

This pdf of your paper in *Embodied Knowledge* belongs to the publishers Oxbow Books and it is their copyright.

As author you are licenced to make up to 50 offprints from it, but beyond that you may not publish it on the World Wide Web until three years from publication (December 2015), unless the site is a limited access intranet (password protected). If you have queries about this please contact the editorial department at Oxbow Books ([editorial@oxbowbooks.com](mailto:editorial@oxbowbooks.com)).

# EMBODIED KNOWLEDGE

## PERSPECTIVES ON BELIEF AND TECHNOLOGY

*Edited by*  
*Marie Louise Stig Sørensen*  
*and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury*

ISBN 978-1-84217-490-6

© OXBOW BOOKS  
[www.oxbowbooks.com](http://www.oxbowbooks.com)



# Contents

---

1	Embodied knowledge. Reflections on belief and technology <i>Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury</i> .....	1
PART I		
2	Introduction to Part I: belief as practice <i>Marie Louise Stig Sørensen</i> .....	11
3	Inhumation and cremation: how burial practices are linked to beliefs <i>Katharina Rebay-Salisbury</i> .....	15
4	Delusion and disclosure: human disposal and the aesthetics of vagueness <i>Tim Flohr Sørensen</i> .....	27
5	Material culture, embodiment and the construction of religious knowledge <i>Mads Dengso Jessen</i> .....	40
6	Sealed by the cross: protecting the body in Anglo-Saxon England <i>Helen Foxhall Forbes</i> .....	52
7	The role of healing in the Jesuit mission to China, 1582–1610 <i>Mary Laven</i> .....	67
8	Protest re-embodied: shifting technologies of moral suasion in India <i>Jacob Copeman</i> .....	77
PART II		
9	Introduction to Part II: technology as practice <i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i> .....	91
10	The language of craftsmanship <i>Harald Bentz Høgseth</i> .....	95
11	Conceptual knowledge as technologically materialised: a case study of pottery production, consumption and community practice <i>Sheila Kohring</i> .....	106
12	Many hands make light work: potting and embodied knowledge at the Bronze Age tell at Százhalombatta, Hungary <i>Joanna Sofaer and Sandy Budden</i> .....	117
13	Spinning faith <i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i> .....	128
14	The sound of fire, taste of copper, feel of bronze, and colours of the cast: sensory aspects of metalworking technology <i>Maikel Henricus Gerardus Kuijpers</i> .....	137
	Authors' short biographies and contact details .....	151

## 6. Sealed by the cross: protecting the body in Anglo-Saxon England

*Helen Foxhall Forbes*

---

Hec crux consignet Ælfwinum corpore mente  
In qua suspendens Deus traxit omnia secum

This inscription heads a miniature of the crucifixion in Ælfwine's prayerbook (Fig. 6.1), a small book made somewhere between 1023 and 1031 for Ælfwine, monk and then dean (later abbot) of the New Minster, Winchester. The book now survives as two manuscripts in the British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii and D.xxvi (Günzel 1993: 1–3; the crucifixion is at Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 65v). Ælfwine's name appears in a number of places in the book, and although it is debatable whether he was one of the scribes of the book, he probably gave instructions for its production (Günzel 1993: 3, Karkov 2010: 104–105, Keynes 1996: 111–113). A number of prayers are personal to Ælfwine, like the inscription on the crucifix which names him: 'may this cross sign [or seal] Ælfwine in body and in mind, on which, hanging, God drew everything to himself.' This inscription shows just one of the ways in which Ælfwine sought to protect his own body: the cross and the sign of the cross were believed to have very strong apotropaic powers (Johnson 2006, Karkov 2010: 110–111). This article examines how people sought to protect body and soul from the dangers of the physical and spiritual worlds, and how this illustrates some of the complex links between body and soul.

In the early middle ages, protecting the body was something of a losing battle: life expectancy was short (in some times/ places as little as 25–30 years), disease was frequent, and medicine was mostly more optimistic than effectual (Cameron 1993: 5–18, Crawford 2009: 73–4, 179–197). The Old English poem, *Fortunes of Men*, reminds the audience just how many ways a person could lose his life, even if he seemed to be in good health (ed. Krapp and Dobbie 1936: 154–156). Counteracting the numerous visible and invisible threats to the body involved (amongst other things) recourse to medical

remedies, prayer, charms, and the sacraments, not all of which were always easily distinguishable from each other. Christian theology traditionally encouraged a focus on the health of the soul rather than the body, but textual and archaeological evidence indicates that there was significant concern to protect the body as well as the soul. Although the link between body and soul was extremely complex, what protected one might also protect the other, revealing much about how life and death were understood in early medieval England.

### *Invisible beings: angels and demons*

Early medieval Christians believed the world around them to consist of both visible and invisible planes: in addition to what they could see, they were surrounded by benevolent angels and malevolent demons, usually invisible to human eyes, but visible at certain times or to certain individuals (Mango 1980). While demons could attack the soul, tempting it to sin, they could also be the cause of bodily sickness, either by possessing the individual, or by affecting the body physically in other ways. The dramatic effects of demonic attacks are described in a letter written at some point between AD 716 and 719 by Boniface, an Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Continent (Ep. 10, ed. Tangl 1916: 7–15). This letter narrates the visions of a man whose spirit was taken out of his body and who returned, apparently from the dead, to describe what he had seen in the otherworld. He was able to see a number of people who were still living on earth and to observe the angels and demons, invisible to them, who filled the air around them. One in particular was considered worthy of note:

And likewise he testified about Ceolred, king of the Mercians, who at the time that he saw these things, was still in the body [i.e. alive], without a doubt. He said that he saw him defended by a

