts and plate-brooches for example) could derive from either the settlement period or the early eleventh century, perhaps manifesting the apparent resurgence of Danish nationalism promoted by Cnut. While a general date-range for the production of many of East Anglia's Late Saxon metal object-types can be suggested with some certainty, scholars have hitherto minimized the potential significance of Almgren's theories concerning duration of use (see above, pp. 37-38). If, as Almgren suggests, a particular object-type could have been purchased in the first or last year of its manufacture and then hypothetically used for one generation, then the resultant "margin of uncertainty" *vis à vis* dating is approximately fifty years.²⁶³ Therefore, in an East Anglian context, objects decorated in the Borre style (produced in the region

²⁶³ Almgren, *Bronsmycklar och djurornametik*; quoted in Wilson, "Almgren and Chronology", p. 113.

ca 865 to mid-tenth century), could, conceivably, have been utilized as late as the early eleventh. If so, then continued use of such objects might also reflect, albeit indirectly, Cnut's promotion of Danish nationalism. Application of Almgren's "margin of uncertainty" to East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork suggests that existing, static, chronologies should be refined.

Other objects, especially those decorated in the Ringerike and, possibly, Urnes styles are firmly associated, chronologically, with Cnut's foundation of a "Northern Empire" and its apparent promotion of Danish identity. By 1028, Cnut reigned as king in England, Denmark and Norway and had assumed overlordship of Sigtuna, Sweden. Innumerable objects, including the equestrian-fittings from Ixworth, Sf, are likely regional manifestations of this Scandinavian empire and its apparent national consciousness.

The vitality of Danish culture in Late Saxon England is also demonstrated by Cnut's court at Winchester and by its surviving literature. While Cnut seemingly pursued a policy of legitimization in relation to the Wessex dynasty through his marriage to Ælfgifu ("Emma of Normandy") and by his establishment of a court at Winchester (the former Wessex capital), there was probably a sizable Danish presence in the city in the first quarter of the eleventh century, presumably composed of courtiers and soldiers retained by the king when his invasion fleet returned to Denmark in 1018.²⁶⁴ Some of this retinue was still at the disposal of Cnut's son, Harthacnut, in the 1040s, seemingly confirming their substantial number.²⁶⁵ Referencing epigraphic, visual and personal names evidence, Yorke concludes that

²⁶⁴ N. Hooper, "Military developments in the reign of Cnut", *The reign of Cnut King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. Rumble (London 1994), pp. 89-100, *passim*.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

during Cnut's reign, "Winchester was probably the place in Wessex where the greatest concentration of Danish settlers was to be found".²⁶⁶

In the 1020s, there is evidence (both material and literary) of cultural syncretism at Winchester. A fragment of a sculpted frieze, perhaps depicting Sigmund (an architypal character in the origin-myths of both the Danish and English royal houses) was recovered from the Old Minster excavations in 1965 (see Appendix 2, pl. 182).²⁶⁷ The New Minster *Liber Vitae* (BL Stowe 944) records "Dani" in confraternity with the minster brethren,²⁶⁸ and Frank has observed considerable English influence in the nine extant skaldic poems composed at Winchester, collectively termed "*Knútsdrápur*", suggesting that both English and Old Norse were spoken at Cnut's court.²⁶⁹ It is probable that Harthacnut's court was equally syncretic, comprised of Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Saxon nobles, Danish housecarls and a multi-lingual dowager-queen.²⁷⁰

Knútsdrápur (praise-poems) have been attributed to Icelandic skalds in the service of Cnut and were recited in the presence of the king and his retainers, probably in official and/or ceremonial contexts.²⁷¹ Frank has demonstrated that the *Knútsdrápur* evoke many Danish cultural references, suggesting that its courtly audience included expatriate Danes. This is illustrated by the frequency with which Cnut is associated with the Danish royal house through use of various devices,

²⁶⁶ Quoted in M. Townend, "Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: Skaldic praise-poetry at the court of Cnut", *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), pp. 145-179, at 172.

²⁶⁷ Biddle, "Excavations at Winchester 1965: Fourth Interim Report", pp. 308-332, at 325, 329-332.

²⁶⁸ S. Keynes, ed., *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester, British Library Stowe 944, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26 (Copenhagen 1996), p. 104.

²⁶⁹ R. Frank, "King Cnut in the Verse of His Skalds", *The reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. Rumble (London 1994), pp. 106-124, at 108-109; Townend, "Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*", p. 146.

²⁷⁰ Ælfgifu would have been fluent in Flemish, Norman French and English. Having been raised in the Norman court, she may also have been conversant in Old Norse. See P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford 1997), p. 204.

²⁷¹ J. Jesch, "Skaldic Verse in Scandinavian England", *Vikings and the Danelaw*, eds. J. Graham-Campbell *et al.*, pp. 313-325, at 320.

including synonyms and kennings. For example, Cnut is identified as “*bor ... / ... holmfjoturs leiðar*” (“tree of the Midgard serpent’s path”), “*jalm-Freyr ... malma*” (“noise-Freyr of weapons”) and “*Jóta dróttinn*” (“Lord of the Jutes”).²⁷² Cnut’s conquest of England is portrayed as a tribal battle in which the vanquished are characterized as an “other”: “*ætt drapt, Jóta dróttinn, Játgeirs í för þeirri*” (“Lord of the Jutes, you struck the race of Edgar on that expedition”).²⁷³ Throughout the *Knútsdrápur* (as in skaldic verse and perhaps Scandinavian culture generally), the length, durability and ornamentation of a leader’s ships is employed as a metaphor for his martial prowess.²⁷⁴ Despite Cnut’s avowed Christianity, demonstrated by his sponsorship of the Benedictine Reform and by his benefaction of numerous houses, including the New Minster at Winchester, Christianity in the *Knútsdrápur* is portrayed syncretically. In one poem, Óðinn is evoked with “*munka valdr*” (“Lord of the monks”—God) and heaven is characterized as “*sal fjalla*” (“mountain hall”),²⁷⁵ perhaps suggesting that Denmark’s *naissant* Christianity, introduced by Harald Bluetooth *ca* 965, had not completely displaced pagan traditions.

As a conquering force, the Danish retinue at Winchester, some of whom had likely left Denmark in 1015 with Cnut’s invasion fleet, may have been only superficially affected by the religion of “Edgar’s race”. It is probable, however, that references to Scandinavian paganism, together with material evidence of Scandinavian culture (specifically metalwork) are suggestive of Cnut’s Northern empire and the promotion of Danish or Scandinavian identity that seemingly accompanied it. Thus, based on East Anglia’s sculpture and metalwork, together with supporting evidence (both material and textual) from the royal court at

²⁷² Quoted in Townend, “Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*”, pp. 173-174 (text and translation).

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 173 (text and translation).

²⁷⁴ Frank, “King Cnut in the Verse of His Skalds”, pp. 113-115.

²⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 119 (text and translation); quoted in Townend, “Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*”, p. 162 (text and translation).

Winchester, it can be hypothesized that signification of lordly status in Late Saxon East Anglia was a multivalent process dictated by context. As active participants in the Minster system through foundation and benefaction of manorial churches, elites signified their rank in stone, adopting both a preferred medium of the Anglo-Saxon Church and the styles consistent with tenth- and eleventh-century ecclesiastical thought. As manorial churches also functioned as communities' gathering-places and *de facto* administrative centres, their associated stone monuments also signified elite status within tenorial hierarchies. Metal objects (whose economic and cultural significance in the early medieval north is often demonstrated by hoards and funerary practice) are seemingly demonstrative of a contemporaneous Scandinavian idiom, progressing from colonisation to acculturation and apparent nationalism (the latter supported by historical and literary evidence of Cnut's foundation of a Northern empire and the apparent promotion of Danish identity at the royal court at Winchester). Therefore, the semiotic systems through which lordship was displayed in Late Saxon East Anglia were seemingly both medium- and context-specific. The next chapter will discuss in greater detail media's role in the formation and signification of elite identity, specifically, its apparent evocation of cultural identity.

Chapter 6

Sculpture and Cultural Identity in Late Saxon East Anglia

6.A. Introduction

Given the apparent association of the social and ecclesiastical contexts of Late Saxon sculpture in East Anglia, it is worth considering what this might reveal about the cultural identities informing those *milieux*. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see above, pp. 19-26) few processes have impacted archaeological theory and practice more than the construction and documentation of this subject. Throughout the history of their discipline, archaeologists have attributed the material record to specific cultural groups;¹ however, the ways in which cultural groups express their perceived uniqueness have been the subject of concerted interest for a comparatively short time, since the 1980s.² Influenced by theoretical and methodological developments in the social sciences, and acknowledging that “identity” had been under-theorized in historical contexts, some archaeologists initiated investigations of group and individual distinctiveness in historic periods, including the early Middle Ages.³

These advances in the conceptualization of identity have informed many areas of research in this period, including the ethnic study of material culture. Throughout the nineteenth century and continuing, arguably, until the advent of Processual Archaeology

¹ The resultant “Culture History” approach is attributed to Childe. He first defined an archaeological culture as a collation of objects, decorations and practices “constantly recurring together”. He later refined this definition, proclaiming “culture is social heritage”. See V. Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* (Oxford 1929), vi; and *idem*, “Races, peoples and cultures in prehistoric Europe”, *History* 18 (1933), pp. 193-203, at 198. Later generations of archaeologists have emphasized the importance of analytical techniques and hermeneutics in identifying and documenting cultures. See, for example, D. Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (London 1968), *passim*; and I. Hodder, *Reading the Past* (1986; Cambridge 2003), *passim*.

² S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the past and present* (London; New York 1997), pp. 1-5, 15-39.

³ *Ibid.* See also W. Frazer, “Introduction: Identities in Early Medieval Britain”, *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, eds. W. Frazer and A. Tyrrell (London 2000), pp. 1-7, *passim*.

in the 1960s and 1970s, ethnic groups had been regarded as biological and cultural isolates.⁴ Scholars now concur that innate uniqueness within ethnic groups is unfounded and that the semiotic systems through which cultural identities are proclaimed exist in collective opposition; in essence, “cultures only exist in relation to other cultures”.⁵ The resultant creation/proclamation of cultural identity can be interpreted as a sociological strategy and can employ various means, including language, religion, burial practices, architecture and costume; and in colonial contexts, cultural groups can employ various political strategies for cultural promotion, including isolation, hybridity, assimilation or genocide.⁶

Reconceptualization of identity as a situational construct representing an aspect of social organization has resulted in two streams of research: (1) studies that address the relationship between material culture and symbol systems and (2) those which assess ethnicity’s role in the organization and negotiation of political and economic relationships.⁷ Archaeological study of Late Saxon East Anglian ethnicity can benefit from either approach; however, with reference to identity’s role(s) in its sculptural production (particularly the relationship between stone and status) the latter is of greater significance. Furthermore, if the region’s apparent culture-specific media, object-types

⁴ Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, pp. 15-29; J.D. Richards, *The Vikings: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York 2005), p. 7.

⁵ Richards, *Vikings*, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* For a thorough discussion of the means through which identity can be expressed, see W. Pohl, “Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity”, *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, eds. W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (Leiden; Boston; Köln 1998), pp. 17-69, *passim*.

⁷ P. Geary, “Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early Middle Ages”, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15-26, *passim*; Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, pp. 13, 28. As examples of semiotic approaches to ethnicity and material culture, see I. Hodder, *Symbols in Action* (Cambridge 1982), *passim*; and S. Shennan, “Introduction”, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. S. Shennan (1989; London 1994), pp. 1-32, *passim*. As examples of ethnicity in political and economic relationships, see T. Kimes, C. Haselgrove and I. Hodder, “A method for the identification of the location of regional cultural boundaries”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1 (1982), pp. 113-131, *passim*; and R. McGuire, “The study of ethnicity in historical archaeology”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1 (1982), pp. 159-178, *passim*.

and decoration are interpreted as expressions of authority and privilege rather than ethnic signifiers, the complexity and intent of artistic patronage and display will be evident.⁸

6.A.i. *Theorizing Identity*

As noted, ethnographic research in archaeological contexts has been influenced to a large extent by developments in the social sciences. Indeed, this influence is so pervasive that some archaeologists have commented that ethnicity is a construct of social psychology.⁹ In this sense, ethnicity is conflated with the notion of a common fate.¹⁰ This is recognized as constituting a cohesive force within groups; it encourages collective responsibility for the group's well-being, including defense of its interests from "others".¹¹ However, many associations have unifying effects within groups, including gender, sexuality, class, profession and religion. Therefore, "identity" in archaeological research is a macro-concept with multiple referents and subject to various uses.¹²

The uses and interpretations of identity have varied across academic disciplines. Though employing the same "objective" data, including language and customs, some scholars have formulated divergent theories about identity, its essential characteristic(s)

⁸ Ethnicity's association with authority and status has a lengthy history in sociological discourse and has also been the subject of influential archaeological studies. For example, see F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Bergen-Oslo; London 1969), pp. 10, 17; W. Pohl, "Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies", *Archaeologia Palona* 29 (1991), pp. 39-49, at 41; Pohl, "Telling the Difference", pp. 22, 60, 64; and Carver, "Conversion and Politics on the eastern seaboard of Britain: Some Archaeological Indicators", pp. 11-40, at 13, 26.

⁹ L. Klejn, personal communication, quoted in F. Daim, "Archaeology, ethnicity and the structures of identification: The example of the Avars, Carantanians and Moravians in the eighth century", *Strategies of Distinction*, eds. Pohl and Reimitz, pp. 71-79, at 76.