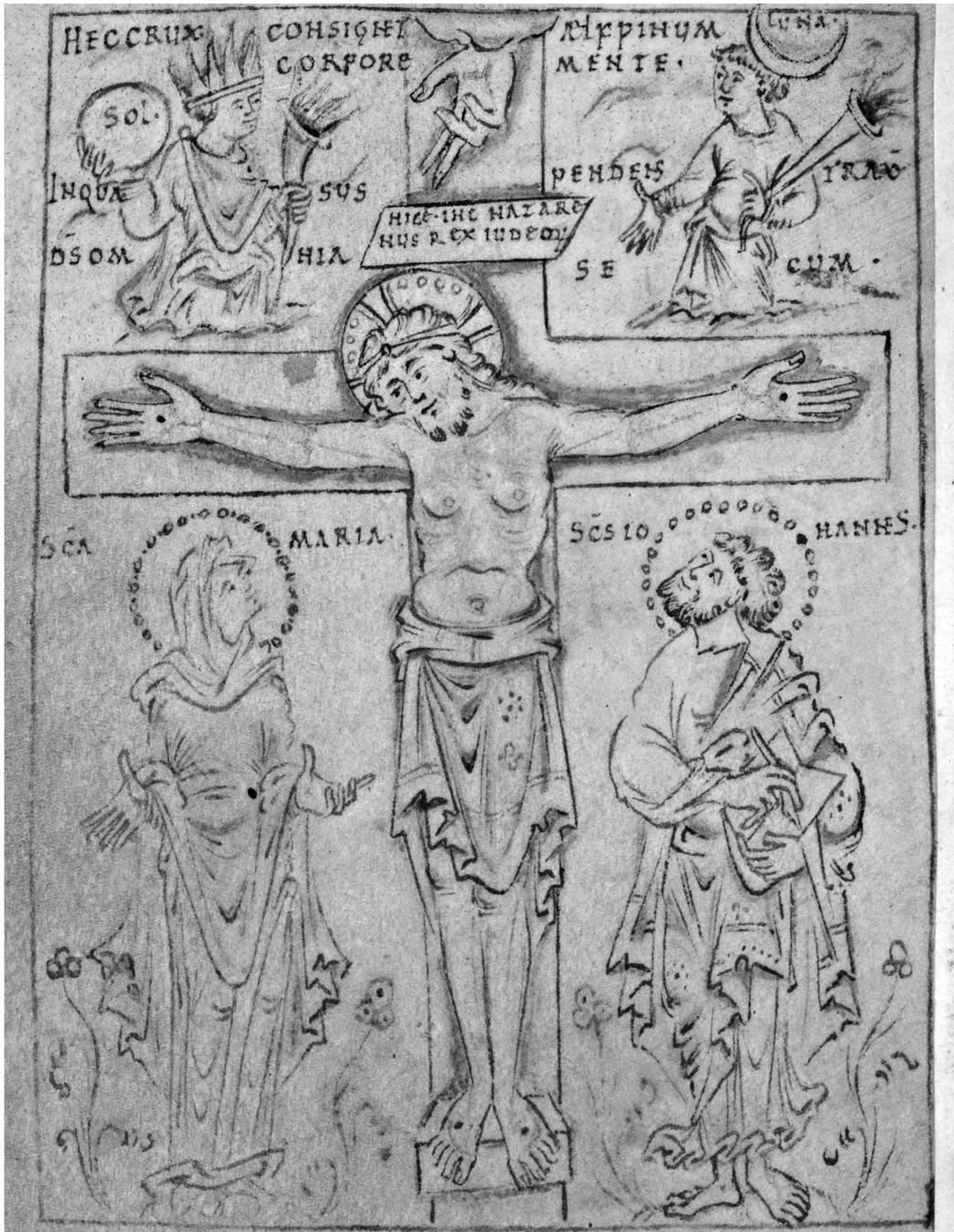


Fig. 6.1: Crucifixion from Ælfric's prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 65v. Reproduced with permission from the British Library).

certain angelic canopy against the onslaught of the demons as if some big book were opened out and placed above him. But the demons asked ... that they indeed might be permitted to exercise the wishes of their cruelty upon him with that defence taken away... Then the angels, growing more unhappy, said: 'Alas that this man, a sinner, does not permit us to defend him any longer;

and we can offer him no help on account of his own merits. And they took away the protection of the defence placed above him. Then the demons, rejoicing and exulting, came together from all parts of the world in a great multitude...and tore at him with various tortures, tiring him inestimably (Ep. 10, ed. Tangl 1916: 14, ll. 1–19).

Though invisible and immaterial, the devils were able to cause serious bodily harm to Ceolred, and in fact another of Boniface's letters relates that he came to a sticky end at the hand of the devils: 'as those who were present testified, a wicked spirit turned Ceolred, the sinner, to insanity of mind, while he was feasting splendidly with his companions ... so that raving mad, babbling frantically and conversing with devils and bad-mouthing the priests of God, he departed from this light without penance and confession and went to the torments of hell, no doubt' (Ep 73, ed. Tangl 1916: 152, l. 29 – 153, l. 7). One of the most important ways of protecting the body was with the sign of the cross, as numerous Anglo-Saxon authors explained: the cross banishes and puts to flight the devil (e.g. Ælfric, *On Auguries*, ll. 143–147, ed. Johnson 2006, Skeat 1966: I.374–375).

This is one of the ways that Ælfwine's cross could protect him in body and mind, and the prayers which surround the illustration draw attention to the efficacy against demons not only of the cross, but also of devotion to it. Before the image of the crucifixion is a prayer to the cross asking that 'by this sign of the holy cross all my enemies, visible as well as invisible, present as well as absent, and powerful as well as powerless, may be thrown down' (Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 64v, ed. Günzel 1993: 122), suggesting that the cross was effective against material as well as immaterial beings. After the image are a series of devotions to the Holy Cross, and four reasons why the cross should be adored, the second of which is that 'if your first work is to the cross, all the demons, if they are around you, will not be able to harm you' (Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 70r, ed. Günzel 1993: 126). Further on in the book, a prayer asks for the sign (or seal) of Christ's cross to be upon the supplicant night and day and to defend him from evil works (Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 89r–v, ed. Günzel 1993: 139).

In protecting the body, personal piety such as the devotions in Ælfwine's prayerbook could be effective in other ways too. At least as significant as the sign of the cross in protecting body and soul from demonic onslaughts was the presence of benevolent angels, who were believed to be most frequently present around those who devoted themselves especially to God and to divine services (Hom. II.10, ll. 92–103, ed. Hurst 1955: 248–249). Bede, an early eighth-century writer, notes that 'with an invisible presence, angels are frequently at the side of the elect so that they may defend them from the snares of the cunning enemy' (Hom. II.10, ll. 92–4, ed. Hurst 1955: 248). But the angels would only defend those who devoted themselves to God, as the vision described by Boniface illustrates: King Ceolred was protected by angels, until they concluded that he was too sinful to deserve their protection any longer, and it was at this point that the demons were able to cause him serious damage (Ep. 10, ed. Tangl 1916: 14, ll. 14–19).

### *The sacraments: baptism*

The sacraments of the Church included efforts to protect the body as well as the soul from the attacks of demonic powers, and also to invoke the power of the angels. Although the sacraments were directed primarily at the internal and invisible soul, they were performed upon the external and visible body which the soul animated, to indicate outwardly what had taken place within. Through baptism, the soul becomes Christian – but so also does the body. Under the law of the Jews, God's chosen had been marked bodily by circumcision, but now baptism marked out God's chosen, and 'cleaned them from all stains of body and mind'; although baptism was still a ritual of the body, the more important ritual was the spiritual conversion that it indicated (Bede, Hom. I.11, ll. 40–58 ed. Hurst 1955: 74–75, Commentary on the gospel of Luke, 2.4, ll. 305–306, ed. Hurst 1960: 107). The Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin, writing to Bishop Arno of Salzburg in 796, stated that in the baptismal rite, 'what the priest performs on the body with water outwardly, the Holy Spirit works invisibly in the soul through faith' (Ep. 113, ll. 39–41, ed. Dümmler 1895: 164). It is the visible body which must receive the action of the sacrament, but this cannot take effect unless the soul within is turned to the Christian faith (Alcuin, Ep. 110, ll. 21–3, ed. Dümmler 1895: 158).

One part of preparing soul and body to become Christian in baptism was the exorcism of devils from the body, and one means of exorcism was exsufflation (Foot 1992: 177). This involved blowing in the child's face, and is described in Alcuin's writings and some later Anglo-Saxon homilies, although it is not found in many Anglo-Saxon liturgical books (Hill 1985: 136). By this exsufflation, immaterial and invisible powers are countered through physical and bodily actions; Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (d. 1023), explains that by God's power, when the priest blows in the face of the baptismal candidate, the devil is terrified and is banished, leaving an entrance for Christ instead (VIIIa, ll. 36–41, VIIIb, ll. 15–36, VIIIc, ll. 29–35, 54–68, 116–142, ed. Bethurum 1957: 170, 172–173, 176–179, 181–182). An eleventh-century sermon notes that a heathen man who is baptised is 'thereby released from devils' (Hom. IX, ll. 82–84, ed. Fadda 1977: 183). Prayers throughout the rite of baptism refer to the banishment of the devil and to the angels who will surround and protect the newly baptised individual (Daniélou 1953: 95–100, see also Kelly 1985).

Baptism also includes the signing of the body with the cross, numerous times and with oil and salt as well as with water, and Ælfwine's inscription above the crucifix may refer to the sign or seal of the cross placed on him at his own baptism (Karkov 2010: 207, Raw 2004: 113–114, Raw 1997: 176–186, esp. 185–186), when his body was marked out as a Christian body. The rite of baptism in the Red Book of Darley (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422) provides a good example from late Anglo-Saxon England, particularly since it includes extensive Old English instructions for the priest (Graham 1993, Page

1978). This book was written in or after 1061, perhaps at the New Minster, Winchester, but was probably used elsewhere, perhaps Sherborne (Pfaff 1995: 21–22). After the priest makes the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, he recites a prayer asking God 'to send your holy angel so that he may guard your servant' (CCCC 422, p. 370), a significant request in keeping the candidate safe in body and soul. The next prayer is directed at the devil, instructing him to 'recognize the judgement of God', to 'recede from this servant of God', and concluding that 'this sign of the cross, which we have placed on the forehead [of the baptised], you will never, wicked devil, dare to violate' (CCCC 422, pp. 370–371).