¹⁰ Daim, "Archaeology, ethnicity and the structures of identification", p. 76.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² In much archaeological discourse, the terms "identity" and "ethnicity" are employed synonymously. This author has attempted to distinguish the terms, through context, whenever possible.

and its purpose, largely because the aforementioned data do not correlate fully; frequently, “the units delimited by one criterion do not coincide with the units delimited by another”.¹³ A solution advanced by historians privileges a subjective factor (akin to the notion of common fate), the belief of belonging to a group with common origins, as the decisive characteristic of identity.¹⁴ In this context, identity is the referent to which its “objective” expressions, including language, customs and myths refer.¹⁵ Smaller, elite groups, as can be shown in many contexts, promulgate this sense of belonging and its expressions throughout larger communities, thereby legitimizing norms of behaviour and rulership by myths and ancient traditions.¹⁶ Social scientists and archaeologists consider identity a product of social contact, in which systematic distinctions are made between insiders and outsiders.¹⁷ As discussed above, this negotiated system of social classification is relational; identities, or uniqueness, only exist in opposition.¹⁸ As Bourdieu succinctly states, difference only matters when there is someone capable of “making the difference”.¹⁹ Communication is of obvious importance to this conceptualization of identity. Cultural expressions should not, therefore, be interpreted as evidence for the natural existence of particular groups; they are remnants of the

¹³ M. Moerman, “Ethnic identification in a complex civilization: Who are the Lue”, *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965), pp. 1215-1229, at 1219.

¹⁴ See, for example, R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* (1961; Cologne 1977), p. 12, quoted in Pohl, “Telling the Difference”, p. 21, n. 16; and Geary, “Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early Middle Ages”, pp. 15-26.

¹⁵ J. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill 1982), *passim*; A. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (London 1986), pp. 14-16.

¹⁶ Pohl, “Telling the Difference”, p. 21. See also Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*, pp. 64-65; P. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford 1996), pp. 167-178; and W. Pohl, “Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung: eine Zwischenbilanz”, *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 31, eds. K. Brunner and B. Merta (Wien; München 1994), pp. 9-26, *passim*.

¹⁷ T.H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London 1993), p. 18. See also Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, *passim*.

¹⁸ J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colorado 1992), pp. 52-54.

¹⁹ P. Bourdieu, *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action* (Paris 1994), p. 24.

various strategies which shaped their collective identities.²⁰ Furthermore, such strategies are only successful when they convince both insiders and outsiders that difference is significant.²¹

Throughout the nineteenth century and continuing until the 1960s, “culture history” was the dominant paradigm influencing archaeological study of identity. By the 1860s and 1870s, a “direct ethno-historical” method was advanced by archaeologists such as Montelius and Vocel, characterized by synchronization of archaeological and historical sources.²² Adopting this methodology, Kossinna defined and applied the concept of an archaeological culture in his 1911 text, *Die Herkunft der Germanen (The Origin of the Germans)*. “Settlement archaeology”, as advanced by Kossinna in *Die Herkunft*, embraced the belief that “in all periods, sharply delineated archaeological culture areas coincide with clearly recognizable peoples or tribes”.²³ Thus, cultures were defined on the basis of artifactual remains associated with specific sites and periods, and it was assumed that cultural continuity (as demonstrated in the archaeological record) was indicative of ethnic continuity.²⁴ Many other archaeologists, including Childe, Casson and Kidder, promoted this inductive reasoning, supporting Kossinna’s contention that shared artifactual traits were attributable to individual “cultures”.²⁵

²⁰ Pohl, “Telling the Difference”, p. 21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

²² K. Sklenár, *Archaeology in Central Europe: the first five hundred years* (Leicester 1983), p. 91.

²³ Quoted in V. Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: in interpretation of archaeological data* (London 1956), p. 28.

²⁴ Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18, 20-21. See, for example, V. Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization* (1925; London 1927), *passim*; S. Casson, “The Dorian invasion reviewed in the light of some new evidence”, *The Antiquaries Journal* 1(1921), pp. 198-221, *passim*; and A. Kidder, *An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology with a Preliminary Account of the Excavations at Pecos* (1924; London 1962), *passim*.

With the advent of Processual Archaeology in the 1960s, culture was reconceptualized as a system, precipitating the demise of culture history as a dominant archaeological paradigm. Processual Archaeology, with its emphasis on functionalist explanations of social processes and cultural evolution, was motivated by disillusionment with the descriptive, empiricist approach of culture history.²⁶ For example, correlating a distinct break in the archaeological record with migration does not explain the social processes involved.²⁷ Many processualists argued that assessing why an event occurred and how it operated were of greater importance to understanding past cultures than the event itself.²⁸

A fundamental principle of this "New Archaeology" was its rejection of the normative concept of culture which had characterized traditional inquiry.²⁹ New archaeologists argued that cultures were integrated systems and that material evidence should be interpreted as the product of various processes rather than a manifestation of ideational norms.³⁰ Culture was theorized as an adaptive mechanism, and research emphasized the application of predictive models in the interpretation of economic and technological systems, though other aspects of society, including symbolism, political organization and ideology, were also subjects of analysis within the systemic approach.³¹

²⁶ Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, pp. 5, 26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.* See also L. Binford, "Archaeology as anthropology", *American Antiquity* 28 (1962), pp. 217-225, *passim*; *idem*, "Archaeological systematics and the study of culture process", *American Antiquity* 31 (1965), pp. 203-210, *passim*; and Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology*, *passim*.

³¹ Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 26. Though processual analysis has marginalized culture history in most archaeological discourse, a notable exception is the field of historical archaeology, where extant references to specific groups have perpetuated the "ethnic labelling" of objects and sites. Correlations between material culture and specific groups still often characterize historical archaeology. For example,

The processualism advanced by New Archaeology assumed that human behaviour was predictable and, therefore, could be explained by general laws.³² Belief that such empiricism could explain most human actions encouraged reliance on positivism and deductive approaches.³³ However, by the late 1970s, many archaeologists acknowledged that processual approaches, including ecological determinism and neo-evolutionism, could not explain many variations in the archaeological record and, hence, in human behaviour.³⁴ Through engagement with theoretical developments in other disciplines, particularly anthropology, the resultant “post-processual” archaeology has united in its rejection of positivist, functionalist models of history which emphasize “objective” methodologies (essentially, “middle-range” theory).³⁵

Contrary to processual approaches which characterize the individual as passive or adaptive, post-modernists have emphasized human agency (shaped by context) in societal/cultural evolution. Through systematic query of data, the relevancy of general assumptions in particular contexts is assessed; gradually, a complete, detailed description of the environment evolves as the network of associations and contrasts is explored.³⁶ The resultant “Post-processual Archaeology” is, arguably, a new paradigm.³⁷

see Cramp, *et al*, eds., *CASSS*, 7 vols. (Oxford 1984-2006); see also Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 27.

³² B. Trigger, “Post-Processual Developments in Anglo-American Archaeology”, *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 24.2 (1991), pp. 65-76, at 66.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ I. Hodder and S. Hutson, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (1986; Cambridge 2003), p. 206; E. Engelstad, “Images of power and contradiction: feminist theory and post-processual archaeology”, *Antiquity* 65 (1991), pp. 502-514, at 502.

³⁶ Hodder and Hutson, *Reading the Past*, p. 193.

³⁷ See A. Renfrew, ed., *The Explanation of Culture Change* (London 1973), p. 44; and Hodder and Hutson, *Reading the Past*, pp. 156-203. In a sense, such explicit interest in the context(s) of material culture distinguishes archaeological approaches from antiquarian and some art-historical studies. See Hodder and Hutson, *Reading the Past*, p. 171.

6.A.ii. *Medieval Identity*

Perpetuation of the culture history model by historical archaeologists has influenced contemporary research on medieval identity, especially that which adopts an ethnic approach. Survival of medieval texts describing and/or identifying cultural groups is interpreted as contemporary evidence for the existence of distinct peoples; such texts have been employed in comparative contexts with artifactual remains, often informing or corroborating their attributions to specific cultural groups.³⁸ However, medieval literary culture, including ethnographic exposition, is characterized by political, religious and cultural biases;³⁹ thus, its accounts of peoples and their customs are often questionable.⁴⁰ Though it has been observed that some historical archaeologists are hesitant to interpret the sociological dimensions of artifactual remains (ethnic consciousness and national sentiment for example),⁴¹ reliance on medieval ethnographic texts for corroboration *vis à vis* attributions of identity is problematic. Increasingly, semiotic reading of objects is replacing literary analysis as an analytical tool in identity research.

It has been acknowledged that group-formation in early medieval Europe was predicated on the pre-existence of complex systems of categories.⁴² Decoding the

³⁸ See, for example, Isidor of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, ed. C. Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1964), *passim*; Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison, trans. L. Thorpe (1965; Harmondsworth 1974), *passim*; B. Krusch, ed., *Liber Historiae Francorum*, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 2 (1888; Hannover [1984]), pp. 215-328; K. Fischer-Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia 1973), *passim*; and Colgrave and Mynors, eds. and trans., *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *passim*.

³⁹ Studies exploring biases in medieval literature are innumerable. A useful example is J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique: Notes complémentaire et supplément bibliographique*, 3 vols. (Paris 1959-1983), *passim*.

⁴⁰ For example, Sawyer argued that monastic texts did not provide objective accounts of Scandinavian activity in England. See Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, p. 9. Others contend that such texts are accurate. See, for example, C. Wormald, "Viking studies: whence and whither?", *The Vikings*, ed. R. Farrell (Chichester 1982), pp. 128-153, at p. 129.

⁴¹ Daim, "Archaeology, Ethnicity and the Structures of Identification", p. 72.

⁴² Pohl, "Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies", pp. 39-49.

iconography related to these societal units facilitates identification of their collective perception(s), both of themselves and of others. Such research demonstrates that early medieval iconography (like all symbol systems) had a fundamental stabilizing effect.⁴³ In societies generally characterized by mobility, including ascent or descent in the social hierarchy, mutability of allegiance, frequency of resettlement and/or of identity-reassessment, regimented use of specific iconography stabilized their populace.⁴⁴ Such iconography is often preserved in elite contexts; leaders and others of similar rank promulgated constant social conditions, undoubtedly interpreting uncontrolled change as a danger to their status.⁴⁵ Thus, semiotic readings of early medieval elite objects can contribute substantively to an understanding of the means and philosophy of governance within their culture groups. Non-elite material culture, however, can provide equally important data concerning the reception of “others” within a greater populace. In colonial contexts, such as the Danelaw, objects constitute important evidence for the evolution of inter-cultural dialogue and collective self-awareness.

6.A.iii. *Anglo-Scandinavian Identity*

Scholars of England’s Scandinavian settlement have demonstrated interest in cultural identity and its various manifestations for over thirty years.⁴⁶ Beginning in the early 1960s, various hybrid terms, including “Anglo-Danish”, “Anglo-Norse” and “Anglo-

⁴³ Daim, “Archaeology, Ethnicity and the Structures of Identification”, p. 84.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Daim, “Archaeology, Ethnicity and the Structures of Identification”, p. 84.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, *passim*; Wilson, *Vikings and their origins: Scandinavia in the first millennium*, *passim*; Foote and Wilson, *The Viking Achievement*, *passim*; Graham-Campbell, *The Vikings*, *passim*; *idem*, *Viking World*, *passim*; Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, *passim*; Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, *passim*.

Scandinavian”, were coined as cultural descriptors for the northern Danelaw populace.⁴⁷ Early use of these terms was generally atheoretical and was associated with processual methodology, especially in sculptural research; their employment often denoted hypothesized production relationships and general artistic style (iconography, motifs and carving technique).⁴⁸

In the late 1970s, “Anglo-Scandinavian” was promoted by the academic community as the northern Danelaw’s cultural identifier; and one of the earliest proponents of hybrid cultural descriptors, James Lang, extended the term’s association with cultural and artistic contexts to the temporal, introducing the concept of an “Anglo-Scandinavian period” (ca 875-1066).⁴⁹ Likely influenced by the advent of post-processual archaeology and its interest in terminological precision, Lang also critiqued the emphasis on ethnic identity which had characterized earlier study of northern Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture.⁵⁰ Based on Sawyer’s work, which employed sculpture as “contributory evidence” in the argument that the initial phase of Scandinavian settlement in the north was characterized by annexation of Anglo-Saxon land and villages,⁵¹ it had been assumed that stone monuments were the product of Scandinavian elites patronizing

⁴⁷ See, for example, A. Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 15 (York 1963), pp. 3, 6, 18, 40. Based on this author’s research, Kendrick’s employment of “Anglo-Scandinavian” in 1940 is the earliest use of the term. See Kendrick, “Instances of Saxon Survival in Post-Conquest Sculpture”, p. 81.

⁴⁸ Binns, *Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, p. 40; Lang, “Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale”, pp. 16-25; *idem*, “Sigurd Fafnesbane og V lund smed. Nogle nordengelske stenbilleder [Sigurd the dragon-slayer and Weland the smith. Some northern English stone carvings]”, *Den iconographiske Post* 5.3 (1974), pp. 13-24, *passim*. For a rare contemporary example of theoretical use/analysis of such hybrid terms, see D. Wilson and M. Gaygill, *Economic aspects of the Viking Age* (London 1981), *passim*.

⁴⁹ J. Lang, “Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Yorkshire”, *Viking Age York and the north*, ed. R. Hall, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 27 (London 1978), pp. 11-20, at 11.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* See also Hodder and Hutson, *Reading the Past*, pp. 170-172; J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament: The Sources, Development and Relation to Foreign Styles of Pre-Norman Ornamental Art in England* (London; Copenhagen 1924), pp. 191-240; Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, *passim*; and Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 163, 166-167.