A number of other prayers ordering Satan, the devil, or unclean spirits to leave the child follow, and then the priest signs the right hand of the child with the cross so that adversities will be kept away, and so that he is marked out and will remain in the Catholic faith forever (CCCC 422, p. 377). The emphasis on the permanent marking of the body with the cross is significant, showing his acceptance by God, and acting as protection against demonic powers; the Old English poem *Andreas* describes that devils attempted to attack St Andrew, but retreated once they recognised that he was sealed with the sign of the cross from baptism (*Andreas*, ll. 1334–44, ed. Johnson 2006: 87–88, Krapp 1932: 40). The priest also uses his saliva to make the sign of the cross on the baptismal candidate's nose and ears to signify that through both smell and hearing he will receive divine holiness (VIIIb, ll. 29–32 ed. Bethurum 1957: 173), indicating once again the importance of the body – the priest's as well as the candidate's – in a ritual which was primarily aimed at the soul.

### *The sacraments: anointing of the sick*

The link between the physical or material and the spiritual is very strong in the ways that sickness was conceptualised and understood by theologians. Sickness was believed to affect people for a number of different reasons, and just as bodily infirmity might have spiritual causes and cures, the health of the soul could also be improved by rituals performed upon the body, such as the anointing of the sick. Bede observes five reasons from the scriptures for physical infirmity: some sinners become sick so that they can be corrected, others so that they learn while they are alive that an unhappy state awaits them after death. The just may also be afflicted with bodily sickness, either so that they receive a greater reward for their endurance, or so that they may keep the merit of their justice with greater humility. Finally, Bede notes that bodily sickness may be given to humans for the simple reason that the glory and power of the Lord and his saints may be made more widely known when they are healed; bodily sickness can therefore be connected with the greater narrative of mission and the gospel, rather than with the suffering of the individual (Homily I.23, ll. 154–164, ed. Hurst 1955: 165).

For many clerical writers, the first response to sickness was to pray. Bede instructs that remedies for the body should not be sought at all before the inner state has been considered and purified; since it is not immediately obvious whether illness comes on account of sin or whether it is to increase the merits of the just, repentance is the first port of call if bodily infirmity strikes (Hom. I.23, ll. 192–201, ed. Hurst 1955: 166). Priests were likened to doctors and were frequently described as the physicians of souls (Frantzen 1983: 30–31), but their healing work might also apply to the body. The rites for the sick, like baptism, are a sacrament which involves the anointing of the body, and which were intended to cure soul and body, and to prepare the soul for a good death if a bodily cure was impossible. Preparing the soul meant that the sick person was required to confess his sins before his body was anointed, but there are statements in instructional literature and in the rites themselves which command that the priest deny the ritual of anointing to any individual who refused to confess, suggesting that some people wanted bodily anointing without confession (Ælfric, Pastoral Letters, I.91, II.178, ed. Fehr 1914: 21 and 130–131, see also CCCC 422, p. 401).

After the sick person had confessed, the body was anointed with holy oil in a number of places and prayers were said over each one. Surviving liturgical rites from Anglo-Saxon England always include anointing prayers for the eyes, the feet, and the shoulders, but differ as to the inclusion of the head, chest and back, or neck (Keefer 1995: 105). Sins were forgiven partly by the anointing of the parts of the body which represent the five senses, and through which sins are committed (CCCC 422, pp. 415). The prayers focus on the healing of body and soul, emphasising that it is no good to heal the body without the soul: one asks God to keep his servant and to 'grant that he may feel your remedy not only in body but also in soul' (CCCC 422, pp. 408–409). Another prayer asks that the Lord send his angel to visit the sick man, to comfort him and to gladden him (CCCC 422, pp. 409–410). After the anointing the priest asks God to make the holy oil purify the body and mind of the sick person, and to be a defence against the darts of wicked spirits (CCCC 422, p. 414).

The sign of the cross made in oil was intended partly to keep away malign influences from those specific body parts, as the prayers for anointing indicate. In the Red Book of Darley's rite, the sick person's ears are anointed so that spiritual medicine will put to flight what was heard illicitly; he is anointed between the shoulders to provide protection against the stings or darts of the devil; and his chest is anointed to keep away the hostile crowds flying through the air, and the importance of this protection from the holy oil is reiterated in the final anointing prayer (CCCC 422, pp. 411–412, 413). Evidently the crosses made at baptism were not always believed to be as efficacious as might have been hoped, if demonic powers could still cause sickness; but the forgiveness of sins and each Christian's duty to be devout was also important in keeping away demons, and in encouraging the protection of the angels. A number

of the rites for the anointing of the sick include prayers for angelic help, often asking specifically for God's angel Raphael to visit the sick man and to cure and comfort him in his illness (Foxhall Forbes 2009: 124, Keck 1998: 63).

Although the rituals for the sick were intended as healing rites, they were also performed for the dying, and perhaps more frequently than for those who were expected to recover (Paxton 1990: 85–87, 128–130). Later Anglo-Saxon texts attest to significant confusion over the rite of the sick and what it was supposed to achieve, and a number of superstitions over its use seem to have existed. Ælfric, writing in the early eleventh-century, complained that some men thought that the anointing would lead them to death, and explained instead that it was simply to forgive sins (Pastoral Letter III.14–15, ed. Fehr 1914: 150–151). Ælfric also had to confirm that if a man recovered after being anointed he was allowed to live with his wife, to eat meat, to be anointed again, and finally (and somewhat bizarrely) that the process of anointing granted forgiveness of sins, but not ordination, suggesting that some people may not have understood the differences between anointing of the sick with oil, and the anointing with oil which was part of the ceremony to change an ordinary man into a deacon or priest (Pastoral Letter II.178–179, 181, ed. Fehr 1914: 130–133). Perhaps because of these misconceptions, Ælfric complained elsewhere that men were reluctant to be anointed and to receive the sacrament when they were sick (Pastoral Letter I.84–6, ed. Fehr 1914: 19–20).

### *Non-sacramental approaches to sickness and suffering*

Ælfric's complaints echo the objections of earlier Continental writers, such as Caesarius of Arles in the sixth century and Eligius of Noyon in the seventh, who instructed their congregations to receive the rites of the sick rather than turning to folk medicine (Paxton 1990: 50, 56). The surviving Anglo-Saxon books of medical remedies are another indication that anointing was not considered to be the only appropriate response to sickness, but a distinction between Church and 'folk healers' should not be overplayed: recent work has emphasised that the frequency of Latin liturgical prayers and book-learning from the classical world in medical remedies, as well as their manuscript contents, point to clerical usage and writing (see especially contributions by Karen Jolly, e.g. 1996, 2005, 2006). Bede evidently had access to some medical texts, and reports that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, had given advice about the correct days for blood-letting; it is possible that in the seventh-century medicine was taught in the school at Canterbury (Cameron 1993: 27–29, Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* V.3.2, ll. 14–18, ed. Lapidge, Monak, and Robin 2005: III.24). The works of Rabanus Maurus, a Carolingian author, likewise indicate the perceived importance of medical knowledge for priests, although his concern for the

soul seems to have outweighed any desire to treat the body (Paxton 1995).

Once again Ælfric's prayerbook is instructive: it includes several lunaria for blood-letting, one for illness and a recipe for boils (Cotton Titus D.xxvii ff. 2r and 22r–23r, Cotton Titus D.xxvi ff. 6r–v, 8r–9r, 17r, ed. Günzel 1993: 89, 110–111, 146–147, 148–149, 157). The lunaria for blood-letting identify which days are recommended for the practice, or should be avoided, according to the day of the moon; the lunarium for sickness similarly indicates the likely progression of the sick man's illness according to the day of the moon. It is not clear whether Ælfric was supposed to be responsible for letting blood, or only for the knowledge of the appropriate days on which this could be done: how precisely Ælfric used his prayerbook in his role as dean is not easy to pin down (Günzel 1993: 3–4). The recipe for boils is interesting too, not least because of the instruction that unconsecrated oil was to be used in its preparation. It might be expected that consecrated oil would be required, since it was powerful in the rite for the healing of the sick; nevertheless the distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated oil suggests a writer and/or user who was able to distinguish between the two, and perhaps had access to both. The extravagance of nine egg yolks (with the whites supposedly thrown away) suggests a context for production where resources were hardly scarce.

Recipes like that in Ælfric's prayerbook for the treatment of boils approach the problem of disease by treating symptoms in a way which applies a (supposedly efficacious) concoction to various parts of the body, but do not state what the causes of boils were believed to be or precisely how the preparation was supposed to help (Cameron 1993: 40–41, Meaney 1992). Although it is obvious that the Anglo-Saxons did not conceptualise the causes of sickness and disease in a way like that of modern medicine, it is not always easy to match up the many different types of suggested causes in a way which clarifies which types of causes might overlap, and which were distinct. In some cases it seems that the recipes given would have been effective, such as the eye salve for a sty which included onion and garlic (antibiotic properties), bull's gall (detergent properties) and wine (acidic, reacts with the brass vessel specified in the recipe to produce copper salts, which are cytotoxic) (Cameron 1993: 120–121, see also 117–129 on 'rational medicine'). In other cases, such as the remedies for burns which require a selection of herbs (or goat droppings, in one case) boiled in butter or lamb fat, they must have been ineffective and were probably also painful (e.g. Bald's Leechbook, I.60, ed. Cockayne 1864: 130–132).

The rites of the sick assume a demonic cause for disease, and their curative approach thus includes apotropaic signs to keep devils away, as well as asking for angelic protection; they also assume that if the health of the soul is addressed, the health of the body may also be restored. Extra-liturgical efforts to combat bodily troubles also sometimes refer to the agency of devils, such as charms targeting particular devils

with specific responsibility for certain diseases, or seeking the help of particular angels in healing. An eleventh-century copy of an Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41) was used in the mid-eleventh century to record charms and homilies in the margins (Bredehoft 2006: 722–723, Grant 1978: 1), one of which blames 'Lanielum', an evil angel (i.e. a devil), as the cause of stomach aches (Johnson 1998: 67–68). Once again, harnessing the power of the angels was at least as important as repelling demons, and the same charm in CCC 41 also records that 'Dormielo' was the benevolent angel to whom one should turn for the restoration of health (Johnson 1998: 67–68), while Raphael was another (more orthodox) angel whose help was sought for sickness (as mentioned above).

The physical effects on the body of these immaterial agents of good and evil required appropriate spiritual knowledge so that their powers could be combatted or used effectively. But although the narrative literature and rites of the Church tend to attribute sickness either to demonic influence, or to its imposition as a punishment by God, it is difficult to ascertain whether other approaches to healing similarly assumed that devils were at the root of all or even most sickness. Since very many medical remedies do not mention the causes of the ailments they purport to cure, it is not always easy to understand how the Anglo-Saxons themselves understood disease. Some 'cures' in medical books have a close affinity with rites for the sick, such as the directions for a 'sudden sickness' which require the sign of the cross to be made on the tongue, on the head, and on the chest (Bald's Leechbook, I.47, ed. Cockayne 1864: II.116–117, Jolly 2005: 229–230). Other remedies involve combinations of plant preparations and prayers or snippets from the liturgy or even masses, or the use of church furniture, for example placing herbs under an altar (Jolly 2005: 231–226).

It is possible that some of these cures were intended to combat demons, but there were other supernatural agents which could cause disease, such as elves, who are the focus of some recipes. Elves could also merge with demons or be seen as distinct from them, although they were perhaps not considered to be invisible and ever-present in the same way that demons were (Hall 2007: 67–68, 71–72, 105–106, 121–122, Jolly 1996: 133–145, Jolly 1998); some of the cures for 'elf-ailments' are those which involve extracts from liturgical rituals (Jolly 2005: 231–233). But it seems that there were some ailments which could be caused either by elves or by other (unknown) causes: a remedy for an ailment in horses was supposed to be efficacious whether elves were involved or not (Bald's Leechbook II.65, see Hall 2007: 98–156, esp. 98–102). From the surviving evidence, it is difficult to establish how far the Anglo-Saxons themselves saw elves as responsible for disease, or whether they might occasionally have had a positive role (Hall 2007: 148–155).

Disease was not only understood to be caused by what seem, from a modern perspective, to be supernatural agents.

Some remedies attest to a belief that the body was vulnerable to attack from other types of creatures such as worms or insects: tooth decay was believed to be caused by 'tooth worms', and ear ache or ear problems by earwigs or other types of worms (Cameron 1993: 11–13). The modern distinction between natural and supernatural seems not to have been made by the Anglo-Saxons, however, who instead saw a division between themselves and entities which were 'external to humanity' (Neville 1999: 2–3). This division into human and non-human is important, because it suggests that although in some contexts distinctions might be drawn between different types of non-human beings which might attack the body, in some respects creatures like worms were akin to elves or devils. In fact, in Anglo-Saxon texts worms are described as part of (and the word *wyrm* is used to describe) a category of beings which included dragons and serpents, themselves sometimes understood to be agents or images of the devil (Thompson 2004: 132–137). This is significant in understanding how Anglo-Saxons conceptualised the various different types of threat to the body which came in the form of sickness and disease, because it suggests that the differences perceived by modern audiences between these agents of bodily affliction were not necessarily understood in the same way by their early medieval counterparts. The sign of the cross, a prayer, or a preparation against worms might all be effective ways of protecting against or healing a number of different types of ailment or sickness if the causes were considered to be contiguous.

### *Dying, death and burial*

If neither physical remedies nor the spiritual healing of the Church was effective in eliminating bodily sickness, the sick person and his close relatives or companions had to consider the protection of body and soul in death. Bodily sickness before death could actually be beneficial to the soul, taking the place of the suffering which might otherwise apply only to the soul in the interim between death and judgement. Bede relates that St Cuthbert, knowing that the end of his life was near, informed his friend Hereberht of this when they met: Hereberht then asked Cuthbert to pray that they would both leave the earth at the same time and enter heaven together. This happened as Hereberht had requested, but Bede records that Hereberht suffered a long illness before he died, so that in case he was in any way inferior to Cuthbert, he would still be able to enter heaven at the same time because of the chastising pain he had endured (*Ecclesiastical History* IV.27, ed. Lapidge, Monks, and Robin 2005: II.368–374). Ælfric too noted that some men suffer in this life so that they will not face unending torment in the next (*Catholic Homilies*, II.19, ll. 259–262, ed. Clemoes 1997: 188).

When performed for those who were near death, the ritual for the anointing of the sick took on a new urgency, and

rites for the dying were used in addition to the anointing. All those who were anointed were offered communion, which was especially important if the sick person was not expected to recover. It had been customary for centuries that the dying were offered the viaticum, and it was considered to be a vital part of the death rituals: even those undertaking penance which would normally have prohibited them from receiving the Eucharist were allowed to receive it if their lives were in danger, and statements to this effect were recorded in late Anglo-Saxon books (London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, f. 129v, ed. Cross and Hamer 1999: 120–121, Old English Penitential, ed. Frantzen 2008: SXY 41.10.01). But like anointing, the viaticum does not seem always to have been well understood, and Ælfric had to warn that it could only be given to sick men while they are still properly alive, since it had to be eaten (Pastoral Letters, I.84–6, III.11, ed. Fehr 1914: 19–20, 150–151). Such a placement of the viaticum in a dead man's mouth seems to treat it more like a protective talisman than as a sacrament which united the believer with Christ.

Like the rites for the sick, the funerary liturgy alludes to the possibility of demonic attack on the soul: it was widely believed that angels and demons fought over the soul as it left the body, the winners taking it to the place to which it belonged by right. In life these demons attacked the unity of body and soul which made up each individual human being, but in death their threat to the soul alone was of much greater concern, and the body is much less frequently mentioned in written sources as a cause for concern. The role of angels in defeating demons was so important that funeral liturgies contain repeated requests for their help (Keck 1998: 204–205). An anonymous eleventh-century homily depicts these struggles in vivid detail, describing the fights which resulted in a bad soul dragged off to hell by demons after all the sins he had committed were listed by them, and a good soul rescued by angels after they enumerated his good deeds (Hom. XLVI, ed. Napier 1883: 235, ll. 9–13 and 236, ll. 1–6). This struggle could be played out in a number of ways, as an account of a nobleman in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* indicates (V.13, ed. Lapidge, Monak, and Robin 2005: III.84–90).