⁵¹ Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, pp. 163, 166-167.

Anglo-Saxon carvers. Lang's objection to this "ethnification" of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was supported by Bailey, who noted that its decoration did not necessarily reflect the ethnicity of its patrons.⁵²

With the dominance of post-processual methodologies in contemporary archaeological discourse, studies of Anglo-Scandinavian identity, particularly its formation and its evolution, now emphasize human agency and context. Many scholars, including Hadley, Trafford and Innes, have interpreted the Danelaw's hybrid society as a dynamic culture, in which use and display of "ethnic" symbols was probably deliberate and intended to elicit specific responses both from and within the populace.⁵³ Such responses possibly relate to authority and allegiance within religious and secular contexts. Sculptural, onomastic, linguistic and archaeological evidence is indicative of complex interaction between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavian settlers, varying throughout the Danelaw.⁵⁴ It is assumed that during the tenth century, Scandinavian settlers ceased maintenance of a separate Danish identity and embraced Anglo-Saxon culture.⁵⁵ While northern England maintained a certain Danish "character" in the tenth and eleventh centuries (explicable by regional traditions in the north, many of which, including art styles, were borrowed from the Scandinavians), the southern Danelaw,

⁵² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 210-211.

⁵³ For example, see D. Hadley, "'Cockle amongst the Wheat': The Scandinavian Settlement of England", *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, eds. Frazer and Tyrrell, pp. 111-135, *passim*; S. Trafford, "Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England", *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, eds. D. Hadley and J.D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 17-39, *passim*; M. Innes, "Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Allegiance", *Cultures in Contact*, eds. Hadley and Richards, pp. 65-88, *passim*; Thomas, "Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw", pp. 237-255, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Hadley, "'Cockle amongst the Wheat'", pp. 111-135, at pp. 122-133; M. Townend, "Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society", *Cultures in Contact*, eds. Hadley and Richards, pp. 89-105.

⁵⁵ Hadley, "'Cockle amongst the Wheat'", pp. 134-135.

including East Anglia, preserved less visible Scandinavian traditions, with the notable exception of metalwork.⁵⁶

Thus, acknowledging the historiography of cultural identity in archaeological discourse (including methodological refinements concerning Medieval and Anglo-Scandinavian identities), East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture can now be considered within this theoretical context. As discussed throughout Chapter 5, material expressions of culture were apparently medium- and context-specific.

6.B. Case Studies

6.B.i. *Ixworth recumbent monuments* (see Appendix 1, pp. 350-351; pls. 61-65).

Ixworth is located in northwestern Suffolk, approximately 10 km northeast of Bury St Edmunds. Reflecting East Anglia's wealth in the Middle Saxon period (for example, see above, pp. 88-91), a number of pieces of precious metalwork were recovered, including two gold rings, two silver rings, a gold earring and a gilt bronze ring (all probably of seventh- to eighth-century date), in or near St Mary's Churchyard in the 1850s.⁵⁷ Furthermore, a gold, jewelled disc brooch, and a gold pendent cross decorated with *cloisonné* garnet-work, together with a number of iron staples (presumably coffin fittings), were removed from an elite grave at Stanton, Ixworth, in 1856.⁵⁸ The pendent cross is comparable in both form and size to the pectoral cross of St Cuthbert. Such finds

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁷ Suffolk SMR OS Card, TL97SW22, n.d., n.p.

⁵⁸ See MacGregor and Bolick, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: A Summary Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Collections*, pp. 78, 159.

suggest that considerable wealth was concentrated in the Ixworth area in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁵⁹

Following Danish settlement, Ixworth obviously grew in both size and importance, evidenced by the existence of Ixworth Thorpe, a village to the northwest whose Danish element, “*thorp*”, indicates it was likely a dependency of Ixworth.⁶⁰ Despite such suggestions of Ixworth’s significance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, little is known of its settlement geography. *Domesday* records that two hundred acres were held as a manor at Ixworth in 1086.⁶¹ It is possible that a similar organization of land holdings had existed there in earlier centuries, especially since the settlement was large enough to warrant the foundation of a dependency prior to the completion of *Domesday*. If such an organization continued into the settlement period, then it is possible that one or more manors existed in Ixworth *ca* ninth-eleventh centuries, and by the nature of manorial organization were likely possessive of considerable wealth (see above, pp. 120-128).

Like the parish’s settlement geography, Ixworth’s early ecclesiastical history is also unclear. Based on the discovery of two eleventh-century grave-slab fragments beneath the floor of St Mary’s Church in Ixworth, it is evident that the site had an ecclesiastical function (cemetery, church or both) in the Viking Age.⁶² It is also possible that Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical use predated this foundation. The pendent cross recovered from Stanton certainly suggests an elite ecclesiastical presence in the area.

⁵⁹ Based on this author’s research, Anglo-Saxon “archaeology” at Ixworth was associated with the nineteenth century. See Smith, “Anglo-Saxon Remains”, pp. 325-355 for the finds’ summary.

⁶⁰ B. Neck, S. Margeson and M. Hurley, “Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1993”, *Medieval Archaeology* 38 (1994), pp. 184-308, at 253.

⁶¹ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1295.

⁶² The only other secure reference to an ecclesiastical house in Ixworth is the Priory of St Mary, founded *ca* 1100 by Gilbert Blunt for the Austin canons. See Cox, “Ecclesiastical History”, p. 105.

However, the absence of monuments (often associated with such centres) intimates that if such a settlement existed, it did not express itself through the public medium of stone sculpture. Thus, it is hypothesized that Danish settlement in Ixworth disrupted established patterns of religious authority, precipitating the foundation of a manorial church by a wealthy land-holder where stone monuments were employed.

Acknowledging the specific nature of Ixworth's extant archaeological record, the area's context (religious or secular) seemingly influenced proclamation of social identity. As noted above (see pp. 134-157, 204-231), East Anglia's Late Saxon sculptural evidence suggests that Scandinavian motifs were not displayed in ecclesiastical contexts. However, it is probable that display of Anglian motifs, such as those decorating the Ixworth recumbent monuments (which exemplified the visual culture of East Anglia's ecclesiastical system), reinforced lordly status in ecclesiastical contexts, displaying an association with the pre-existing Anglo-Saxon church.⁶³ With the absence of Scandinavian motifs from the ecclesiastical sculpture, it is reasonable to assume that such monuments functioned at Ixworth both as memorials and as symbols of power within the local ecclesiastical and tenorial hierarchies.⁶⁴

Ixworth's extant metal objects, however, proclaim a very different social identity. The equestrian-fittings and brooch recovered from Ixworth display overt Scandinavian motifs (see above, pp. 237-254; Appendix 2, pls. 180-181). In secular contexts, therefore, it seems that Scandinavian decoration was displayed without restriction. This suggests that Scandinavian culture was vibrant in Late Saxon Suffolk

⁶³ See above, p. 255, n. 262.

⁶⁴ The relationship between ecclesiastical and tenorial privilege will be discussed in Chapter 7.

and that the signification of elite status was context-dependent within the fields of sculptural and metalwork display.

6.B.ii. *St Vedast Cross* (see above, p. 173, fig. 22; below, fig. 38; Appendix 1, pp. 329-330; pls. 20-24).

In comparison with the recumbent monuments from Ixworth, the *St Vedast Cross* is distinguished by its Scandinavian-derived decoration. As this constitutes the only East Anglian sculpture securely dated to the pre-Conquest period bearing such ornament, it is of considerable importance to the study of identity in the region and its relationship with material culture in the Viking Age. Mammen-style decoration (ca 950-1025) is

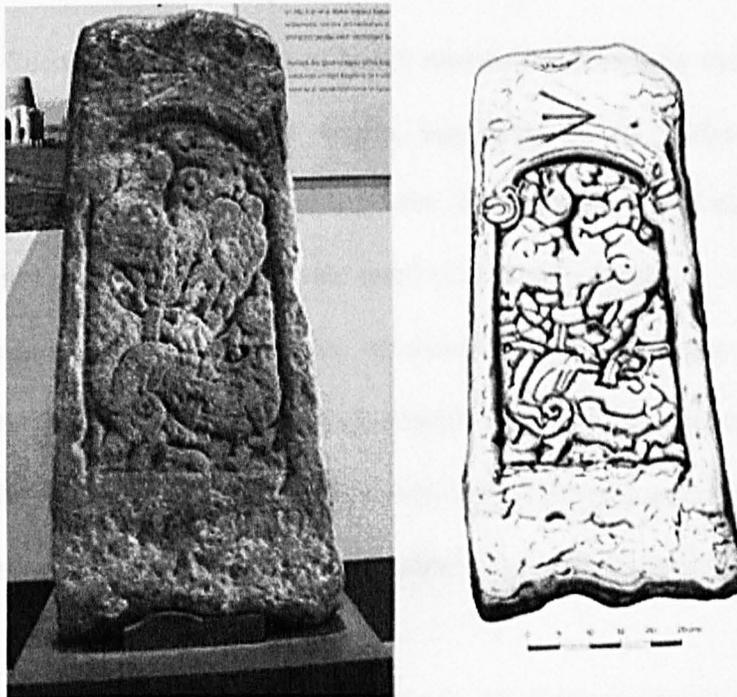


Fig. 38. *St Vedast Cross*, Face A (Right, ©Reed, 2006; Left, ©English Heritage Photo Library; reproduced in Margeson, 1997).

preserved on two of its sides: a recessed, arched panel on one of its broad faces depicts two quadrupeds hierarchically with raised heads (one with a prominent hip-spiral) against a background of plump vegetal ornament, and a second recessed panel on one of

the shaft's narrow faces depicts what is possibly a serpentine beast, akin to the creatures on Thorleif's Cross, Kirk Braddan, Isle of Man.⁶⁵ However, damage to one side of this panel prohibits definitive explication of the composition.⁶⁶

It remains, nevertheless, an impressive monument, elaborated with paint, which utilized a substantial block of stone.⁶⁷ While any estimate of the cross's original height is conjectural, even a tentative ratio of 2:1 *vis à vis* head and shaft proportion would generate a minimum height of 132 cm for the finished monument. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, East Anglia has never possessed quantities of workable stone; throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, stone was quarried in the Barnack region of Cambridgeshire and probably exported to East Anglia via rivers and the Fenland waterways.⁶⁸ Such lengthy transport of heavy material undoubtedly increased its value (and, arguably, its prestige) in East Anglia, suggesting the St Vedast Cross, erected approximately 130 km from its probable quarry, is demonstrative of substantial wealth concentrated in the city of Norwich in the tenth or eleventh century.

Considering Norwich's quantity of surviving evidence from a Scandinavian cultural *milieu* (and the paucity of Anglo-Saxon material; see above, pp. 128-131), Danish identity (whether biological or adopted) was seemingly proclaimed within this urbanized tenth- and eleventh-century environment. It is reasonable to assume that the

⁶⁵ Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pp. 111-112; fig. 52. See also Foote and Wilson, *Viking Achievement*, p. 304, fig. 53.

⁶⁶ Concurring with Hudson, Margeson has posited that this panel depicts two creatures. See Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 25; see also W. Hudson, "On a Sculptured Stone recently removed from a House on the Site of the Church of St Vedast, Norwich", *Norfolk Archaeology* 13 (1898), pp. 116-124, at 118-119.

⁶⁷ Vestiges of painted decoration were observed in the animals' contours when the St Vedast Cross was inspected and photographed by the author in May, 2006. The ">"-shaped incision above the sculpted panel on the shaft's broad face is a nineteenth-century Ordnance Surveyors' mark. See Hudson, "On a Sculptured Stone", pp. 116-117. The existing fragment of the St Vedast Cross weighs approximately 135 kg. T. Pestell, pers. com. 07/05/06.

⁶⁸ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 47-49.

patron of the St Vedast Cross was of considerable social standing: a wealthy merchant, perhaps, or a descendant of Guthrum's "Great Army". This interpretation complements the archaeological evidence of Norwich's Danish culture and vibrant economy in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see above, pp. 128-131). However, material from the excavation of the Church of St Martin-at-Palace complicates this hypothesis.

The Church of St Martin-at-Palace is also on the south side of the River Wensum and is approximately 510 m north of the former site of the Church of SS Vedast and Amant. A major excavation was undertaken within the church in 1987, revealing evidence of two timber structures (one possibly a church) beneath the present nave.⁶⁹ Fragments of a sculpted recumbent monument, exhibiting two panels of four-cord plaitwork with a border of cable moulding, were recovered from a post-hole of the later timber building, termed "Structure B".⁷⁰ Based on their similarity of form and design to the Fenland Group of recumbent monuments, the fragments are probably of mid-tenth- to mid-eleventh-century date.⁷¹ Thus, Structure B must have been constructed sometime after the recumbent monument had been used for its original purpose. The excavators suggested a date of *ca* 1010 for the monument and *ca* 1040 for its reuse.⁷² Based on these postulated dates, the St Vedast Cross and the St Martin-at-Palace recumbent monument are broadly contemporary.

The existence of contemporary material culture exhibiting Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian motifs within a zone of Danish influence is suggestive of intercultural dialogue. Specifically, these sculptures are seemingly indicative of artistic choice—by

⁶⁹ O. Beazley and B. Ayers, *Two Medieval Churches in Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 96 (Gressenhall, Norfolk 2001), pp. 1-14.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5. See Appendix 1, pp. 328-329; pl. 19.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷² *Ibid.*

the artist and/or patron. As will be argued in the succeeding chapter, tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglian funerary sculptures exhibiting Anglo-Saxon motifs are probably manifestations of lordship *vis à vis* association with minster churches. Through display of such motifs (the visual “language” of the minster system) elites proclaimed their participation in, and their allegiance to, its hierarchy. The St Martin-at-Palace monument demonstrates that the visual language of the minster system was likely understood and spoken in late tenth- and eleventh-century Norwich.