On his death-bed, this thegn was visited by angels who showed him his good deeds listed in a very small and beautiful book. After this, the whole house was filled with an army of wicked spirits, and the leader of the troop presented the thegn with a huge, black, horrible-looking book which contained all his wicked deeds. This devil asked the angels why they were present since they knew that the man belonged to the troop of the damned, and agreeing, the angels left. Two of the wicked spirits then struck the man with ploughshares, one on the head and one on the foot, whereupon he felt the strokes penetrating through the innards of his body, knowing that when they met, he would die. Here demonic action apparently resulted in the man's death, but for Bede the knowledge of the soul's eternal death in hell, rather than the bodily death of the individual, was far more important.

But since the body was believed to rise again after the Last Judgement, the fate of the soul was also important in determining the ultimate fate of the body, just as only the souls of the wicked were punished before the Judgement, and after it the wicked would suffer in both soul and body. In a number of depictions of hell, such as those in an illustrated manuscript of Old English poetry, the bodies of the damned are whipped by Satan and his minions (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, pp. 3, 20, 36). An image of the Trinity in Ælfric's prayerbook (Fig. 6.2) includes a depiction of Judas (the betrayer of Christ) and Arrius (a heretic) bound up in hell below the Trinity, with Satan under the feet of God, while a hell-mouth threatens to devour them all (Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 75v, for discussion of this illustration see Karkov 2006: 106–107, Karkov 2010: 111–113, Raw 1997: 182–185).

The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (now London, British Library, Stowe 944), contains a drawing (on f. 7r, Fig. 6.3) which illustrates precisely the fate of the bodies of the damned compared to those of the just: while Peter welcomes the elect into heaven with celebrations, the damned are locked into hell by an angel and their bodies are dragged by wicked spirits into the gaping hell-mouth. The fight between angels and demons is illustrated dramatically in the middle register of the judgement scene, where a boy is tugged from the one side by a devil and from the other by St Peter, who is accompanied by an angel. Both the angel and the devil hold books which presumably record the boy's deeds, and St Peter assists in the spiritual struggle by helpfully smashing the devil in the nose with an extremely large key, his symbol as a saint and the key to heaven which he uses in the upper register of the picture (for detailed discussion of this illustration, see Karkov 2003b).

In these images, the bodies of the wicked are almost all naked, illustrating their vulnerability and emphasising their torment, while the bodies of the just are beautifully clothed (see also Karkov 2003a). Elsewhere when the resurrected bodies of the just were described, writers affirmed that the bodies of the martyrs would retain their injuries, and that these would be signs of glory in heaven. No matter how the body had been destroyed, it would be resurrected whole at Judgement, either for punishment or for reward; the fate of the body at death was theoretically irrelevant (see Bynum 1995; for an in-depth treatment of this topic). Monica, the mother of Augustine of Hippo, seems to have taken this to heart and on her death-bed apparently informed her sons that she did not care where she was buried, asking only to be remembered at the altar, in the Mass (Conf. IX.xi.27, ed. Verheijen 1981: 149). But Monica was unusual in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, since from very early on, burial of the body in the vicinity of saints' relics was desirable, and considered to be beneficial in some way to the soul (McLaughlin 1994: 30–31).

This practice continued to be popular at least into the fifteenth century, even though Augustine (amongst others) had concluded that there was no real benefit to the souls



Fig. 6.2: The 'Quinity' (i.e. the Trinity plus Mary and Child) from Ælfwine's prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 75v. Reproduced with permission from the British Library).

whose bodies were buried near the saints (*De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, I.1, ed. Zycha 1900: 621–622, cf. Schmid 2002: 25). The prestige associated with burial near the saints can be seen from Anglo-Saxon and later cemeteries such as that of the Old Minster, in Winchester, where a number of the richest inhumations were in some way associated with the resting place of Swithun, Winchester's most famous saint, or

were inside the church and so nearest to the relics of the saints (Biddle 1969: 321–322, Biddle 1970: 320, Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 223–231). The stress placed on the location of the body hints that this was believed to have a significant bearing on the afterlife, despite Augustine's conclusions. But burial practices are often difficult to interpret, and it should be remembered that not all practices which seem peculiar or inexplicable to

modern sensibilities should necessarily be assumed to be salvific or salutary in some way.

A good example is found in the rituals for the sick and dying in the Red Book of Darley, and in a late Anglo-Saxon book of penitential and other liturgical rites (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482). These include instructions that linen gloves and socks should be placed on the hands and feet of the sick person when he is anointed, and that if he dies wearing them, they should be worn in the grave (CCCC 422, pp. 412–13; Laud misc. 482, ff. 58b–59a). Victoria Thompson suggests that these gloves and socks were intended as ‘an attempt to affect the dead person’s prospects of salvation’, although it is difficult to find evidence for this (2004: 108). It is difficult to know how to interpret the socks and gloves, although an interesting comparison is found in the anonymous *Life of Cuthbert*, where the author records that Cuthbert’s body was dressed in priestly robes, and wearing shoes in preparation for meeting Christ (IV.13, ed. Colgrave 1940: 130). In his reworking of the *Life*, Bede omits this detail, although it is not clear why he did so. It may simply be that covering the hands and feet was considered part of a decent burial, since the nails appear to continue to grow in death, and evidence from the monastic customaries also shows a concern to cover hands and feet (Letter to the Monks of Eynsham, 66, ed. Jones 1998: 142, Lanfranc, *Constitutiones*, 122, ed. Knowles and Brooke 2002: 178–184, *Regularis Concordia*, 66, ed. Symons 1953: 65).

The careful treatment of the body is evident too in the instructions of funeral liturgies that the dead body is to be guarded and accompanied by prayers and psalm-singing until the burial takes place (e.g. *Ordo XLIX*, ed. Andrieu 1931–61: IV.529–530, *Regularis Concordia*, 66, ed. Symons 1953: 65). This may have been partly in order to keep demons away, connected with a belief that the soul might linger near the corpse (cf. Brown 1981: 223 and n.3, see also Paravicini Bagliani 2001). The return of the soul to the body is described in poems and homiletic literature: a good soul praises its body for its good deeds, which will lead to heaven, while a wicked soul chastises its body for its wicked deeds, which can only lead to hell-torment (e.g. Moffat 1990). The body of the wicked soul is described as rotting in graphic and disgusting terms, and is insulted by the wicked soul, who calls him ‘foulness of earth’, and ‘meal for worms’ (Moffat 1990: 50, ll. 18, 22). The interpretation of the theology of the poem is complex, and it has been suggested that the disturbing description of decay is indicative of the moral decay of the soul, feared by the living, and in contrast to the incorrupt bodies of saints (Thompson 2002: 234–238, Thompson 2004: 52, 140).

This is difficult though because the body of the good soul also rots, and the good soul consoles its body with the thought of what is to come after judgement (Moffat 1990: 62–4, ll. 127–167). In fact, it is clear that all bodies were expected to rot, regardless of the state of the souls which had inhabited them. Bede notes that when the monks translated the body

of Cuthbert, intending to honour him by moving it to a new coffin above ground, they expected to find his bones, with the flesh reduced to dust (*Ecclesiastical History*, IV.28.1, ll. 11–19, ed. Lapidge, Monast, and Robin 2005: III.374–376). This is precisely why incorrupt bodies were so miraculous: even the bodies of those who were widely acknowledged as good were assumed to be subject to normal processes of decay, and the wide circulation of bones of saints’ bodies indicates that although incorruption might be a sign of sanctity, it was not a prerequisite. Similarly, a number of homilies refer to the body waiting for the judgement in the grave, without suggesting fear of the grave, only an expectation that it will house the body until the time of resurrection (e.g. *Blickling Homily X*, ed. Morris 1874: 109).

This did not mean that people genuinely did not care about how or where the body was buried. From at least the tenth century, cemeteries appear to have been consecrated, and from this time also appear laws which use as a penalty the exclusion of the bodies of criminals from consecrated ground. In the tenth and eleventh centuries criminals were often treated violently, being executed or if allowed to live, their bodies mutilated (Gittos 2002, O’Brien O’Keefe 1998, Reynolds 2002, Reynolds 2009). This indicates precisely how people did *not* want their bodies to be treated in death. The importance of burial in consecrated ground to the relatives of an individual as well as to the individual himself is highlighted by a decree which envisages a situation in which relatives wish to clear a dead man and bury him elsewhere (III Æthelred 7–7.1, ed. Liebermann 1903: 230). The decapitation of criminals and the display of the severed heads which seems to have occurred in some cases served to highlight the bodily effects of misdemeanours (see for example Buckberry and Hadley 2007: 316–325). This is also true of other means of justice in Anglo-Saxon England such as mutilation or ordeals, which required that someone accused of a crime should carry a hot iron bar, take a stone from a cauldron of boiling water, be thrown into deep water to see if he/she floated or sank, or (bizarrely) be required to eat consecrated bread and cheese without vomiting them up; in these ways the body might display signs of guilt, or be used to try to identify them (Bartlett 1986, see also Foxhall Forbes forthcoming, Keefer 1998, O’Brien O’Keefe 1998, Richards 2003). Protecting the body in death as well as in life therefore involved staying within the bounds of the secular law, just as, from the Church’s perspective, protecting body and soul required following its commandments and precepts.

Whether or not the dismemberment of criminal bodies was intended (or able) to harm the soul, the exclusion from consecrated ground did not allow their bodies to be placed in the cemeteries of major churches which were considered to be particularly desirable as burial places. It is clear that care was taken in the treatment of dead bodies (Hadley and Buckberry 2005), and one particularly interesting example is found in an elaborate funeral liturgy from the Old Minster in

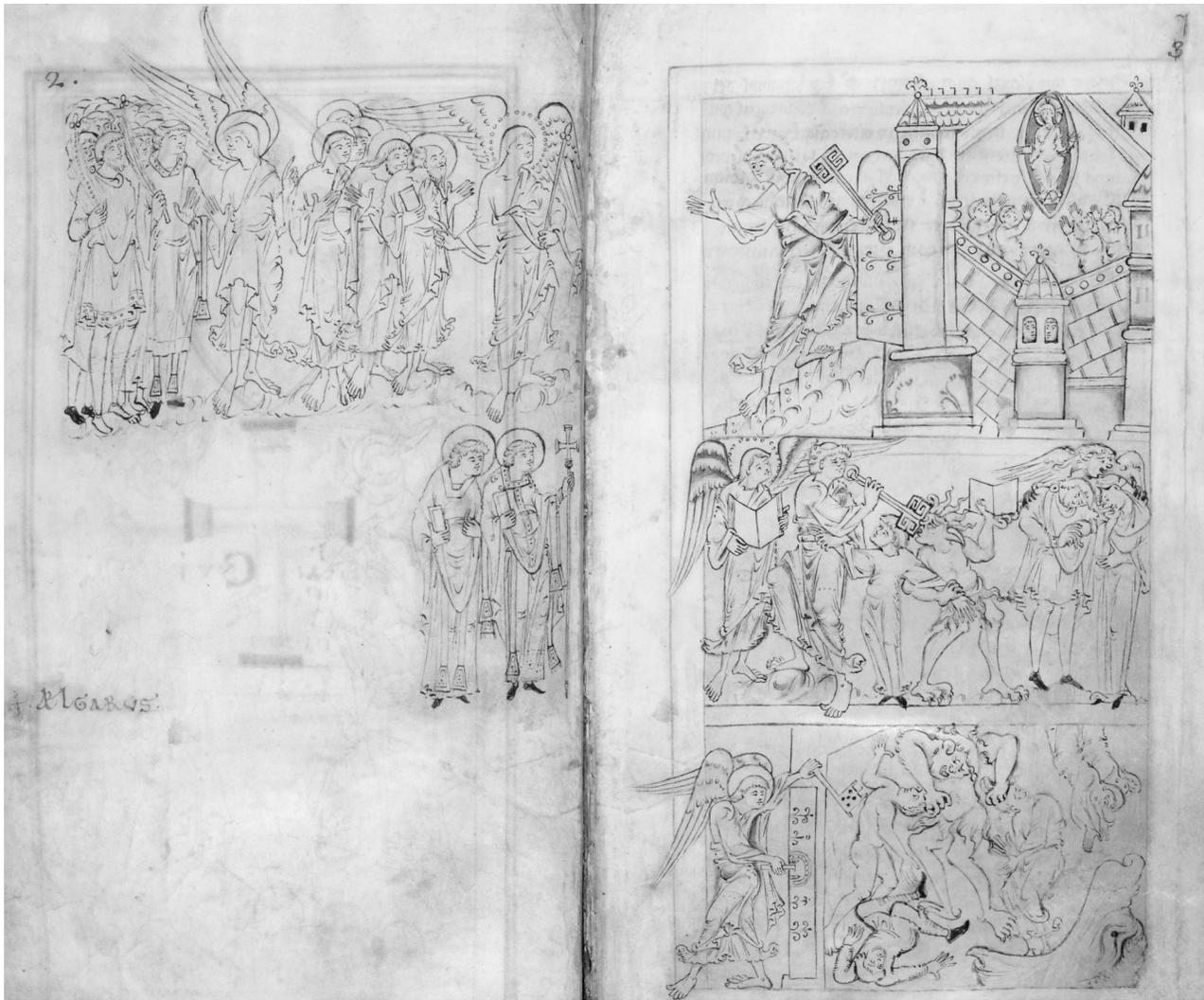


Fig. 6.3: *The Last Judgement* from the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, Stowe 944, ff. 6v–7r). Reproduced with permission from the British Library.

Winchester, which includes instructions that after the funeral mass, the body was to be carried from the Old Minster around a number of churches in the monastic precinct, including the New Minster, before burial in the cemetery (Worcester, Cathedral Library, F.173, f. 21a–b, partially ed. Turner 1916). Throughout the procession, the saints of the churches are called on to intercede for the soul of the person whose office of burial is celebrated. The importance of the saints after death, and the desire to be buried near them, is at least one of the reasons why so many individuals in late Anglo-Saxon England arranged for burial in the cemeteries of major churches, but this is not the only reason, since the prayers and commemorations associated with burial in major cemeteries were evidently also extremely important (for specific examples, see Foxhall Forbes 2009: 189–204). Burial in a major church might speed the soul

on its way to heaven, but it would also ensure that the body would be with other christian bodies and hopefully would be resurrected with them.

The personal role that could be played in the protection of the body is clear from Ælfwine's prayerbook. One prayer included in the book asks God to give 'the seat of refreshment to the souls of all the faithful whose bodies rest here' (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, ed. f. 64r, Günzel 1993: 188). Other prayers ask for forgiveness and mercy to be given to 'the souls of all the faithful, of our brothers and sisters and parents and friends, and those whose bodies rest in all the cemeteries', and for the remission of sins 'of my father and mother and of all brothers and sisters' (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, ff. 64r–v and 71v–74r, ed. Günzel 1993: 189, 193–194). These are particularly significant, since Ælfwine's prayerbook records

the obits of his parents and siblings, and it can be assumed that he prayed for them, sought to protect their souls and bodies as he did his own, in the hope that they would all be reunited in heaven, guarded by angels and safe from demons, and beautifully adorned and called in by St Peter like those in the New Minster's *Liber Vitae*, a book which Ælfwine himself helped to create.