Therefore, the St Vedast Cross, with its Mammen-style zoomorphs, probably reflects other cross-cultural associations. Acknowledging that participation in the minster system is likely evidenced by the St Martin-at-Palace recumbent monument, the St Vedast Cross is probably best understood as demonstrative of manorial church-foundation (specifically the related practice of founder-burial). Its closest parallels in form, scale and probable date are the Ryedale (YN) “Warrior Crosses”. Its zoomorphic decoration, specifically, its possible serpentine beast(s), is similar to the creatures ornamenting the Middleton crosses.⁷³ The patron of the St Vedast Cross, like his probable contemporaries at Middleton, was likely a founder of a manorial church or was closely related to a founder. Their sculpted funerary monuments proclaimed their lordly status and their cultural affiliations and were probably erected prior to their churches’ association with episcopal or monastic polities.

Among East Anglia’s extant Late Saxon sculpture, the St Vedast Cross is idiosyncratic. It bears no similarity of form, scale or decoration to the other surviving crosses and cross-fragments, and its zoomorphic ornament is unrelated to the non-figural

⁷³ The strands of interlace which bisect the bodies of the Middleton serpents at various intervals are also repeated on the St Vedast serpentine creature.

decoration of the Fenland Group.⁷⁴ When this sculpture is considered with other manifestations of Danish culture in Norwich, it is apparent that elite patrons were conversant in the visual languages of both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cultures; thus, based on extant evidence, the elite populace of tenth- and eleventh-century Norwich can accurately be termed, "Anglo-Scandinavian". However, when the stone sculpture is interrogated as a "corpus" (particularly the Fenland Group) the identity referents seem to be with pre-existing ecclesiastical institutions, though the St Vedast Cross seemingly reflects a local Scandinavian identity, perhaps associated with manorial church-foundation. Dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings (including those from Ixworth), however, are characterized by Scandinavian decoration and iconography (see above, pp. 237-255). Thus, in the context of such "secular" objects, motif-style may have been indicative of Scandinavian inheritance or identity. This hypothesis would be consistent with Cnut's foundation of a Northern Empire and his promotion of Danish culture (see above, pp. 255-260). How that populace signified its status in East Anglia will be assessed in the next chapter.

⁷⁴ See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 15-45; and Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 323-357.

Chapter 7

Lordship and Patronage in Late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia

7.A. Introduction

Having established that ethnicity in Late Saxon East Anglia was apparently not expressed through stone monuments (though a local Scandinavian affiliation is perhaps suggested by the St Vedast Cross), this study will now address how sculpture might have expressed other forms of identity—specifically, lordship and patronage. In pre-Conquest East Anglia, these processes were complex and interrelated. Benefaction of architecture and prestige objects, whether small or of monumental scale, demanded substantial wealth. Resultant commissions displayed patrons' affluence and conveyed messages of power and authority¹ which might have been influenced by, or represent the continuation of, earlier traditions of gift-giving, as the lord's role as a "giver-of-gifts" coalesced into the dual roles of "*seigneur*" and patron. Benefaction and display of wealth proclaimed and reaffirmed lordly status. Stone sculpture played an important role in this process, serving as a tangible, permanent symbol of rank, whether secular or religious in nature. Though patronage and lordship were symbiotic in Late Saxon East Anglia, independent treatment of these processes facilitates their explication. Thus, "patronage" is discussed in terms of the process of commissioning and the various media utilized, whereas "lordship" is explored through the intentions of the patron and the various messages evoked by the commission itself.

7.B. Lordship

¹ R. Fleming, "The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001), pp. 1-22, at 12-13.

Archaeological and literary evidence demonstrates that socio-political relationships in Anglo-Saxon England were regulated and maintained largely through the exchange of gifts.² In addition to religious patronage, gift-giving is evidenced by weapon burial, river deposition, heroic poetry, law codes, wills and letters.³ This evidence spans the entire Anglo-Saxon period (*ca* late fifth to mid-eleventh century): the rite of weapon burial is of fifth- to eighth-century date;⁴ heroic poetry (*Beowulf*, for example) has been variously assigned to the eighth or tenth centuries, though such poems often preserve earlier material; and the laws pertaining to “*heriot*” (a form of death tax) and wills date to the ninth-eleventh centuries.⁵ Härke has demonstrated, convincingly, that the various dates ascribed to these evidential categories result primarily from the nature of the sources themselves; therefore they cannot be interpreted as accurate delimiters of the practices they reflect or describe.⁶ For example, though the tradition of weapon burial ceases *ca* 700, this can be interpreted as part of the general decline in grave-good deposition.⁷ It is also apparent that heroic poetry could not have been transcribed prior to the reintroduction of literacy to England beginning in the seventh century, nor could the existence and oral tradition of poetry, together with other practices including looting and

² See, for example, H. Härke, “The Circulation of Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society”, *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, eds. F. Theuvs and J. Nelson (Leiden 2000), pp. 377-399, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁴ H. Geake, “Burial Practice in Seventh- and Eighth-century England”, *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. M. Carver (1992; Woodbridge 2002), pp. 83-94, *passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-378. “Between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, the gift (or return) of weapons from follower to lord became formalized as heriot, and enshrined in law. The secular laws of King Cnut (issued probably between AD 1020 and 1023) stipulated that any nobleman of the rank of thegn or above had to provide for weapons and money to be given on the occasion of his own death to the king. This heriot was graded by rank, and differentiated by region”. *Ibid.*, p. 382. For a discussion of early Anglo-Saxon wills, see M. Sheehan, *The will in medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century* (Toronto 1963), p. 23. For a discussion of later Anglo-Saxon wills, see L. Tollerton-Hall, “Wills and will-making in Late Anglo-Saxon England” (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of York, 2005), *passim*.

⁶ Härke, “Circulation of Weapons”, p. 378.

⁷ *Ibid.*

gift-giving, be dismissed before that date.⁸ While the earliest Anglo-Saxon wills are datable to the ninth century, the notion of inheritance predates this period (“heirloom”, for example, is identified as an existing practice in the seventh-century laws of Æthelberht of Kent, ca 602-603).⁹ Despite such profound changes in Anglo-Saxon society, Härke’s hypothesis that the various forms of gift-giving between the seventh and ninth centuries are broadly contemporary seems justified.

The cohesive force of gift-giving to the social order of Anglo-Saxon England is demonstrated with particular clarity by the literary evidence. *Beowulf*, for example, characterizes the king as “ring-giver”, “giver of treasure”, “gold-friend of warriors” and “provider of gold”,¹⁰ and his hall (the principal context for gift-exchange) is identified as the “gift-hall” or the “gold-giving hall”.¹¹ In return for gifts, protection and hospitality, the king, “sustainer of the warriors”,¹² demanded loyalty and service.¹³ Gift-exchange between elites is also documented. A late eighth-century letter from Charlemagne to King Offa of Mercia (dated 796) states that the emperor has sent Offa, “for joy, ... a belt, a Hunnish sword and two silk palls”.¹⁴ Demonstrating the practice of *heriot*, the early eleventh-century will of Athelstan directs that a sword given to him by his retainer,

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁰ *Beowulf* II (1978; Swanton, ed., 1997), pp. 1012, 1169-1171, 1476, 2070. Abels argues that “one might be justified in regarding kingship among the early Anglo-Saxons as but an exalted form of lordship, the king being simply the lord of nobles”. See R. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley 1988), pp. 17 ff. Royal gift-giving is also recorded in eleventh-century Winchester, where the poets Sigvatr and Bersi recount Cnut’s generosity: “*Knútr ..., mætra / mildr ... / ...hringa ...Knútr hefr okr ... / ... bóðum / hendr, es hilmi fundum, / ... skrautliga búnar*”/“Cnut, generous with precious rings ... Cnut has splendidly adorned the arms of both of us”. Townend, “Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*”, p. 173 (text and translation).

¹¹ *Beowulf* II (Swanton, ed., 1997), pp. 838, 1253, 1639.

¹² *Ibid.*, I. 3115.

¹³ Härke, “Circulation of Weapons”, p. 379.

¹⁴ Whitelock, *English historical documents*, p. 849.

Æthelwine, be returned.¹⁵ Such evidence illustrates that gift-giving regulated the lord/retainer bond in the Anglo-Saxon period, manifested respect among equals and warranted codification in law.

The demonstrated importance of gift-giving in Anglo-Saxon society has persuaded many scholars that loyalty to one's lord supplanted that to one's kin in the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁶ The account of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 755, is usually cited in support of this hypothesis. This story describes how King Cynewulf of Wessex and his retinue were murdered by the *ætheling* Cyneheard, a disaffected member of the royal family whom the king had attempted to exile. Cyneheard and his followers are then surrounded by Cynewulf's retainers; refusing to abandon their leader, Cyneheard's men reject offers of clemency, choosing to remain and die with their rebel lord.¹⁷ Scholars have noted that the Cynewulf/Cyneheard story demonstrates that by the mid-eighth century, "the ties between lord and man exceeded those of blood relationship"¹⁸ and that although "the claims of kindred were still recognized" in this period, "they were, if necessary, subordinated to superior claims of lordship".¹⁹ Loyn articulates this belief most

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

¹⁶ See, for example, H. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (1962; New York 1963), p. 298; F. Magoun, "Cynewulf, Cyneheard and Osric", *Anglia Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 57, n.s. 45 (1933), pp. 361-376, *passim*; and D. Fisher, *The Anglo-Saxon Age, c. 400-1042* (1973; Hong Kong 1976), pp. 130-131.

¹⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953; Garmondswey, ed. and trans., 1977), pp. 46, 48.

¹⁸ Magoun, "Cynewulf, Cyneheard and Osric", p. 373.

¹⁹ Fisher, *Anglo-Saxon Age*, p. 130. A principal duty of kin-groups was to avenge the deaths of their members. Kin would also be entitled to a payment of *wergild*, if one of their own were killed (as would the lord to whom the deceased was bound). For a concise discussion of duty to kin-groups in Anglo-Saxon England, see D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (1952; London 1991), pp. 38-47.

forcefully, stating that the Cynewulf/Cyneheard story signals the “victory of the lordship principle over the kindred tie”.²⁰

While many scholars agree that loyalty to one’s lord supplanted that to one’s kin through the tradition of gift-giving, some, notably White, have argued that the Cynewulf/Cyneheard story does not support this theory.²¹ White’s interpretation of the narrative places greater importance on its earliest events, notably the deposition and subsequent death of Cyneheard’s brother, King Sigeberht.²² We are told that Cynewulf,

and the councillors of Wessex deprived Sigeberht of his kingdom for unlawful actions, with the exception of Hampshire; and this he kept until he slew the ealdorman who remained faithful to him longer than the rest. And Cynewulf then drove him away into the Weald, and he lived there until a herdsman stabbed him at the stream at Privett, thereby avenging the ealdorman Cumbra.²³

White notes that in the story of Sigeberht’s fall, lordship does not consistently prevail, nor is it accorded absolute preeminence.²⁴ For example, he emphasizes that the story begins with an attack on a lord by his own retainers.²⁵ Though the narrative does not demonstrate that warriors were free to “disobey, abandon or betray”²⁶ their leaders, it does suggest that obligations to one’s lord were mutable: when weighed against other considerations, such duties were sometimes displaced.²⁷ While the use of the Cynewulf/Cyneheard story in reconstructions of societal relationships in Anglo-Saxon England is somewhat controversial, extant archaeological and literary evidence

²⁰ Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 298.

²¹ S. White, “Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: The Story of Sigeberht, Cynewulf, and Cyneheard”, *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 1-18, at 5-6 ff.

²² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953; Garmonsway, ed. and trans., 1977), p. 46.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ White, “Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England”, p. 6.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

demonstrates that processes of gift-exchange regulated those relationships and engendered cohesion throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

In the ninth century, land became an increasingly important commodity in the gift-centred society of Anglo-Saxon England. In addition to gifts of money and material goods, loans of land were granted to retainers in exchange for faithful service. Through such service, each generation acquired its use of land.²⁸ A late ninth-century diploma recounts this process:

During his lifetime the aforementioned Cenwald instructed that, if his son Census should serve the king or enter his following, he should be the lord of this land as long as he lived.²⁹

The commissioners of the *Domesday* inquest had assumed that during the reign of Edward the Elder (899-925), the Saxon kingdoms had been organized into “mansions” or estates.³⁰ Before the end of the tenth century, the phrase “*heafod botl*” (“chief dwelling”) was employed as a descriptor not only of a lord’s residence, but also of those adjacent lands which supported his household.³¹ By the mid-eleventh century, tenurial lords might possess multi-vill (“village”) *sokes* (“estates”) comprising a manorial centre and numerous *berewicks* and *sokelands* (dependencies of a *soke*).³²

Domesday Book records that ecclesiastical elites were also significant landholders. In East Anglia, for example, approximately half of the region was held by the Church or monastic houses in the eleventh century:³³ the abbots of St Edmunds and Ely and the Bishop of Thetford each held several large estates on behalf of their

²⁸ Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, p. 44.

²⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁰ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 480.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 167. “*Berewick*” and “*sokeland*” are defined as “an outlying estate, or an estate devoted to some specialized function” and an “appurtenance to a manor”, respectively. See *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1431, 1435.