### Conclusion

For an early medieval Christian, especially one so connected with the rites of the Church as was Ælfwine, the health and fate of the soul may in the end have been of more concern than the body, and this is evidently a major concern in his prayerbook (Karkov 2010). But body and soul were not separated so easily as the works of some early medieval authors might suggest, and personal protection of the body was not at all unimportant. One of Ælfwine's devotions to the cross in his prayerbook names his body parts in turn, asking protection from the cross for each one: he lists the head, the eyes, the mouth, the hands and arms, the heart and the innards, the feet and all the limbs – for which he specifically requests protection against the attacks of the devil – and finally, he asks protection for his soul, and prays that God may free it from all his adversaries (Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f. 73r–v, ed. Günzel 1993: 127–128). Catherine Karkov suggests that while praying before the crucifix, 'the supplicant would have traced the body of the Lord with his (or her) mind', and that the body of the Lord becomes united with the body of the supplicant, here Ælfwine, by the focus on the crucified body as well as on the supplicant's own body, for which he asks protection from the cross (Karkov 2010: 108–109). The body could be the medium for sin, as prayers in Ælfwine's book asking to be freed from carnal desires and worldly vanities bear witness (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, ff. 59v–60r, ed. Günzel 1993: 186), but good deeds, including prayer, were also performed bodily and involved the body as a focus for devotion.

Even if prayer comes from the soul, the mind, or the heart, the living Christian still prays bodily, because it is the hands which are needed to hold the book, the eyes which read the prayer, the lips which pronounce the words. Ælfwine's body is represented in his book at the feet of St Peter (Fig. 6.4), where he is shown holding a book, perhaps his own book which he used for prayer (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, f. 19v). Ælfwine's stance here, looking up at St Peter, is reminiscent of a prayer in his book which begins 'I turn my face to you, Lord, I commend my body and soul to your majesty' (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, ff. 71v–72r, ed. Günzel 1993: 193). The psalms too indicate the importance of gesture in prayer, such as the psalm for the beginning of vespers: 'may the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice' (Ps. 140:2, Karkov 2010: 109) Another prayer in Ælfwine's book illustrates the movements in making the sign of the cross which accompany the act of

praying: 'save us, Christ ... who suffered on the cross, whose sign we impress on our foreheads and in our hearts' (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, f. 70r, ed. Günzel 1993: 192). The images in Ælfwine's book are intended to draw him towards God and to help him to achieve salvation just as the prayers in the book are, and they illustrate the active ways in which devotion could be expressed, mirroring the mental and invisible activities of prayer (Karkov 2006: 109–111).

The belief in the omnipresence of demons and their powers to cause physical harm or damage meant that protection of the body was considered to be essential even if the soul was ultimately more of a concern. Some bodies were evidently considered particularly vulnerable, such as those of unbaptised children or the sick, but demons could strike at any time, as is illustrated in a vivid account from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, translated into English in the ninth century (I.4, ed. Hecht 1900: 30). A nun, wanting to eat some lettuce, forgot to bless it with the sign of the cross, and a demon immediately possessed her. When an abbot, called to exorcise the demon, ordered him to leave, the demon responded that it was no fault of his, since he had simply been sitting on the lettuce when the nun had bitten him. The sign of the cross with which the priest sealed Ælfwine's body at his baptism was remade by his own fingers probably hundreds of times every day, marking his body with an invisible sign which was visible to supernatural beings, and which served to protect both body and soul from their attacks. The nun's failure to protect her body by making the sign of the cross resulted in demonic possession, which in turn endangered her soul, housed inside the body.

Protecting the body required recourse to the sacraments of the Church such as baptism and the anointing of the sick, as well as to charms, medical recipes and prayers, and in death to careful location of the body and continued prayer. Bad bodies might be isolated from good bodies in death as in life, by exclusion from consecrated cemeteries, but good and bad bodies alike were subject to the processes of decay, just as they were subject to the attacks of demons or other agents, or struck by disease, even if this was visited upon them for different reasons. Recent work on the Holy Cross in Anglo-Saxon England has emphasised the importance of the cross in keeping away demons and malign influences (Jolly, Karkov, and Keefer 2008, see the essays in Karkov, Keefer, and Jolly 2006, Keefer, Jolly, and Karkov 2010), but the opposing powers of angels and how these were harnessed has been much less explored (for treatment of this subject see Foxhall Forbes forthcoming). It is clear, however, that the spiritual knowledge of how to appropriate benevolent powers was as important as the knowledge of how to defend against malevolent ones in the protection of body and soul.

As the centuries went on, guardian angels which stayed near the person and watched over him or her became increasingly important in the fight to protect body and soul (Keck 1998: 64, 163–164, 209), as a prayer to a guardian angel written into Ælfwine's prayerbook by a woman in the twelfth-century



Fig. 6.4: *St Peter and Ælfwine* from *Ælfwine's prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, f. 19v). Reproduced with permission from the British Library.

indicates. By the thirteenth century, angelology had become part of the formal curriculum at the Universities (Keck 1998: 3); before this, ideas about angels were less formal and more fluid. An Anglo-Saxon such as Ælfwine might not have

thought of asking how many angels could dance on the head of a pin, but he certainly would have wanted to be reassured that they surrounded him at all times, dancing or otherwise.

## References

- Andrieu, M. (ed.) 1931–61. *Les "Ordines Romani" de haut moyen âge*. Louvain.
- Bartlett, R. 1986. *Trial by fire and water: the medieval judicial ordeal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bethurum, D. (ed.) 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biddle, M. 1969. Excavations at Winchester 1968. Seventh Interim Report. *Antiquaries Journal* 49: 295–329.
- Biddle, M. 1970. Excavations at Winchester 1968. Seventh Interim Report. *Antiquaries Journal* 50: 277–326.
- Bredenhoft, T. A. 2006. Filling the margins of CCC 41: textual space and a developing archive. *Review of English Studies* 57, 232: 721–32.
- Brown, E. A. R. 1981. Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: the Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse. *Viator* 12: 221–70.
- Buckberry, J. L., and D. M. Hadley. 2007. An Anglo-Saxon Execution Cemetery at Walkington Wold, Yorkshire. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26, 3: 309–29.
- Bynum, C. W. 1995. *The Resurrection of the body in Western Christianity, 200–1336. Lectures on the history of religions*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cameron, M. L. 1993. *Anglo-Saxon medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clemoes, P. (ed.) 1997. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series. Catholic Homilies I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society.
- Cockayne, O. 1864. *Leechdoms, wortcunning and starcraft of early England; being a collection of documents, for the most part never before printed, illustrating the history of science in this country before the Norman Conquest*. 3 vols.
- Colgrave, B. 1940. *Two lives of Saint Cuthbert: a life by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's prose life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawford, S. 2009. *Daily life in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Greenwood World.
- Cross, J. E., and A. Hamer. (ed.) 1999. *Wulfstan's canon law collection*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Daniélou, J. 1953. *Les anges et leur mission: d'après les Pères de l'Eglise. Collection Irenikon, n.s. 5*. Paris: Chevotogne.
- Dümmler, E. L. (ed.) 1895. *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Fadda, A. M. L. (ed.) 1977. *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina*. Firenze: F. Le Monnier.
- Fehr, B. (ed.) 1914. *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung, Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa IX. Pastoral Letters*. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand.
- Foot, S. 1992. "By water in the spirit': the administration of baptism in early Anglo-Saxon England," in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds) *Pastoral care before the parish*. 171–92. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Foxhall Forbes, H. 2009. The development of the notions of penance, purgatory and the afterlife in Anglo-Saxon England, PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Foxhall Forbes, H. forthcoming. *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: theology and society in an age of faith. Studies in Early Medieval Britain*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Frantzen, A. J. 1983. *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Frantzen, A. J. (ed.) 2008. *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: a Cultural Database*.
- Gittos, H. 2002. "Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries," in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds) *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*. 195–208. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Graham, T. 1993. The Old English Liturgical Directions in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422. *Anglia* 111: 439–46.
- Grant, R. J. S. 1978. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41: The loricas and the missal. Costerus. New series 17*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Günzel, B. 1993. *Ælfwine's prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi + xxvii)*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society.
- Hadley, D. M., and J. Buckberry. 2005. "Caring for the dead in late Anglo-Saxon England," in F. Tinti (ed.) *Pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England, Anglo-Saxon studies* 6. 121–147. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.
- Hall, A. 2007. *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: matters of belief, health, gender and identity*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Hecht, H. 1900. *Bischofs Waerferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen über das Leben und die Wunderthaten italienischer Väter und über die Unsterblichkeit der Seelen. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 5. Bd*. Leipzig: G. H. Wigland.
- Hill, T. D. 1985. *When God Blew Satan out of Heaven: The Motif of Exsufflation in Vercelli Homily XIX and Later English Literature. Leeds Studies in English*: 132–41.
- Hurst, D. 1955. *Beda's venerabilis opera, pars III: opera homiletica*. CCSL 112. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Hurst, D. 1960. *Opera exegetica 3: In Lucam evangelio expositio. In Marcam evangelio expositio*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Johnson, D. F. 2006. "The Crux usualis as apotropaic weapon in Anglo-Saxon England," in E. K. Catherine, K. Sarah Larratt, and J. Karen Louise (eds) *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*. 80. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Johnson, R. F. 1998. Archangel in the Margins: St. Michael in the Homilies of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41. *Traditio* 53: 63–91.
- Jolly, K. L. 1996. *Popular religion in late Saxon England: elf charms in context*. Chapel Hill (NC): University of North Carolina Press.
- Jolly, K. L. 1998. "Elves in the psalms? The experience of evil from a cosmic perspective," in A. Ferreiro (ed.) *The devil, heresy and witchcraft in the middle ages: Essays in honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*. 19–44. Leiden: Brill.
- Jolly, K. L. 2005. "Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: the Sign of the Cross as Ritual Protection," in H. Gittos and M. B. Bedingfield (eds) *The liturgy of the late Anglo-Saxon church*. 213–43. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Jolly, K. L. 2006. "Tapping the power of the cross: Who and for whom?," in K. L. Jolly, C. E. Karkov, and S. L. Keefer (eds) *The place of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England*. 58–79. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Jolly, K. L., C. E. Karkov, and S. L. Keefer (eds) 2008. *Cross and culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in honor of George Hardin Brown*. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.
- Jones, C. A. 1998. *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham. Cambridge Series in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Karkov, C. E. 2003a. "Exiles from the kingdom: The naked and the damned in Anglo-Saxon art," in J. Wilcox and B. C. Withers (eds) *Naked before God: Uncovering the body in Anglo-Saxon England*. 181–220. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.
- Karkov, C. E. 2003b. "Judgement and salvation in the New Minster Liber Vitae," in K. Powell and D. G. Scragg (eds) *Apocryphal texts and traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*. 151–63. Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Karkov, C. E. 2006. "Text as Image in Ælfwine's Prayerbook," in H. Magennis and J. Wilcox (eds) *The power of words: Anglo-Saxon studies presented to Donald G. Scragg on his seventieth birthday*. 95–114. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.
- Karkov, C. E. 2010. "Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross," in S. L. Keefer, K. L. Jolly, and C. E. Karkov (eds) *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter* 103–34. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.
- Karkov, C. E., S. L. Keefer, and K. L. Jolly (eds) 2006. *The place of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Keck, D. 1998. *Angels & angelology in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keefer, S. L. 1995. "Manuals," in R. W. Pfaff (ed.) *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England, Old English newsletter*. 99–109. Kalamazoo, MI: The Medieval Institute Western Michigan University.
- Keefer, S. L. 1998. "Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus: The corsnaed Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England," in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds) *The community, the family and the saint: patterns of power in early medieval Europe: selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4–7 July 1994, 10–13 July 1995*. 237–64. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Keefer, S. L., K. L. Jolly, and C. E. Karkov. 2010. *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.
- Kelly, H. A. 1985. *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Keynes, S. 1996. *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: Rosenkilde and Bagger.
- Kjølbye-Biddle, B. 1992. "Dispersal or concentration: the disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years," in S. R. Bassett (ed.) *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100–1600*. 210–47. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Knowles, D., and C. N. L. Brooke. (ed.) 2002. *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, Rev. by Christopher N. L. Brooke. edition. *Constitutiones*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krapp, G. P. 1932. *The Vercelli book*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Krapp, G. P., and E. V. K. Dobbie. 1936. *The Exeter Book*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lapidge, M., P. Monat, and P. Robin. (ed.) 2005. *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais = Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Paris: Editions du Cerf.
- Liebermann, F. (ed.) 1903. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. Bd.1, Text und Übersetzung*. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Mango, C. A. 1980. "The Invisible World of Good and Evil," in C. A. Mango (ed.) *Byzantium: the empire of New Rome*, Pbk ed edition, *History of civilisation*. xiii, 334 p., [24] p. of plates. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- McLaughlin, M. 1994. *Consorting with saints: prayer for the dead in early medieval France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ Press.
- Meaney, A. L. 1992. "The Anglo-Saxon view of the causes of illness," in S. Campbell, B. Hall, and D. Klausner (eds) *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*. 12–33. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Moffat, D. 1990. *The Old English Soul and Body*. Woodbridge: Brewer.
- Morris, R. (ed.) 1874. *The Blickling homilies of the 10th century: from the Marquis of Lothian's unique MS. A.D. 971*. Vol. 58. *Blickling Homilies*. London: Trübner for E.E.T.S.
- Napier, A. S. (ed.) 1883. *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Neville, J. 1999. *Representations of the natural world in Old English Poetry. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, 27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Brien O'Keefe, K. 1998. Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England. *Anglo-Saxon England* 27: 209–32.
- Page, R. I. 1978. Old English Liturgical Rubrics in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422. *Anglia* 96: 149–58.
- Paravicini Bagliani, A. 2001. "The corpse in the Middle Ages: the problem of the division of the body," in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds) *The Medieval World*. 327–341. London: Routledge.
- Paxton, F. S. 1990. *Christianizing Death: the Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Paxton, F. S. 1995. Curing bodies – Curing souls: Hrabanus Maurus, medical education, and the clergy in ninth-century Francia. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50, 2: 230–52.
- Pfaff, R. W. 1995. "Massbooks: Sacramentaries and Missals," in R.W. Pfaff (ed.) *The liturgical books of Anglo-Saxon England, Old English newsletter*, 7–34. Kalamazoo, MI: The Medieval Institute Western Michigan University.
- Raw, B. 2004. "Pictures: books of the unlearned?," in C. Paul (ed.) *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*. 103–119. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Raw, B. C. 1997. *Trinity and incarnation in Anglo-Saxon art and thought. Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, A. J. 2002. "Burials, boundaries and charters," in S. Lucy and A. J. Reynolds (eds) *Burial in early medieval England and Wales*. 71–94. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Reynolds, A. J. 2009. *Anglo-Saxon deviant burial customs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Richards, M. P. 2003. "The body as text in early Anglo-Saxon law," in J. Wilcox and B. C. Withers (eds) *Naked before God: uncovering the body in Anglo-Saxon England*. 97–115. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.
- Schmid, J. 2002. *Et pro remedio animae et pro memoria: bürgerliche repräsentatio in der Cappella Tornabuoni in S. Maria Novella. I Mandorli Bd. 2*. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Skeat, W. W. (ed.) 1966. *Aelfric's lives of saints: being a set of sermons on saints' days formerly observed by the English church*. London: For the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press.
- Symons, T. (ed.) 1953. *Regularis Concordia: the Monastic Agreement*

- of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation. Regularis Concordia.* London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.
- Tangl, M. (ed.) 1916. *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus.* Berlin: Weidmannsche.
- Thompson, V. 2002. "Constructing Salvation: a Homiletic and Penitential Context for Late Anglo-Saxon Burial Practice," in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds) *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales.* 229–40. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Thompson, V. 2004. *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England.* Woodbridge.
- Turner, C. H. (ed.) 1916. The Churches at Winchester in the early Eleventh Century. *Journal of Theological Studies* 17: 65–8.
- Verheijen, L. (ed.) 1981. *Sancti Augustini Confessionum Libri XIII.* Vol. 27. *Confessiones.* Turnhout: Brepols.
- Zycha, J. (ed.) 1900. *Sancti Aureli Augustini De fide et symbolo; De fide et operibus; De agone christiano; De continentia; De bono coniugali; De Sancta virginitate; De bono viduitatis; De adulterinis coniugiis lib. II; De mendacio; Contra mendacium; De opere monachorum; De divinatione daemonum; De cura pro mortuis gerenda; De patientia.* Vol. 41. *De cura mortuis pro gerenda.* Vienna: F. Tempsky.