³³ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 519-550, 1052-1301.

communities.³⁴ Based on other textual evidence, ecclesiastical lordship had a lengthy history in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Alcuin, for example, mentions the extensive landholdings of Eanbald II, Archbishop of York (d. 796), amassed as payment for protecting the king's enemies.³⁵ According to Alcuin, the archbishop's tenurial holdings surpassed those of his predecessors.³⁶

Rights that lords exercised over their lands are referred to in *Domesday Book* as “*soke*” or “*sake and soke*”.³⁷ Relying on the work of Maitland, Davis and Kristensen, Hadley identifies four principal contexts in which “*soke*” is employed in *Domesday Book*:

i) to describe the obligations resting on land and its inhabitants; (ii) as a term for a territorial unit or estate (the dependencies of a manor are commonly described as its *soke*); (iii) to describe land (*sokeland* or *terra in soca*); and (iv) as a descriptive word for a stratum of the peasantry (*sochemanni*).³⁸

Both Stenton and Roffe argue that rights of *soke* imply jurisdiction.³⁹ This is a useful characterization since the holder of a unit of land did not, necessarily, possess its *soke*. Those with rights of *soke* might be considered “overlords”, supported by lesser elites, including thegns, who maintained land within the *soke* and effectively governed its supporting populations.⁴⁰ This concept of tenurial “jurisdiction” advanced by Stenton and Roffe was probably variable. For example, Hadley observes that some lords with rights of *soke* received the fines their subjects incurred in courts; she also notes that such

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1236-1249, 522-526, 1253-1255.

³⁵ Quoted in Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, p. 27.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1434-1435.

³⁸ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 167-168.

³⁹ F. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History 2, ed. P. Vinogradoff (Oxford 1910), pp. 3-96; D. Roffe, “From thegnage to barony: sake and soke, title and tenants-in-chief”, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990), pp. 157-176, *passim*.

⁴⁰ “Thegns” are defined in *Domesday Book* as men of noble status with a *wergeld* of 1200s. See *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1435.

lords may have exercised rights of patronage within their territory,⁴¹ possibly in an hierarchical manner with respect to lesser elites.⁴² It is also possible that the *sok*-holder's jurisdiction included what would later be termed the "manorial" court.⁴³

While some lords held *sok* over territories administered by lesser elites, others possessed *sok* and land, exercising tenurial jurisdiction and governance.⁴⁴ In such instances, the lord's rights were termed "*sake* and *sok*" ("*saca et soca*"). Roffe and Reynolds have argued that the phrase "*sake* and *sok*" is synonymous with the notion of tenure by book,⁴⁵ referring to land whose title was a royal charter, permitting disposal at the holder's discretion.⁴⁶ Thus, the estates of those lords who exercised the rights of *sake* and *sok* were akin to bookland estates, though not all had acquired royal charters or "land-books".⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the resultant (or in some instances *de facto*) "bookright" signified that the lord would receive from his tenurial holdings those dues and services that had once been the king's prerogative.⁴⁸ Such taxes are often termed "*consuetudines*" in *Domesday Book*, a vague term that Maitland interprets as a right to taxes, rents, miscellaneous services and dues.⁴⁹

The complex system of land-tenure documented in *Domesday Book* necessitated involvement by all levels of society. The fundamental importance of this tenurial

⁴¹ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 168.

⁴² Though Hadley provides no evidence that *sok*-holders may have exercised rights of patronage, the idea is compelling. If *sok*-holders can be characterized as a class of tenurial "overlords", then it seems reasonable that they would display/reaffirm their status and influence through benefaction to both lesser elites and the supporting population.

⁴³ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 168.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Roffe, "From thegnage to barony", pp. 165-166; S. Reynolds, "Bookland, folkland and fiefs", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992), 211-227, *passim*.

⁴⁶ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1431.

⁴⁷ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 168; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford 1994), p. 338.

⁴⁸ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 169.

⁴⁹ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 77.

organization is illustrated by its participants: their roles are largely defined by access to land.⁵⁰ As discussed above, the stratum of landholders in later eleventh-century England (primarily lords and lesser elites)⁵¹ is characterized by its rights of *soke* or *sake* and *soke*. Supporting those with such tenurial rights was a peasant population of varying status. The categories of peasant occurring most frequently in *Domesday Book* are *servi* and *ancillae* (though they are rare in the Danelaw), *cottarii*, *bordarii*, *villani*, *sokemanni* and *liberi homines*.⁵² Most scholars concur that the *servi* and *ancillae* recorded in *Domesday Book* were likely male and female slaves, respectively.⁵³ They are described by the *Domesday* chroniclers as manorial equipment;⁵⁴ while they are compelled to work land, they hold no tenurial rights. *Servi* and *ancillae* are associated with “inland”, the closely supervised and intensively exploited core of a lord’s territorial holdings.⁵⁵ Inland provided lords with supplies for their households; thus, the freedoms of those who worked such land were restricted, as were the tasks they performed and where they lived.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ See Hadley, “Lords and peasants”, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 165-215, *passim*.

⁵¹ Hadley suggests that free-peasant landholders “formed a substantial stratum of early medieval society in England” and that the *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* of the eleventh century were their societal descendants. See Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 215, 42-93.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁵³ For example, see Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 179 and Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 477.

⁵⁴ For example, “Ælfgifu, mother of Earl Morcar, held Brandeston TRE as a manor with 3 carucates of land and 5 villans and 6 bordars and 5 slaves. Then as now 2 ploughs in demesne ...”; “In Creeting [St Peter] Ælfric, son of Brune, 1 free man under Wihtgar by commendation only held TRE 1 carucate of land in the king’s soke. Now William de Bouville holds it from the bishop. Then as now 5 bordars and 1 slave”. *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1250.

⁵⁵ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 179.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* See also H. Hamerow, “The Forces of Production: Crop and Animal Husbandry”, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400-900* (2002; Oxford 2004), pp. 125-155, esp. pp. 147 ff.

According to *Domesday Book*, *cottarii* and *bordarii* (“cottagers” and the landless or small-holders) also occupied inland.⁵⁷ *Cottarii* and *bordarii* are sometimes used interchangeably in *Domesday Book*;⁵⁸ it is therefore difficult to assess whether these terms signify discrete groups. According to the surveys of the abbeys of Peterborough and Burton, the typical *bordarii* land-holding was between five and eight acres.⁵⁹ Hadley notes that this was barely sufficient for subsistence and that *bordarii* probably augmented their own agricultural pursuits by working for lords or wealthier peasants.⁶⁰

The term “*villani*” (“villagers”) is also employed in *Domesday Book* to describe some inland workers. Its usage, however, is so broad that it probably included strata of peasants who were much less burdened than *servi*, *ancillae*, *cottarii* and *bordarii*.⁶¹ *Villani* are generally associated with village lands, and according to the aforementioned surveys of the abbeys of Peterborough and Burton, their holdings were typically two *bovates* (roughly thirty acres).⁶² Though we can surmise that *villani*’s status was higher than that of other peasants owing to their land-holdings, they were not entirely independent: *villani* were subject to manorial courts and were thus notionally unfree.⁶³

Occupying the stratum between the indentured peasantry and the lordly elites were the *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* (“freemen”). Though these free peasants were found throughout England, according to *Domesday Book*, their greatest concentrations

⁵⁷ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1431-1432, 1436; see also Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 178-179.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Quoted in Lennard, *Rural England, 1086-1135*, p. 362.

⁶⁰ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 178.

⁶¹ R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997; London 1999), pp. 56-88; see also *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1436.

⁶² Quoted in Lennard, *Rural England*, p. 358.

⁶³ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1436. *Servi*, *ancillae*, *cottarii* and *bordarii* were also subject to manorial courts, though, as discussed above, their access to land was greatly restricted, making economic self-determination impossible.

were in the Danelaw counties, especially Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.⁶⁴ The terms “*sokemanni*” and “*liberi homines*” are likely regional variants referring to the same peasants, whose privileged status was attributable, primarily, to their access to public courts and to their freedom from manorial obligation.⁶⁵

Sokemanni and *liberi homines* are differentiated from lesser peasants through their freedom from seigneurial constraint. Though a lord might retain *soke* over their holdings, *Domesday Book* implies that free alienation and sale of land was their defining prerogative.⁶⁶ Like indentured peasants, *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* were subject to *consuetudines*, incorporating a range of obligations and payments.⁶⁷ These included

⁶⁴ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 882-965, 1052-1301; Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 180.

⁶⁵ For example, approximately half of the total of *sokemanni* in *Domesday Book* (ca eleven thousand) are recorded in Lincolnshire, whereas ninety-six percent of *liberi homines* are found in the *Domesday* entries for Norfolk and Suffolk. See *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 882-965, 1052-1301; Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 357-362. Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 180. *Sokemanni* and *liberi homines* might be differentiated by what Stenton terms “intra-manorial” and “extra-manorial” *sokemanni*: those situated within a manor’s confines (perhaps “inland”) and those inhabiting its dependencies. With reference to Norfolk, Williamson has suggested that *sokemanni* are associated with manors, whereas *liberi homines* are associated with marginal or newly colonized land (often identified by “-thorp” placenames). See Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure*, pp. 46-49; and Williamson, *Origins of Norfolk*, pp. 117-122.

⁶⁶ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 66-79. Examples in *Domesday Book* of the rights of *sokemen* and *liberi homines* to sell their land are innumerable. For example: “In Whinburgh [Nf] [there is] 1 sokeman, 30 acres. And [there are] 2 acres of meadow. Then [there was] 1 plough; now half [a plough]. Then it was worth 16s.; now 8[s.]. The Hundred testifies that he could not sell his land but the sheriff asserts in opposition that he could sell without [securing] his lord’s permission ... In Antingham [Nf] ... [there are] 3 freemen who can give and sell their land”. *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1126, 1134. Building on the work of Stenton and Miller, Hadley argues that access to the *soke*’s public court was the defining characteristic of *sokemanni* (and *liberi homines* based on her conflation of the terms). See Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 185; Stenton, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, pp. cix-cx; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: the social history of an ecclesiastical estate from the tenth to the early fourteenth century*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought I (1951; London 1969), 116-119. Based on the innumerable references in *Domesday* to the rights of freemen to sell their holdings, this author contends that free alienation and sale of land was their defining prerogative within the peasantry.

⁶⁷ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 76-77; Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*; N. Neilson, *Customary Rents*, Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History 2, ed. P. Vinogradoff (Oxford 1910), pp. 36-37.

labour (though less onerous than that required of lesser peasants), food renders, escort and carrying duties (or monetary equivalents) and military service.⁶⁸

Based on the evidence of *Domesday Book*, the holdings of *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* varied considerably.⁶⁹ Some functioned as *de facto* lords, holding extensive tracts of land farmed by *villani*, *cottarii* and *bordarii*, while others held less than five acres (far below the subsistence levels proposed by Hadley).⁷⁰ The holdings of most *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* seem to have ranged from ten to forty acres.⁷¹ The relative disparity of some freemen's landholdings, as documented in *Domesday Book*, has generated discussion about the source of their status within the peasantry. Hadley notes that access to the public courts of *wapentake* and shire were of considerable importance to the maintenance of *sokemanni*'s and *liberi homines*' social and legal status.⁷² Considering the relatively small size of the average freeman's landholdings, some scholars (Loyn in particular) have suggested that an emphasis on sheep-rearing and

⁶⁸ *Sokemanni* and *liberi homines* were also obliged to make suit to their lords' sheep-folds and mills. Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp.184, 181. See also Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 76-77; and Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure*, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁹ R. Lennard, "The economic position of the Domesday sokemen", *Economic Journal* 57 (1947), pp. 179-195, *passim*.

⁷⁰ For example, "In 'Torp'... [Loddon Hundred, Nf] ... [there are] 6 sokemen at 13 acres. And they have 1 plough and 8 bordars ... [In Blackbourn Hundred, Sf] Edith, a certain free woman, held Norton [near Bury St Edmunds TRE as one manor with 4 carucates of land. Then as now 9 villans and 21 bordars and 6 slaves ... [In] Mendham [Sf] ... 1 free man holds 3 acres, worth 6d ... In Stoke Ash [Sf] 7 free men in the soke and commendation of the abbot [held] 10 acres". *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1133, 1190, 1246, 1247. See Lennard, *Rural England*, pp. 359-360 and Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 183.

⁷¹ See Lennard, *Rural England*, pp. 359-360; and Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 183. In certain areas, the average holdings were quite large. For example, according to the data recorded in *Domesday Book*, the median holding of freemen on the estates of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds was 17.67 acres. This statistic contradicts the one acre Lennard proposes for these estates. See Lennard, *Rural England*, pp. 359-360.

⁷² The Old Norse term "*wapentake*" denotes an administrative meeting place where attendance or voting was signified by the display of weapons. *Wapentakes* were roughly equivalent to Anglo-Saxon "hundreds" (the division of a shire—an administrative area controlled by a royal official known as a "reeve" or "sheriff"—for administrative, military and judicial purposes). See Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 504-505, 298-301, 395-396; Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 183.

agricultural trade may explain their continued freedoms and prosperity.⁷³ It is also possible that the nature of the *consuetudines* of certain *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* contributed to their status: in East Anglia, the dues and obligations owed by freemen were hundredal rather than manorial.⁷⁴ Freemen's association with the king (albeit tenuous) might also have contributed to, or reaffirmed, their elevated status within the peasantry. Whereas the labour contributed by lesser peasants was of paramount importance to the efficient running of estates, that provided by *sokemanni* and *liberi homines* was supplementary, and to some extent, symbolic.⁷⁵ Such contributions probably derived from the occasional additional service required for maintenance of the king's inland.⁷⁶ While *Domesday Book* records certain characteristics of late-eleventh century freedom, including possession of land and access to public courts, the relative disparity it illustrates between some freemen, especially with reference to landholdings, demonstrates that the terms "*sokemanni*" and "*liberi homines*" refer to an ambiguous stratum of the peasantry with probable inequities in both status and wealth.

Though *Domesday Book* illustrates that freemen were not a homogeneous group in Late Saxon England, they did share an important obligation as landholders: "*fyrð*" or military service.⁷⁷ Within the eleventh-century *Fyrð*, direct obligation and allegiance was to one's lord.⁷⁸ As discussed above, freemen were bound to their lords through the rights of *soke* and *sake* and *soke*; any others in a lord's command (retainers and

⁷³ Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 361-362.

⁷⁴ According to a thirteenth-century source, *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson* (an inventory of the holdings of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds) the phrase "*nunc de carrucatis terre istius hundredi dicendum est*" ("At present your ploughland will be designated by the hundred") is employed as a standard phrase. Quoted in Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, p. 183.

⁷⁵ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 184-185.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁷⁷ The standard phrase employed in *Domesday Book* describing freemen's obligations to their lords, "... with all customary dues", probably encompasses all of the their *consuetudines*, including military service.

⁷⁸ Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 146.

mercenaries for example) were bound by hold-oaths or payments.⁷⁹ Thus, within the *Fyrd*, lords were bound to the king (their “lord” who granted them landrights); peasants, including freemen, were bound to their lords (who granted them access to land); and any contractual participants were bound to their employer. This system of allegiance mirrors eighth- and ninth-century charter evidence that characterizes early Anglo-Saxon kings as lords.⁸⁰ Despite Eadred’s consolidation of the English throne in the mid-tenth century, the system of allegiance within the *Fyrd* (and, by extension, within the landholding classes) suggests that domestic governance in eleventh-century England was still influenced by the institution of lordship.

While landholders’ compulsory military service supplied Anglo-Saxon kings with the majority of their defensive force, it also contributed to the foundation of what Bede termed “spurious monasteries” in the eighth century.⁸¹ In his epistle dated 734 to Egbert, Bishop of York, Bede discusses various ecclesiastical abuses which undermine the Northumbrian church. He emphasizes the acquisition of land by laymen, secured by royal charter (“bookright”) under the pretense of establishing monasteries.⁸² Bede records that the appointed “abbots” marry and raise families on these properties.⁸³ By calling their lands “monastic houses”, laymen secured hereditary estates and freed themselves from all *consuetudines*, including *fyrd*-service.⁸⁴ Not only does Bede observe in his epistle that such “monasteries” would promote immorality and the decline of

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17; See Keynes, ed., *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, *passim*; and Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, *passim*.

⁸¹ Bede, *OH*, 2 vols. (Plummer, ed., 1896), I, pp. 405-423, esp. pp. 414-417.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.

⁸³ *Ibid.* See also C. Cubitt, “The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England”, *Historical Research* 78 (2005), pp. 273-287, at 285-286.

⁸⁴ Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, p. 28.

religious observance, he notes that the *Fyrd* would decline, leaving Northumbria vulnerable to attack.⁸⁵

While Bede's epistle to Egbert is removed both geographically and temporally from Late Saxon East Anglia, it does provoke hypotheses which inform this discussion. For example, Cubitt has recently commented on Bede's references to sexually active clergy, suggesting that they may have staffed "village" or "rural" churches in the eighth and ninth centuries; she also proposes that many of these churches were likely founded on estates by secular elites.⁸⁶ This suggests that the proliferation of manorial church construction in the tenth and eleventh centuries was not an isolated occurrence; it is seemingly the culmination of a lengthy history of church foundation by secular landholders which challenges the tenth-century *naissance* of the manorial church proposed by Blair.⁸⁷ If it can be demonstrated that the "institution" of the manorial church pre-dates the tenth century, then the processes which influenced the display of secular status within its confines might also be of an earlier date. Furthermore, the ambiguous nature of monasteries and minster churches, including their nomenclature and organization, could suggest that lay-foundation or overlordship of minsters in the Late Saxon period may have exempted their *soke*-holders from *fyrd*-service, as it did lay-founders of monastic houses.⁸⁸ This might also explain, in part, why the acquisition

⁸⁵ Bede, *OH*, 2 vols. (Plummer, ed., 1896), I, p. 414.

⁸⁶ Cubitt, "Clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England", p. 286.

⁸⁷ See Blair and Sharpe, "Introduction", pp. 1-10, at 1-2.

⁸⁸ *Domesday Book* provides some evidence of lay-overlordship of minsters in Late Saxon East Anglia. For example, with reference to the Hundred of Stow (Sf), *Domesday* records that "Hugh de Montfort has 23 acres of this carucate and claims it as belonging to a certain chapel which 4 brothers, free men under Hugh, built on land of their own next to the cemetery of the mother church because it could not contain the whole parish". In Thetford Hundred (Nf.), "Roger Bigod [has] 1 house [which is] free and 1 minster and 2 borders [belonging] to the minster". In its rather confusing record of Loddon Hundred (Nf), *Domesday* associates two free men, Ælfric and Wulfsgie with overlordship and states, "... here there is

of burial rights was pursued by the founders of manorial churches: possession of a burial ground not only generated revenue, it also elevated the church to minster status.⁸⁹

7.C. Patronage

Turning to consider related issues of patronage, it has often been observed that elites possessed considerable wealth throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.⁹⁰ This affluence is demonstrated by furnished burials;⁹¹ by seventh-century jewellery, often cast in precious metal and sometimes inlaid with gems and/or glass;⁹² by monumental stone and wooden sculptures, probably painted and possibly inlaid or augmented with other materials;⁹³ by

free land of the church, 80 acres", likely implying that the holdings are not taxed, a prerogative of the founders of monastic houses. *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1186, 1059, 1149.

⁸⁹ J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1962), p. 321; Blair, "Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church", p. 13.

⁹⁰ Examples include R. Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement* (London 1989), pp. 197-200; *idem*, "Society, Power and the First English Industrial Revolution", *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XXXVII* (Spoleto 1991), pp. 125-150, esp. pp. 136-137 and 145-150; and J. Maddicott, "Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred", *Past and Present* 123 (1989), pp. 3-51, *passim*.

⁹¹ Though anomalous in the archaeological record, its monumentality and grandeur makes the Sutton Hoo burial the most notable example. See Bruce-Mitford, *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, *passim*; M. Carver, "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sutton Hoo: An Interim Report", *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, pp. 343-371, at 363-367; and *idem*, "Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia", *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester 1989), pp. 141-158, *passim*.

⁹² See, for example, Geake, "Burial Practice in Seventh- and Eighth-Century England", p. 85-86; Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 4-6, 82-83, 188-215; and Coatsworth and Pinder, *Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith*, pp. 8-9.

⁹³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 25-27; see also J. Lang, "The Painting of pre-Conquest Sculpture in Northumbria", *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England Based on the Proceedings of a Symposium at the Courtauld Institute of Art, February 1985*, S. Cather, D. Park and P. Williamson eds., BAR, British series 216 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 135-146, *passim*. References to painted sculpture are also preserved in Old English poetry. However, it should be noted that such references could be metaphoric in nature. For example, in the poem *Andreas* (ca eighth century), there is a reference to the bright clothing of carved angels, suggesting they were painted ("... *torhte gefratwed*"). Quoted in G. Krapp and E. Dobbie, eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 6 vols. (New York 1931-1953), II, p. 23; Ælfric states in his *Colloquy* (ca 987-1002) that stone crucifixes of the late tenth century were coloured: "*cruces sculpte parietibusque ecclesie atque porticorum picte sunt*". Quoted in W.H. Stevenson, ed., *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (Oxford 1929), p. 100. For an excellent summary of the evidence for sculpture-painting in the Anglo-Saxon period, see Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 121.

illuminated manuscripts, sometimes decorated with gold-leaf and rare pigments;⁹⁴ and by stone churches, of varying scales, embellished with sculptural programmes, frescos and metalwork.⁹⁵ Such media, and their associated material, production and labour costs, reflect not only the wealth of pre-Conquest England but also the substantial investment by its elites in artistic patronage. While such benefaction was common throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, spending arguably peaked *ca* the mid-eighth to the eleventh century.⁹⁶ In East Anglia, such investment is demonstrable in many ways, not least of which is the extant evidence of stone sculpture.⁹⁷

Though Anglo-Saxon elites expended considerable wealth on sculptural commissions, there is little textual evidence of such patronage. References to employment of artists in other media, however, are plentiful.⁹⁸ For example, the anonymous *Vita S Ceolfrithi* and Bede's *Historia abbatum* both recount Benedict Biscop's commissioning of Frankish artisans to construct and then glaze stone buildings

⁹⁴ See, for example, M. Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (London 1991), *passim*; and M. Lapidge, "Artistic and Literary Patronage in Anglo-Saxon England", *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XXXIX, pt. I (Spoleto 1992), pp. 137-191, *passim*.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, pp. 227-274; Fleming, "The New Wealth", pp. 12-13; and Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, *passim*. Literary patronage was also significant during the Anglo-Saxon period. See Lapidge, "Artistic and Literary Patronage", *passim*.

⁹⁶ Increased spending on art-production in the Late Saxon period (*ca* mid-eighth to mid-eleventh century) is largely attributable to the advent of lordship and the practice of identifying and reaffirming lordly status through possession and display of particular objects, including stone sculpture.

⁹⁷ This author has identified 96 fragments of Late Saxon stone sculpture in East Anglia. While this sculptural corpus is much smaller than northern England's (the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, for example, have more than 325 documented fragments), this numerical imbalance should be considered in concert with East Anglia's paucity of workable stone and its obvious reliance on imported material from the Barnack area. Considering such importation, 96 extant fragments are perhaps illustrative of stone's "favoured" status in pre-Conquest East Anglia. For an approximation of the number of surviving examples of Viking Age stone sculptures in northern England, see Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1; and Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 24. For a discussion of the use of Barnack stone in East Anglia, see Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 323-357 (references throughout).

⁹⁸ A useful summary of the textual evidence for artists and their work in pre-Conquest England is Dodwell, "Artists and Craftsmen in Anglo-Saxon England", *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 44-83, *passim*; see also D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London 1984), pp. 13-15.

in his monastery at Monkwearmouth in the late seventh century.⁹⁹ In Aldred's tenth-century colophon appended to the Lindisfarne Gospels, he states that the manuscript was transcribed by Bishop Eadfrith (d. 721), bound by Bishop Æthelwald (724-740) and embellished with jewelled covers by Billfrith the Anchorite.¹⁰⁰ A charter of King Eadred, (946-955) dated 949, confirms that goldsmiths were part of royal retinues; it records the granting of an estate "to [Eadred's man] Ælfsige, gold- and silversmith".¹⁰¹ Roughly contemporaneous archaeological evidence confirms the practice of goldsmithing at the royal palace at Cheddar (So).¹⁰² Goldsmiths are also mentioned in the eleventh-century *Liber vitae* of the New Minster at Winchester.¹⁰³ Among the Old Minster monks mentioned in this text are "Byrnelm aur", "Byrhtelm aur" and "Wulfric aur".¹⁰⁴ The "aur" form appended to these names is an abbreviation of "aurifex", meaning "goldsmith".¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the aforementioned "Wulfric" is also that

⁹⁹ Bede, *OH*, 2 vols. (Plummer, ed., 1896), I, pp. 390, 368; see also Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ "7 Eðilwald lindisfearneolondinga bisc' hit úta giðryde 7 gibélde sua he uel cudæ. 7 billfrið se oncræ gesmioðade ða gihrino ða on ðe útan on sint 7 hit gihrinade mið golde 7 mið gimum æc mið sufulfre of' gylded faconleas feh". / "And Æthelwald, bishop of the Lindisfarne-islanders, impressed it on the outside, and covered it—as he well knew how to do. And Billfrith the anchorite forged the ornaments which are on it on the outside and adorned it with gold and gems and also with gilded-over silver—pure metal"). Quoted in Kendrick *et al.*, *Evangelium quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, II, p. 84; Discussed in Coatsworth and Pinder, *Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith*, p. 222.

¹⁰¹ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 199, no. 543. This charter is incorrectly attributed by Dodwell to King Edgar. See Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 78.

¹⁰² P. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations 1960-1962*, BAR, British series 65 (1979), pp. 53-54.

¹⁰³ See J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen* (Berlin; New York 1988), p. 323 and Coatsworth and Pinder, *Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith*, 237.

¹⁰⁴ In accordance with the terminology employed in discourse on the Old and New Minsters at Winchester, "monk" is used to describe the members of their communities. As discussed in Chapter 2, minsters resembled monasteries in many ways with the terms "mynster" and "monasterium" functioning synonymously. However, their relationship with the laity was fundamentally different. Monasteries were distinctly separate from the lay community owing to the rule of their orders; minsters, however, were not bound by monastic rule and were actively involved with the laity through the provision of the sacraments and the rite of burial. It is likely that the "monks" mentioned in the Winchester *Liber vitae* were not bound by an order. This may explain Wulfric's involvement with secular commissions (see above).

¹⁰⁵ Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen*, p. 323; see also Lapidge, "Artistic and Literary Patronage", p. 139.

included in the will of King Athelstan (925-939).¹⁰⁶ Dodwell suggests that if “Wulfric” is indeed the monk, then his inclusion in the king’s will is probable evidence that he was one of Athelstan’s household goldsmiths.¹⁰⁷ This supposition is supported by the will itself. Athelstan identifies a “Wulfric” as the maker of his “gold belt and armlet” and also of the “sword and silver hilt” which he bequeaths to the Old Minster at Winchester.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that makers of objects which adorned the king’s person, such as belts, buckles and jewellery, were members of the royal retinue (perhaps even intimates of the king). Royal dispensations to goldsmiths, such as the grant of an estate to Ælfsige, and the inclusion of goldsmiths in royal wills support this contention.¹⁰⁹ However, Dodwell’s portrayal of Wulfric as a “household goldsmith” is troublesome; it connotes residence with the king and his entourage. It would be more appropriate to characterize Wulfric as a recipient of personal commissions from the king.

The possibility that the “Wulfric” mentioned in the will of Athelstan was attached to a religious foundation generates intriguing suppositions about the mechanisms of patronage in Late Saxon England. It suggests that ecclesiastical *ateliers* could accept commissions from the lay community; whether Wulfric of Winchester’s receipt of such commissions was anomalous or illustrative of established practice, however, is unclear. How contracts were negotiated, and by whom, is also uncertain. Meaningful discussion of patronage in Late Saxon England must also address the nature of ecclesiastical *ateliers*: were such workshops attached to monasteries (communities of

¹⁰⁶ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 56, no. 20; Lapidge, “Artistic and Literary Patronage”, p. 139.

¹⁰⁷ Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁸ “*And thone gylden an fetels. And thæne beh the Wulfric worhte ...*”; “*... thæs swurdes mid tham sylfrenan hiltan the Wulfric worhte ...*” Quoted in Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 56; Athelstan’s bequest of metalwork to the Old Minster also suggests that the “Wulfric” mentioned in his will was the monk named in the Winchester *Liber vitae*.

¹⁰⁹ Further examples of elite dispensations to goldsmiths are discussed in Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 74-76.

religious, removed from the laity, following a set rule) or to minsters (communities of clerics, including priests, actively involved with the laity)? If “monastic” workshops patronized by lay elites were actually affiliated with minster foundations, their active involvement with the lay community may help explain the proliferation of specific designs and motifs on East Anglian sculpture and access to skilled carvers, evidenced by the sculptures themselves.¹¹⁰

Based on the quality and scale of some extant early Anglo-Saxon figural and non-figural stone-carvings, such as the crosses at Bewcastle (early eighth century), Irton (early ninth century) and the later work, such as that at Gosforth (early tenth century; all Cu),¹¹¹ stone sculptures were clearly prestige objects demanding considerable investment throughout the period.¹¹² Even some sculptures of modest scale, such as the recumbent slabs from Cambridge Castle and the funerary cross in St Mary’s Church, Whissonsett, Nf (all mid-tenth to late eleventh century), were probably unaffordable for most of the Anglo-Saxon populace. Furthermore, such East Anglian sculptures were probably more expensive than those produced in other parts of England owing to the region’s dearth of workable stone.¹¹³ As a rare commodity, available only through importation, stone in East Anglia likely denoted patrons’ wealth and influence more overtly than it did in central and northern England.

¹¹⁰ If it can be demonstrated that lay commissions were accepted by monastic workshops, the nature of monastic orders (at least in a specific place and time) should be reconsidered.

¹¹¹ Bailey and Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 71, 117, 103.

¹¹² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, pp. 210-211, 254-255.

¹¹³ East Anglia’s extant pre-Conquest sculpture is executed in Barnack limestone. With reference to the prohibitive cost (and resultant exclusivity) of stone funerary monuments, Everson and Stocker suggest that the growth of the mercantile class in the tenth and eleventh century may have “democratized” sculptural patronage, giving many of non-lordly status the means to commission stone monuments. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 77.

As already discussed, despite stone's esteem as a medium in the Anglo-Saxon period, textual evidence of sculptural patronage is rare.¹¹⁴ Few accounts exist, and most that record Late Saxon commissions post-date the events they describe by several centuries. The accuracy of such texts is an obvious concern; so, too, are the factors that motivated later authors to revisit these events. For example, Simeon of Durham's twelfth-century discussion of two crosses erected over the grave of Bishop Acca at Hexham in the eighth century was written during a territorial dispute between the sees of Durham and Hexham. It is possible that this account was composed in response to this dispute, though its function is unclear.

The earliest account of Anglo-Saxon sculptural patronage, albeit not of stone, is Bede's reference to King Oswald. He describes the monarch's erection of a wooden cross before engaging the pagan British king Cadwalla in battle, though this object can hardly be considered a "commission": Bede states that it had been "hurriedly made", probably by soldiers.¹¹⁵ In her eighth-century account of the travels of St Willibald, the nun Huneberc records that monumental crosses were often commissioned by Saxon elites and implies that such patronage was expected of nobility.¹¹⁶ Other accounts of sculptural commissions include Æthelwald's eighth-century commemorative cross to St Cuthbert at Lindisfarne,¹¹⁷ preserved in Simeon of Durham's twelfth-century account, the aforementioned monumental crosses erected over Bishop Acca's grave at Hexham in

¹¹⁴ A useful introduction to the regard for stone in the Anglo-Saxon period is Eaton, "Emulating the 'work of giants'", *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*, pp. 111-132, *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Bede, *HE*, III.2 (Colgrave and Mynors, eds., 1969), pp. 214, 216.

¹¹⁶ C.H. Talbot, ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: being the lives of SS. Willibrord [by Alcuin], Boniface [by Willibald], Sturm, [by Eigil] Leoba [by Rudolf] and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald [by Huneberc of Heidenheim] and a selection from the correspondence of St Boniface* (London 1954), 154-155.

¹¹⁷ T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, 2 vols., Rolls series 75 (London 1882-1885, 1885), I, p. 39.

the eighth century¹¹⁸ and three tenth-century boundary crosses erected by King Athelstan at Beverley.¹¹⁹

While commissioning stone sculpture certainly demonstrated affluence and power (secular, ecclesiastical or both) in Anglo-Saxon society, other reasons for patronizing sculptors are largely conjectural. Later evidence is potentially useful in this instance, especially Hill's tripartite theory of monastic patronage. In his study of benefaction and Cistercian foundations in twelfth-century England, Hill proposes three reasons for monastic patronage by lay elites: (1) to assuage guilt for evil deeds; (2) to demonstrate elites' "duty" in a gift-giving society; and (3) to express lay spirituality.¹²⁰ With reference to Hill's concept of religious patronage as gift-giving, Cownie concurs, suggesting that in eleventh-century post-Conquest England, such patronage was recognized as philanthropy; she also notes that the gift was "never a simple exchange of goods".¹²¹ Thus, in a monastic context for example, a patron would donate or bequeath to the church in some way and the religious community would preserve the *memoria* of the deceased through prayer, a principal monastic function.¹²² Lay patronage of religious houses can also be interpreted as a societal gift: the *caritas* of the patron inspires emulation, generating a cycle of benefaction which reinforces the status of the Church and its tenets and models appropriate Christian behaviour, especially amongst elites.

¹¹⁸ Arnold, ed., *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, II, p. 33. See also Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, p. 134, n. 2.

¹¹⁹ J. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 71 (London 1879), I, p. 298.

¹²⁰ B. Hill, *English Cistercian monasteries and their patrons in the twelfth century* (1968; Urbana 1984), pp. 175-177.

¹²¹ E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Rochester 1998), pp. 7, 26; Huneberg's eighth-century discussion concerning the erection of crosses on nobles' estates also supports Hill's theory that religious patronage can be understood as an elite "duty" in a gift-giving society; it also implies that this interpretation of patronage antedates the eleventh/twelfth century.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

7.D. Sculpture, Lordship and Patronage

In Late Saxon East Anglia, elite status was proclaimed and reaffirmed through benefaction (to both religious houses and faithful retainers) and by display of wealth, notably, through artistic patronage.¹²³ Based on extant evidence, stone sculpture (befitting its status as a durable, public art form) seemingly played an important role in the promotion of lordship. While textual references to specific stones and the sites where they were probably displayed are often non-existent, analyses of extant sculptures can contribute to an understanding of lordship in the East Anglian province and the processes which influenced it. The following case-studies address those aspects of sculptures from Whissonsett (Nf) and Great Ashfield (Sf) that help elucidate the apparent relationship between stone sculpture and expressions of lordship in Late Saxon East Anglia.

7.E. Case-studies

7.E.i. *Whissonsett Cross* (see p. 154, fig. 17; Appendix 1, pp. 333-334; pls. 30-32).

The Whissonsett Cross, recovered from St Mary's churchyard in Whissonsett (Nf) *ca* 1905, is the best preserved of the East Anglian examples identified by Fox, missing only its base.¹²⁴ Its ornamentation is typical of the East Anglian funerary group, being composed entirely of non-figural motifs, with panels of interlace and key patterns occupying its broad and narrow faces, respectively. Its wheel-head is further ornamented

¹²³ Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, wealth was displayed in myriad ways, including the size and grandeur of a hall; the size of one's retinue; weapon-quality; land; and animal-holdings. Excellent discussions of objects and buildings as signifiers of wealth and status are provided in the various introductory essays in L. Webster and J. Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600-900* (London 1991); the significance of tenurial and animal-holdings are implied by the interests of the *Domesday* inquisitors.

¹²⁴ Since the cross is now cemented in place, it is impossible to determine if its base was broken or cut from the shaft.

by triquetra knots in each of its four wedge-shaped arms, and a boss demarcates the centre.

Unlike various towns in the East Anglian province, including Cambridge, Ipswich and Norwich, virtually nothing is known of Whissonsett prior to the *Domesday* inquest. Based on its *Domesday* entry, however, it is likely that Whissonsett was held as a manor in the Late Saxon period:

In Whissonsett Ranulf fitzWalter holds for a manor 3 carucates of land, . Then and afterwards [there were] 8 villans, now 5. Then and afterwards [there were] 6 bordars, now 10. Then [there were] 4 slaves, and there have always been 15 acres of meadow. Then [there were] 4 ploughs among the whole, of which 2 are now in demesne and 2 belong to the men; [and there is] woodland for 100 pigs. [There is] the fourth part of a fishpond. There have always been 2 horses, now 12 head of cattle.¹²⁵

Based on this description, Whissonsett was clearly a wealthy manor in the late eleventh century. The existence of the Whissonsett Cross suggests that a minster (a church with burial rights) probably existed on or near the site of St Mary's church in the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh century.¹²⁶ This may have been a manorial church whose status was elevated through the acquisition of a cemetery. The Whissonsett Cross, could, therefore, have been a founder memorial, demarcating the interment of a manorial lord and proclaiming his status within the region. The prestige associated with this monument likely increased exponentially based on the great distance the stone travelled to Whissonsett from its quarry in Barnack, probably through the Fenland river system.¹²⁷ It is also likely that such monuments were rarer in less-populated areas of East Anglia than

¹²⁵ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martins, eds., 2002), pp. 1102-1103.

¹²⁶ Recent rescue excavation (ca 2004) near St Mary's church has confirmed the existence of a pre-tenth-century cemetery at the site. See V. Mellor, *Work undertaken for Broadland Housing Association Limited*, Archaeological Project Services Report 128 (2004), *passim*.

¹²⁷ Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 47-49.

in urbanized centres such as Cambridge. This may also have contributed to the esteem accorded monuments such as the Whissonsett Cross.

7.E.ii. *Great Ashfield Cross* (see p. 160, fig. 19; Appendix 1, pp. 339-340; pls. 39-44).

Unlike Whissonsett 1, the Great Ashfield Cross, which has survived in its entirety, exhibiting vegetal ornament and a Latin inscription, is likely a product of monastic patronage.¹²⁸ If, as Copinger-Hill suggests (see above, p. 163) the Great Ashfield Cross is associated with the translation of St Edmund's relics, then this monument could also be interpreted as a signifier of religious lordship. *Domesday* records that the Abbot of St Edmund's held *soke* to Great Ashfield in the late eleventh century.¹²⁹ Though land at Great Ashfield was bequeathed in 955 by Bishop Theodred of London and Hoxne to his nephew Asgod,¹³⁰ it is possible, even likely, that the Abbey of St Edmunds held properties in the area in the tenth century. If the Great Ashfield Cross commemorates the translation of St Edmund's relics, then it also proclaims the source of the abbey's authority: the saint himself. Thus, the Great Ashfield Cross could reinforce the influence of a religious house over its lay-landholders.

7.F. Conclusion

Here, it has been argued that lordship in Late Saxon East Anglia was influenced by earlier traditions of gift-giving. As land-holding assumed greater significance as an indicator of elite status, the lord's role as a "giver-of-gifts" evolved into the dual roles of "*seigneur*" and patron. Lordly status was then proclaimed and reaffirmed through

¹²⁸ Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 346-347.

¹²⁹ *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1245.

¹³⁰ Quoted in Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 347.

benefaction (especially of churches) and display of wealth. Stone sculpture likely played an important role in this process, functioning as a permanent record of station and privilege. The Whissonsett Cross exemplifies this, likely functioning as a funerary monument (possibly of a church-founder) within a manorial context; whereas the Great Ashfield Cross seemingly proclaims monastic authority over specific territories and the ultimate source of that authority (St Edmund). These case-studies suggest that lordship in Late Saxon East Anglia—whether secular or monastic/ecclesiastical—employed similar traditions of public art in the promotion of elite status within local tenurial hierarchies.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Further Study¹

8.A. Introduction

It has often been observed that pre-Conquest stone monuments are unique historical artifacts.² Acknowledging their general immobility, such objects have rarely been disassociated from their original contexts; as such, they are important records of local and regional taste³ and of the social, economic and religious *milieux* informing their production and resultant styles. As public art, stone sculpture is also invaluable to elucidating identity and the apparent semiotic systems through which it is negotiated, expressed and understood.

Building on these premises, this study of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture has examined their regional specificity through an interdisciplinary study (organized thematically) of sculpture and its corroborative and comparative evidence. It has demonstrated how sculptors in tenth- and eleventh-century East Anglia utilized oolitic limestone characteristic of the Barnack quarries; it also suggests that monasteries (particularly Ely) controlled quarrying and carving in the region.⁴ Finally, in comparison with East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork, it suggests that elite identity was multivalent and its expression(s) were seemingly context-dependent.

While this study has engaged with the typological complexities of East Anglia's Late Saxon stone monuments, it has also interrogated the methodologies, theories and

¹ This chapter is also informed by the evidence and discussions included in Appendices 1-2.

² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 22; Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22; p. 12.

⁴ This hypothesis has been tentatively advanced by Thompson. See Thompson, *Dying and Death*, p. 128. See also Appendix 1, *passim*.

supporting evidence that have informed and influenced interpretation of the material. It has demonstrated that the region's extant sculptures (seemingly products of a specific socio-religious context) are unique to the region and that existing approaches to contemporary evidence in early medieval England may not be entirely applicable to this corpus.

8.B. Sources and Methodology

This is further exacerbated by the fact that the evidence and methodologies informing the study of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture are characterized by omissions and inconsistencies. Pre-Conquest sculptural and onomastic research has evolved from the collation, description and categorization of extant evidence to the location and interpretation of sculptural patronage and naming traditions in their societal context(s). The study of Late Saxon metalwork, however (impeded at various stages by insufficient evidence), has only recently interpreted dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings as manifestations of socio-political intent. The means through which this diverse evidence is now accessible (including historical transcription and subsequent editions) is nevertheless reliant on the data's presumed accuracy. Likewise, the textual sources (*Domesday Book*, *Liber Eliensis* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) are not exhaustive while the secondary scholarship has often theorized its information, either implicitly or explicitly negating its presumed neutrality.

In this context, the corroborative and comparative evidence for East Anglia's Late Saxon sculptural production require critical assessment; it is necessary to acknowledge the incomplete nature (and in some instances insecure interpretations) of

the material culture and onomastic evidence, along with the frequent irregularities of the medieval texts, employing them primarily as evidence for the nature and organization of the physical and human landscapes in which stone monuments were produced.

8.C. Physical and Human Landscape

Dictated by the region's unique topography and pedology, river valleys have been favoured in East Anglia's settlement hierarchy since the Neolithic period. From the late sixth to the mid-eleventh century, rivers and estuaries determined the advent of secular and religious polities, evidenced by the ascension of maritime dynasties, such as the Wuffings, the foundation of trading emporia, including Ipswich, and by the foundation of religious houses such as Ely, Peterborough and, perhaps, Brandon on or near major waterways. East Anglia's dearth of workable stone, coupled with the region's extant Late Saxon sculpture (carved from limestone characteristic of the Barnack quarries), suggests that masons were reliant on imported stone. Acknowledging the region's history of riverine and maritime trade and communication, it is probable that stone was imported via rivers and other waterways. Furthermore, only four sites preserve evidence of Middle Saxon stone monuments in the region, two of which (Barnack and Peterborough Cathedral) are less than one and five miles, respectively, from the quarries themselves, suggesting that the apparent institutional exploitation of stone (see below) was a Late Saxon phenomenon facilitated by tenth-century monastic refoundations and

subsequent endowments, and that earlier carving traditions in East Anglia may have been dependent on proximity to the quarries.⁵

8.D. East Anglian Sculpture--Form and Function

Typologically, the extant evidence of East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture can be arranged in five general categories, three of which constitute the "Fenland Group" and are probably sepulchral in nature.⁶ Most surviving sculptures are seemingly dedicatory, commemorating either individuals or events, though other contexts for use, including didacticism and the demarcation and/or protection of sacred space are also possible. While Fox's seminal analysis of the Fenland Group has influenced this study, his hypothesis that the recumbent slabs constitute a single artifact-type (the grave-cover), perpetuated by Stocker, Everson and Plunkett, has been reconsidered acknowledging variation in slab-thickness, profile and contemporary evidence from Raunds, Furnells. Collectively, this formal and comparative evidence suggests that thinner recumbent slabs, often tapered, may have functioned as coffin-lids. Furthermore, Fox's identification of carving technique *vis à vis* "Type 6" monuments was amended and a "Type 7" recumbent slab was proposed.

8.E. East Anglian Sculpture and Metalwork: Style and Significance

⁵ Iken, the third site from which a Middle Saxon stone monument is documented, is a notable exception. However, if it was the site of St Botolph's monastery, then it may have possessed sufficient wealth to import its own stone from Barnack, likely via the Wash and coastal marine networks.

⁶ As discussed in Chapter 4, evidence from Peterborough Cathedral, Cambridge Castle, Helpston and Hunston suggests that the recumbent and upright slabs characteristic of the Fenland Group functioned as sculptural "suites", demarcating interments. The monolithic crosses of the Fenland Group were probably associated with burials also, likely functioning as head- and/or foot-stones, as evidenced by the particular placement of sculpted decoration on their bases. However, as stated in Chapter 4, this hypothesis is conjectural.

Considered stylistically (as opposed to monument form), it has also been possible to demonstrate that the funerary monuments (which constitute the majority of East Anglia's extant Late Saxon sculpture) manifest conceptions of identity. The monuments' uniform style is suggestive of centralized production; and, acknowledging their placement in what likely functioned as a community's *de facto* administrative centre (the manorial church and its precinct), such monuments were potent expressions of the individual and collective self. Though most East Anglian sculptures exhibit non-figural decoration, iconographical decoding of recurring motifs and motif-combinations suggests that their decorative programmes display considerable interest in eschatological themes. Their evocation of the Crucifixion, its salvation and the Final Resurrection, coupled with literary evidence associating Ely with many of the sites at which such sculpture is preserved, suggest that the Fenland Group is a product of intellectual ecclesiastical *milieux*, most likely monastic *ateliers*, with the foundation at Ely playing a particularly prominent role.

Conversely, East Anglia's Late Saxon metalwork rarely exhibits overt Christian iconography. This corpus is generally characterized by a Scandinavian idiom, preserving Scandinavian object-types, iconography and decoration. In the settlement period (*ca* mid- to late ninth century), jewellery and equestrian-fittings seemingly promulgate cultural dominance. Tenth-century objects, often exhibiting Danish/Anglo-Saxon hybridity of form and decoration evoke acculturation and the formation of an "Anglo-Scandinavian" identity. However, acknowledging Cnut's formation of a northern empire in the eleventh century, comprising England, Denmark, Norway and Sigtuna (Sweden), coupled with apparent references to "Scandinavian" lordship in the figural decoration of

East Anglian metalwork and the Danish character of Cnut's and Harthacnut's courts at Winchester (evidenced by specific artistic and literary traditions), it seems likely that the Scandinavian idiom generally represented by East Anglia's eleventh-century metalwork can best be understood as a regional manifestation of the consolidation and promotion of Cnut's northern or "Scandinavian" empire administered from Winchester.

8.F. Cultural Identity

Within the context of burgeoning studies in ethnicity and identity, it has been possible to review the Late Saxon sculpture of East Anglia against a dynamic society in which "ethnic" symbols (and their referents) were likely understood and deliberately displayed, eliciting specific responses from the populace. While artistic styles (as manifested on particular objects) are not considered evidence of an owner's or patron's biological ethnicity, it can be accepted that they are generally associated with particular media and socio-political *milieux* in Late Saxon East Anglia—in this case, the "Anglian" decoration of stone monuments (often associated with manorial or minster churches) and the "Scandinavian" decoration of metal dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings, variously promoting cultural dominance, hybridity and, presumably, nationalism.

8.G. Lordship and Patronage

Furthermore, by interpreting sculpture as a tangible expression of lordship (influenced by earlier traditions of elite gift-giving), it has been possible to examine the evolution of the lord's role as a "giver-of-gifts" (thereby attracting and maintaining a loyal *comitatus*) to "*seigneur*" and patron. Display of wealth, often through religious

benefaction, proclaimed and reaffirmed elite status. Though textual references to artistic commissions are rare in the Anglo-Saxon period, public art (specifically, stone sculpture) seemingly played an important, perhaps principal, role in the identification and promotion of elite status, especially in the context of its general nature in Late Saxon East Anglia (usually sepulchral, associated with manorial churches, thus reinforcing elite status in the region's tenurial hierarchy). In the context of gift-giving, it is hypothesized that lay-benefaction of religious houses (including manorial churches) was interpreted as a societal gift, in which the patron's *caritas* inspired emulation, thereby instigating a cycle of benefaction that reinforced the status of the Church and its tenets and modelled appropriate Christian behaviour amongst elites.

8.H. Conclusion and Further Study

Overall, this study has suggested that sculptural production in Anglo-Saxon East Anglia was principally associated with the tenth and eleventh centuries, likely facilitated by Æthelwold's programme of monastic refoundation. The region's extensive network of rivers and estuaries enabled the institutional exploitation of stone and probably the dissemination of finished monuments. Of the region's Late Saxon sculptures, most exhibit evidence of centralized or institutional production and are sepulchral in nature. Their commemorative function, coupled with the region's scarcity of workable stone and their location at *de facto* administrative centres (manorial churches) suggests that they proclaimed and reaffirmed elite status in East Anglia's tenurial hierarchy. Furthermore, their decoration is consistent with eschatological belief, suggesting that contemporary signification of lordly status in East Anglia was predicated, in part, on

alliances with religious polities, likely dictated by abbots' extensive *soke*-holdings in the region, as recorded in primary texts, principally, *Liber Eliensis* and *Domesday Book*.

Unlike East Anglia's Late Saxon funerary monuments, the region's contemporary dress-accessories and equestrian-fittings rarely exhibit overt Christian themes. These metal objects are illustrative of a Scandinavian idiom, generally unrelated to the style and decoration of East Anglia's stone sculpture. It is suggested that this metalwork reflects a continuum of ethnic-consciousness, spanning the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century, evoking (in apparent succession), cultural dominance, hybridity and nationalism. This suggests that the signification of elite status in Late Saxon East Anglia was multivalent and context-dependent, apparently employing the preferred medium (stone) and symbolism (eschatological) associated with the East Anglian Church in tenorial contexts (thereby modelling appropriate Christian behaviour in hierarchies often regulated by monastic *soke*-holders) and Scandinavian traditions (including the medium—metal—associated with wealth and prestige in Germanic societies) in "secular" *milieux* where the display of such referents would have a unifying effect among various *comitati*, including royal and lordly retinues, in the contexts of colonization, acculturation and the emergence of a "Scandinavian" empire.

This study demonstrates that elucidating contexts for sculptural production in Late Saxon East Anglia necessitates interdisciplinary methodology, interrogating both material and textual evidence. Though the limitations of various evidential categories have been identified and assessed in Chapter 2, Edward the Confessor's charter and the description of Abbot Leofsige's "food-rent" programme, both preserved in *Liber Eliensis*, warrant further investigation. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, these accounts of

the lands held by the Abbot of Ely somewhat correlate with those sites from which Late Saxon sculpture (characteristic of the Fenland Group) is documented in East Anglia.⁷ Acknowledging the scope and limitations of this project, only those sites where sculpture is documented and accessible were visited. However, numerous other sites are recorded in *Liber Eliensis* as Ely's benefices.⁸ If, as has been suggested here, Ely was a principal centre of sculptural production, then systematic investigation of each site recorded in Edward the Confessor's charter could confirm that the Fenland Group is, indeed, a product of monastic *ateliers*, probably that of Ely. This would also suggest that as the region's principal *soke*-holder, Ely's role in the definition of elite status, *vis à vis* symbol systems, was paramount. This would demonstrate that the processes informing the signification of elite status in Late Saxon East Anglia were unique and would support Hadley and Richards' hypothesis that the conception and expression of Danelaw identity was geographically and temporally mutable.⁹

⁷ See above, pp. 106-109; Appendix 1, *passim*.

⁸ These are (according to Edward's charter): Swaffham, Horningsea, Ditton, Hauxton, Newton, Thriplow, Melbourn, Armingford, Grandsden, Stetchworth, Teversham, Westley, Trumpington, Snailwell, Ditton, Hardwick, Milton, Impington, Cottenham (all C), Hartest, Glensford, Hitcham, Rattlesden, Drinkstone, Nedging, Barking, Barham, Wetheringsett, Livermere, Occold, Wicklow, Sudbourne, Melton, Kingston, Hoo, Stoke, Debenham, Brightwell, Woodbridge, Brandon (all Sf), Feltwell, Bridgham, Methwold, Croxton, Weeting, Mundford, Bergh, Westfield, Fincham, Northwold, Walpole, Marham, Dereham, Thorpe, Pulham (all Nf), Hadstock, Littlebury, Stretley, the Rodings, Rattlesden, Amberden, Broxton, Easter, Farnbridge, Terling (all Ess), Hadstock, Hatfield, Kelshall (all Hrt), Spaldwick, Somersham, Colne and Bluntisham (all Hu). See *Liber Eliensis*, ii.92 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 192-193.

⁹ See Hadley and Richards, "Introduction: interdisciplinary approaches", p. 6.